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"East Europe"

It's Really Central Europe, Of Course

By MEDFORD EVANS in the Scoreboard 1967 (July-August) edition of *American Opinion*.

(Continued—Dr. Evans is discussing the Iron Curtain)

You think people who set up a thing like that are not crazy? You think any *Germans*, "East" or otherwise, set it up? Because the phrase "Iron Curtain" is a figure of speech, some people seem to think the thing itself is not a physical reality. It's as real as scorched earth, land mines, armed guards, and six barbedwire fences can make it. Granted that, elaborate as it is, it would be negligible as a military defense against armored attack, it is immensely effective in discouraging foot traffic. Which is its purpose. Especially outbound foot traffic. The Soviet Zone of Germany as a whole, and East Berlin in particular, have lost population since 1946. No other European country or capital can make that statement. The loss is not due to excess of deaths over births, but to outmigration. Outmigration is prohibited. They outmigrate anyhow. Not nearly so many, though, as would if they didn't have the Iron Curtain.

And The Wall. The Wall was to mend the one bad tear in the Curtain. Of course the peculiar arrangement for maintaining Berlin as a four-power city in the midst of the Soviet Zone has always had advantages for the Soviets; nevertheless, in this world nothing is free, and the cost of the Berlin set-up to the Communists was that for years the city was a leaky valve population-wise, since any enterprising and disgusted Deutscher beyond the Brandenburg Tor could pick himself up and get on over to West Berlin, where Mayor Willy Brandt demonstrated that even he is still to be vastly preferred in power to hardcore *open* Communists like Walter Ulbricht and the Red Army.

The Communist maniacs had put the Curtain around *three* sides of West Berlin from the start. On the south, on the west, and on the north of this urban enclave in the Russian-occupied heart of historic Germany the same layers of barbedwire fences and wasteland precluded (still do, of course) informal commuting. At places appropriate for maximum impediment the layers were and are, Willard Heaps tells us, "supplemented by fields of barbedwire." (*Fields of barbedwire!* These Communists are really insane!) Well, the east side of West Berlin, which is the western boundary of the Soviet sector of the city, was for sixteen years still open—a fact probably only coincidentally related to another fact, that legally under the four-power agreement for post-war administration of the whole city of Berlin there was *supposed* to be, in the words of—of all people—J. William Fulbright, "Free transit between the two parts of Berlin." Increasingly, the free transit made of Berlin what Krushchev called a "bone in his throat". Even visits to West Berlin by residents of the Soviet Zone tended to breed discontent from the comparison, and inevitably many of the visitors never went back, preferring either to stay in West Berlin, or if

possible catch a ride out to non-Soviet West Germany or beyond. The drain of precisely the most enterprising element of the population was felt more and more by the Communist captors as unendurable, both physically and psychologically. On August 13, 1961 the Brandenburg Gate was closed by Soviet order, and construction begun of the crude and brutal patchwork of concrete blocks, barbedwire and improvised barriers running twenty-seven miles north and south through the centre of the capital of Germany. (Berlin, all of Berlin, is the legal capital still of all of Germany, though the only legal German Government sits in the Rhenish city of Bonn as a *de facto* capital because of the intolerable hazard of the Berlin site.)

To the everlasting shame of the United States, we did nothing to prevent the illegal establishment of The Wall, and for six years now have done nothing to oppose the barbarities for which The Wall serves, in addition to its utilitarian function as a detention barrier, as a theatrical backdrop. Perhaps the most infamous instance was the affair of young Peter Fechter, eighteen-year old builder's apprentice, who on August 17, 1962, in attempting to escape, was shot by the viperous *Volkspolizei* as he stood briefly atop The Wall on the edge of freedom. He fell in the Russian Zone, wounded but still very much alive. There he lay dying for an hour, calling for help, while the Communists who had shot him did nothing, apparently without any sympathy, and three feet away the non-Communists whom he had hoped to join—including American officers—stood apparently in an agony of sympathy, and also did nothing. It was a moot point which side seemed more contemptible

The Wall is now far more efficiently manned and equipped than at the outset. Loopholes, such as through buildings along its line, have been plugged; watchtowers with searchlights and armed sentries have been erected; open areas east of The Wall are patrolled by police dogs on hundred-meter leads. Do you think the East Berliners or Soviet Zone Germans constructed this system to fence themselves in? *Individual* Germans—such as Walter Ulbricht—did so, of course. They could do so only under the cover of the Red Army. The Red Army, in turn, could be in Central Europe only with—since 1945—the consent of the government of the United States.

