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JUNE 10, 1962

ATTACHED IS THE COMPLETE TEXT OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS, MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AT KALAMAZOO COLLEGE, KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, ON JUNE 10, 1962.

The address is entitled, "The Federal Republic of Germany in the Free World." Mr. Strauss comments on the political, military and economic contribution of the Federal Republic to the defense of the free world, the integration of the European community and aid to developing countries.

Mr. Strauss discusses Germany's position and attitude towards the Atlantic Alliance, reconciliation with her Eastern neighbors, and the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market.

Soviet policy vis-à-vis Germany and the West is analyzed, together with its implications for the Cold War. Mr. Strauss further outlines the historical background underlying current world problems.

*Summer program
100 - at Bonn.
100-200 - Winter
Exchange program
Bonn & K.*

The Federal Republic of Germany in the Free World

I. The Breakdown of the European System of States

I feel greatly honored to speak to you today on "The Federal Republic of Germany in the Free World." It is a subject that should be approached historically and with sober reflection and not with wishful thinking or sentiment, an attitude described by the Roman historian Tacitus as "sine ira et studio."

First, the background. A crisis in the European system of States became apparent at the start of World War I. By the end of World War II, this system broke down irrevocably. It was based on the concept that Europe was the center of the world and that among the European States themselves, a certain balance of power should exist. This system had reached its culminating point in the 19th century. Without major wars and uprooting revolutions, it lasted through the period from 1815 (the end of the Napoleonic wars) to 1914. It produced the magnificent development of industrial technology and economy. It led to the transition from the system of major powers--Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia--to the formation of world power. It witnessed the clash between socialism and capitalism.

This European system of States received an irreparable blow in World War I which resulted in a peace treaty but not in any political idea which could bind the Europeans together. The system was finally shattered in World War II when a monstrous fanatic used criminal means to attain goals utterly out of proportion.

At the end of the Second World War, two non-European world powers faced each other in the heart of Europe on German soil. Among other problems, the downfall of the German Reich brought up the question whether this event also implied that Europe's historic hour had run out, and that this continent would in the future live in the shadow of the two world powers, as a pawn on the chess-board of world politics.

Remember how many of Kalenzyoo attended English 4 you Munich - Cabinet - Bonn - speeches - Feb - 8 seminar courses at Bonn - many participants - 1958 - started of exchange program - apologized for Bonn's account.

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The question had little to do with war aims, since there was a certain measure of agreement as to these aims among the Allies of World War II. This agreement dissimulated the fact that there was no agreement about peace aims, because the Communist concepts of the future world order were, and still are, different from those of the great democratically-minded leaders of the US, ^{democrats} who had another world in mind than Stalin and Khrushchev.

This explains why none of the conferences at Yalta or Potsdam or those of the heads of government or of foreign ministers led to a solution of world problems. At most, these meetings arrived at an agreement that one of the parties disagreed, and at an acknowledgment of the status quo, irrespective of how that status quo had come about.

Hitler's criminal stupidity and Western misjudgment of Stalin's war aims--which were identical with his peace aims--had made it possible for the Soviets to gain a foothold in the heart of Germany, and thus in the center of Europe, and to stay there. The Soviets' plan was that the division of Germany, and the division of Europe, should remain the status quo up to a time when new changes in the overall situation could lead to a further expansion of Communist rule in Europe.

II. The Foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany
in a Divided Europe.

I speak to you as a German, ^{Soldiers of WWII} motivated by the desire for a peaceful world and human well-being rather than by dimensions of historical greatness. ^{no more problems} And yet, it must be recognized that Germany does play a special role in this political struggle--a role which she can neither ignore nor shake off without grossly neglecting her duties. Germany's role is due to her geographical position, her economic potential based on human rather than material resources, and her historical background which must be judged not out of bias, but with a sober and pragmatic attitude towards history.

