

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me apologise for my ^{unavoidable} ~~unavoidable~~ absence, ^{from this morning's proceedings} which puts me in danger of ~~repeating~~ ^{repeating} what others may have said ^{much better before me.}

But for my ~~unavoidable~~ ^{academic} degree and early work, my ~~connection~~ ^{connection} with Eastern Europe is more ~~intimetal~~ ^{intimetal} than actual.

Still, I have been lately ^{in touch} ~~connected~~ with ~~the~~ reconstruction work in more than one Eastern European country, ^{and I received my education} ~~and I received my education~~ ^{relations} ~~with~~ not only with Hungary, where my father was born, but also with Austria ~~where~~ ^{where} I myself was born, with Yougoslavia, and Poland, as well as with Russia, from where my mother came.

In this ~~very~~ ^{very} broad sense, there is ~~still~~ ^{still} much of the Eastern Europe lingering in me, and it is ~~with~~ ^{with} that I venture to offer some ^{opening} remarks on the subject of your session.

The ~~only~~ ^{one} question, I intend to ~~discuss~~ ^{discuss} is How can the German people be reintegrated into European civilisation? ^{the second on the paper:} ~~I restrict myself to a~~

^{a few simple} ~~I suggest~~ ^{points which might be otherwise overlooked.} I am not the first speaker to remark that the division into (a) and (b) ^{is somewhat artificial.} ~~is somewhat artificial.~~ ^{It suggests that (a) is possible} ~~is possible~~ ^{reintegration} (a) by control of Nazi Germany, ^{and} (b) ^{by} ~~and~~ freedom for democratic Germany.

^{reference} ~~both~~ ^{reference} ~~control~~ ^{control} and freedom are ~~essential~~ ^{vital} to the restoration of Germany. ^{Essentially} ~~They~~ ^{Essentially} refer ~~to~~ ^{to} different ~~periods~~ ^{periods} of time and ~~to~~ ^{to} different ~~matters~~ ^{matters}. Control is ~~more~~ ^{more} transitional and military, ~~the~~ ^{and peaceful, and} freedom is ~~comprehensive~~ ^{comprehensive}. ~~No~~ ^{No} uncontrolled Germany is practicable, nor ~~a~~ ^a Germany which ~~deprives~~ ^{deprives} her people of ~~freedom~~ ^{freedom}.

Actually, control will have to ~~stay~~ ^{stay} in military matters, ~~and~~ ^{and} freedom will have to ~~start~~ ^{start} in many ways from the ~~beginning~~ ^{beginning}. ~~The~~ ^{The} dichotomy is spurious.

This leads on to a more basic ~~consideration~~ ^{consideration}.

premises according to which the reintegration of Germany ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} ~~only~~ ^{only} if ~~some~~ ^{some} kind of ~~agreement~~ ^{agreement} can be found ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~form~~ ^{form} of ~~treaty~~ ^{treaty} ~~with~~ ^{with} Germany, ~~at~~ ^{at} all, ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~essential~~ ^{essential} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~reintegration~~ ^{reintegration} ~~into~~ ^{into} ~~Europe~~ ^{Europe}.

The truth is that Germany will either recover in ~~reintegrated~~ ^{reintegrated} Europe or will further disintegrate in a disintegrating Europe.

In both cases Germany will be the ~~growing~~ ^{growing} point of the ~~reconstruction~~ ^{reconstruction} process. If Europe turns towards life and ~~reconstruction~~ ^{reconstruction}, Germany will be the nucleus of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~reconstruction~~ ^{reconstruction} process. If, on the ~~contrary~~ ^{contrary}, Europe continues to disintegrate and becomes

over

the home of anarchy and chaos, it will be ~~Germany~~ ^{Germany} ~~the~~ ^{will}

that ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~horses~~ ^{horses} of the Apocalypse, take their course.

This is fairly obvious.