In one respect we Rightwingers may be wrong. Because The Conspiracy is a conspiracy, we assume—and rightly, I believe—that it consciously intends to do evil. (I think it evil to plot the seizure of total world power.) Since the conspiracy succeeds in doing a great deal of evil, since it must be an elaborately organized affair, and since the evil it does accumulates in one direction—*i.e.*, toward the completion of Communist power—we tend to assume further

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that the people in The Conspiracy—at least those at or near the top—are all vastly clever and plan in advance in some detail the particular evils which they do. I doubt this. I suspect that nihilistic lovers of chaos can hardly avoid chaotic conditions within their own ranks, much less within the empire under them. Their success is due simply to their consistently destructive attitude. If you aim a brick at a chandelier and miss, you may still accidentally hit a vase or a mirror. Just keep pitching, and shocked observers will credit you with marksmanship.

I suppose that Shakespeare's Iago is the best psychological portrait of a pure and cunning villain ever drawn. In the early stages of his devilish plot against Othello, Iago soliloquizes: "'Tis here, but yet confused: Knavery's plain face is never seen till used". Half the time, or more, the Communists don't know what they are doing, but they are confident that somehow they can turn it all to "the overthrow of all existing institutions." They employ with great cumulative effect a principle I shall call The Ratchet. The term is virtually self-explanatory: a ratchet is "a mechanism . . . to allow effective motion in one direction only" (*Webster's Seventh New Collegiate*). Communists accede to nothing which does not promise to advance their revolution. So dogged are they in this determination that of all the mistakes they make, by far the larger number are mistakes of omission rather than commission. They often fail to take over where they might, but having taken over anywhere, they never let go. (Conservatives, in their own perverted way!) The ratchet wheel of the revolution is today most significantly advanced in Central Europe generally, more particularly in Central Germany, vulgarly called "East" Germany.

III

This is not a capsule history of Germany, nor even an article about Germany, except incidentally through necessity. It is a view of Central Europe, and in 1967 the Central European scene is largely occupied by Germany. Not "East" Germany. It so happens that the story of the year in "East" Europe, Central Europe—call it what you will—is being played out in "West" Germany. The whole of Germany is, of course, the key to the future of Europe; and Europe,

rather more decisively than Vietnam, is the key to the future of the world.

Germany, remember, is conquered territory, its disposition still in dispute today. Its last independent régime was destroyed, and its armed forces unconditionally surrendered, in the spring of 1945. The Western Allies and the Soviet Union, conquerors, divided the spoils. This division was made by political pre-arrangement well before the end of the war, and was not made according to the extent of German territory actually conquered by the respective armies. Indeed, the American forces, though restrained even in the course of battle from advancing as far as they might readily have done, still went 120 miles further east than the previously agreed upon western boundary of the Soviet Zone, and so had to be recalled—and were recalled over Winston Churchill's most strenuous objection—in order to yield the territory to the Russians. This, together with creation of the anomalous isolation of Berlin, was perhaps the outstanding positive folly, if that is what it was, of the Roosevelt-Truman Administration in the final phases of World War II. At least equally vicious in practice, however, was a decision perhaps virtuous enough in theory. This was the decision at the Potsdam Conference of July 1945 to postpone settlement of the international boundary between Germany and Poland until the peace conference which it was assumed would eventually legitimize the consequences of the Second World War. (The conference has still never been held.) Actually, a boundary between Germany and Poland was for all practical purposes to date set at Potsdam. The Eastern third of Germany, as Germany was constituted before the war, was given to Poland "for administration," except that the area around the German city of Königsberg in Northern East Prussia was given directly to Russia. The boundary adopted followed the Oder River south to the confluence of the Western Neisse, thence following that river south to the Czecho-Slovak border. East of this "Oder-Neisse Line" are forty-thousand square miles of land that in 1937 (a date chosen to obviate claims based on Hitler's dubious acquisitions) belonged to Germany and had a population of 9.5 million.

These "Oder-Neisse provinces" comprised (simplifying a bit the tortuosities of geographic nomenclature in this region of the world) East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia. From them the German population was to be expelled "in an orderly and humane manner" to the occupied zones still to be called Germany. The reason for this orderly and humane expulsion, in which multitudes were robbed, raped, starved, killed, exiled, was to *compensate* Poland for the retention by Russia of formerly Polish land in the east, which the Soviets had annexed in 1939 in consequence of their alliance with Nazi Germany, in and from which Poles were to be robbed, raped, starved, killed, exiled. Summarizing, Russia took Eastern Poland and part of Eastern Germany as "legally" (Soviet law) her own; the rest of Eastern Germany she gave to Poland as *compensation*; all the while, through the "Lublin Committee" and successor Communist puppet Governments, including the one now headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka, she ruled everything denominated Poland, including, of course, the Oder-Neisse provinces—Eastern Germany; finally she occupied and administered, first directly, then through the puppet Government under Walter Ulbricht, the Soviet Zone, which is Central Germany. In other words, there was solid Soviet control—open Soviet control—from Moscow west to the line between the German states of Thuringia and Hesse—further west than

Munich, Nuremberg, or Hamburg—less than a hundred miles from the Rhine. Here it is, consolidated now by twenty-two years' establishment, the "Soviet power in the heart of Western Europe" which Churchill warned Truman in June 1945 would be the result of the retreat of the American Army before the Russian advance through what is definitely Central Germany.