It becomes more and more evident that Soviet policy after World War II was not only aimed at turning the Soviet Zone of Germany into a Communist state, but also to achieve a certain degree of control over the Western parts of Germany. Such a control could have made it possible for the Soviets to advance even further into Europe, and could also have prevented the unification of the free nations in Europe.

Time does not permit me to describe the individual phases of the political struggle of those years in detail. But Soviet actions were always governed by the realization, or conviction, that Germany was the key to Europe. According to the Potsdam agreements, the four occupation zones of Germany were to be treated as one administrative and economic entity. The Soviets tied their approval of the implementation of that agreement to the acceptance by the West of the following demands:

1. Delivery of reparation shipments amounting to ten billion dollars, to be taken out of current production, which was then nonexistent.
2. The establishment of "peaceful and democratic conditions" in Western Germany, following the pattern worked out for the Soviet Zone of Occupation.
3. Soviet participation in the control of the industrial center of the Ruhr.

The Western powers rejected these proposals and tried to prevent a chaotic situation in West Germany by increasing their aid. However, they were not able to revive the German economy against the Soviet veto because the decisions on measures affecting the whole of Germany had to be taken unanimously by the four Occupation Powers.

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Destitution and misery in Germany grew from day to day, thus increasing the danger of despair and radicalism in the population. These conditions in Germany also prevented recovery in other countries of Europe. Therefore, the United States and Great Britain decided to merge their occupation zones in the economic field, in

order to rebuild at least this part of Germany. Later, the French Occupation Zone was also included.

Thus, the Federal Republic of Germany came into existence in 1949, after the Soviets had rejected a last offer of the Western powers to treat Germany as one unit, to institute her as a democratic State and to neutralize her militarily. In that phase, the Soviet demand became clearly evident, either to model all of Germany in the image of the Soviets or to accept a continued separation between a democratic and a Communist Germany.

III. Basic Elements of the Policy of the Federal
Republic of Germany

It was not just a matter of merging the three Western Occupation Zones into one political entity and rebuilding its economy. Economy, too, requires a political framework. Therefore, the question of which political framework the Federal Republic was to adopt, came up very soon.

Several concepts were under discussion at that time: for example, renunciation of any kind of foreign policy until Germany had been reunified; neutrality, or the neutralization of the Federal Republic of Germany, either in all fields or at least in the military field, as a model-so to speak-for a future reunified Germany; and an open-door policy towards both sides.

Very soon, however, a powerful movement and a new initiative emerged, which aimed at proclaiming the economic and political unity of Europe and postulated the membership of the Federal Republic of Germany in that Europe. This meant to incorporate the Federal Republic of Germany, right from the outset, into a nascent and growing European community. The Soviets, having failed to prevent the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany, tried repeatedly to influence the policy of the Federal Republic with the objective in mind of obtaining its neutralization or even its confederation with the coercive Communist regime in East Germany. The Western powers left it to the Federal Republic to make up its mind freely.

The question on which way this greater part of Germany with its recovered economic potential would choose not only interested the three Western occupation powers, but public opinion throughout the world. In this context, I should like to delineate the basic elements of German policy, as pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany, although I cannot, of course, recapitulate in detail all phases of their development.

Chairman of Economic Policy

1. Reunification of Germany

German unity is to be reestablished on the basis of self-determination and according to the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is doubtful, however, whether German reunification can be dealt with as a problem on its own. It probably can be viewed only in the context of the fate of the satellite countries under Communist leadership and the whole question of European unity.

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2. European Unity

One of the factors in German policy is European unity. I am aware of the difficulty in defining the term "Europe" from geographic, cultural, political, economic, and military aspects. In this address, I want to confine myself to the political term, that is, the integration of the nations of the free part of Europe, insofar as their traditions, their political situation, and their own attitude move them to desire integration.