Let us assume ^{for us set hope} that Europe strikes out ~~the way~~ ^{for} life. Trans

portation and communications are resumed, the exchange of goods and ^{tourist traffic and} ~~transcontinental~~ ^{transcontinental} travel services gets under way, ~~science and arts~~ ^{science and arts} begin to flow ~~through~~ ^{through} their shafts of light over the ~~continent~~ ^{continent}, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~press~~ ^{press} and books, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~continent~~ ^{continent} becomes ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~homestead~~ ^{homestead} of collective opinion. Can one imagine that

and Europe this again

~~the~~ ^{the} flow of new life would ~~avoid~~ ^{avoid} Germany, ~~the~~ ^{the} heart of Europe

and ~~leave~~ ^{leave} untouched the richest founts of industry, and ~~the~~ ^{the} arts, science and organized ~~general~~ ^{general} interest? On the contrary. No-

thing is more obvious than that Germany would benefit more than any

other part of Europe from the upwards trend of ~~human~~ ^{human} activity and

that ~~recovery~~ ^{recovery}. ~~all along the~~ ^{all along the} ~~line~~ ^{line}

lead in the

The reverse ~~is~~ ^{is} also true. Let Europe's ~~standard~~ ^{standard} of life dwindle away, let civil war and frontier clashes

become the rule, ~~domestic~~ ^{domestic} ~~partisan~~ ^{partisan} ~~strife~~ ^{strife} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~partisans~~ ^{partisans} of ~~foreign~~ ^{foreign} powers, ~~fragment~~ ^{fragment} Europe, break

up ~~the~~ ^{the} lines of traffic, destroy ~~the~~ ^{the} economic ~~unity~~ ^{unity}, and

Germany will be the prime sufferer, the leader in the ~~rush~~ ^{rush} to ruin.

Strong survey Europe

Since no one can ~~reasonably~~ ^{reasonably} assume a Germany ~~strong~~ ^{strong} enough to

to force the course of events ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~decide~~ ^{decide} its ~~issues~~ ^{issues},

what else can be her fate but that of an indicator of recovery or ~~dis~~ ^{dis}aster, as the case ~~may~~ ^{may} be? ~~What~~ ^{What} ~~difference~~ ^{difference} can it ~~make~~ ^{make}

from this point of view

if ~~any~~ ^{any} system of control has been in force there or what forms of free-
dom were ~~original~~ ^{original} ~~inher~~ ^{inher} ~~confined~~ ^{confined}?

This is not to deny for a moment that the problems of control and

freedom are real, and that both in the direction of 'softness' and ~~recognition~~ ^{recognition}, ~~serious~~ ^{serious}

'hardness' fatal mistakes might be committed. ~~But~~ ^{But} ~~such~~ ^{such} ~~mistakes~~ ^{mistakes}

then such a fatal

~~though~~ ^{though} their ~~consequences~~ ^{consequences} might be, and indeed ~~destructive~~ ^{destructive}

of such mistakes can insure

avoidance, ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the way to the reintegration of Germany into European

civilisation. Their avoidance would ~~still~~ ^{still} leave the problem where it

was. It would ~~remain~~ ^{remain} part and parcel of the larger problem of the ~~restoration~~ ^{restoration} of Europe, outside of which no soluti

tion of the German question is conceivable.

~~valid~~ ~~assumption~~ ~~is~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~secret~~ ~~of~~ ~~Germany's~~ ~~reinte-~~
gration lies inside Germany, is mainly held by two types of persons, both
of which should be ~~discounted~~. ^{discounted} The first ^{group} consists of complacent ~~and unimaginative~~
^{and unimaginative} elements in the camp of the ~~victors~~, who give no thought to the task of reconstructing Europe and
who ~~therefore~~ center on Germany as if the problem lay there; the
second ^{group} consists ~~of course~~ of the Nazis and their secret helpers who build
~~at~~ their hopes on the disintegration of Europe.

