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# INFORMATION

# Bulletin

MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE OFFICE OF  
US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

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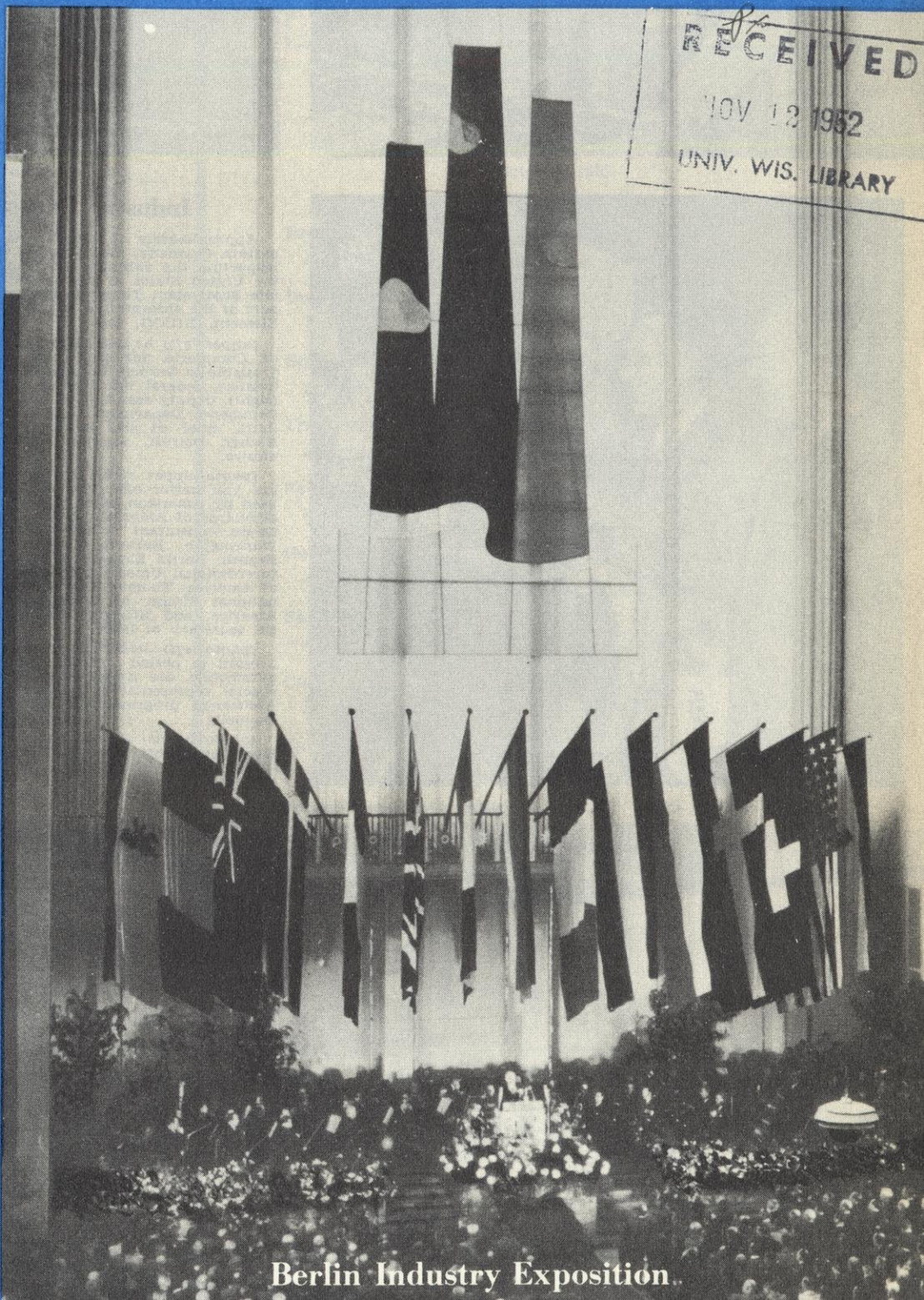
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**OCTOBER  
1952**



Berlin Industry Exposition



## Industry Exposition in Berlin

Approximately 15,000 persons daily, including many from eastern Germany, filed through the George C. Marshall House, inspecting the exhibits and utilizing the services provided by the United States at the annual Berlin industry exposition in late September. These photographs, made by Karl Heinz Schubert of the Information Branch, Public Affairs Division, Berlin Element, HICOG, show:

(upper left) At the office maintained by the US Department of Commerce for providing marketing information service available to German businessmen and exporters, Ludwig Erhard (center), federal minister of economics, meets E. Paul Hawk (right), deputy assistant director, Office of International Trade, Commerce Department, and two deputies, Henry J. Dempsey (left), chief of the World Trade Intelligence Section, and Nathan Ostroff, assistant general counsel for international affairs.

(photo upper right) Looking at a sign reading "America, are you better off? You ask—we answer" above the section used by American labor officials to answer questions on living standards of American workers are (left to right) Herman L. Deuss, consultant in the Office of Labor Advisers, MSA, in Washington; Herbert W. Baker, chief of the Labor Affairs Branch, Berlin Element; Herman Block, vice president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; Thomas F. Murphy, general treasurer of the International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers of America, and Stanley Wollaston, executive assistant to the US secretary of labor.

(photo left) Receiving exhibit literature from an employee, dressed in period costume and seated in an ancient German automobile, are Ambassador William H. Draper, Jr. (left), US special representative in Europe with the Mutual Security Assistance program, and US High Commissioner Walter J. Donnelly.

(photo below) Ambassador Draper inspects a model of the Kraftwerk West, electricity-producing plant in West Berlin, reconstructed during and after the Soviet blockade with ECA assistance.



# Information Bulletin

The Information Bulletin is the monthly magazine of the Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany for the dissemination of authoritative information concerning the policies, regulations, instructions, operations and activities of the United States mission in Germany.

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**COVER PHOTOGRAPH** — The Berlin Industry Exposition opened Sept. 19 with a ceremony in the auditorium of Berlin's huge fairgrounds. Shown is Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin addressing the 1,000 official guests at the ceremony. The design above the array of flags is the characteristic symbol of the annual exposition — three factory chimneys belching forth smoke. For details of the exposition, see opposite page. (BE HICOG photo by Schubert)

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OFFICE OF THE US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
INFORMATION DIVISION

FRANKFURT, GERMANY

APO 757-A, US ARMY

# Insistence of Free German Elections Reiterated

The United States, United Kingdom and France reiterated Sept. 23 in identical notes delivered to the Soviet Union their insistence on the essential role of free German elections as a key to progress on German unification. Drafted after consultation with the German Federal Government in Bonn, the notes were in reply to a Soviet note of Aug. 23. They told the Russians clearly that the three powers were ready almost at once to take up the problem of free German elections as a foundation for establishment of an all-German government which could negotiate a peace treaty. Text of the US note follows.

1. The United States Government has carefully considered the Soviet Government's note of August 23 about Germany. It had hoped that the note would have marked some progress towards agreement on the essential question on free all-German elections. This is the first question which must be settled among the Four Powers so that Germany can be unified, an all-German Government formed and a peace treaty concluded.

2. Possibly in order to divert attention from this issue, the greater part of the Soviet note of August 23 is, however, devoted to wholly unfounded attacks upon the Atlantic Pact, the European Defense Community and the Conventions signed at Bonn on May 26. As the United States Government has often emphasized, these agreements are purely defensive and threaten no one. The Bonn Conventions and the EDC Treaty, far from being imposed on the German people, are a matter for free decision by freely elected parliaments, including of course that of the German Federal Republic. Insofar as the Bonn Conventions reserve certain strictly limited rights to the three Western Powers, a fundamental consideration has been specifically to safeguard the principle of German unity and to keep the door open for agreement with the Soviet Union on the unification of Germany.

3. The United States Government must insist on the necessity of starting Four-Power discussions at the only point where they can in fact start, which is the organization of free elections. In its note of July 10, the US Government drew attention to the obvious fact that this is the first point which must be settled if any progress is to be made towards uniting the Soviet Zone with the Federal Republic, which constitutes the greater part of Germany. In its first note, as in its last, the Soviet Government has evaded this clear issue. Instead of putting first things first, it now relegates to the background the problem of elections and proposes that the Four-Power conference "should discuss in the first place such important issues as a peace treaty with Germany and the formation of an all-German government." But until elections are held, no all-German government can be formed, nor can Germany be unified. Until an all-German government is formed which will be in a position to negotiate freely, it is impossible to discuss the terms of a German peace treaty.

4. In complete accord with the views of the United States, French and United Kingdom Governments, the Soviet Gov-

ernment originally said that "the preparation of the peace treaty should be effected with the participation of Germany in the form of an all-German government." The Soviet Government has now shifted its ground. It now substitutes for this, the participation of representatives of the Soviet Zone and the Federal Republic in the Four-Power Meetings "during the discussion of relevant questions." The United States Government cannot accept this proposal. A peace treaty for the whole of Germany cannot be negotiated with, and accepted by, any German representatives other than the all-German government which would have to carry it out. Such a government can only proceed from free elections. It is moreover well-known that the East German administration is not representative of the German population of the Soviet Zone. This fact is not controverted by the assertion in the Soviet note of August 23 that this administration acted "at the request" of that population in enforcing recent measures further dividing East and West Germans in defiance of their clear desire for unity in freedom.

5. The United States Government is compelled to remind the Soviet Government that conditions have altered radically since the Potsdam Agreement in 1945, which laid down certain political and economic principles to govern the initial control. The Soviet conception of a peace treaty drafted by the Four Powers and imposed upon Germany is entirely unsuitable in 1952. The United States Government could never agree to a peace treaty being drafted or negotiated without the participation of an all-German government as any other procedure would mean a dictated treaty. That indeed would be "an insult to the German nation."

6. The United States Government again insists that genuinely free elections with a view to the formation of an all-German Government must come first. It has, however learned by hard experience in recent years that terms such as "free elections" have one meaning in common parlance and another in the official Soviet vocabulary. The contrast between the concept of free elections which obtains in Western Germany and that which prevails in the Soviet Zone is clear. It is for the German people to choose between these alternative ways of life. But they must be able to make their choice in genuine freedom and full responsibility. Only genuinely free elections can reflect the will of the German people and permit the formation of an all-German government with the

necessary freedom of action to discuss and accept a peace settlement.

7. In order to create the conditions necessary for free elections, there has been Four-Power agreement that there should be a commission of investigation. The Soviet Government has now proposed that this commission should be composed of representatives of the People's Assembly of the "German Democratic Republic" and of the Bundestag of the German Federal Republic. A commission of investigation must, however, be genuinely impartial. A German commission would be no more able than a Four-Power commission to meet this requirement. The underlying principle of the present Soviet proposal was contained in one which emanated from the Soviet Zone on September 15, 1951. This was rejected by the Bundestag, which then suggested investigation by a United Nations Commission. It was thus the freely elected representatives of fifty millions of the German people who themselves proposed the creation of a neutral investigation commission under United Nations supervision. Nevertheless, the United States Government repeats its readiness to discuss any practical and precise proposals, as stated in its note of the 10th of July.

8. The United States Government continues to seek a way to end the division of Germany. This will not be accomplished by premature discussions about a peace treaty with a Germany not yet united and lacking an all-German Government. The United States Government therefore renews the proposals made in its note of July 10 for an early Four-Power Meeting—which could take place in October—to discuss the composition, functions and authority of an impartial commission of investigation with a view to creating the conditions necessary for free elections. The next step would be to discuss the arrangements for the holding of these elections and for the formation of an all-German government, as proposed in paragraph 11 (IV) of the United States Government's note of May 13. When free elections have been held and an all-German government formed, the peace settlement can be negotiated. The United States Government, in concert with the French Government and the United Kingdom Government and after consultation with the German Federal Government and the German authorities in Berlin, most earnestly urges the Soviet Government to reconsider its refusal to join the other powers in a singleminded effort thus to come to grips with the problem of free elections in Germany.

# Educational Research in Germany

By Dr. Frank H. Jonas

Assistant Editor, *Information Bulletin*

## I. The Institute for International Educational Research

**T**HE INSTITUTE for International Educational Research (*Hochschule fuer Internationale Paedogische Forschung*) in Frankfurt illustrates that a dream, with planned and persistent pursuit of an idea, can develop into reality.

Forty years ago, Erich Hylla, a young elementary school teacher in Breslau saw the need for educational research in Germany. He kept developing the idea of an institute for further advanced educational study all during his graduate work, high school and college teaching, secondary school administration, and scientific research, writing and publication.

His *Intelligence Testing*, published in 1927, is still recognized as a standard work. Aptitude and achievement tests, developed in 1926 and 1932 in collaboration with Dr. Otto Bobertag, were republished in 1945 and used subsequently in 70,000 cases in the state of Hesse.

In 1926, Mr. Hylla spent a year in the United States at the International Education Institute of Columbia University. In 1928, he published his book in German, *Schools in a Democracy*, a description of the American school system. He also translated into German John Dewey's *Democracy and Education*.

**H**IS DREAM was rudely shattered by the Nazis in 1933, when he was summarily dismissed from his position as head of the department of elementary education and teacher training in the Prussian ministry of education, a position he had held since 1922. He had also been appointed in 1930 professor of psychology and education at the Teachers College in Halle.

Although driven by the Nazis into private life and study, he was allowed to go to the United States as guest professor in comparative education at Columbia University from 1935-1937 and at Cornell University in 1938. This experience was to pay off during the postwar years in the joint American and German efforts to modify some German educational practices and to give Americans a better understanding of these practices and problems.

The war prevented Mr. Hylla's returning to the United States in 1939, finally drawing him into German military service in 1944 and landing him in a nominal American imprisonment in 1945. After his release he became school superintendent in Landsberg, where his old friend Prof. Thomas Alexander, then chief of public school affairs in the Education Branch, OMGUS, found

him and took him on the Military Government staff as a German consultant.

Mr. Hylla, serving as consultant in higher education in Frankfurt in 1947, met Dr. William L. Wrinkle, then chief of the secondary education section in the Public Education Branch, OMGUS, and now HICOG's educational affairs adviser. Before coming to Germany, Dr. Wrinkle had been professor of secondary education and director of the campus experimental high school at the State College of Education at Greeley in Colorado, having served that institution for 23 years. Through his experience in administering educational programs in Germany, Dr. Wrinkle arrived independently at the same conclusions about educational research in Germany as were entertained by Mr. Hylla.

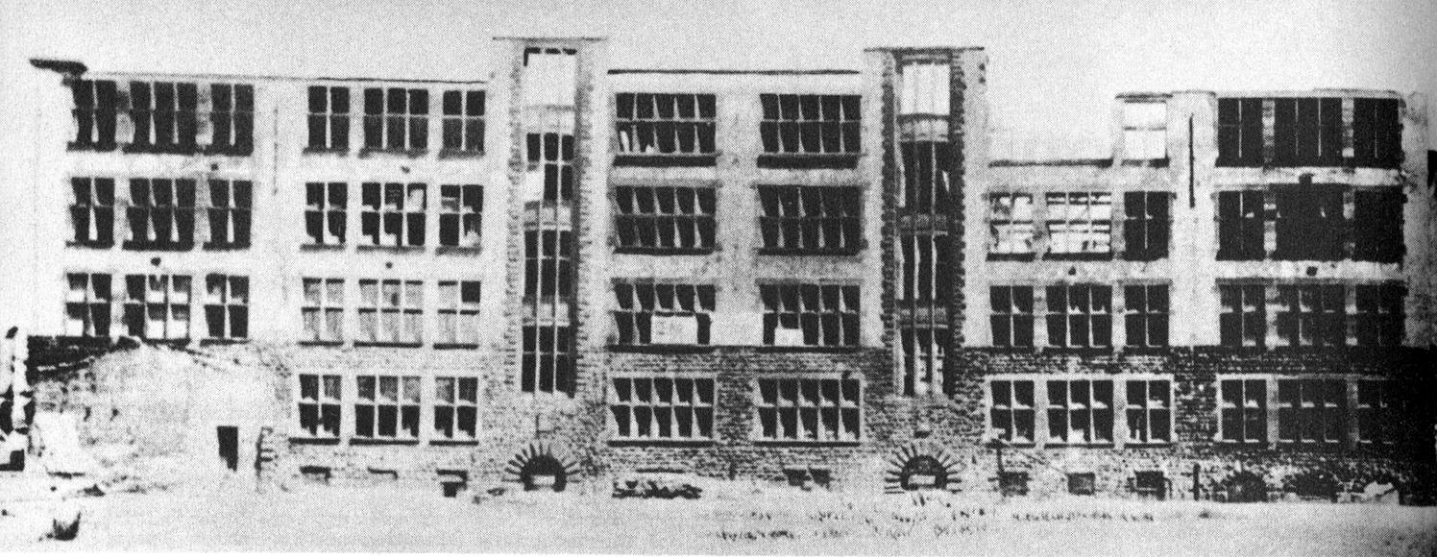
**T**HIS MEETING brought reality to the old dream, now shared by both men, resulting in the association which was to gain the necessary support from German and American sources for the creating of the Institute for International Educational Research. The development of the idea of a graduate school of this type in Germany could never have proceeded to its present successful conclusion without the close cooperation and teamwork of these two educators.