Exp. Political Community

As a result, the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community (known as the "Common Market") and EURATOM came into being. This "Europe of the Six": France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg could not, and cannot be regarded as an ultimate aim. It could only be a transitional formula. That is why the Federal Republic desires and welcomes the entry of the United Kingdom and other European nations into that community. Moreover, the existing agreements do not represent the desired ultimate objective, from the point of view of European unification. Over and above economic integration, political unification is necessary.

This political unification will not become a reality unless all member States are prepared to give up and transfer certain parts of their sovereignty to the community. It would be unrealistic to indulge in illusions about the difficulties of, and the time required for, this process. But the unity of Europe requires the inclusion of the United Kingdom and of other nations, and it also requires

the cession of certain sovereign rights to the community. Between the present status and the ultimate goal, there may be many intermediary steps impossible to outline in detail at this point.

3. The Atlantic Alliance

The Federal Republic is a member of the Atlantic Alliance, by necessity and by conviction. The results of modern scientific research, and the technical application of these results, have changed the world radically. We are at the threshold of a new age. Old values and ideas are vanishing, new values and concepts are emerging. The world, constantly shrinking, has become one indivisible entity.

For all practical purposes, the range, velocity and effect of modern weapons have become unlimited. Disarmament is still an unattained aim remaining in an uncertain future. The Soviet Bloc has enormous resources of manpower, vast military capabilities of all kinds and a huge economic potential. The days of European national States, and of self-sufficient defense at the national level, are gone. In the struggle between the Communist claim for world domination, and the determination of the Free World to hold its own, there are no longer any regional battlefields, but only one world-wide controversy.

That is why the Federal Republic of Germany rejected the idea of national armed forces in the classical sense of the word, and has joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. All combat formations of the Federal Armed Forces have been assigned to NATO. More than in any other field, the principle of interdependence applies to defense.

The Federal Republic of Germany desires nothing more strongly than general controlled disarmament and a relaxation of world-wide tension under which all humanity suffers today. The Federal Republic realizes that Germany, in her central position in Europe, must do everything in her power to establish normal relations with her Eastern neighbors.

By joining the European Community and the Atlantic Alliance, Germany not only made a step towards self-preservation and revival but also visibly expressed our determination not to return to a national state pursuing power politics. The new Germany was to be formed, right from the outset, within a political community and a political order in which she lives harmonically, in good relations, with her neighbors.

The objective of reconciling the Eastern neighbors with Germany, however, cannot be achieved as long as the Communist rulers deny the German people their right of self-determination. But it would strongly emphasize this aspect-namely, our sincere desire to become reconciled with our Eastern neighbors in spite of all errors, mistakes, and crimes of the past.

4. Development Aid

Let me also say a few words on our policy regarding development aid. The days of colonialism are gone, just as irrevocably as the days of the European national states. Outside the Communist alliance, which is held together by brute force, and outside the alliances of the Free World, there are many peoples who have just gained their independence and who have great difficulties in their efforts to build up their own states.

Soviet propaganda tries, by using slogans such as "imperialism" and "colonialism", to win them over to the Soviet side. For these peoples, the alternative of either Communist coercion or democratic freedom, does not have top priority. Their main concern is to build up their social and economic order. They are not, a priori, inclined towards either the Communist system or the parliamentary system of a liberal democracy.

It is true, however, that the question of which direction this uncommitted bloc takes will not be without importance to the future of mankind. After all, this involves more than 1 billion people. It is for this reason that development aid is so essential, and that is why the Federal Republic of Germany assumes the task of taking part in this common venture, now that the build-up of its own economy has been successful and a firm social basis has been re-established.

Concluding

IV. The Economic, Military, and Political Con-
tribution of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Federal Republic had a moral obligation to contribute its appropriate share to the great economic, political and military tasks facing the Free World. This required the economic, political, and finally also military, reconstitution of a German state, governed by the principles of liberal democracy, for only such a state was in a position to make any contribution at all.

The Economic Contribution

The Federal Republic was able to increase its economic capabilities considerably, thanks to the generous aid of the United States and a bold German economic policy. These factors put Germany in a position of being able to solve its own social problems and, to contribute at the same time, to the stabilization of the community of free nations.

