

14 February 1951

MEMORANDUM

The Georgetown Conference on Germany led me to the following conclusions:

1. The national status of Germany should be changed:
 - a. Because the combination of occupation statute and Bonn Constitution has outlived its usefulness, having served its purpose to develop a fair chance for a democratic state. In fact, the further maintenance of the present status endangers the very purpose for which it was established.
 - b. Because the present status leads to a confused form of authority; the German people, even more than other people, need the existence of clear-cut jurisdictions. The clear authority of the German democratic government should be proved to the German people.
 - c. Because the decision to contribute their share to Western rearmament should be the result of free deliberations by the democratic process. General Eisenhower in his recent speech in Germany, told the Germans that he is only interested in their troops and support, if it is their free decision to give this aid. This speech should be supplemented by an immediate declaration establishing the fully democratic process by virtue of which the Germans can come to the decision called for by their own interests.
2. The new status should give the Germans full control over their affairs without:
 - a. Violating any justifiable allied interest.
 - b. Recognizing the present separation of Germany.
 - c. Endangering the status of West Berlin.

The representatives of all German parties fully recognized the need of certain limitations of their sovereignty.

3. For the solution of this problem it is suggested that the United States, United Kingdom and France, by executive or legislative action, should state: Since the present international situation does not permit the establishment of a definite peace with all of Germany, we declare:
- a. That the state of war with the Germans end and that all limitations on Germans, resulting from war, cease to exist.
 - b. That the entire administration of the territories occupied by the United States, the United Kingdom or France is transferred to the Constitutional German authorities.
 - c. That in consideration of the continued presence of the United States, United Kingdom and French troops to be maintained for the time being in these territories for their protection, peace and security, in consideration of the need of further economic aid for these territories, and finally in the interest of the realization of common aims and tasks, certain understandings between the United States, United Kingdom and France with the Government of Germany on the exercise of government are necessary. In the interest of an effective execution of this understanding, and in consideration of the present peculiar international law status of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom and France retain:
 1. Control of production of and trade in armaments of any kind.
 2. Security of the allied troops stationed in Germany.
 3. Control of the relations with foreign nations politically or commercially, unless especially transferred to German authorities.

The German parliament should make a corresponding resolution. It should be understood that the allied governments are only willing to grant the new status if the German Parliament agrees by a vote of 75% in favor of the new status.

4. The German political parties have made their final decision for the West. As soon as possible, under the new status, Germany should offer her participation in Western rearmament. For the time being, this contribution should be limited to the participation of Germany in the costs of her own defense by the Allied troops; the supply of industrial products; and the coordination of her administration of certain matters with the needs of Western defense. This limitation is dictated by the geographical position of Germany. It should, furthermore, be helpful in the coordination of French and American policy.