The chance to win German sponsorship came when Dr. Erwin Stein, then minister of education and culture in Hesse and now a judge on the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, proposed that an international institute for educational research and advanced studies in education be established in Hesse, a legislative

*Discussing plans for the international summer educational workshop are (left to right): Dr. Wrinkle, Mr. Hylla and Dr. Schultze.*

(AMCONGEN photos by Hopp)





*Rear view of the war-wrecked building before reconstruction but after accumulated rubble had been hauled away.*

proposal included in the draft of a teacher education reform bill which never became law.

Professors Hylla and Wrinkle, sensing official German interest in such an institution, approached Dr. Stein in Wiesbaden. As a result, the Society for Educational Research and Advanced Studies in Education was organized, with Dr. Stein as president and Mr. Hylla as executive secretary. This society, which was composed of Hessian educational leaders interested in this movement, sponsored the Institute.

Heinrich Seliger, Frankfurt city superintendent of schools, assisted the group in search of a building. The city donated a bomb-damaged, five-story building, with an adjoining gymnasium, which had formerly been an elementary school. At the time the building and site were valued at DM 1,200,000 (\$285,600).

The State of Hesse agreed to maintain the Institute permanently and to date has made two appropriations totaling DM 400,000 (\$95,200) for operating expenses.

**I**N AUGUST, 1950, a grant of DM 800,000 (\$190,400) was made from the HICOG Special Projects Fund for the reconstruction and adaption of the building and in January, 1951, another grant of DM 336,000 (\$79,968) was made for operations and equipment. Later, as building costs rose, the city of Frankfurt donated DM 150,000 (\$35,700), matched by a like further amount from the HICOG Special Projects Fund. Had not an old building been reconstructed, the building costs would have been three times as high. In November, 1951, a HICOG grant of DM 177,000 (\$42,126) was approved for equipment and operations.

The building, now fully equipped, is a monument to joint American and German efforts to encourage research in specific educational fields that have been neglected and undeveloped, not only because of a totalitarian regime and a devastating war, which sealed off Germany from the rest of the Western world for more

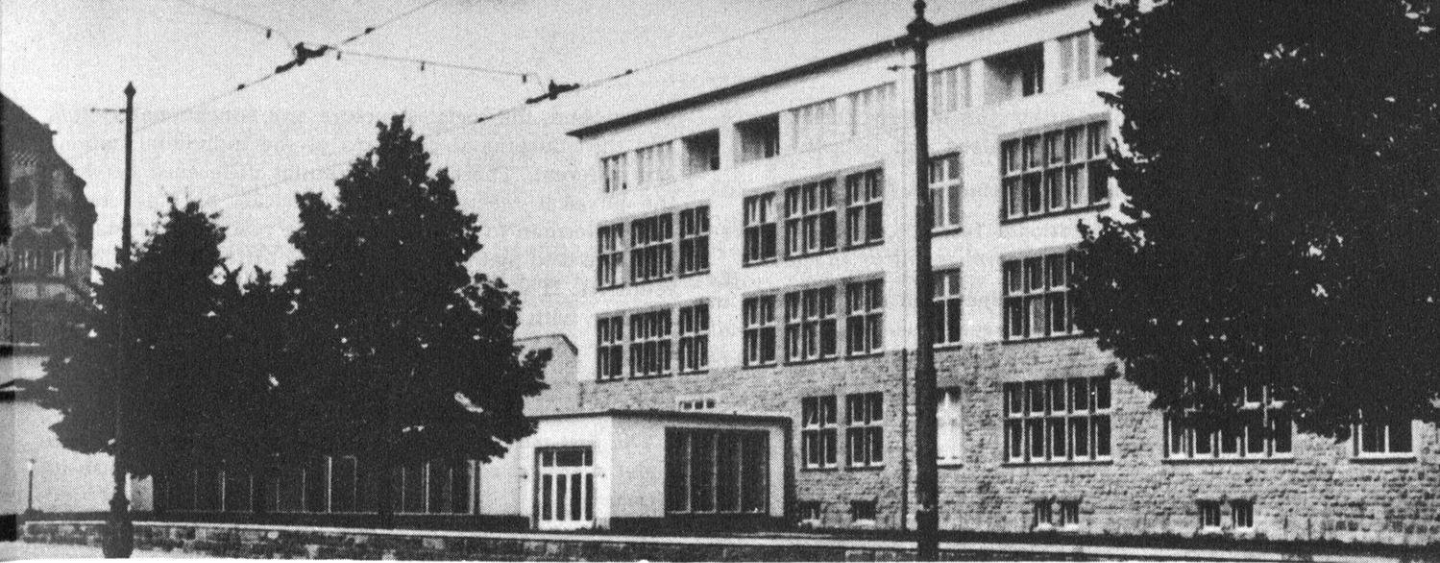
than a decade, but also because of the resistance of traditional outlooks and procedures

The physical properties of the new institution are modern and complete. In addition to lecture and class rooms, libraries, staff and administrative offices, there are 28 rooms for students and apartments for professors. The former gymnasium has been remodeled into an auditorium seating 240 persons, with modern technical facilities and film equipment. There are two libraries, one to serve the research needs of the institution, and the other, subsidized by the city of Frankfurt and administered by the Institute, to serve the teachers in Frankfurt who wish to consult and borrow materials related to their interests and work.

**A**S A CORPORATE foundation under public law, the International Educational Research Institute enjoys an enviable legal position for a public institution in Germany. Except for the financial support of the state of Hesse for its maintenance and the single representative of the Ministry of Culture and Education on its board of trustees, the Institute is independent of governmental control. Only a few institutions in Germany enjoy this favorable position.

Not an integral part of any university, the Institute has university standing, although it grants no degrees or diplomas. The students are mainly graduate students, usually for in-service training for a period of one year, such as 8 teachers to whom the state of Hesse has agreed to grant leaves of absence at full pay to attend the Institute. However, students from universities may also use the facilities for advanced degrees.

All students are allowed to publish their findings under their own names. Such relationships are expected to develop with the University of Frankfurt, which is only a few blocks away, and with the University of Marburg, the other university in Hesse, both of which are represented on the board of trustees. Germans from outside Hesse will be included in the student body, as



*Street side of the same building after reconstruction had been completed and it had been opened for research work.*

well as students and teachers from foreign countries, who meet the requirements for what in the United States would be called graduate studies.

**A**T THE MOMENT, a plan is afoot to prepare research projects that will appeal to the German state educational ministers, who in turn will be asked to send competent people to the Institute for a year's work at problems of practical interest and value to school administrators. In this way, the student body will be built up and maintained, and the work of the Institute, though on the highest academic level, will be applied to practical problems in German education.

Teacher training in Germany is carried on by the numerous teachers colleges scattered throughout the country, and for secondary schools, by the universities, which do little for empirical research, but usually emphasize philosophy and the history of education. The Institute, on the other hand, concentrates on empirical research, which means going out and getting firsthand facts about schools, school children and students. It is this type of research that has been seriously lacking in Germany.

Admission is also possible for teachers of all school types and school administrators who have completed their preservice education and have had successful in-service experience.

Administration of the new institution is democratic. The senate is made up of the three full professors, one of whom is at the same time director of the Institute, and the associate professors. The lecturers and scientific assistants elect two representatives to this body.

**T**HE DIRECTOR has indefinite tenure, a provision which is unique in higher German educational institutions. He can be removed only after two years by his own resignation or by a two-thirds vote of the senate. The usual practice in German universities is for presidents to be elected by the faculty for a term of one year.

A board of trustees and an executive committee govern the Institute. The board, in addition to the Hessian Ministry of Education representative, includes five representatives of the Society for Educational Research and Advanced Studies in Education, Inc.; one from the philosophical faculties of the Universities of Frankfurt and Marburg appointed for a two-year term; one from the Teacher Institutes and the Institute for Education of Vocational Teachers in Hesse; one each for the two central organizations of Hessian teachers appointed for two-year terms; and two representatives appointed by the US High Commissioner for Germany.

The executive committee is composed of the director as chairman, the president, treasurer and secretary of the board of trustees.

In addition to the American representation on the board of trustees, the appointment of faculty members and the election of the director are subject to the approval of the representatives of the US High Commissioner.

**T**HE STAFF currently consists of two full professors and two research assistants. Mr. Hylla, in addition to his duties as director, is head of the department of educational psychology. Dr. Hans Heckel, formerly a member of the state ministry of Lower Saxony in charge of school legislation, recently joined the staff to direct research in school legislation. The Executive Committee has unanimously requested the Board of Trustees to appoint Dr. Walter Schultze, at present director of the In-Service Teacher Institute in Hamburg, as a third full professor for research in curriculum instruction and learning materials.

Rolf Bargmann and Dr. Hans H. Anger are research assistants in the department of educational psychology. Mr. Bargmann is also the school's statistician. Both Mr. Bargmann and Dr. Anger spent a year in the United States on Rockefeller fellowships studying American testing and sampling methods with leading testing or-



ganizations and testing authorities in New York, Princeton, Washington, Chicago, Stanford and Detroit.

*The statute creating the Institute cites its purposes:*

1. *To engage in educational research, publish its results and use them for the improvement of education.*

2. *To promote advanced preparation of specialists in educational research and to prepare persons for special tasks in education, school administration and supervision.*

3. *To advise and assist educators and educational organizations in the conduct of educational research studies as well as in the utilization of the results of such studies, and to cooperate with other German, foreign and international agencies and organizations in the conduct of comparative studies in education.*

4. *To promote the theoretical and practical introduction of teachers in all types of schools to the methods of educational research.*

**I**N AN ADDRESS entitled "The Need for Research in German Education," made at the foundation day celebration of the Institute, Mr. Hylla noted some of the gaps in German education. Quoting the words of Johann G. Herder, one of Germany's great educators, that "education is self-discipline, example, and in addition nothing but love," Mr. Hylla stated these qualities of a teacher, essential as they are, are not enough, for "they must be supplemented by deep insight into the individuality of each student, and by a clear understanding of the social task of the school and education in general."

Though insight and understanding are lacking everywhere, they are certainly lacking in Germany, he stated, adding that "without clear understanding of the functions which education should serve, the ends to be achieved, and the way children learn, his (the teacher's) efforts may be only partially effective and of doubtful value."

Insight and understanding are based on pertinent facts, and in too many cases these pertinent facts are not known, he continued, declaring "what is needed to discover these facts in the field of education is educational research." Pointing out "there is almost no research of this type in German education," Mr. Hylla listed the reasons for the lack of this kind of research as the limited finances of the universities, the Hitler regime which deprived Germany of free and unprejudiced contact with other countries, a negative attitude toward empirical research as a valid basis for the solution of educational problems, and the cultural differences between nations.

**A**MPLIFYING HIS fourth reason, Mr. Hylla explained the essential tasks of the Institute. The results of research, especially in the fields of education and social science in general, reached in one country may not be applicable to another country because the historical

background, the social structure and educational system and the educational problems of the individual nations are different. There is no essential difference between the physical reaction of an American, an Englishman and a German to penicillin, but the reaction to pedagogical facts and methods is often very different in different countries. It is, therefore, necessary not only to become familiar with the results of educational research reached in other countries; it is necessary to examine them critically in view of the German situation before they are applied in Germany.

*The first major task of the Institute is to discover facts about German education and methods for their use in Germany.*

*The second important task of the Institute is the teaching of research and the making known through publications the results of research.*

The international character of the Institute is found in its activities in the field of comparative education. German knowledge about education in European countries is so "incomplete, theoretical and subjective that it is neither of any practical use nor of value in the development of a common European understanding." Studying the educational systems of other countries should lead to this kind of understanding and to an improvement of German institutions.

**A**NOTHER PROBLEM of basic importance is educational guidance, especially the development of methods of discovering and describing individual differences. Objective and reliable methods for this purpose are almost wholly lacking in Germany. The last somewhat standardized German revision of the Binet test was made 20 years ago and is now out of date. Cultural autonomy of the German states leads to variations in the German school systems. For this reason group tests for measuring achievement at all levels of the schools are more indispensable than ever. Such tests, with the exception of very modest beginnings, do not exist in Germany today.

The Institute is also to carry on research in the field of curriculum and textbooks, examining the subject matter offered and the methods which are used in German schools, and determining which no longer have the values they once may have had and which should be replaced by other subject matters and methods better adjusted to present and future needs.

The Institute of International Educational Research is the answer to the desire for some changes, providing at the same time a scientific and democratic method in bringing them about. The Germans now have the materials and resources to select objects for study and to find the facts about these objects; they now have the means and equipment to examine critically and test objectively the suggestions for changes and the claims for alternatives. The Germans may now find out for themselves the validity of a more democratic approach to ed-

*Continued on page 32*

The 100th anniversary of the arrival of Carl Schurz in the United States was observed at an inspiring ceremony in Paul's Church in Frankfurt Sept. 17. Schurz, after involvement in the unsuccessful German revolution of 1848, left in 1852 for the United States where he became a Union general in the Civil War, a US senator from Missouri and secretary of the interior. At the centennial ceremony sponsored by the Steuben-Schurz Society of Frankfurt, the principal speakers were Mr. Donnelly, Franz Bluecher, German vice chancellor, and Dr. Walter Kolb, mayor of Frankfurt.

# The Legacy of Carl Schurz

Address

By **Walter J. Donnelly**

*US High Commissioner for Germany*

**H**ERE, IN the Paul's Church, rebuilt upon the frame and foundation of the past, we get a feeling that Germany's opportunities for the future are excellent, despite the challenges, present and pending, which surround us.

Let us remember where we are: Within a few hundred yards of your famous cathedral; across the street from the world-renowned Roemer, symbol of the medieval majesty of Frankfurt and trade-mark of your city; only a few steps away from the birthplace of your greatest literary figure, Goethe; close to acres of devastation caused by the war, and within sight of many new buildings. We seem to be at a point in space and time which represents Germany's past, present and future.

In such a setting and with such a frame of mind, I am grateful for the opportunity of bringing the greetings of my government to this audience and for the privilege of following the remarks of your mayor and the vice chancellor with a few comments about Carl Schurz.

**I**T IS PLEASANT also to report, as we meet here, that in the United States too the attention of thousands of persons is being directed to Carl Schurz and his almost incredible achievements. During the many months of preparation for this centennial, your scholars and ours, I am certain, have devoted much time and research to a study of the man whose genius and versatility were so great that they fill us with admiration.

He was a loyal, sensitive German; a school teacher's son and a scholar in his own right. Spiritually, he was related to the heroes who fought to enlarge human liberty during the revolution in the American colonies and in France. He fought for a noble cause here — and lost. Then, like so many others who preceded and followed him, he became a reluctant American. Reluctant in the beginning, because his heart was still in Germany.

But he learned that the struggle for human freedom goes on continually in every arena and there are opportunities everywhere to fight for the better life. He absorbed in a period of months a knowledge of America's history and literature which itself is a measure of his genius. Within a remarkably short time he emerged

as a famous editor, lawyer, minister, statesman, general and secretary. For a man to come to a strange land where a strange language is spoken and then to become pre-eminent in six different professions is a career which can only fill us with wonder.

**L**IKE ALL of you, I am delighted to share in the heritage of Carl Schurz. In this centennial year the writers and speakers all over the world quote from Carl Schurz' writings or will recount his achievements — from immigrant to minister in less than 10 years — from beginner to master of the written English language in the same brief period — from hesitant conversationalist to famous orator — all in so short a time. But he was also a warm and friendly human being who knew and endured suffering; whose greatest desire was neither for glory nor for recognition for himself, but rather a

*Mr. Donnelly delivering address at Carl Schurz centennial*



determination to make life easier and happier for the common man.

We all know what happened to the democratic revolution in 1848. Generations later it appeared to be only a footnote to your history. Political unity came to Germany. The industrial revolution made this a great industrial country. In the age of imperialism and technology Germany had become a great world power. It was not immediately evident that the road her leaders had chosen would engulf Germany in two disastrous world wars.

We can only wonder how different Germany's history might have been if Schurz and his friends had succeeded 100 years ago.

**T**ODAY, WE SEE Germany arising from the ashes of the catastrophe brought about by Nazism. We are impressed by the desire of the vast majority of Germans to establish here a country which is democratic, economically sound and dedicated to friendly international cooperation — the sort of country which Carl Schurz tried to establish here 100 years ago. The world is watching with great fascination the operation of your new Federal Republic. It is watching Germany assume the rights of full partnership in the free world. But it is watching also to see whether Germany will now assume her just share of the political responsibilities which are ever the burden of all democracies. This latter task is something which your people must undertake of their own free will.

If Carl Schurz were alive today he would probably not come to the United States. It is my impression that he would find here in Germany a challenge for his great powers which would induce him to devote his life to creating the kind of nation about which he dreamed in 1852.

He would sense, instantly, I am certain, that the grim cost of the last war to Germany was not only in the millions who lost their lives; not only in the devastation which has left many areas desolate. Schurz would know that Germany must regain the respect in which this land had been held for centuries as a result of the achievements of her composers, musicians, painters, writers, scientists and philosophers.

**A** MODERN Carl Schurz would happily dedicate his life to the establishment of the spiritual and social scene which would make Germany a gathering place for men of good will and constructive purpose from all over the world.

Schurz would also realize from his firm grasp of history and from his love of freedom that Communism and Nazism are twin children of totalitarianism to be fought with all the weapons of reason, and he would wish to stay here to prevent their resurgence.

