the days that were to come, there was a widespread belief that Germany would never rise again as an important power and that the U. S. and U.S.S.R. are the last two powers that can bring about a major war in our time. (1)

BALANCE OF POWER

Sobering thoughts such as "Balance of Power" didn't enter the average skull. With Russia emerging from the conflict as the only number one power in Europe; with such territory grabs as that committed by France in taking over control of the rich coal Saar Valley, a German populated area; might not problems such as these bring about new tensions and the desire on the part of America and Britain to rebuild Germany as a counter balance? Such a possibility did not seem to be seriously considered even though it was known that within Germany is an area called the Ruhr, the coal and iron mines and the steel mills of which had not merely constituted the heart of production in Germany but, together with the rest of the Rhineland Valley the industrial heart of all Europe. Truly it could be said that were grass to grow and cattle graze where once reared the mighty smokestacks of the Ruhr, not Germany alone but all of Europe would suffer.

Despite the terrible rubble that was Germany when the Nazis were finally defeated; despite the most horrible conditions and problems that ever confronted a "civilized" nation in all history; any serious student of capitalism could have predicted in 1945 that Germany might very well make her way back to a position of world eminence; that she can quite conceivably be once more caught up in a Global War with the same old worn-out slogans of "Lebensraum" and "National Honor" again rallying the faithful and gullible to the slaughter.

In the book "This Is Germany" (2), James O'Donnell has the following to say on the subject of Germany's future possibilities:

> **"...if the three Western powers do not create, maintain, and bring to a successful conclusion a common German policy, they may yet be faced with 1. A Germany allied with Russia... It is the nightmare alliance that would lead as directly to World War III as it did to World War II. 2. A Germany allied with neither Russia nor the West, but able to practice diplomatic blackmail against both East and West, emerging as DER LACHENDE DRITTE, the Laughing Third. 3. A Germany allied with the West, but so strong and unreconciled that she would become the dominant and domineering member of Western European Union, the arbiter of the Continent. The Western Powers are agreed that this is a threefold danger . . . The Anglo-Americans insist that the French fear the third prospect so much that they enhance the prospects of the first two. The French retort that the third has become the real danger because the English and Americans are willing to risk it to avoid the first two."**

In the mere two years since these words were published Germany, at least the greater section now known as the German Federal Republic, has progressed to the point where her steel productcion now outranks that of Britain, her standard of living is highest in Europe (including Britain) and preparations for a German section of a West European Army are underway.

THE BONN REPUBLIC

Although the treaties with the West were signed only this year, and have not as yet been completely ratified by the respective governments, the Federal Republic of West Germany was born in 1948 when the original four-power rule collapsed. The "Cold" War had by this time become quite hot with the Russians trying to push the western powers out of Berlin by economic blockade. (3) As a result of the complete rupture in cooperation in the rule of Germany between Russia and the West, each side prepared to set up independent states, the U. S. S. R. countering the Bonn Republic with her puppet euphoniously termed the German Democratic Republic.

The republic of the west has by far the greatest population (about 50 millions as against 20 millions) and is overwhelmingly more highly industrialized. Her internal problems, however, are also possibly much greater that those of the eastern republic, for, numbered in her population are some nine million refugees, sometimes referred to as Germany's step children, who were evicted from countries such as Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, etc. at the close of World War II, on the grounds that they were of German ancestry. These exiles were not welcomed with open arms by the already overcrowded and starving Germany of '45 and '46 and despite today's generally improved conditions in the Bonn Republic they still constitute a major problem and one that is laden with potential political dynamite. It is one thing to embrace these people as brothers and sisters in exile — the policy of the Nazis — it is quite another thing to have them all "return" at once to a geographically constricted homeland at a time when poverty and misery is the order of the day.

In the meantime, the question of unity between the two areas is always to the fore. Every one concerned, except possibly the French, want unity, but on their own terms. Offers and counter-proposals are bandied back and forth between Russia and the West with no real effort being made to get beyond the talking stage. This probably means that there will be no unity until the issue is forced perhaps some time in the near future by a once more militarily powerful Germany. The late Dr. Kurt Schumacher, until his recent death leader of the German Social Democrats, in a statement that points directly and unequivocally to German hopes, said:

> **"For us, German unity is more important than the integration of a part of Germany into an international system. We Social Democrats are of the opinion that 70 million Germans will have a different consciousness of their value and different practical possibilities of making their weight felt than a partitioned Germany. But it is just this prospect which seems to disturb some political elements."**
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> News From Germany, May, 1952.

Dr. Schumacher was undoubtedly a man of singular fortitude who stood up under and came out alive from an enormous amount of torture and punishment at the hands of the Nazis. As a politician, however, he was, despite his label, a nationalistic German first, and whether or not he realized it he and his party more nearly represent the interest of Germany's capitalists, at least on this point, than the party which is now in power. Because of his insistence upon German unity first, and his denunciation of the German politicians who are willing to postpone their demands for such unity in the interest of Allied politics, he has been cordially detested by the French ruling class in particular, who have perhaps more reason to resist German unity than have some of their allies.

Despite the fact that the progress toward its rebirth as a world power may be somewhat slower than Dr.

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(1) One exception at least of this widespread belief was the literature of the scientific socialist movement. Our companion party, the S.P. of G.B. in its pamphlet "The Socialist Party And War," published in June, 1950, had the following to say:

"Germany at present is weak and divided and the Western and the Eastern parts of Germany are lined up with the rival groups. As German recovery progresses it is almost inevitable that a new movement for unity will become a powerful force, and German Capitalism will certainly seek to satisfy its own aspiration rather than merely follow America or Russia. Japan, China, South America, India and Africa may, any or all of them, present the world with new sources of trouble." (p. 86).

(2) Published in 1950. A series of articles on Germany in the five year following her defeat, done by a group of professional newspapermen and women.

(3) See "Western Socialist" for July-Aug. 1948, "Battle of Berlin."