~~The explanation is simple.~~ ^{the Nazi} These latter elements base their expecta-
tions of a ~~great recovery~~ ^{come back} on the disunion of the victorious great powers.
From which they hope to profit. They ~~quite rightly assume that~~ the one pri-
mary condition of the reconstruction of Europe lies in the cooperation of the
~~great powers~~, ^{restored} of Great Britain, Russia, ~~France~~. A Germany reintegrated
into a restored Europe ^{would} ~~would~~ emphatically not be a Nazi Germany. Conseque-

ly, the Nazi have no interest in following up ^{that} ~~their~~ road to Germany's
recovery. ~~They look to disunity of the victors and a disorganized Europe.~~
~~Instead, they speculate upon the balance of power game, and the disun-~~
~~ity of the allies.~~ This speculation is ~~entirely~~ ^{main} mistaken, for Germany
is much too weak to profit by it. The ^{also} ~~main~~ effect of the disunity has
been until now and will be in future to agree on the further weakening of
Germany. The second effect will be to increase the disintegration of
Europe, and thus hasten the destruction of Germany, the heart of Europe.

Nothing seems more obvious than that the reintegration of Germany leads
over the effective cooperation of the victors in the burning issues of
Europe. Once this is given, Germany will be the chief beneficiary. But not
in that case, ^{in opposition to} ~~in~~ the interests of the ^{others} ~~victors~~, but in pursuance and in
consequence of the fruition of those interests.

Whether control or freedom, both must find their answer within the Euro-
pean framework. ~~German~~ ^{Germany's} control must be European control, Germany's freedoms
must be European freedoms.

The constructive cooperation of the victors on the issue of European re-
construction seems the safest way to tackle the problem of Germany's reinte-
gration in Europe.

These two aspects ~~there~~ ^{are} ~~reflected~~ ^{clearly} in the ~~policy~~ ^{desire} of the victors
to be immediately reflected in the ~~policy~~ ^{desire} of the victors
for European improvement; while ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~interests~~ ^{interests}
of the ~~victors~~ ^{victors} are ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~reflected~~ ^{reflected} in the ~~policy~~ ^{desire}
of the victors for European improvement; while ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~interests~~ ^{interests}

The problem of Germany (1)

I will deal with those arising out of safety & security; and not give (A) the problems

(B) the answers, i.e. the

(A) The Problems. They are short term & long term.

(a) Short term security problems: Inside

military demobilisation
Surrender punishment of war criminals
reduction of Nazi organisations
occupation phase. food & shelter for our forces

(b) long term security problems: Inside

control phase + (I) control of disarmament
of war industries
of general government
"freedom"

[Military government - a unit force.
The military do not themselves
govern, not even with the
help of their civilian
departments. (It would
take millions of trained
administrators to run.)

(II) the organisation of Europe, including
Germany, or the reintegration of
Germany into Europe. OUTSIDE

(a) control of re-education
(b) not only inside but
outside

(c) Germany - the indicator
(d) Complacency + Nazi
(e) Balance of power -
to be maintained

Two security conditions:

(a) long term control
(b) security zones.

It should be understood -

The balance of power game has two very different aspects. ~~Between~~ Every healthy community reacts almost spontaneously to changing power situations, ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~physical~~ body which is rarely completely at rest, unless ill or incapacitated. Such a balance of power game is natural and goes on even inside such organs - Palms as the League of Nations at the United Nations. This is an entirely different matter, when the balance of power game is directed toward at the very existence of such organizations, as if the Axis powers action was in regard to the League. Such a use of the body ~~is~~ ^{is to make} pathological and certainly creates disorganization. Nobody reasonable person expects Germany not to follow the body game in the first, the healthy or physiological first sense, but no Germany not can nor will be recognized which does not exclude the second type of interaction ^{style of power} ~~interaction~~ at the Permanent Cooperation with the Great Powers, ^{including Germany} is the precondition of European reconstruction, and of that Germany's reintegration into European civilization.

Similarity
to
the
body
game

Northampton 10

2

Prof. Froelich } Russia
Frank Rich (1) in

SS

Dept. 3111 - Va. a.

Frank Redd

Prof. Froelich
Becherorovskia
nationalist (left wing) state
ferris de mess

political party
economic justice
political party

"Disciplinary Party"

21st A.

theological
artistic

(1) European
(2) Confessing Church
clergy 60% of clergy

Prussia

"Baltic"

1944

Confessing Church

Confessing Church

Confessing Church

Confessing Church

Confessing Church

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