He would discover a great many things which would delight him. For one thing, he would see in Bonn — the city where he was a student and where he began his revolutionary activities — the seat of a federal republic.



*Examining Schurz display (left to right) Mayor Kolb, Mr. Donnelly, Vice Chancellor Bluecher. (PLB-ID HICOG photo)*

He would, I believe, look at the national constitution and find it to be inspiring. He would see in your legislative halls representatives who were as determined as he to establish here an enduring democracy and carry out the will of the people.

Carl Schurz would find no unanimity of agreement about how the new government should be strengthened but he would find, for the most part, persons who held honest and honorable differences of opinion as to how the goals should be obtained. The important thing he would discover, I am sure, is that his countrymen are determined that democracy in Germany must work; that it should be a united nation; that it should unite with other free nations in the great and enduring enterprise of the democratic world. Schurz, I am sure, would be inspired by the first and most impressive manifestation of Europe's desire for union and peace, the Schuman Plan and by its assembly's meeting in Strasbourg to draft the first European constitution.

He would see, as all of us observe, that Germans have lost neither the desire to create nor the will to work. We would be awed, I am certain, at the speed at which reconstruction is taking place.

**I** AM CERTAIN that Carl Schurz would also rejoice at the number of persons who are going abroad to study and learn from the best there is of Western civilization. I think also, when he learned how many million Germans had emigrated to the States between 1848 and 1932, he would regret the loss which the homeland sustained in persons of genius and talent and of democratic instincts.

At the same time, I believe he would have found in the German contribution to American democracy proof that democracy can flourish here. And, I believe, he would help his government to inspire its leading scholars

*Continued on page 12*

Dr. Loehr has written a monograph, entitled "The West German Banking System", covering the development of the financial institutions in western Germany since the end of World War II. It is one of the series of studies being published by the Historical Division, HICOG. Its distribution will be made in the near future. From material assembled for the monograph, Dr. Loehr, who is on leave from his position as associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota and was in 1943-45 history Officer for the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, has written the following article for the Information Bulletin, reviewing one of the most vital phases in Germany's postwar monetary record.

# Currency Reform after Four Years

A Review

by Dr. Rodney C. Loehr

*Special Historian, Historical Division  
Office of the Executive Secretary, HICOG*

**O**NLY SEVEN years after the end of the war, the Deutsche mark is considered one of the "hard" currencies in the world today, and Germany's surpluses in the European Payments Union are almost an embarrassment.\* Much of the credit for this spectacular recovery goes to German human and material resources and to the economic aid furnished by the United States, but the magic lamp that changed the situation overnight was the currency reform in the early summer of 1948.

When the Nazi regime was overthrown, German finances were in staggering disorder. Germany's total national debt had shot up from 31 billion reichsmarks in March 1939 to 800 or 900 billion marks by April 1945. At the same time Germany's real wealth had fallen from 370 billion marks to about 250 billion, and production had dropped to approximately 30 percent of the 1936 level.

Of even greater immediate significance was the tremendous rise in the supply of money. During the decade 1935-1945 currency in actual circulation jumped from about 5 billion marks to 50 or 60 billion, and bank deposits climbed from 30 billion marks to somewhere between 150 and 240 billion. Thus, 200 to 300 billion reichsmarks were immediately available to buy a social product estimated at 35 billion reichsmarks in terms of 1945 prices.

**T**HE INFLATIONARY dangers involved in this situation were recognized by Allied and German experts. As early as November 1945, an American plan was placed before the Allied Control Authority, but it proved impossible to get Four Power approval for any currency reform program. Since under the Potsdam Agreement Germany was to be treated as an economic unit, and since a currency-reform program in one zone only would recognize the breakdown of Allied unity and suggest the

\*The EPU report for August showed the Federal Republic of Germany had a surplus of \$37,000,000.

partition of Germany, the Western Powers were reluctant to introduce a currency-reform program that would not cover the whole country. However, after the Soviet representatives walked out of the Allied Control Council in March 1948 and refused to participate in quadripartite rule, the way was cleared for tripartite currency reform.

Meanwhile, the situation in western Germany had not developed according to the pattern of past inflations. The Allies had kept price controls and strict rationing and had levied very high taxes in an effort to absorb excess purchasing power. Prices of rationed commodities remained stable for the portion that flowed through the legal market, but an increasing part of the social product entered the black market where barter became the normal method of exchange. Under a barter system money lost its meaning, and since each barter transac-

## Definition of Terms

"Billion" as used in this article has the American meaning of "thousand-million" as different from the English and German meaning of "million-million" for the same word.

"Reichsmark" was the monetary unit of Germany prior to the Occupation and continued in circulation until June 18, 1948. Its value was equal at par to 23.8 cents, as established by law in 1924, and later increased to 40.33 cents.

"Allied Military mark" was the paper currency introduced by the Occupation Forces at the end of the war for payments to Occupation personnel and purchases in Allied installations. For this purpose, it was replaced in mid-1946, i. e. the Military Payment Certificate for Americans.

tion was unique, there was no price system in the black market. Because money was only of limited usefulness, there was little incentive for its accumulation.

**T**HE AVERAGE worker, for example, was better off if he worked only long enough to get funds to cover the purchases allotted by his ration card and then spent the rest of his time working in his garden, "scrounging" in the countryside or trading in the black market. The resulting absenteeism further reduced production.

The average businessman also had little incentive to produce for the legal market. Larger profits led only to higher taxes which in some cases mounted to more than 100 percent of annual income. Taxes on such a scale led to tax evasion, hoarding and barter. The businessman's incentive was to hoard raw material and workers and to keep his business alive for the day when money again had some meaning.

Hanging over all was the great mass of bank deposits, untouched by taxes and only partially blocked by controls. As long as these bank deposits could be drawn upon to feed hidden inflationary fires, no system of controls, rationing and income taxes could dispel the danger. Currency reform must cover not only actual currency in circulation but also the "over-hang" of bank deposits and the swollen government debts.

**A**FTER THE establishment of the *Bank deutscher Laender* (Bank of German States) and the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the Allied Control Council in March 1948, the Western Powers were in a position to introduce the long-awaited currency reform. The original American proposal had envisaged an exchange of old reichsmark for new currency at a rate of 10 for 1, tax-reform measures and an equalization of war burdens. Only part of this plan was used, that dealing with currency conversion. A few elements from the German "Homburg" plan, which envisaged the blocking of bank

accounts instead of currency conversion, were added to the American plan.

Under the plan that was finally adopted, all currency was converted and bank deposits were partially converted and partially blocked. An important matter was the conversion rate, since the rate would determine the amount by which currency and bank deposits were reduced. A rate of 10 percent had been planned, but after two grants of head money and the release of a fraction of the blocked accounts, it was decided to freeze the conversion at 6.5 percent. The reason for the revised rate was that, following currency conversion, a threat to internal financial stability developed which the original rate would have further encouraged. At the rate adopted, currency and bank deposits were reduced by 93.5 percent.

The effects of this drastic money deflation bordered on the miraculous. The reform had been introduced on a weekend in the middle of June 1948.\* Economic deterioration stopped practically overnight, and production began to rise. Goods that had not been seen in the legal market for years were in shop windows within a few days. Money incentive reappeared, and the black market was dealt a severe blow.

**B**UT THE EFFECTS were not uniform. People whose property had been in savings or money accounts saw their holdings nearly wiped out, but those whose property had been in goods or real estate were not touched. The aged, infirmed or sick who depended upon pensions, old people's homes or insurance policies were dealt a terrific blow. Businessmen now found themselves short of middle and long-term credit. Another difficulty was that currency reform maintained the relationship between prices and wages that had been frozen by the Nazis in 1936 and continued after the war. In

\*First public announcement was made in radio broadcasts and at press conferences at 6 p. m., Friday, June 18, effective Sunday, June 20.

Germans lined up in late June 1948 to get their first installment of DM 40 for old reichsmark: (left) in Berlin (right) in a Ruhr school house at Duisburg-Hamborn. (photos by US Army and Byers, JEIA)



foreign markets prices had moved freely during those years. As a result, some German prices were too high and others were too low in relation to foreign prices.

Banks had likewise been hurt by the currency reform. Their liabilities in the form of deposits had been reduced, but the bulk of their assets, consisting of claims against the Nazi Reich, were lost. In order to provide banks with assets to balance against their deposit liabilities, "equalization claims" were created. These were claims against the states or the Federal Republic that could be transferred only under special circumstances and that bore three percent interest.

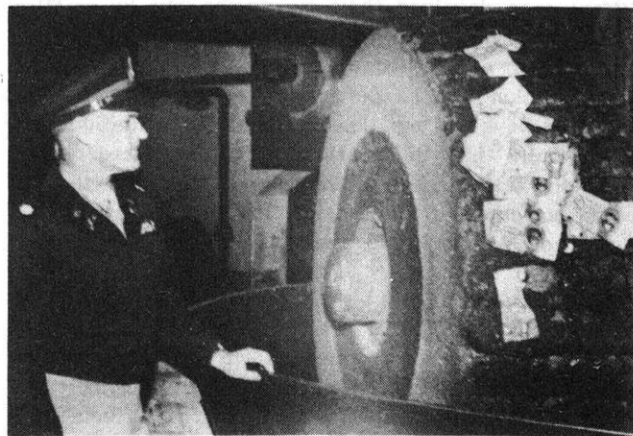
At first currency reform was not extended to Berlin which was still under Four Power control. However, efforts to reach agreement with the Soviet Union concerning currency reform for Berlin were unsuccessful. The Russians took the position that Berlin was economically part of the Soviet Zone and that they alone would issue and manage the currency for Berlin as a whole. To have endorsed such a proposition would have meant the loss of Berlin by the three Western Powers.

**W**HEN THE SOVIET authorities sought to include Berlin in their currency reform program, the Western Powers were forced to reject the Soviet claims and to proclaim a currency-reform program of their own in the week following currency reform in the western zones. The way was left open for a compromise with the Russians when it was provided that East marks would be accepted at par with Deutsche marks for certain specified purposes. Since East marks rapidly depreciated in value and yet had to be accepted at par, it became necessary to subsidize certain activities from the Berlin city budget. The existence of two legal currencies also caused bookkeeping difficulties for businessmen. This situation was ended in March 1949 when the *Deutsche* mark was made the sole legal tender for the western sectors of Berlin.

Currency reform in its technical features involved the substitution of a new kind of money for that already in circulation. The old paper money, whether reichsmark, rentenmark or Allied Military mark, no longer was legal tender, but only waste paper. Perhaps the most interesting of the technical problems was the value to be placed on the mark in relation to other currencies, particularly the dollar.

Since the new mark had not been defined in terms of gold or tied to a particular currency, it could not automatically be translated into other currencies. For some years following Germany's surrender, the reichsmark had had no fixed value and did not function as an international currency. Then in May 1948, just prior to currency reform, a 30-cent mark was established for imported foodstuffs. At the time of currency reform, the 30-cent rate was made the uniform conversion factor, although deviations were still authorized

The 30-cent rate for the mark had been set after comparing German internal and world market prices. Prices



*Lt. Col. Edward J. Drinkert, then finance adviser of OMG Wuerttemberg-Baden, observed some of the old reichsmarks being ground into pulp. After being turned in for the new Deutsche marks, the reichsmarks, with a face value totaling 1,800,000,000 marks collected in Wuerttemberg-Baden, were processed into mimeograph paper for the bank.*  
(OMGWB photo)

of controlled items in Germany gave a 40- to 60-cent value to the mark. But uncontrolled prices could be adjusted to world prices, and it was considered that a 30-cent mark, although it would increase the price of foodstuffs, would give the best competitive rate for the mark.

**B**Y SEPTEMBER 1948, rumors of coming European currency devaluations led to a study of the position of the mark if general devaluation should take place. If Germany maintained the value of its currency, its money would become more expensive in comparison with the devalued currencies and its export position would be weakened. If its currency was devalued to the same degree as others, it would keep its competitive position with these currencies and strengthen its competitive export position with non-devalued currencies. A devalued mark, however, would increase the internal German prices of commodities imported from non-devaluing countries. Since most of the food imports came from the dollar area, a devalued mark would either increase the price of food and the cost of living or involve subsidies, which in turn would raise taxes.

In solving this dilemma, the basic premise of the experts was that West Germany must achieve a very large increase in exports before the end of 1951, if its economy was to become viable. West Germany's greatest competitors were the West European industrial nations, and if these countries, particularly Great Britain, devalued their currencies, it was recommended that West Germany should devalue its currency by approximately the same amount.

On Sept. 18, 1949, Great Britain devalued sterling by 30.5 percent in terms of the dollar. Countries in the sterling area, including Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands, quickly followed. Other continental

nations soon devalued their currencies, but by smaller percentages. France, which had a double-decker exchange rate, established a single rate that represented a devaluation of 22.2 percent. The problem for West Germany now was not the question of devaluation, but the amount that the mark was to be sliced. After study the Allied High Commission announced that it would not object if the Federal Government established a rate of 4.2 marks to the dollar, a devaluation of 20.6 percent.

**CURRENCY REFORM** was probably the most important single economic reform of the postwar period. All accounts agree that it arrested overnight the growing decay of the German economy. Its effects bordered on the miraculous. Before currency reform Germany was rapidly sinking into a barter economy and headed for the primitive standard of living that such an economy entails. With currency reform Germany regained overnight a modern exchange economy, with the ease of exchange of goods and services and the stimulation to production that a money economy represents.

Although the American share in currency reform was not a modest one, the reform was planned and executed through the cooperative action of the three Western Powers and the German authorities. There were two phases to currency reform: the decision to reform the currency, and the technical details of the conversion. The need for currency reform had been recognized immediately upon the start of the Occupation. But differences of opinion among the Four Powers and the impossibility of instituting the reform in the western zones alone without seeming to recognize a permanent split between East and West had delayed matters until the Russian withdrawal from the Control Council. Once the Russians had ended all pretense at Allied unity, it became possible for the Western Powers to initiate reforms without the hazard of a Russian veto. Even so, the decision to proceed with currency reform was a courageous act, for Russian reaction could not be wholly foreseen.

**THE PRINCIPAL** technical problem of currency reform was the conversion rate to be chosen. In reality the conversion rate determined the percentage by which the money supply would be reduced. There were no exact standards of measurement that would automatically select the correct rate. The choice of rates was fundamentally a political decision, based upon the advice and judgement of the experts. It would be possible, of course, to argue that some other rate should have been chosen. But the real question is not whether the best possible rate was chosen, for no one can say with exactitude what the best possible rate was, but rather whether the rate chosen accomplished the desired result. Judged on this basis, currency reform was a spectacular success.

+END

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## The Legacy of Carl Schurz

*Continued from page 8*

and scientists to devote their energies to rebuilding their homeland.

We are gathered here this morning to honor Carl Schurz' memory and achievements. He has left us a legacy of ideas and ideals. His deeds have won him immortality. It is proper that we should pause from our daily duties and count the blessings — as Germans and Americans — which we have been granted because this great man lived and because our two countries shared his genius.

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# German-American Friendship

## — for the Price of a Stamp

by Paul R. Phillips

Information Officer, Public Affairs Field Center, Kassel

"Larned, Kansas, and Witzenhausen, Germany, have established a contact that promises to ripen into one of those community friendships that is the objective of the UNESCO Town Affiliation program". *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, Kansas, March 24, 1952.

"Within the past few weeks an active exchange of correspondence has developed between Witzenhausen and Larned, Kansas, which will soon tie a strong bond between these two cities separated by a great ocean." *Werra Nachrichten*, Witzenhausen, Hesse, Germany, April 5, 1952.

**T**Hese words from the local newspapers in an American and German town are only a few among the thousands that have appeared in the press in recent months about the newly-found friendship between Germans and Americans who are making international relations a matter of personal concern. Although the stimulus for this town-to-town and person-to-person exchange of "diplomatic notes" originated with the Larned UNESCO group, the people of Larned are now having trouble matching letter for letter with their enthusiastic correspondents in Witzenhausen who live in northern Hesse but not many miles from the Soviet Zone of Germany.

About two years ago a housewife member of the Larned UNESCO group wrote the letter which tied the first bond between the 724-year-old town of Witzenhausen and the city on the Kansas plains. The housewife received her inspiration for the project through an organization known as "Operation Democracy." This organization's main purpose is to facilitate direct con-

tacts between American and European communities to promote friendly understanding and cultural exchanges. Small UNESCO groups, like the one in Larned, have taken it upon themselves to put into practice this program of carrying "the man-in-the-street Voice of America" to the communities of Europe. If the Larned-Witzenhausen exchange-of-correspondence project can be taken as an example, the program has already achieved great success in accomplishing this purpose.

The Witzenhausen group has taken its task of developing its new American friendships seriously. Werner Grosskopf, the dynamic manager of Witzenhausen's Adult Education Association, has made his office the clearing-house for the community's letter exchange with the citizens of Larned. When the project began in earnest in the spring of this year, Mr. Grosskopf collected names of persons in Witzenhausen who wanted to exchange news and ideas with the townsfolk of Larned. He soon had collected the names of more than one hundred persons, young and old alike. These names he sent to Mrs. Edwin Doll, the housewife in Larned, for distribution to those in her community who were interested in making German friends. At the same time Mrs. Doll sent Mr. Grosskopf a list of names of people in Larned who wanted to exchange letters with the "buergers" of Witzenhausen.

