President's Secretary's File
Diplomatic Correspondence
Germany: Oct 1944-45
Box 32
MEMORANDUM FOR MISS GRACE TULLY

In connection with the attached proposed draft of a statement, I would like to speak to you about it when you get a chance.

I will call you shortly after you receive it.

Oscar L.
The Secretary of War, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Foreign Economic Administrator announced that:

1. Mr. Dewey's statement about the lack of plans for the occupation of Germany is inaccurate.

2. Beginning about a year ago plans were started in the American Government to work out a joint and unified policy by the War Department, Navy Department, State, Treasury, Foreign Economic Administration and the other interested departments and agencies.

3. Contrary to popular speculation, the basic plans to be used immediately after the occupation of Germany were worked out and unanimously agreed upon by all the interested agencies of the United States Government months before any American soldiers set foot in Germany. All of the pre-surrender terms and the directives to be used by the American military were worked out in concrete form even before this.

4. The proclamation issued by General Eisenhower as Allied Commander was based on the agreed pre-surrender plans and on the other plans for the occupation of Germany as were his orders for the abolition of the Nazi racial, sterilization, concentration camp and other similar Nazi laws and institutions.

5. The detailed plans for the unconditional surrender of Germany have been worked out not only in the American Government but with our Allies.
6. The long range plans dealing with what should be done over a period of years to control Germany's will, power and capacity to make war have been worked on for a long time in the American and in the Allied governments but no final decisions can obviously be made on all phases of this problem until the relevant facts are known about what the conditions are in Germany after it is completely defeated.

7. If the Germans senselessly continue their resistance, in view of the certainty of victory, they will invite increased destruction of their industries and their economic system by Allied bombers and Allied land forces. A good part of Germany's industrial and economic system has already been destroyed or damaged by the Allied air forces. The destruction from bombing raids continues to mount. Now with land fighting on German soil, the Germans, as illustrated at Aachen, are inviting further and more devastating destruction by United Nations artillery and other land force action. If, in addition to this destruction which the Germans are bringing on themselves, they wantonly follow a scorched earth policy, the destruction of the German industrial and economic system will be even greater and more complete.

When we and our Allies know, with definiteness how much the Germans have destroyed their own industrial and economic system, we will know better what to do about it.
8. One central thing is clear. Our plans do not envisage the
destruction or enslavement of the German people; but they do envisage
effective control to insure that the Germans will not have the will,
power and capacity to make war again.

9. Based on this central principle, the available facts and
the alternative possibilities depending upon the length of the war
against Germany and what the Germans do to destroy their industrial and
economic system, work on the long range plans both in the United States
Government and the Allied Governments is moving along as speedily as
possible.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MISS TULLY

January 13, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR
JOHN BOETTIGER

TO READ AND PLEASE RETURN
FOR MY "TRIP FILE".

F. D. R.

NOTED BY
J. B.

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, INC.
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.
Plaza 3-4985

To: ________________________________

From: ______________________________

Re: ________________________________
1. **Dismemberment**

No enforced partition of Germany into two or three autonomous states. Acquiescence with such arrangement as may be agreed upon by the European neighbors of Germany regarding East Prussia, Silesia, the Ruhr, the Saar and the Rhineland. Encouragement of plebiscites (in Bavaria, for example) whereby the people may themselves decide for or against inclusion with Prussia in a German state.

2. **Reparations**

No attempt to exact payment of reparations in money, credits or manufactured goods. Removal from Germany of such items as railroad equipment, machinery, livestock and works of art to be not a punitive operation but for the purpose of restoring or replacing stolen property to the people who have been plundered.

3. **Control of expression**

During the period of control of Germany by Allied Military Government the country will be in effect under martial law, which means control of all activities. As the strict control by martial law is relaxed, and finally ends, control of all forms of expression -- newspapers, magazines, books, radio, school curricula and texts -- will perform be restored to the Germans, under the government which will have been set up under AMG control.

4. **Punishment of war Criminals**

There is no recognized international civil code under which "war criminals" can be indicted, tried and convicted by
judicial process. Under martial law the civil code is suspended. Those who have violated accepted military codes can and should be punished by military procedure.

5. Relief
Any relief to the people of Germany to come after relief to the peoples of the liberated countries has been accomplished.

6. Political control
To be exercised only during the regime of Allied Military Government. When that ends, political control of Germany from without should also end.