From 1950 to 1961, the gross national income of the Federal Republic rose from 24.3 to 77.6 billion dollars. The Federal Republic thus was able to fulfill its international commitments and even to increase its contribution. For development aid, almost 2 billion dollars were spent between 1956 and 1961. It was possible to repay the bonded foreign debt of the German Reich and the debts resulting from post-war economic aid as defined in the London Debts Agreement and subsequent agreements, much faster than was originally envisaged.

Out of a total of 2.2 billion dollars, 1.35 billion dollars have been paid so far. Restitution payments for Nazi injustice, which are either defined by international agreements or laid down by appropriate German legislation, total almost 4 billion dollars up to now.

The Military Contribution

In the same manner, the Federal Republic has honored, and continues to honor, the defense commitments it has accepted as a member of NATO. The defense expenditure of the Federal Republic increased from 1.8 billion dollars in 1956, to 4 billion dollars in 1962. This puts the Federal Republic in fourth place in defense spending within NATO—behind the US, the United Kingdom and France.

Nine out of the twelve divisions which the Federal Republic was to activate for the Alliance, have already been assigned to NATO. The remaining three are in the process of being built up. On completion of its build-up, the Bundeswehr will have a total strength of 500,000 men. The Air Force and the Navy have now reached 75% of their force goals. 17 out of the 20 wings which the German Air Force is to activate, have already been commissioned. Nine of these are already under NATO command. 21 out of the 22 naval squadrons called for in the force goals are activated at this moment. Nine of these have been assigned to NATO.

The German Armed Forces thus represent a sizeable contribution to the defense of the Free World. They help to protect, jointly with the forces of the other Allies, the process of integration within the Atlantic Community.

The Political Contribution

The unification of Europe doubtlessly is not feasible without the Federal Republic, but please do not interpret this statement as an exaggeration born of German conceit, but merely as a sober statement of a fact which reflects the geographical situation, economic potential, size of population and intellectual resources of the Federal Republic. Furthermore, one cannot overlook the fact that the free part of Europe is only

Atlantic Community - strong

will go up to 4 billion about as much as

U.S. & France?

44-48

Compare to

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a portion of what we used to understand, and still do, by the term "The Old World."

Should the Communists succeed in prying the Federal Republic out of the Atlantic Alliance and out of Free Europe which is now growing together, the resulting loss of territory, people and economic power would represent a fatal drain to the Free West as a whole, and above all, to Europe.

Confusion of Atlantic

However, we must not look at this process of the growing integration of the Western nations exclusively from our own angle. We must also consider it to be a sort of silver lining on the horizon for the suppressed nations of the East. Their belief in the victory of the Free World and resistance against Communism is strengthened by this growing Community. We know that the nations on the other side of the Iron Curtain feel European, and ~~that~~ their desire to be able to live, some day, in a united and free Europe largely exceeds the national aspects of their efforts.

The Federal Republic of Germany aims at complete European integration, although a confederation—that is an association of existing nations—cannot be discarded, a priori, as being inappropriate as an intermediate solution. The Federal Republic of Germany aims at a political union of as many European nations as possible and is endeavoring to do everything to remove contrasts and differences of opinion with respect to the best way of realizing this objective. She does not consider that Europe should become a third force between East and West, but feels that the unity of Europe is the prerequisite for a ^{strong} powerful European-American partnership which is all the more necessary, the smaller the world and the greater interdependence of the free nations become.

That is why European unity and the Atlantic Community do not contradict each other. On the contrary, I think European unity is certainly a prerequisite for,

~~and at the same time~~ also a considerable step towards,
the Atlantic Community.

Through this policy, the Federal Republic of Germany is trying to contribute to the solution of the problems of the world. However, we must not expect easy and quick results. What we need is persistence, patience, a sense of proportion, responsibility and justice, as well as the capability of appreciating the inner coherence of historical facts.