Within the past several months the letters from Larned have been arriving in ever increasing numbers in Witzenhausen. So that all those in Witzenhausen receiving letters can share with each other their contents, Mr. Grosskopf has organized meetings twice a month for reading the incoming mail. Characteristic of the deep sense of purpose behind these biweekly meetings of the "Letter Club" are the invitations to the meetings sent to all members. For the meeting of June 30 the invitation showed a map of Kansas, with the adjoining states of Oklahoma and Missouri, and with a big black dot labeled "Larned." Opposite the map was a square label "Witzenhausen." Between the black dot and the square were drawn a number of lines, symbolically representing the bonds of friendship between the people of the two communities.

The invitation to the August 2 meeting was equally impressive as an indication of the value attached to the "letters from America" by the Witzenhausen group. This time Witzenhausen was represented as a medieval castle and Larned as the Statue of Liberty. Between the

Group of letter-writers in Witzenhausen view films of Larned. (photo by Thiermann, Witzenhausen)







Member of Witzzenhausen's "Letter Club" reads letters from friend in Larned. (photos by author)

castle and the Statue of Liberty were again drawn lines representing the bonds of friendship between the two communities. On the invitation was written, in part, the following:

"To all friends of the 'Letter Club' — Please bring your letters from Larned and be prepared to discuss how we can increase our correspondence in the future. In order to increase our knowledge about the United States, we will as usual see several films about America."

The invitation ended with the following words: "The constant exchange of good-will and ideas will bring the nations of the earth closer and closer together. Cooperation is the best way to common understanding, to become good friends, and to maintain peace."

The several newspapers that appear in Witzzenhausen have made an important contribution to making the "friendship through letters" program a success both in Witzzenhausen and Larned. Articles have appeared regularly during the past several months, giving progress reports on the project's latest developments. On two occasions articles explaining the program and its purposes, the UNESCO organization in Larned that sponsors the American side of the operation, and describing Larned with text and pictures have covered more than a third of a page in two of the local papers. Since only one page in these two papers is devoted to local news daily, such coverage gives an idea of Witzzenhausen's interest in their friends in Larned.

The Larned newspaper, *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, has been no less interested in the letter exchange project than its counterparts in Witzzenhausen. Periodically articles have appeared in the Larned newspaper reviewing the UNESCO group's progress to bring Germany and America closer together through direct contacts. At other times the newspaper has published lists of names of persons in Witzzenhausen who are still looking for

correspondence partners, and has featured the beautiful old town of Witzzenhausen both in words and pictures.

The project recently produced an unexpected development which has served to tie the two communities more closely together. Earl Kruger of Larned, presently stationed in Wiesbaden, Germany, with the US Air Force, made a three-day visit to Witzzenhausen to meet the persons with whom his neighbors were exchanging letters. He was treated like a long-lost relative and for three days was shown all there was to see in and around the picturesque city of Witzzenhausen.

A special meeting of the "letter club" was called and the "Kansas ambassador" spent an evening with Larned's Witzzenhausen friends answering questions about his home town. His trip to Witzzenhausen was covered thoroughly by the local press and was written up also in the *Stars and Stripes*, the Army newspaper in Germany, and in the *Wiesbaden Post*, the Air Force local newspaper.

While Earl's visit brought something of Larned to Witzzenhausen, the Witzzenhausen group is working on a scheme to reciprocate by sending a tape recording of their voices, in greetings and in songs, to Larned. With the help of John Healy, director of the Eschwege America House and the center's tape recorder, a "talking letter" will be sent to Larned together with several of the folk songs common to the Witzzenhausen area as sung by members of the letter club.

This plan and the many others which are being developed by the groups in Witzzenhausen and Larned to foster mutual understanding indicate the desire of the two communities to make their recently established friendship one of long duration. Judging by the activities of the past few months, the two towns should enjoy a long and close relationship. +END

Earl Kruger (second from left), from Larned, stationed at Wiesbaden, visits Witzzenhausen's landmarks with Werner Grosskopf (left), leader in letter exchange idea.



The principal address before the German Federal Parliament (*Bundestag*), in Bonn Sept. 7 in observance of the third anniversary of the first session of the highest elected legislative body in Germany was delivered by its president, Dr. Ehlers. Below is a condensed translation of the text of the address as published in the official Bulletin of the Federal Government. The translation is by Dr. Frank H. Jonas and Dr. Liselotte Goldbeck of the editorial staff of the Information Bulletin.

# For a Free and United Germany

Translation of Address

by **Dr. Hermann Ehlers**

*President of the German Federal Parliament*

**M**ORE THAN ANY other nation we are being asked today if we really have an inner justification to celebrate a national commemorative holiday. In fixing this day with substantial reserve, the Federal Government did not proclaim a national holiday, though one can hardly draw a fine line in such cases. Nations need discernable and clear outlines for their national events. Other nations have been more fortunate in the choice of national commemorative days, because they have had events in their national history that naturally lend themselves to such observation. I am thinking of the day of the destruction of the Bastille in Paris and of the Declaration of Independence of the 13 colonies in North America . . .

In this respect, as in many other matters, we in Germany have been even worse off in our recent history. One must conclude that, after a considerable lapse of time, the attempts of the Weimar Republic to make August 11, 1919 a national holiday met with little or no success. We owe it to ourselves and to the German people to explain why this happened. Certainly the fault did not lie in the quality of the Weimar constitution. Though one may criticize it for this or that, in general one must say that if it could have been carried out without disturbance and if it had not been undermined at its foundations from the very beginning by the most diverse forces, it could have provided the basis for a

*Continued on page 16*

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*On the occasion of the Sept. 7 commemoration, Prof. Theodor Heuss, president of the German Federal Republic, made the following statement which was published in the Bulletin of the Federal Government.*

**W**E DO NOT know yet if the seventh of September will be wedded to the conscience of the German people, so that it becomes self-evident to celebrate it in thankfulness. It lacks the dramatic accent of history. We ourselves would wish that after the Germans had been presented an excess in dramatics and theatrics ending in a wildly composed national tragedy, they would regain a feeling that, according to Hoelderlin's words, sobriety, too, and particularly sobriety, is "holy." We do not mean the sobriety of an unimaginative philistine, rather that of a man who approaches his daily duties and their realization with clear consciousness.

When the German Federal Parliament, which was chosen by the people in a free election, met on Sept. 7, 1949, the people of the Federal Republic had created its first legitimate organ, its spokesman before the world and the administrator of its fate, as far as this can be encompassed by laws. That was an extremely important and incisive step after the distress, sorrow and the historical doubtfulness of the precedents. We are well aware of the visionaries who expected far too much

and the discontented whose silent but at times also noisy scorn accompanied the beginning. One must not become confused either by the resentments of those who were disappointed or by the cheap polemics of those who would like to come to the forefront again.

Although some points in the events and the decisions of these three years will remain debatable in the political discussions of the day, an appraisal by history sometime will emphasize strongly these years. It does not make too deep an impression on us that abroad one speaks of the "German miracle," for we know that honest admiration and apprehensive astonishment are included in these words. Besides, it is not a question of a "miracle" but rather of something very simple and wholly sound, the diligence of the German himself, of the farmer, the worker, the merchant, the teacher and the civil servant. And also of the politician! I think I see a lessening of the stupid talk about the "people in Bonn." The professional demagogues, naturally, go on trying to keep it alive. But wherever the feeling for correct judgment still exists, one will see and should also admit the great work, which was done during these three years by the Federal Parliament, the Federal Council, the Cabinet, and the experts of the so-called "ministerial bureaucracy." +END

## For a Free and United Germany

Continued from page 15

liberal German nation. We should cease to reject superficially the Weimar Republic and its (constitutional) order... Looking back, we are more willing today than we were in the years from 1919 to 1933 to recognize that the establishing of the Weimar Constitution on August 11, 1919 was an extremely significant event in our history...

**T**ODAY WE ARE again confronted with the problem of justifying a national commemorative day. The whole problem is brought into the open when (we recall) that twice during the past three years we have made the first meeting of this German Federal Parliament (Bundestag) and once the election of the president of the Federal Republic the basis for this day. This change in reasons could cause one to form the opinion that in this political situation we had better not celebrate any anniversary or holiday at all.

When we recall that almost 20,000,000 persons in the Soviet occupied zone are required to celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of their constitution, and that it is no accident this day falls on the same day of the "liberation by the Red army," then we understand in what a grotesque and desperate situation we find ourselves as a whole German people.

For the time being this national commemorative day can only be a day for the Federal Republic...

The limits in time and substance the Federal Republic has set for itself are found unequivocally in the Basic Law. We do not have the least desire to forget this fact. Anyone who can read the Basic Law feels that the waiting of all Germans for a single German state is vibrating throughout it from beginning to end...

We cannot foresee what the occasion will be in the future for a national holiday of a unified Germany. If we may imagine such an event, it could only be the day when this unity is granted to us... We Germans have learned from the misfortune which has befallen us that a national event would be bad as a basis for national celebration if it were only national in character and if it were to seal off one nation from the others. We want to understand the longed-for event which will restore our outward unity — for spiritually we have never been separated — as a contribution to an ever-growing large community of nations for the benefit and need of all...

**T**HERE IS NO German politician... who would not have to understand and realize that the desire for unity is the most urgent objective of our policy. There is no defensible political or ideological reason that permits any other political decision. Yet if anyone should come to any other conclusion, he would exclude himself from the political community of this people and this state... But everyone who participates in this discussion (the question of German unity) should know that

the overwhelming majority of the German people, which is represented in this body, would understand that a unity under the terror of the knout would be no unity but only the final assassination of the German people. For us the concepts of unity and of inner and outward freedom are inseparably connected...

Now someone may object, and certainly many will do so in this instance, that the worst way to further the idea of unity would be to celebrate a national anniversary of the German Federal Republic. In this way, the objectors would say, the partition of Germany would be glorified and celebrated.

Apropos of this argument there is the question of the spiritual justification for the method we have followed in building the German Federal Republic... We know that at first the political will of our people did not create this state, which includes only a part of Germany; it resulted from the political and military collapse and from occupation policy. If some persons outside of Germany had read the book *Congress of Vienna, A Study in Allied Unity* by the Englishman Harold Nicholson, perhaps the optimistic notion of holding and governing Germany mutually in political impotence would not have occurred.

**B**UT WE MUST state that in 1948 for the first time there appeared the possibility of undertaking a political centralization of the three western occupied zones that would go beyond the narrow confines of the states and the economic cooperation between the zones.

It can be said today that it would have been extremely unwise and even irresponsible not to take advantage of that political prospect. It is to the credit of the ministers-president of the West German states and the members of the Parliamentary Council that despite all individual problems and doubts they made possible the inception of a German body politic. At that time they underscored the provisional nature of this new government in many ways, most significantly perhaps by providing a temporary Basic Law instead of a constitution.

We could have already learned from our experience after the First World War that the self-abnegating and time-consuming method of gradual and piecemeal reconstruction is the most promising one. Anyone who would want to tell the German people today that another method would be more fitting and promise greater success would be on the road which we once took to the ruin of our people...

No one should say that a temporary central political organization, created for a limited period, does not need... political consciousness. No one among us would want another authoritarian government or a totalitarian dictatorship...

**A** DEMOCRATIC STATE — and we can only conceive this particular kind of state today — is rooted in the minds and hearts of its citizens only when they feel that it exists for their benefit.

What this house is charged to do — if it is to do its duty — is to examine and re-examine what is legal and what is possible; to modify demands, distinguishing between what is transient and what is essential; and to bring about acceptable compromises on what is possible, and — within this framework — relative justice.

We Germans will still have to strive hard to apply the concept of democracy in (exercising) our national political responsibility as it ought to be applied legally, which means that each agency of the state which derives its responsibility from the entire people must remain responsible to the entire people.

A group of persons who thought they had been treated unjustly, and who probably were, recently told me that many of its members were considering joining radical parties as self-defense. That means self-defense against this national government and its slowly stabilizing order.

The political interest, which every state must demand and which our state can also expect, does not include approval of all the measures taken by the state and its government. Our constitutional system entitles everyone to pursue his goals through legal means which are provided for political behavior, particularly through the election process . . .

**B**UT THERE WAS more behind that threat; it was the giving of notice — not made here for the first time in our generation — to get rid of this state and its order by force and by radical means in order to achieve the demands of individuals and groups. This announcement attacked the established order which was granted to us because of our common life. A nation which would not take itself seriously enough to see this would fail to do the duty entrusted to it. Whoever threatens this national existence with radicalism and totalitarianism will bring it onto that road which we have already once trod to the disaster of the German people. We would have been very poor students of our recent history if we did not resist with all the constitutional and legal means at our disposal the new attempt to establish despotism among us.

Also, in thinking about the stability of our own democratic order, let us not forget for one moment our German brothers in the East who are forced to forego all of these political and civil freedoms which have accrued for us. Nothing depresses us more than the ever recurring realization that today we can do very little to help them. We are convinced that we cannot even remotely consider force as a means to improve their position, because we know that only greater disaster would result for all of us . . .

Colleagues of the Federal Parliament who are present at this ceremony can testify that three years ago they approached a very unpopular task. It would be wrong to assume that all the blame for the public's repudiating anonymously or openly this parliament's work should be laid at the door of this particular parliament . . . I do not think I am wrong in saying that during the past three years a certain change has taken place among our

people, at least among those who are willing to learn and change their minds, in that many have acquired an understanding for the task and the work of our parliament.

**I** CONSIDER IT MOST gratifying that during these years it was the younger generation rather than the older people who experienced such a change of mind . . . Many a deputy who at first approached his assigned task with concern and even resignation has been freshly inspired to do his work with all of his strength, going even beyond his strength, by his talks with young people during the past year.

Oft repeated rumors are circulating among our people that this parliament, either in its election or in its political decisions, is not capable to meet the demands that are put on it.

We do not deny that, not only in Germany but in all nations of the free world, not even to mention the totalitarian states, the burning question is whether elections really provide those persons, charged with legislative responsibility, including the executive too, whom the voters really want in the office. It may be that in view of population figures, density and structure in the modern state, the time has passed when it seemed possible at a given time to send to parliament a certain representative of a certain number of citizens. I even doubt, except in small localities perhaps, if the possibility to do so has ever really existed. What is possible, however, is the activation of the political responsibility of the people, . . . and the delegation in a legal manner of a political task which the people, from the standpoint of mere practicality, is not in a position to fulfill.

**A** WORD MAY BE said at this point about the problem of the political parties . . . It is the function of political parties in our country, as in other nations, to organize the political will of the people. Anyone who is charged with public responsibility knows that this will exists, though quite often ill-defined and unorganized perhaps, but nevertheless for the most part with definite objectives. Since constitutionally we have only one possibility to achieve the political will, and that is to exercise influence on legislation and the government under the rules provided for doing so, the political party is an inescapable necessity for us.

The organization and the work of the various political parties may invite all kinds of criticism . . . But by observing and checking each other they are still, taken together, the most effective protection we have against establishing a monopoly of power by any one group or party. Therefore, we should not dismiss them so lightly as is done now and then.

Since the political intent of the people is organized by the parties, we must take the delegation of the political responsibility which follows equally seriously. We are not living under a dictatorship.

Also, it must be clear to the whole people, particularly in a democratically and legislatively governed state, who

*Continued on page 24*

# Cultural Festival in Berlin

GO AND GET yourself a ticket," advised the Berlin newspaper *Der Tag* in its review of the German premiere of the American folk opera "Porgy and Bess." The *Berliner Anzeiger* exclaimed, "It's a wow," and the *Telegraf* said, "We do not know where to start and cease praising."

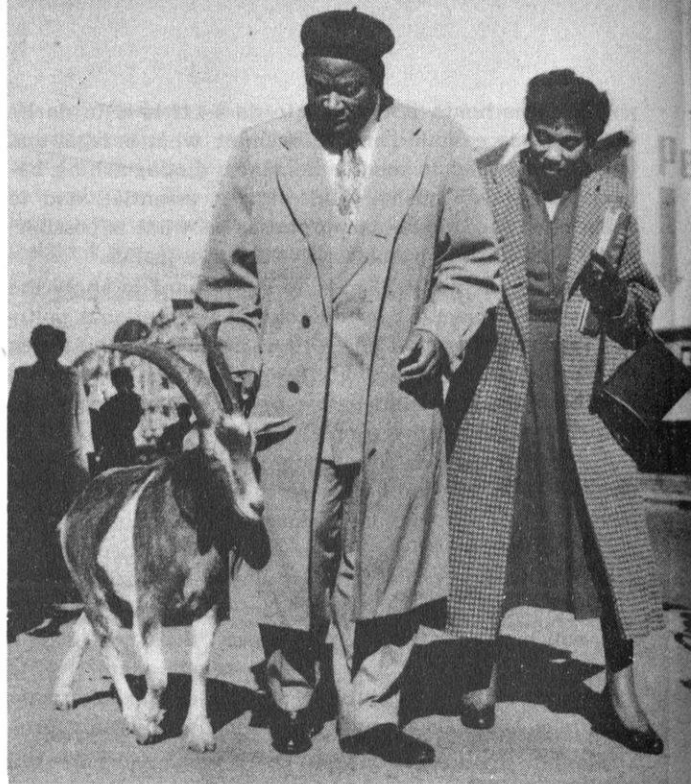
These were but a few raves of the almost universal approval paid by the Berlin theater critics. The public response was fully as enthusiastic. For each of the 13 performances, the huge Titania Palast was jammed and the applause was thunderous. In addition, special performances were presented, including one after midnight for actors and singers of other theatrical attractions in Berlin, and members of the cast gave generously of their time and talent for appearances, single or in groups, throughout free Berlin.