7. Industry
The return (or replacement) of stolen machinery to the plundered countries, plus the removal from Germany of all machinery usable for the manufacture of war goods or easily convertible to that purpose, will be the one effective means of rendering it impossible for the Germans to prepare for another war. This operation should therefore be carried out thoroughly and energetically, with no concessions to any groups or pressures. The additional step necessary to make Germany physically incapable of preparing for another war is to place allocation of all raw materials in Europe -- both those originating in Europe and those imported -- under control of an international commission of the United Nations. Only such raw materials should be allowed to Germany as are manifestly necessary for manufacture of domestic consumer goods, and checks should be devised to ensure their use solely for that purpose. Establishment of this control as applied specifically to Germany industry should be determined not by the calendar, but by the political orientation of the new German regime and by
the degree of security from war offered by a United Nations world peace organisation.

8. Conscription of labor

The justice of the demand that Germans help to rebuild what they have destroyed is acknowledged. Also the detention of large numbers of German men in other countries for periods ranging from two to five years would help to counteract the results of the biological warfare practised by the Germans since 1939. Acquiescence in such decisions regarding it as may be made by those who have suffered most - the people of the countries which the Germans have occupied and despoiled.

9. General

All details of the treatment of Germany should be based on decisions by the United Nations, not by any one country or group.

The restoration of political autonomy to Germany should begin with small units - villages, towns, cities, sections - and should proceed gradually toward the final objective of centralized authority in a state. The tempo of procession toward that final objective and the duration of the regime of Allied military government should be determined solely by the course of events, both as regards the development of democratic forces among Germans and as regards the establishment of a world organization competent to preserve the peace against the threat of aggression from any quarter.
These are the facts.

Twice within 25 years, Germany has plunged the world into war. Incomplete knowledge of the danger has led many people to believe that wiping out Hitler and Nazism will be sufficient to secure a lasting peace.

Directly after World War I, a campaign of sympathy and rehabilitation for Germany was organized in the English-speaking countries, with the avowed aim of destroying the Versailles Treaty.

Powerful groups have tried, and are still trying (even today in many American Universities) to create the belief that Germany was not guilty for World War I, and that consequently the German people were treated with great injustice.

The resurrection of German Power after World War I was due to a large extent to the systematic activities of well-organized pro-German groups which exerted growing influence on the political, economic and cultural life of many countries during the last decades, principally in the Americas.

Germany and her General Staff established thousands of agents in various countries to carry out military, economic and political missions.

German economic penetration in the various countries, achieved very often with unfair methods, was the forerunner of German political activities in those countries. German businessmen everywhere have been the tools of the German General Staff in its plans for world conquest.

For many decades, America's cultural life has been indoctrinated with German propaganda through the universities and intellectual circles.

Countless "German-conscious" groups like the Steuben Society and fraternal clubs outwardly respectable as Turnvereins, singing societies, and "old hometown" German newspapers, whose subtle effectiveness can be appreciated or even detected only by students of German semantics have been useful instruments for Pan-Germanism and a vehicle for pro-Nazi propaganda, at the same time opposing the World Court and all other forms of international cooperation.

Leaders of German-American groups and of their press publicly incited their adherents to use their right to vote to advance purely German interests, i.e., to vote only for candidates who were friendly to the Third Reich.

Right after the first World War, the pro-Germans started their 1919 campaign and the Steuben Society of America has officially admitted that they struggled for the return of enemy alien property, that they fought the Treaty of Versailles and that they helped the German people to prosperity again.
This time the pro-Germans do not even wait for the end of the war and, while our boys are being killed, while Germans are murdering American prisoners of war, a campaign to "salvage the German people" and to differentiate between the bad Nazis (who probably came from the moon) and the good, misled German people is in full swing.

Councils and committees, backed by powerful industrialists, clergymen, university professors, leading liberals, writers, etc., are being formed, actively engaged in a struggle to obtain:

1. That Germany should get the benefits of the Atlantic Charter.
2. That the political and economic strength of Germany should be maintained.
3. That the productive power of Germany must be preserved.
4. That the German people shall be given a peace which they can regard as just.

For example, such policies are being advocated now by the Council for a Democratic Germany, led by German refugees like Paul Hagen, Hermann Budzislawski, Paul Tillich, etc., and by American liberals such as Dean Christian Gauss, Prof. John Dewey, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dorothy Thompson, Hiram Motherwell, Robert McIver and many others.

Since the country is at war, many pan-German groups have cleverly wrapped themselves in the national flag, eagerly waiting for the day when they can strive again to alienate us from our erstwhile comrades-in-arms, and resume the drive back to isolationism, just as after World War I.

All the above-mentioned activities combined, if not checked, might result in the winning of the peace by Germany.

Is it not for our self-interest, as well as the duty of every democratic organization, to warn the world of the danger to humanity embodied in a strong Germany, nourished upon the Pan-German principles which have been the basis of German Kultur for so many generations and have brought so many tragedies upon the world?

Must our paramount consideration be our own security and should not every approach to the German problem be based primarily on the need for that security?

In one word, are we going to let history repeat itself or are we going to protect ourselves by studying this problem, understanding it, and insisting on its solution?