"Porgy and Bess," with music by the late George Gershwin, lyrics by DuBose Heyward and Ira Gershwin, and produced by Robert Breen and Blevins Davis, was brought to Berlin as one of America's contributions to the second Berlin Cultural Festival. In all, ten nations were represented among the several hundred dramatic performances, concerts, recitals, sporting events, exhibitions and other cultural attractions presented during the 31-day festival from Aug. 31 to Sept. 30.

ONE OF THE biggest hits of the first week of the festival was the New York City Ballet, whose six performances brought such comments as "a triumph of dancing... a masterpiece, a joy for eyes and ears" *Nachtdespeche*; "tremendously fascinating since the entire corps shows grandiose skill" *Der Tagesspiegel*; "enthusiating... beautiful... ravishing in its elegant precision" *Berliner Anzeiger*. *Der Tag* commented: "We will have to seek for a long time among German ballét groups until we find such a fanatically trained, unique ensemble... What art, what culture, what a harmony of movement, what a virtuous concert of soloists and teams."

Astrid Varnay, Metropolitan Opera soprano, who has achieved German acclaim for her roles in last year's

*The chorus of "Porgy and Bess," led by Eva Jessye, presents a special concert for refugees at the refugee camp in Berlin-Tempelhof.* (HICOG Berlin photo by Schubert)



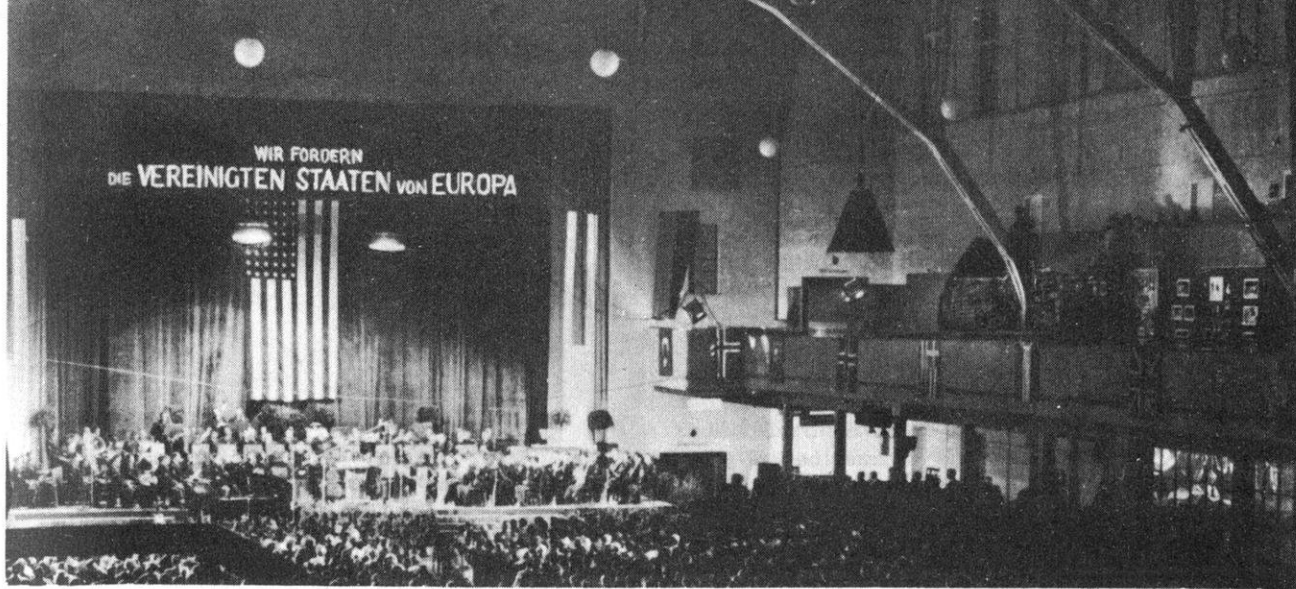
*Jobob, the goat which appears at end of "Porgy and Bess" play, strolls down a Berlin business street with Miss Price and Mr. Warfield.* (HICOG Berlin photo by Schubert)

festival and at the Bayreuth festivals, was enthusiastically received in Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde," as was another Metropolitan soprano, Polyna Stoska, in Verdi's "The Force of Destiny" and Richard Strauss' "Ariadne auf Naxos." Among others who demonstrated the finer attainments of American culture were Eugene Ormandy, conducting the RIAS Symphony Orchestra; Kenneth Spencer, baritone; Alexander Brailowsky, guest pianist, and Adriane Bronne, violinist. Two concerts were given by the US Army Field Band, currently on tour in Europe.

WILLIAM Warfield and Leontyne Price in the title roles and band leader Cab Calloway in the role of "Sportin' Life" attracted major attention in the "Porgy and Bess" performances, but as *Der Tag* put it: "It would be unjust to cite the names of individual actresses or actors. Each of them deserves highest praise." In its review, *Der Tag* also commented: "None of us has heard a thing like that... There is action, precision, rhythm, and there are voices unequalled in the devotion to the play."

*Telegraf* wrote: "It became a triumphant demonstration of the equality of races and international reconciliation and thus fulfilled the noblest task art has to perform... The scores breathe original vitality... A ravishing performance... and an overwhelming impression, turbulent and yet disciplined."

*Berliner Anzeiger*: "They act and sing and live their parts like they breathe and do things they do not have to learn. These Negroes are not only wonderful singers, but also born actors... There is an immense vitality."



Auditorium of Nibelungen Hall during the concert presented by the US Army Field Band from Washington, D.C.

## European Weeks in Passau

**W**ITHIN ITS picturesque setting at the eastern tip of Bavaria and against a two-thousand-year background as a trade, religious and cultural center, Passau brought within sight and hearing of people behind the Iron Curtain, as well as for the enlightenment of visitors from the West, a panoramic pageant of Western cultural, entertainment and current issues.

Titled "European Weeks," the program, lasting from Aug. 30 to Sept. 21, presented forty events, featuring a Mozart opera, band and organ concerts, symphony and chamber music, choral singing, a classical play, a folk festival, and political speeches on current issues of national and international significance.

"The unique and singular musical experience for us in the European Weeks was Mozart's 'Marriage of Figaro' which had been promised in its Passau setting," wrote Josef Wizina, music critic of the *Passauer Neue Presse* after the first of five performances.

**T**HE PRESENTATION of this Mozart opera was in the same theater in which the first German performance was staged in 1789, but technical difficulties prevented use of the original German version of the text. However, nothing was lost in artistic value and expression, and the atmosphere was left undisturbed, stated the newspaper review.

The individual performances of Willi Domgraf-Fassbaender as "Figaro," Hanni Loeser as "Susanne," Gerola Moewes as "Cherubim" and others, including Gertrude Hopf, Stefan Zajedans and Inge Weinzierl, won praise from the critics and applause from the audiences.

Working with the opera in all five performances was the US Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Cpl. Sam Adler. The orchestra's amiable

cooperation and efficient playing led the *Passauer Neue Presse* to say the premiere revealed an "unusually interesting and arresting profile," and to comment on the fact that "the instrumental tasks" were entrusted to "an American military orchestra which had had little practice in opera music."

The Passau critic added: "While this uniformed but undeniably well-informed orchestra played . . . one listened in amazement to the great deal of severe and unmistakably peculiar poetry in the sound emanating from the orchestra's direction. All the deviations from traditional style were accepted willingly. After the brilliantly played overture, the 'new style had taken', and Sam Adler can claim for himself and his musicians a great share of the tremendous applause which followed the D-major finale."

**T**HE SEVENTH Army Symphony Orchestra participated in the festival's opening day events by giving a concert of its own, featuring the Schumann Piano Concerto, with George Hodjinikos of Greece as soloist. The soldier orchestra accompanied the Dutch Ballet from Amsterdam, which the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of Munich noted approvingly danced "in front of the Iron Curtain."

Among the numbers were parts of Tschaiakowsky's "Sleeping Beauty" and an original work "The Street of Dreams" by the director of the ballet. This was a difficult work lasting 45 minutes, and even the most optimistic in the army orchestra were apprehensive about its rendition. But the performance was excellent and drew praise for the orchestra, not only from the audience, but from the cast of the ballet, the first ballerina, Mascha Stom, calling the music the best she had danced to.

Other orchestral groups which played later during the festival weeks were the Bavaria orchestra, which the US cultural office brought in to replace the renowned RIAS symphony orchestra when the latter could not come due to transportation difficulties, and the Augsburg Chamber Music, which delighted an appreciative audience with a lovely and precise rendering of the 18th century music of Scarlatti, Marcello, Locatelli, Telemann and Haendel.

**A**DDITIONAL US representatives on the European cultural program were the US Army Field Band and the Winged Victory Choir of the 43rd Infantry Division. According to the *Passauer Neue Presse* the 123-piece military band's performance met with a "tremendously enthusiastic" reception. The Winged Victory Choir gave a repeat Labor Day performance after its previous well-received rendition on Sunday.

Capacity crowds were drawn by the Vatican Sistine Chapel Choir of all men's voices, which sang mostly Palestrina music; the Marcel Courant choir from Paris and the Regensburg Domspatzen (cathedral sparrows), choir of the Regensburg Cathedral.

Individual performances were given by the American pianist Jacque Abrams, the 23-year old Italian organist Dr. Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, and the Belgian organist Flors Peters. Daily concerts by Max Tremmer of Passau were given on the giant church organ, one of the largest in the world.

The comparing of Passau to Athens by Prof. Eugen Kogon, one of the many lecturers, took on reality when the Classical Theater Group of the University of Sorbonne in Paris played the Greek tragedy "The Persians" by Aeschylus, with its admonition to conquerors that disaster befalls him who would invade another land.

**H**IGH OVER the stage of its spacious civic auditorium, Nibelungen Hall, where most of the performances were held, was the slogan, translated from German as *We Stand for a United States of Europe*. Instead of resenting this political intrusion on a cultural program, the festival visitors heartily welcomed it, surprising even the somewhat skeptical sponsors by turning out 3,000

*Winged Victory Chorus of 43rd Div., led by Sgt. Joseph Baris. (photos by Heiner Duyfjes from America House, Passau)*



*Members of Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra surround Hanni Loeser of Vienna who sang the leading role of Susanne in Mozart opera "The Marriage of Figaro."*

strong to hear Dr. Kogon, president of the European Union in Germany, speak on the Unification of Europe.

In reviewing this highlight of the lecture program, which included mainly speakers from Italy, Switzerland and Holland identified with the European Union movement, the *Passauer Neue Presse* stated Dr. Kogon presented "the ideological, historical and political problems of the movement to unite western Europe" with "great spiritual elan" and with "sustained and impassioned eloquence," and he told the story of the European Union in a "clear and stirring" manner.

In the same issue, the *Passauer* published an article by Beardsley Ruml of New York entitled "America and European Unification" in its front-page editorial space usually devoted to the sometimes critical editorials of H. C. Franz, and of its publisher, Dr. Hans Kapfinger. *The Passauer Neue Presse*, largest newspaper in eastern Bavaria, practically dominates the area with 16 local newspapers under its control.

**C**HIEF PROMOTER of European Weeks in Passau was the city's mayor, Dr. Stefan Billinger, whom the Munich *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* applauded for making the festival possible without financial aid from the German Federal Government and at a nominal expense to the citizens. The city allocated DM 10,000 (equivalent to \$2,380) and HICOG added a substantial financial contribution. Assistance in planning and organizing the festival was given by American officials of the US Public Affairs Field Center in Regensburg and the America House in Passau.

When asked if he thought the festival had been a success and had accomplished its cultural and political mission, Mayor Billinger answered with a resounding "yes" and declared the 1952 European Weeks were now officially referred to as the first annual European Weeks in Passau and every effort will be made to continue the event in 1953.

+END

# In and Around Germany

## Goethe Prize Given Zuckmayer

Carl Zuckmayer, German-born author who has been living in the United States since 1938, was awarded the 1952 Goethe prize by the City of Frankfurt in a ceremony at Paul's Church Aug. 28, the birthday of Frankfurt's famed son Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

The citation reads: "The City of Frankfurt-on-the-Main awards the Goethe prize of the year 1952 to the poet Carl Zuckmayer in appreciation of his whole poetic work which roots deeply in the old Main-Rhine cultural area, and which, at the same time, represents the spirit of a natural-humane, vital, world-open and peaceful Germany."

With the DM 10,000 (\$2,380) prize Mr. Zuckmayer plans to finance

study visits to foreign countries for needy younger writers to help them out of their long-time isolation, widen their views and regain connection with other cultural developments in the world. They will be under no obligation, Mr. Zuckmayer said after receiving the prize, and may freely choose their travel route. This may give them the inspiration they need, he hoped, although the selected writers are not expected to evaluate directly their travel impressions in a special dissertation on their journey.

Mr. Zuckmayer was born in the little Hessian town of Nackenheim and went into exile during the Nazi regime.

The Goethe prize was established by Frankfurt in 1927 to be awarded annually, but a city-council decision

of 1951, provided that it be granted every three years to outstanding personalities in literature. Last winner before Mr. Zuckmayer was Thomas Mann. Professor Albert Schweitzer, who was awarded the Goethe prize in 1928, was present at the ceremony for Carl Zuckmayer.

## Youth Display at Rosenheim

A display of "home talent" was presented recently at the America House in Rosenheim with an open competition of amateur art work by high school students in eastern Bavaria. Seventy-two boys and girls from 12 to 17 years of age from Rosenheim, Kolbermoor, Traunstein and Berchtesgaden submitted 110 entries, mostly water colors.

The ten best entries were selected by a jury of Germans and Americans, and the winners were presented certificates or merit and prizes. Because of the popularity and the favorable comments from visitors and the local press, the display was extended one week beyond its scheduled showing. One Munich art professor commented that the participants had demonstrated a surprising maturity in the selection and treatment of their subjects.

## Commissioner Donnelly Lauds Berlin's People

*The following statement was issued Sept. 10, by US High Commissioner Walter J. Donnelly upon the completion of his first official visit to Berlin:*

Since arriving in Berlin Monday evening, I have had opportunity to look into some of the problems facing this city and to acquaint myself with some of the American, Allied and German leaders here, on whom the immediate responsibility rests for the continued freedom and well-being of Berlin.

The way in which the Berlin people are going about their daily tasks despite the pressures and difficulties to which they are being subjected by Soviet harassments has impressed me deeply. It is typical of the steadfastness and courage of this city, which has aroused the admiration of the entire free world.

I also had the opportunity to visit a reception center and transit camp for some of the refugees from Com-

munist oppression in the Soviet Zone and to hear from them personally about their experiences there. I found them bearing up with extreme courage and fortitude and aware that the Berlin authorities are bending every effort to assist them.

I am sorry that my stay could not be longer this time, but I plan to be back often. I have stated on several occasions since I arrived, we intend to continue the same firm policy which American authorities here have maintained in the past. We do not intend to give up any of our rights of access to Berlin, and we will not hesitate to make this clear, as both Mr. McCloy and General Mathewson have done repeatedly.

I am glad that we have here two such experienced and able representatives as General Mathewson and Cecil Lyon, with whom I have worked closely in the past, implementing American determination to stay in Berlin.

## Check Given Free University

Three American representatives of the World Brotherhood organization took part in ceremonies marking presentation of more than \$2,000 to Berlin's Free University.

At the ceremonies Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of World Brotherhood, also presented a copy of the book "Mr. President" to the university. The volume was personally inscribed by President Truman, and will be included in the University's new library.

In addition to Dr. Clinchy, Willard Johnson, director of the European Division, and Hermann Ebeling, head of the organization's branch in Germany, represented World Brotherhood at the ceremonies. The check for \$2,606 was presented by Dr. Clinchy to Prof. Georg Rohde, dean of the Liberal Arts Faculty of the Free University.



Funds turned over to the university by the World Brotherhood representatives were donated in the United States by subscribers to New York's German-language newspaper, the *Staatszeitung und Herold*.

Presentation of the volume "Mr. President" for the Free University Library marked conclusion of the States-wide "Books for Freedom" campaign sponsored by World Brotherhood. The drive resulted in collection of 35,000 books which were distributed to the Free University, refugee camps, student and youth centers and municipal libraries.

The new library under construction at the Free University is being built with a \$1,309,500 grant from the Ford Foundation.

### Travel Control Transferred

Travel control in the German Federal Republic was taken over Sept. 1 by the federal authorities under an agreement between the Allied High Commission and the Federal Government.

Under this agreement marking the culmination of the progressive transfer of travel control functions to the German authorities, the Combined Travel Board of the Allied High Commission closed its headquarters in Bad Salzungen Aug. 31.

German offices in the Federal Republic and abroad had already taken over the practical work of controlling exit from and entry to Germany and of issuing German passports and visas. The Combined Travel Board has, however, hitherto been responsible for the policy aspects of travel control and has supervised the negotiation of travel agreements affecting the Federal Republic and foreign countries. These functions will now be the responsibility of the Federal Government.

Because of quadripartite and international agreements, however, the Allied Powers are obliged to continue interzonal travel documentation and to retain some of their travel offices and agencies. These are the Allied offices in Berlin and Saarbruecken and also the offices in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. In addition, the Allied Powers will perform travel documentation functions in the USSR, Bulgaria, Rumania and China.

### ALF Position on Co-Determination

A letter, signed by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, was published in the *Industriekurier*, economic journal of Duesseldorf, Sept. 11, as a statement

of the AFL position on the vital German labor question of "co-determination." The letter was in reply to a request from a member of a German firm following a discussion at a meeting of the International Law Organization.

Translation from German of the letter as published in the *Industriekurier* follows:

"I am glad to hear that you became acquainted with Professor Jaeger of the Georgetown University on the occasion of a meeting of the German Section of the International Law Organization of which you are a member.

"As a result of your conversation with Prof. Jaeger, you now ask whether the A.F. of L. desires co-determination in industrial firms and, if this is the case, how it conceives of such co-determination.

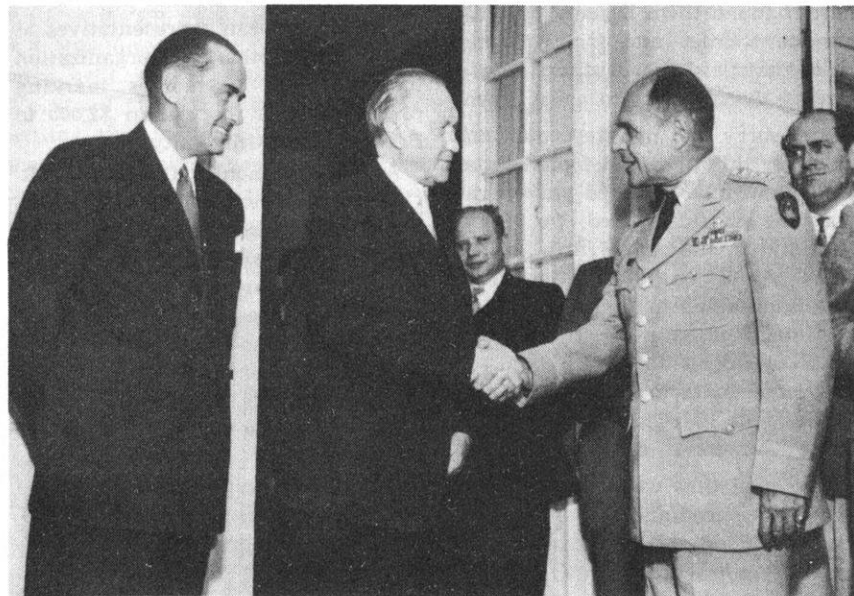
"Above all, the A.F. of L. does not desire any co-determination in industrial firms. We feel that the right of those who own such firms should be free and complete without interference by other elements. Similarly, the A.F. of L. desires to settle its own affairs freely and without interference by another element.

"Since we have never attempted to achieve co-determination in industry, we do not have any material dealing with it. I therefore regret to be unable to serve you any material of this kind."

### Action Teams Leave

Two eight-person groups consisting of leading representatives of the Baden-Wuerttemberg cities of Schwaebisch Gmuend and Ulm have left Sept. 4 for 90 days of study and observation in the United States.

The trip of these "cooperative action teams" marks the continuation of an exchange program initiated between Germany and the United States last year. Under this program, groups composed of community leaders representing the most important spheres of community life study the life and problems of American cities which are comparable in size to the cities from which the various teams come.



General Matthew B. Ridgway (right), SHAPE commander, meets Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (center) on the former's first visit to Bonn Sept. 2. At left is US High Commissioner Walter J. Donnelly. (PLB-ID-HICOG photo)

The two groups are spending approximately three weeks in each of three selected cities, studying and observing local government and civic groups under the guidance of organizations such as the social science department of a major university. They attend meetings of such organizations as the league of women voters, mother's clubs, parent-teacher-associations, labor unions and city councils. They also attend public hearings on local and state legislation and observe the work of the local press.

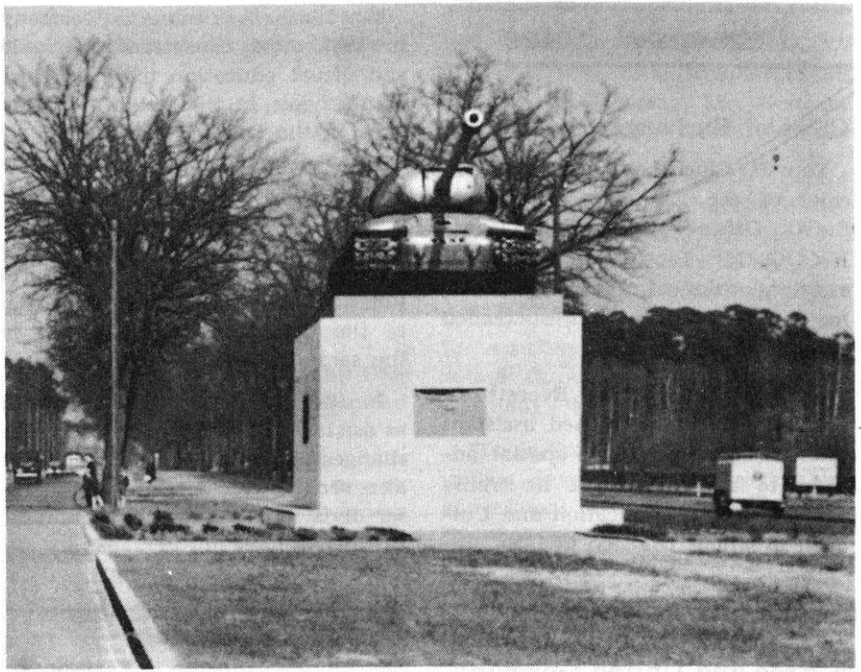
The cooperative action team of Schwaebisch Gmuend is composed of Hermann Kah, mayor; Gabriele Martis, county welfare agent; Hermann Huehn, Protestant minister; Richard Czerny, teacher; Horst Weickmann, newspaper editor; August Michael, school director and city councilor; Ingeborg Starkulla, teacher, and Otto Ritter, Catholic priest.

Ulm is represented by Dr. Walter Hailer, mayor; Josef Brauner teacher; Kurt Fried, newspaper publisher; Otto Rall, police chief; Herta Wittmann, city councilor; Herbert Wiegandt, library director; Elisabeth Reyhing, teacher; Hans Zeller, city councilor. Anne Feineis, who spent one year in the United States under the HICOG exchange program, accompanied the Ulm team as interpreter.

### Funds Given Service Center

A check for DM 10,000 (\$2,380) was presented Sept. 4 to Dr. Walter Koblitz, director of the Adult Education Service Center in Inzigkofen near Sigmaringen, Baden-Wuerttemberg, by Payne Templeton, senior cultural officer, American Consulate General in Stuttgart, as the first instalment of DM 20,000 which HICOG has granted to the center.

This institution was founded in 1950 to devise new methods and materials for adult education through the use of groups of selected specialists. Before the results of such research are made available to the adult education teachers in the field,



they are tried out in practice in the Inzigkofen adult education school which is closely affiliated with the Adult Education Service Center. The school is primarily intended for the training of adult education teachers.

The Adult Education Service Center in Inzigkofen is the only one in the Federal Republic where theoretical studies and practical tests are closely combined.

### Soviet Charge Rejected

Soviet claims that US authorities in Berlin had countenanced "provocative acts by fascist elements" against the Soviet tank memorial in the southwestern tip of the US Sector caused an interruption of discussions for rehabilitating the monument.

The tank (above photo), situated on a high stone pedestal in the middle of the Potsdamer Chaussee (Potsdam Boulevard), arterial highway out of Berlin toward the west, was erected during the Russian occupation of the entire city in the early summer of 1945 near the area where the Soviet army finally broke through the weakest point of defense into the former German capital.

In a note delivered Sept. 6 to Sergei Dengin, representative of the

Soviet Control Commission in Berlin, Maj. Gen. Lemuel Mathewson, US commander in Berlin, termed Soviet accusations "provocative and ridiculous."

These accusations, General Mathewson said in his letter, "constitute, for the time being, a definite barrier to further consideration" of the possibility of allowing Soviet personnel to rehabilitate the monument.

Access to the tank for the purpose of rehabilitating it had been requested by Mr. Dengin in a letter dated Aug. 26. In the same note the Soviet representative claimed that the bodies of 10 Soviet servicemen were buried under the memorial and repeated earlier charges that US authorities had countenanced defacement of the monument by "fascist elements."

General Mathewson said in his letter: "I have noted with some surprise the statement that the bodies of 10 Soviet servicemen are buried under the monument" and recalled that there had been no mention of any such bodies by Mr. Dengin, verbally or in writing, in previous negotiations on the subject. The US commander also reiterated his opinion that it would be preferable for the monument to be moved to the Soviet Sector or Zone.

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## Personnel Notes

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### Chief of Exchanges Staff

Sam H. Linch has been appointed chief of the Exchange of Persons Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG. Mr. Linch, who has been assistant chief of Exchanges Staff for the past three years, succeeded Ralph A. Burns.

At the same time, Everett G. Chapman has been named assistant chief. He has served as special adviser to the chief since he transferred from the Education and Cultural Relations Division in 1950.

Mr. Linch first came to Germany in 1947 as a consultant on radio and visual education to assist German schools in the use of teaching aids. In the Office of Military Government for Germany (US) he served successively as chief of Text-books and Materials of Instruction Section, deputy chief for administration in the Education and Cultural Relations Division, and deputy chief of the Cultural Affairs Branch in the same division.

In 1949, Mr. Linch was appointed as assistant chief of the HICOG's Exchanges Division. In this capacity he also served as chairman of the Inter-divisional Advisory Committee for the Exchange of Persons.

A graduate of Emory University in Atlanta, Mr. Linch was a teacher, principal and superintendent of Georgia schools between 1933-46. In 1945-46 he served in the US Navy in radar training and in public relations. His home is in Atlanta.

Mr. Chapman, educated at Southwestern University and Occidental College in California, was teacher and principal of Los Angeles adult schools and counselor at John Muir College, Pasadena, Calif. He came to Germany in 1949 as deputy chief of the Adult Education Section. He served as chief of the Youth Reconstruction Section, Education and Cultural Relations Division from

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### A Free and United Germany

*Continued from page 17*

must take the responsibility, what this responsibility includes and what its limits are.

This is the reason why it makes sense to celebrate this national anniversary day in memory of the first session of the first German Federal Parliament. This house has the legislative power, and it must exercise this power decisively and fully, naturally keeping in mind the jurisdiction of the Federal Council (Bundesrat) ...

**T**HE RIGHT OF all citizens to get in touch with the parliament either individually or as a member of a group has as its purpose the informing of the legislators as to what the people want. But it must be entirely clear that there must not be any transfer of responsibility. A parliament that would only appear to continue to observe its rights and authority and only pretend to exercise legislative sovereignty would foresake its constitutional task, and in addition, would endanger the whole foundation of the state. ...

Who would deny that there is much that ought to be changed and improved. But we must demand that all who criticize do so with the intention to improve and help, and not only to tear down. We feel that quite a number who express displeasure with this state do not have a constructive purpose in mind... We are particularly suspicious when we feel that some persons are trying again by some subterfuge to make attractive to us that which once led Germany to destruction. If we oppose such advisers, then we can do so convincingly only if we base our political action on permanent and fundamental principles and not merely on a political-technical idea.

Our Basic Law emphasizes fundamental rights. We know that fundamental rights on paper do not mean a thing if they do not grow out of a comprehensive picture of the world and the state, and if they are not firmly anchored in the hearts of the people. I do not want to enumerate the rights, but we should remember today that behind each one there stands the concept of justice. I am thinking at this moment of the many who would like to tell us now that in their particular cases justice has not yet been realized. They should tell us that again and again, and we are obligated to hear it. But the knowledge of the imperfection of our political behavior or the actual impossibility to realize this justice in behalf of the individual must not divert us from respecting the concept justice as the law that must stand above the work of this state if we want to continue to exist. That concerns us, but it also concerns those who have authority over German individuals who are waiting for justice and freedom in any part of the world. Justice in the world must be indivisible.

**I**F JUSTICE IS realized in the responsibility before men, then the responsibility before God stands behind it. We have not been called here to hear theological statements about God. But I think that we have learned during bitter years that responsibility before an absolute power above men and nations is necessary if clear-cut political decisions are to be made in the interest of life and the freedom of men ... Let us celebrate this national commemorative day with becoming simplicity, in thankfulness for what has been given us, and in readiness for the responsibility before our people. Let us continue to work as a German people, conscious of our responsibility before God and men, and willing to preserve our national and political unity and to serve the peace of the world as an equal member in a united Europe.

+END



Albert M. Doyle

1949 until joining Exchanges Staff in 1950. His home is in La Canada, Calif.

### Consul General Retires

Albert N. Doyle, American consul general in Frankfurt since July 1950 and supervising consul general for Germany, has retired after 30 years in the US Foreign Service. His retirement was effective Sept. 30.

His successor, C. M. Pigott, whose last post was in Bilbao, Spain, is at present on leave in the United States and is expected to arrive in Frankfurt early in December. In the interim the office is being directed by Consul Byron B. Snyder

The Department of State has also announced the appointment as supervising consul general for Germany of Herve J. L'Heureux, who has been for the past four years chief of the Visa Division of the State Department. Mr. L'Heureux who is expected to arrive in October will be stationed in the Office of the US High Commissioner in Mehlem.

The decision to appoint a supervising consul general for Germany without responsibilities as principal officer for any particular consular office was based on various factors, including the large size of the American consular offices in Germany and the increase in their work load following the transfer to them of many functions formerly performed

by the offices of the US state commissioners which were closed June 30.

Pending final ratification of the Contractual Agreements, the American consuls general in the American zone have been appointed state commissioners, the American consul general in Frankfurt being the US state commissioner for Hesse and in addition the US state observer for Rhineland-Palatinate.

During the operations of the Displaced Persons Program conducted under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and later amendments, the American consul general in Frankfurt was also coordinator for the DP Visa Program in Germany, Austria and Italy.

The main part of the general program came to an end on Dec. 31, 1951, and the so-called ethnic program expired on June 30, 1952. During this period 315,000 visas were issued under the general program, and 54,000 visas under the ethnic program.

Mr. Doyle, since joining the Foreign Service in 1922, has served at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the Netherlands; Brisbane and Sidney, Australia; in the State Department from 1941 to 1945, and as foreign-service inspector from 1947 to 1950.

### Acting Labor Attache Leaves

R. F. Bertram, who has held executive positions in the US labor affairs organization in Germany since 1948, has resigned his post as acting labor attache of HICOG to return to the Tennessee Valley Authority as head labor relations officer, a position from which he has been on leave of absence.

Mr. Bertram joined the Office of Military Government for Germany (US) in September 1948 as executive officer of the Manpower Division. In October, 1949, he became chief of the Labor Management Techniques Branch, Office of Labor Affairs, HICOG, and in January, 1950, was made chief of the Labor Division. He became deputy director of the Office of Labor Affairs in May, 1950,

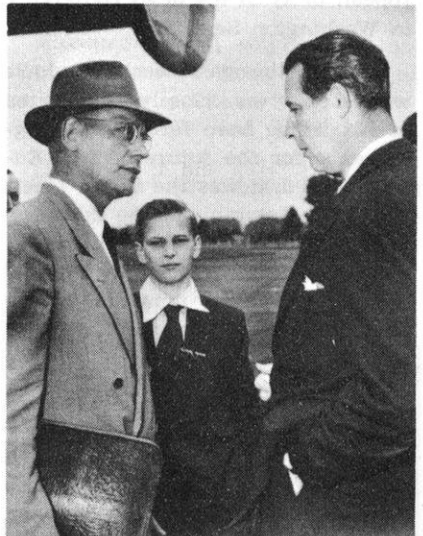
and acting director in September, 1951. With the changes in HICOG preparatory to establishment of an embassy in Germany, Mr. Bertram was named Acting Labor Attache.

In an interview shortly before leaving Mehlem, Mr. Bertram described briefly the work of the former Office of Labor Affairs. "It was responsible for observing developments in the field of labor, and for assisting in the development of sound democratic trade unions in Germany," he explained.

"To do this, the office helped trade unions develop and improve their educational activities, especially in the training of youth. It aided unions in studies of the labor courts, unemployment among youth, apprenticeship training and other basic questions facing German labor," he continued.

The Exchange-of-Persons Program, Mr. Bertram pointed out, has sponsored several hundred German trade unionists, labor and management officials and governmental office holders on study trips to the United States to observe labor-management relations in America.

"Probably one of the most valuable projects in this field is the one under which groups of young workers go to the United States for ten months to study social science with



R. F. Bertram (left) as he greets US Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin on latter's to Bonn last summer.

special emphasis on the place of labor in the American society," he said. "These young workers, who could normally not qualify for the trip under the student program because they did not have the required high school training, go in groups of 25. They attend American universities, where they study under a program designed for them." Mr. Bertram also cited international youth camps sponsored in part by the Office of Labor Affairs which, he said, were "designed to aid in cementing the ties among European working groups."

Mr. Bertram said that the office has also helped trade unions expand the use of films in their educational programs, and has aided unions in rebuilding their libraries.

A graduate of the University of Chicago, Mr. Bertram received his bachelor and master of arts degrees in economics there in 1936. He was with TVA in Knoxville, Tenn., for 12 years before coming to Germany.

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## Outside Germany

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### Statement on European Unity

Secretary of State Acheson read the following statement on European unity at his news conference in Washington Sept. 17:

"During the past week we have witnessed two closely connected events which have far reaching significance for the future of free Europe. The first was the initial meeting of the Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community. The second was the decision by this assembly to study immediately the formation of a European political authority.

"It is not possible at this time to predict where these studies will lead, nor to anticipate the nature and scope of the political structure which may be created. The important fact is that this decision demonstrates, perhaps more forcibly than any action yet taken, the strength and

momentum of the movement toward European unity.

"The United States will continue to encourage and support the efforts of the statesmen and peoples of Europe to achieve a close and enduring unity, because we are convinced that this unity will contribute substantially to the strength and prosperity of our European friends and to the success of our mutual efforts to maintain peace in the world."

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### EPU Report for August

The monthly report of the European Payments Union reveals major shifts in western European trade, with a new alignment of creditor and debtor nations.

The EPU report for August, made public in Paris Sept. 17, shows that Great Britain has all but eliminated its large monthly deficits and that Belgium has become a debtor for the first time.

The Federal Republic of Germany had a surplus of \$37,000,000, and the Netherlands showed a credit of \$20,200,000.

The largest debtor for the month was Turkey with a deficit of \$34,200,000. France had a deficit of \$23,100,000. Great Britain, cut its deficit from \$98,600,000 in July to \$4,700,000 in August. The Belgium-Luxembourg deficit was \$6,500,000. Italy, usually a creditor nation, had a deficit of \$900,000.

Sweden, finished August with a perfect balance.

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### Example from East Germany

Soviet Russia's brutal suppression of civic and religious liberties in East Germany clearly warns the free world of what to expect if she gets control over the entire country, *The New York Times* believes.

In an editorial Aug. 31 entitled "In Soviet Germany," the *Times* noted that Soviet methods in East Germany provide the world with another "object-lesson" on how 18,000,000 people were converted into a Soviet-ruled anthill."

"All the pretenses the Soviets have been making in their diplomatic notes and propaganda that they desire a unified democratic and peaceful Germany are knocked into a cocked hat by their intensified drive to complete the Sovietization of what they ironically call the 'German Democratic Republic,' the *Times* said.

"As a state that politically anomaly is neither German, nor democratic, nor a republic, it is a Communist dictatorship run by Soviet citizens and Kremlin viceroys backed by Soviet bayonets," the *Times* added.

The *Times* noted that the pattern of Soviet infiltration in East Germany has been much the same as in other once free countries: "Domination of the leading political party and the advent of the people's police," followed by outward control by the Soviet army.

"The rest has followed and is following automatically," said the *Times*.

"This involves the suppression of all political and human rights and freedoms, including freedom of speech and press, and the complete regimentation of the people in all aspects of their lives. Industries have been confiscated and either nationalized or incorporated into Soviet trusts to direct German production into Soviet hands to the tune of billions of dollars and to reduce German living standards to the Russian level.

Accompanying this has been a tragic alienation of German youth from family and church and their conversion as military and political puppets of their Soviet masters, the *Times* noted.

"In brief," concluded the *Times*, "to the Germans affected, Hitler's national socialism has been replaced by a Bolshevik system equally brutal and even more primitive. And it is this system which the Kremlin would impose on all Germany in the name of 'unity.'"

# German Editorials

This section is intended to inform without interpretation the American readers of what Germans are thinking. The selection has been made so as to cover the events which caused the widest reaction in the German press, and to give a fair cross section of German editorial opinion. The inclusion of any event, viewpoint or opinion does not necessarily imply concurrence by US authorities. The cartoons have been taken from a selection reproduced by the Press Analysis Section, Press Branch, Information Division, HICOG.



**"Whether equipment or length of service, these fellows don't agree on one single point.".. "They do, Mr. Ridgway, they all want dollars."** — from *Norddeutsche Volkszeitung* (Bremen), Sept. 4.

## Strasbourg Assembly

The "unexpected" election of Belgian Socialist leader Paul Henri Spaak as president of the Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community was featured Sept. 12 by many German newspapers which stressed that, after the voting results had become known, Franz Josef Strauss, member of the German parliament and secretary general of the Christian Socialist Union, assailed the Social Democrats both for "having betrayed German solidarity in a decisive moment" and for having "sold down the river the principle of German equality" in the coal and steel pool.

The press also noted that Bonn quarters were extremely disappointed that the German candidate, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, had not been elected. These quarters were said to have pointed out that, inasmuch as a Frenchman was president of the Coal and Steel High Authority and an Italian chairman of the Coal and Steel Court, it would only have been fair to have a German head the third Coal and Steel organization.

The ballot of the Sept. 11 election in Strasbourg was 38 votes for Spaak and 30 for Brentano. Papers stressed that all French, Belgian, Luxembourg delegates, as well as two Italian Liberals, all eight German, the Dutch and Italian Socialists had cast their ballots for Spaak, while the twelve members of the Bonn government coalition and the coalition of Bavarian and Center Parties, eleven Italian and seven Dutch delegates had voted for Brentano.

While some papers welcomed Spaak's election and characterized him as a good European well qualified for his new job, *Bonner Rundschau* (Bonn) and *Rheinische Post* (Duesseldorf) deplored that the German candidate for that position fell through. Surprisingly, *Rheinische Post*, while criticizing the French, paid tribute to the SPD's "European way of thinking" which prompted its members vote for Spaak.

After praising Spaak for his devotion to the cause of a "new Europe," *Bonner Rundschau* in its editorial deplored that Spaak's election has revealed to the eyes of the

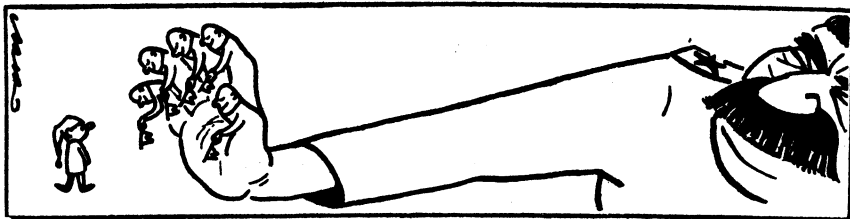
world the deep split between the Federal Government and the SPD Opposition. "We feel free to say," the paper stated, "that it was neither impressive nor prudent to demonstrate to the whole world the split within the German representation in that so-called supra-national authority."

Refuting the CDU's criticism of SPD voting for Spaak, *Telegraf* (Berlin) declared that the Coal and Steel Pool is a European organization in which European thinking is bound to prevail, "as was repeatedly stated by the CDU."

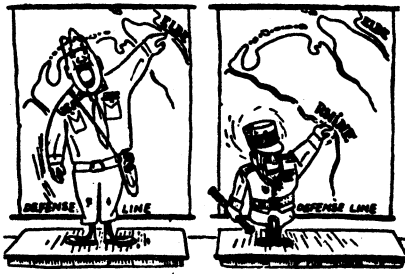
*Rheinische Post* emphasized that Germany should have had at least one leading position in the three important coal and steel bodies. "This (the election of a non-German) is a misfortune which jeopardizes the idea of a united Europe. If the reports on the election of the as-



**Mail from the East Zone.** — *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), Sept. 20.



**Soviet Zone Delegation to Bonn.** — from *Der Mittag* (Duesseldorf), Sept. 12.



**Strategy.** — from *Westdeutsche Neue Presse* (Cologne), Sept. 11.

sembly president are correct, the French must be blamed," but, the newspaper added, the Social Democrats, by casting their ballots for Spaak, "had set an example in the European and international way of thinking... They stuck to the... principle of their party and elected the Belgian Socialist Spaak."

**Stuttgarter Nachrichten** (Stuttgart) declared that it makes no difference what nationality the president of the Coal and Steel Assembly is, "as long as he is a European — by birth as well as in thought."

**Berliner Anzeiger** (Berlin) while, welcoming the fact that the Socialist delegates, regardless of their German, Italian or Dutch origins, preferred the Belgian Socialist to any of their own countrymen, yet felt that one might also gain the impression that supra-national ideas were only a cover for "international socialist cooperation."

### Coal and Steel Talks

After stating that the Coal and Steel Pool is but the beginning of a united Europe, **Mannheimer Morgen** (Mannheim, Sept. 10) warned that one should not be too impatient if the integration of Europe appears to proceed at a snail's pace. One should, instead, keep in mind that "coal and steel is a better combination than blood and steel."

Since Aristide Briand's and Gustav Stresemann's failure to bring about European unification, blood and steel descended upon the people "when Hitler tried to enforce his own ideas of a united Europe... Standing among the ruins caused by the last war, we can now seize our last

chance and try and begin again, where Briand and Stresemann left off."

The paper hopefully concluded that one day the elections to "the Constituent Assembly of the United States of Europe" will be held.

**Wiesbadener Kurier** (Wiesbaden) explained that the "Coal and Steel Parliament" should be considered the forerunner of a "European Parliament" and optimistically went on to say that even if the European countries were to form a political unit, in the spirit of the Schuman Plan, there would be ample opportunities for the member nations to preserve their individual ways of life.

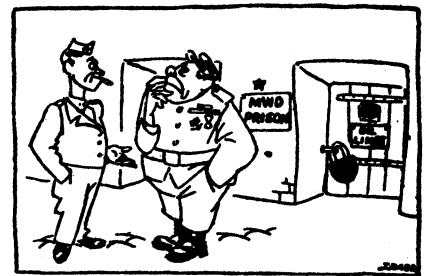
"Their ways of life are part of these (European) nations, whose cultures should not only be preserved but should also gain new impetus from such a (European) community." The paper felt that, without fostering the national ideals of each country, Europe will perish, "even without an aggression from the East."

**Koelnische Rundschau** (Cologne) much less optimistically expected the six members of the Ministers' Council to be caught between the allegiance they owe to their countries and their loyalty toward their newly acquired duties. The paper said it was hard to predict if the Ministers' Council was "actually suited" to work toward European integration, or "whether its mission consists exclusively in putting on the brakes on the excessive zeal of the nine (members of the High Authority)."

### Anniversary of the Republic

The commemoration Sept. 7 of the third anniversary of the German Federal Government was used by many West German newspapers to comment editorially on Germany's status. (The Federal Government was set up Sept. 7, 1949 but the Federal Republic did not come into existence until a formal ceremony at Bonn Sept. 21, 1949. See "Birth of a Republic" in the *Information Bulletin*, October 1949.)

The press particularly reported on a ceremony in the Parliament hall



**Chaikov:** Linse! Linse! Didn't I read that name in some West Berlin paper? — from *Hannoversche Presse* (Hanover), Sept. 11.

which was attended by Dr. Theodor Heuss, the federal president; Dr. Konrad Adenauer, federal chancellor; representatives of the former diplomatic corps, political parties, federal offices, religious and other organizations. The main speech was made by Dr. Hermann Ehlers, president of the Parliament. A statement by President Heuss was printed in the *Federal Government Bulletin*.

**Bonner Rundschau** (Bonn) hailed Dr. Ehlers' speech. Despite the fact that political parties have their faults, the paper continued, they still are an institution necessary to express the political will of the people. "So long as a political party honestly and successfully tries to meet this requirement, it will render useful service to the people."

The Federal Republic was but a preliminary step on the road toward an all-German state and that all spade work would have to be done in cooperation with other nations.

Most of the other editorials contained statistics illustrating German recovery since 1949, but many writers believed that "the best way to become aware of western Germany's progress was not in retrospect but by a glance into the Soviet Zone."

Warm tribute was paid to Chancellor Adenauer for his efforts to get western Germany back on its feet. The course of his foreign policy was considered to have decisively contributed to this success.

According to **Sueddeutsche Zeitung** (Munich), one should "always remember that three years ago a chaos of occupation zones had been re-

placed by a state which led to general recovery." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* also pointed out that Article 4 of the German Basic Law, granting all citizens the right to be "conscientious objectors," could not be reconciled with the Bonn conventions.

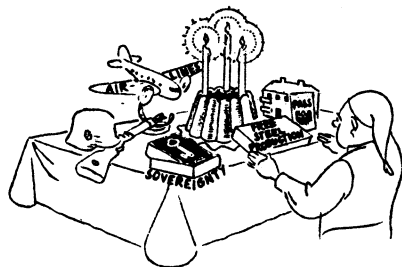
Only a few papers criticized the establishment of the national observance, stating that there was no reason for such a day as long as Germany was still divided. German reunification was said to be the Federal Government's foremost task, and most editorial writers reminded their readers that the western German state was "but a torso awaiting its completion."

**Schwaebische Donau-Zeitung** (Ulm) believed that "a western Germany which is steadily growing stronger will attract the Soviet Zone, so that it will gradually become easier to overcome the obstacles in the way of reunification."

One of the few negative comments, with the natural exception of the Communist papers, was voiced by the **Aachener Nachrichten** which felt that on Sept. 7, 1949 the political division of Germany had been "sealed" and that all positive reports on progress and recovery were "but a futile attempt to hide the actual facts."

### Call on Chancellor

The first official call by US High Commissioner Walter J. Donnelly and NATO Supreme Commander Matthew B. Ridgway on Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was the topic of editorial comment in several German papers Sept. 10. The



**The Federal Republic's Third Anniversary.** — from *Ruhr-Nachrichten* (Dortmund), Sept. 6.

papers stressed that this visit heralded the beginning of increased activities in the field of foreign policy in Bonn, which would culminate in the parliamentary debates on the Bonn and Paris (EDC) treaties.

In a front page editorial **Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung** (Frankfurt) pointed out that General Ridgway's first official call on Chancellor Adenauer would soon be followed by a visit of Federal Minister of Finance Fritz Schaeffer to US Secretary of Treasury John W. Snyder. The paper claimed that although the two visits would seem to have no bearing on each other, yet they should be considered as part of the same political program.

After referring to Minister Schaeffer's estimates re the Federal Republic's financial contribution to the EDC and stating that any additional contribution made by a partner for the purpose of securing freedom in the Western world, should also be considered as a defense contribution, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* opined:

"Fully conscious of its national duties, the Federal Republic is happy to provide aid to Berlin. This aid is being furnished at the request of the Western Powers who want to see Berlin safe from Eastern attempts at starving the city. For that reason, this aid — and here Schaeffer will stick to his previous demands — will have to be accepted as part of the German defense contribution."

*General-Anzeiger* (Bonn), hailed the official call as the first great event in the Federal Republic's foreign policy coming at the beginning of the "new political season." "Bonn sees (in the meeting) a very important political act," the paper stated. "It is generally believed that Adenauer's return to Bonn will bring politics back to full gear, and that the Americans will play an important part in steering West-European affairs."

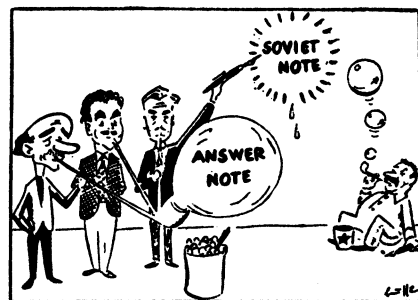
*Die Welt* (Hamburg-Essen), without mentioning specifically the conference but keeping to a vein somewhat similar to that of *General-Anzeiger*, expressed expectations of

important foreign policy decisions within the near future. In a warning the paper admonished parties not to make campaign issues out of the parliament debates on the Paris and Bonn agreements, and concluded, that "nobody can want a cheap propaganda success for his party if such success can only be gained by breaking a lot of china in the foreign policy locker."

Commenting on the impressions gained by onlookers during the Ridgway-Adenauer meeting, *Mannheimer Morgen* (Mannheim) noting "that General Ridgway presses for speed," pointed out that "he is even more anxious than was his predecessor General Dwight D. Eisenhower to have European army units established. The general impression (at the meeting) was that, despite all difficulties, the construction of EDC will make considerable headway in the months to come."

### German-Israeli Agreement

The signing of the German-Israeli Restitution Agreement in Luxembourg was widely reported by the West German press Sept. 11. Papers stressed that the agreement provided for the Federal Republic's payment to Israel of DM 3,000,000,000 (equivalent to \$714,000,000) over a period of 12 to 14 years; and that Jewish international organizations were to receive DM 400,000,000 (\$95,200,000) while other Jewish victims of the Nazi regime not represented by either Israel or any international organization were to get DM 50,000,000 (\$11,900,000).



**We're forever blowing bubbles.** — from *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung* (Heidelberg), Sept. 17.



The press pointed out that the payments would be made in the form of deliveries of industrial products and that the Federal Republic had agreed to pay DM 400,000,000 (\$95,200,000) while other Jewish victims of the Nazi regime not represented by either Israel or any international organization were to get DM 50,000,000 (\$11,900,000).

The press pointed out that the payments would be made in the form of deliveries of industrial products and that the Federal Republic had agreed to pay DM 400,000,000 (\$95,200,000) as first instalment within the next two years. They further noted that the Templers, a German religious group which had emigrated to Israel in the 19th century, would receive indemnity for property seized by the Israeli government.

The newspapers also widely reported on the world reaction to the German-Israeli agreement. It was stressed by most papers that the reaction in Jerusalem and Washington had been very favorable, but that the Arab nations were extremely displeased with the agreement. In this connection, the press ran brief reports on a statement made by Federal Press Chief Felix von Eckardt who stressed that the agreement was in no way directed against the Arab nations and that the Federal Republic was anxious to continue its traditionally friendly relations with the Arab world.

While some papers generally emphasized Germany's moral obligation toward the Jews, **Welt** (Hamburg-Essen) explained what political



She confessed to have been in the pay of the West. — from *Die Zeit* (Hamburg), Sept. 4.

and economic effects the German-Israeli restitution agreement might have on Germany. According to the paper, Israel had taken a German agreement already for granted, at the time when it had drafted a plan for its own economic development. "Had there been no agreement on German restitution payments, this entire plan might have been jeopardized," *Welt* stated "... and Israel might have had to abandon it altogether." Criticizing the negative attitude of the Arab states toward German restitution to Israel *Welt* also stressed that "the German people were morally obliged to the Jewish people, and that no third party had the right to interfere."

Stating that Federal Chancellor Adenauer's and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett's signatures under the restitution agreement "close one of the darkest chapters of German history," **Stuttgarter Nachrichten** (Stuttgart) wrote: "Both, the Federal Republic and Israel, always have been and still are conscious of the fact that money... cannot make up for the millions of Jewish lives lost as a result of the Nazis' race hatred." The paper hailed the treaty partners for having settled the restitution issue "despite the anti-Semitism which again is rearing its ugly head in Germany and, to a greater extent, even in foreign countries."

**Rheinische Post** (Duesseldorf) pointed out that it had never been partisan to the idea of collective German guilt, adding: "What is more, we were always vehemently opposed to the idea of having the German people identified with the Nazi regime. It is, however, ... quite impossible to deny that the 'Nuremberg Laws' with their horrible effects on the Jews were made by Germans, and that Germans — some fully aware of what they were doing — profited by the despoliation of Jewish property."

The paper also pointed out that few Germans ever realized the reaction that "these wrongs" created abroad, and that even today these crimes against the Jews have not been forgotten." The paper finally



So much music and so little harmony! — from *Hamburger Anzeiger* (Hamburg), Sept. 13.

believed that there had to be a signing of such an agreement in order to convince the world that "we do not want to be associated with what took place in Germany during those days."

Hailing the German-Israeli restitution agreement as a German attempt to make up for at least part of the material damage done to the Jews, **Frankfurter Allgemeine** (Frankfurt) deplored statements reportedly made by correspondents of leading British papers... that "the Israeli government will sign the treaty only because it needs funds for its own economic development, ... and that the treaty will in no way change the people's attitude towards Germany."

The paper emphasized Germany's desire to have friendly relations with Israel; it also raised the question as to when those Jews who have now returned to Germany, will be helped to "rebuild their existence." The paper felt that "the fate of our Jewish citizens should be as near to our heart as that of the Israeli people."

**Frankfurter Rundschau** (Frankfurt) pointed out that a large part of the Israeli people will accept restitution payments from "the murderers of their parents and children" only because this restitution will prove to be beneficial to their country's economy. With regard to restitution inside Germany, the paper expressed fear, that any assistance to the Nazi victims will be further delayed, because of the time-consuming way in which the German parliament plans to settle the issue.

"We should have welcomed," the paper concluded, "if the restitution laws now in force in the American Zone, were to apply to the entire territory within the Federal Republic."

## American Influence

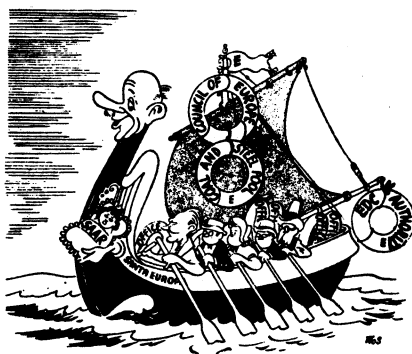
*Die Zeit* (Hamburg, Sept. 6), under the headline "Tired of the Occupation," published an article by the German author Friedrich Siegburg on the imprint the Occupation had left on the German way of life:

"The American Occupation Forces brought along their own way of life, and isolated themselves ... The hoped-for close contact has failed to materialize. Nevertheless, the influence of the Occupation upon our way of life is enormous ... While we believe to have remained untouched by their way of living, we actually have been influenced more deeply than at any time during our most recent history.

"Our defenselessness against the external influences of the American way of life is astounding. Whereas the political and economic superiority of the United States did not wipe out the Americans' subconscious high regard for the Old World, we willingly and without any further ado have succumbed to the least valuable aspects of American civilization.

"There is much we could learn from the American political and social way of thinking. America's productive energy, efficiency and sense of international responsibility would have been well worth our imitation. But US influence was primarily confined to such things as loud shirts and ties, cowboy pants and soft drinks. The victors had hoped that we would embrace the ideas of Abraham Lincoln, but we contented ourselves with American cigarettes.

"Many of us have long ago become sick and tired of the flashy exterior of Americanism ... The influence of the American way of life on our existence has assumed dimensions which exceed by far any reasonable proportion ..."



**On to new adventures.** — from *Mannheimer Morgen* (Mannheim), Sept. 20.

## Carl Schurz

*Westdeutsche Neue Presse* (Duesseldorf) commented that there are few historical dates on which two nations remember the accomplishments of one man: "September 17, the date of Carl Schurz' arrival in America, is one of these days, since in the United States as well as in Germany one still appreciates this fighter for democratic freedom."

*Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Hanover) hailed Carl Schurz as a fanatic foe of slavery and as one of Abraham Lincoln's most faithful friends. "The height of his life was reached when he supported Lincoln, when he became commander of a division in the Civil War, and, finally, when he became US secretary of interior ... On May 15, 1906, when Schurz died, German democrats mourned with the United States, a man who possessed the rare gift to combine political idealism with realism, and to whose never ending diligence freedom owed so much."

## German Unity

In *Hamburger Abendblatt*, *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* and *Berliner Morgenpost* Sept. 27/28, the German columnist Ernst Friedlaender discussed the problem of German reunification.

"Nothing in the realm of facts indicates that German reunification in freedom can be realized in the immediate future. From the very beginning, the Soviet notes on Germany

were prompted not by the desire for German reunification, but by the fear of the Federal Republic's integration into the West. Isolation of the Federal Republic and, thus, weakening of the West, is the goal of Soviet policy.

"The Western powers are determined to obstruct that policy. That, and not the reunification of Germany, is their basic concern ... It sounds doubtlessly well to praise the restoration of German unity as a more exalted and better goal than the integration of parts of Germany into parts of Europe. But do these goals allow any comparison at all? ... By no means. The road to Europe is free. The road to German unity, however, is not even visible ..."

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## Official Announcements

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### Meeting with SHAPE Chief

On the occasion of his first official visit to the German federal chancellor, General Matthew B. Ridgway, Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, Europe, also took the opportunity to meet with the Allied high commissioners. The meeting took place Sept. 2, at the office of the French high commissioner, Mr. Andre Francois-Poncet, who was currently chairman of the Allied High Commission.

General Ridgway was accompanied by General de Division Aeriennne Bodet, Brigadier Sir James Gault, and Mr. Douglas MacArthur, members of the SHAPE staff.

### Meeting with Chancellor

The Allied High Commissioners met the federal chancellor Sept. 4, at the office of the French high commissioner, Andre Francois-Poncet.

The high commissioners and the chancellor exchanged views on the most recent note of the Soviet Government on Germany.

### Soviets End Patrol Block

The US Headquarters in Berlin was notified Sept. 11, by Soviet authorities that General V. I. Chuikow, chairman of the Soviet Control Commission in Germany, had issued instructions to permit the unhindered passage of Allied military police relief units along the main highway from West Berlin to the Dreilinden checkpoint.

During the previous several days, some of the relief units had been prevented from traversing a small segment of the highway which is in the Soviet Zone. The Allied vehicles used a circuitous route lying entirely in the US Sector to reach the checkpoint.

### Extra Charge on Special Trains

All personnel traveling on fast long-distance and luxury German civil trains must pay an extra charge of two Deutsche

marks, and should do so when buying their tickets. When purchasing a rail ticket, travelers should determine if their train is an "F" or "FT" train and if so, pay the extra charge then and get the receipt to show the conductor when the ticket is checked on the train. — announcement from Hqs. US Army Europe Sept. 10.

### Soviet Car in US Sector

Following is the text of a letter sent Sept. 18 by Maj. Gen. Lemuel Mathewson, US commander in Berlin, to A.N. Rassadin, acting Berlin representative of the Soviet Control Commission in Germany:

On the afternoon of Sept. 13, a Soviet armored scout car of obsolete American design and manufacture entered and cruised about the district of Neukoelln in the US Sector of Berlin.

As I have reiterated on several occasions, Soviet personnel are welcome at any time to visit the US Sector and enjoy its facilities, but in the present instance they came under circumstances hardly calculated to kindle a hospitable spirit among the residents of Neukoelln. All five Soviet soldiers riding in the scout car were armed, and when the Berlin police came to the assistance of the car commander, its occupants pointed their weapons in a threatening manner at some passers-by who had stopped to observe.

Despite the unusual nature of this visit, and despite the provocative and belligerent behavior of the Soviet soldiers, it should be noted that the occupants of the vehicles were not subjected to any interrogation or prolonged and pointless detention. To the contrary, the vehicle was being assisted toward its destination by US military police only one hour after it first entered the US Sector.

I should like to hope that the efficiency, courtesy and speed with this awkward situation was handled by US Sector authorities has not escaped your notice.

### Vopo Murder Protested

In a letter delivered Sept. 25 to Soviet headquarters in East Berlin, US High Commissioner Walter J. Donnelly protested against "a flagrant violation of the interzonal boundary by the East German Police under Soviet control which

resulted in the murder of a German official." Text of the letter addressed to Gen. V. I. Chulkov, chairman of the Soviet Control Commission in Germany, follows:

"I must draw your attention to a flagrant violation of the interzonal boundary by the East German Police under Soviet control which resulted in the murder of a German official.

"At approximately 4:30 on the afternoon of July 29, 1952, west of and close by the Willmars-Stedtingen road in the United States Zone of Occupation at a distance of about 80 to 90 meters from the zonal border, a German official of the Customs Frontier Service, Gerhard Palzer, was apprehended by three or four members of the Volkspolizei from the Soviet Zone of Occupation. These members of the Volkspolizei, who were armed with rifles, attempted to take Palzer across the zonal border. After a short hand-to-hand struggle Palzer succeeded in tearing himself away from the men of the East Zone Volkspolizei, and he fled into a nearby field. Immediately thereafter the Volkspolizei fired several shots at Palzer at close range and murdered him. The body showed a wound on the right thigh and a wound in the back of the head penetrating the throat, with an exit level with the mouth.

"Incontrovertible evidence has been obtained from eyewitnesses that the act was committed within the United States Zone of Occupation at a distance of at least 80 meters from the zonal border. In addition to statements by witnesses, further evidence of this outrageous transgression of the United States Zone and wilful murder by Soviet-controlled Volkspolizei is furnished by two rifle cartridge cases found at the place where the crime was committed, as well as by blood stains found there.

"I protest vehemently against this murder by East German officials committed on the territory of the United States Zone of Occupation. I demand that the responsible Soviet Zone police be punished immediately and that you take necessary measures to prevent future violations of the zonal boundary. I furthermore insist that responsible Soviet Zone authorities make prompt and full indemnity to the family of the victim of this atrocious and wanton murder."

## Recent Publications

Listed below are official and important publications received in the editorial office of the Information Bulletin during September. Requests for any of these publications should be addressed to the originating agency.

**Monthly Report of the Mutual Security Agency, Division of Statistics and Reports, Mutual Security Agency (Washington), May 31, 1952.** Issue deals with economic developments in western Europe.

**Berlin: Development of its Government and Administration, Historical Division, Office of the Executive Secretary, HICOG (Mehlem), August 1952.** Monograph by Elmer Plischke, assisted by Elisabeth Erdmann. Limited distribution. (Note Mr. Plischke's article "Government and Politics of Berlin," summarizing the content of this monograph in the Information Bulletin, January 1952)

**Official Gazette, No. 91, Allied Secretariat, Allied High Commission (Mehlem), Aug. 30, 1952.** Official texts of legislation and orders enacted by, or under authority of, the Allied High Commission.

**Documents on German Unity, Vol. II, Policy Reports Secretary, Office of the Executive Secretary, HICOG (Mehlem), Sept. 1, 1952.** Supplement to first volume issued Nov. 1, 1951.

**Buecher Vorschau (Book Preview), No. 71, Central Distribution Section, US Information Centers Branch, Division of Cultural Affairs, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG (Frankfurt), Sept. 11, 1952.** List of books to be distributed among the America Houses in Germany.

**Information Bulletin for August, Information Division, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG (Frankfurt), Sept. 15, 1952.** Contains eleven articles and features on US activities in Germany.

**Information Bulletin for September, Information Division, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG (Frankfurt), Sept. 30, 1952.** Contains ten articles and features on US activities in Germany.

## Educational Research in Germany

Continued from page 6

ucation, for example, the selecting of students for advanced study by supplementary use of objective tests, the giving of more opportunity to capable children of lower income groups for higher education, and the studying of the individual difference and development of the child.

**L**OOKING FORWARD to long years of service at an age (65) when most men are put on shelves by their universities in the United States, Mr. Hylla said appropriately for this juncture:

"In conclusion, . . . will the Institute by its work contribute to the basic thing in education, the love and devotion of the individual teacher for his individual student? I am convinced it will, by providing the teacher with tools and methods so that he may understand his students better. It will help to make his love and his

work more efficient and more satisfying by giving him clearer insights into the purpose and functions of education in society. The devotion to man and the love of truth are not identical, but they have one thing in common: both are spiritual values, well fit to counteract one of the basic evils of our time, the over-emphasis on material values. If I were to place an inscription over the door of the Institute I would suggest:

*'In Love for Man and in Search for Truth.'*"

The Institute of International Educational Research was unofficially opened in August with its directing and housing the International Summer Educational Research Workshop, the fourth to be held in Germany since the end of the war, but the first to be principally under German direction. Formal dedication of the Institute is expected to be made next spring.

(The second part of Dr. Jonas' article, to be published in the November issue of the Information Bulletin, will deal with the International Summer Education Research Workshop.)



Still carrying flowers given them by Communists in Berlin, members of the delegation arrived Sept. 19 on a Polish plane in Duesseldorf. They are (left to right) Heinrich Homann, deputy chairman of the Soviet Zone National Democratic Party; Karl Hamann, minister of trade of the Soviet Zone; Ernst Goldenbaum, a vice president of the Soviet Zone governing chamber; Otto Nuschke, deputy minister president of the Soviet Zone; Hermann Matern, a vice president of the Soviet Zone governing chamber, and Matern's aide, Fred Oelssner, member of the SED (Communist Party) political bureau. (ID-HICOG photos)

## Soviet Zone Delegation Pays Brief Visit to Bonn

The visit of a delegation of five officials of the Soviet Zone regime to Bonn to present a letter, purporting to give East German ideas for reunification, was treated in the West German press to extensive comment, ranging from severe criticism to doubts as to sincerity in the proposal. Headlines generally were unfriendly toward the delegation.

With his customary bluntness, Ernst Friedlaender in an column Sept. 20, in Hamburg's *Abendblatt* and Stuttgart's *Nachrichten*, termed the receiving of "the Trojan patrol from Pankow" in Bonn an obvious mistake and said it was no more than an instrument of Russian foreign policy. Frankfurt's *Neue Presse* wrote that the visit was not nearly the sensation which some persons had hoped and Mainz' *Allgemeine Zeitung* described the note only a pretense to seek — unsuccessfully — talks with non-Communist members of the German Parliament.

Some editorials, after the Soviet Zone delegation returned to East Berlin, noted that the members had a press conference to "correct" some of their statements made in Bonn. Cologne's *Rundschau* noted Nuschke's attempts to renounce his admission in Bonn that the Soviet Zone secret police was semi- autonomous.

More cautious appraisal was evident in some newspapers, including Munich's *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, Stuttgart's *Zeitung* and Frankfurt's *Allgemeine*.

Nuremberg's *Zeitung* attacked the Soviet Zone delegation for attempting to use German prisoners-of-war in Russia as a bait to lure the West and for adopting the Soviet propaganda slogan that the German PW's are condemned criminals.



(above) Otto Nuschke on arrival by automobile in Bonn. (below) Soviet Zone delegation's automobiles are stopped by irate demonstrators on Rhine River bridge at Bonn. The first sign reads: "No talk with Nuschke and party."





*The presence of a French traffic policeman, in characteristic blue uniform and with white baton, on the business streets of Frankfurt in mid-September attracted crowds of curious German bystanders. The policeman, Pierre Maurice d'Hardivillers, whose regular post is around Place de l'Opera in Paris, was invited by the Frankfurt Police Department to demonstrate Parisian traffic control. Saying that he was impressed with Germany so far, Frenchman d'Hardivillers commented: "Traffic is much slower here because of the speed limits, and I seem to get impatient. But the situation is difficult because the streets are too narrow for big-city traffic."*

*(photo courtesy of The Overseas Weekly)*