The "temporary" decisions of the Potsdam Conference have been declared and treated as permanent by the Russians, while the permanence has been denied in theory but accepted in practice by the Western Powers, including now, it appears, West Germany. Let's face it, in terms of *Realpolitik*, the Bonn Government has been a quasi puppet of the United States, as influenced by Britain and France. We can hardly expect Bonn to maintain a tougher attitude toward Russia than the United States does. For twenty-two years we have consented to a tripartite partition of Germany: Eastern Germany absorbed into Russia and its satellite State of Poland; Central Germany occupied by the Red Army and adorned with a puppet government labeled by the Soviets "German Democratic Republic" and by a thoughtless world as "East Germany"; Western Germany first occupied and directly administered by British, French, and American forces, then elevated to the status of a legally independent "Federal Republic"—dependent, however, on a military establishment with the cover name of N.A.T.O., actually in the main the U.S. Seventh Army, backed (it was long believed) by the U.S. Strategic Air Command, which is not and has never been under N.A.T.O. command. S.A.C. has always been credited with nuclear combat capability, and the Seventh Army was for a time publicized as having nuclear weapons such as "Honest John" and "Davy Crockett" which ground troops could use. At the peak of public confidence in both Europe and America that the United States was physically and psychologically capable of using nuclear weapons in defense of what remained of Western Europe, the security, prosperity, and prestige of West Germany were also at a peak. Today, after twenty years of fallout, holocaust, ban-the-bomb propaganda, culminating in test-ban and nonproliferation treaties; after nuclear disarmament proposals that are already successful on the psychological level, which is the level of decision; and in an era of Soviet-American *détente*, West Germans must feel that they have to start looking for other arrangements.

Until recently the realities of postwar military power relationships have added up to a more or less stable equilibrium of Soviet forces and American forces in confrontation across a line of demarcation—the Iron Curtain—through the centre of German territory. Early in 1961, fear that this equilibrium might be upset in favor of the Americans by the serious patriotism of General Edwin A. Walker, then stationed in Bavaria on the left flank of the Red Army, led the White House-Pentagon command centre not only to "muzzle" but also to *hobble* the U.S. military so obviously that, in the sequel, Gaullist France would treat us with open contempt, Soviet Russia would enforce the atrocity of The Wall, and Bonn would inevitably conclude that Moscow might well prevail over Washington if, indeed, the two were not already at one. A nation less intelligent than the Germans might well understand that if the United States and Russia were indeed entering an era of *détente*—a French word signifying, interestingly enough, both "relaxation" and "trigger"—then a dependent power like the Federal Republic had better accept such adjustments and accommodations

as might be available in an international situation where relaxation at the floodgates could readily trigger inundation from the Red sea.

IV

Suppose you were Chief of Staff for The Conspiracy. What would you do next? What it seems to me you would have to do is destroy the military power of the United States and capture Germany, using Soviet Russia in doing both these things. Already sure of France, you could consolidate Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and then give your full attention (leaving Britain and Japan to wither on the vine) to perfecting the final conquest of the people of the United States through the courts, departments, and bureaus of the federal government of the United States. At some point you would have to take care of Australasia and Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. In these remote, strategically important, and lightly but stubbornly populated areas you would probably attempt a program of racial extermination of Europeans. Possibly you could induce Europeans (from Europe and America) to do it for you, in the name of brotherly love.

To recap, and rephrase a bit, the immediate essentials: (1.) continue the process, already well advanced, of dismantling the American military establishment by (a) cutting all moral ties between troops and the U.S. civilian population, through operations like the Vietnamese war which have no relationship to U.S. national interests but are Pavlovian conditioning operations to produce military cadres that will do anything, however absurd, that political authority orders, (b) completing the withdrawal from all uniformed personnel in the U.S. military establishment of authority and physical ability to use nuclear weapons (this may be already completed), (c) transferring command functions over U.S. armed forces to international agencies such as the U.N. Secretariat, but looking to eventual integration with the Red Army under open Communist command, headquartered in Central Europe; (2.) add *all* of Germany to the "Socialist Camp" through inducing a West Germany inevitably now disillusioned with America (a result which Washington has guaranteed) to turn eastward in a commercial, diplomatic, and eventually military *Drang nach Osten*.

There is a substantial history of the Soviet Government's allowing the foreign offices and mass communications media of the "Liberal" Western Powers to propagandize long and vigorously for some end which the Soviets repeatedly reject, but eventually, when the West has achieved a veritable frenzy of mindless insistence, accept to their own advantage. The nuclear test-ban treaty is the classic example—as neat a use by the Soviets of reverse psychology as Br'er Rabbit's getting Br'er Fox to throw him in the briarpatch by frantically begging him not to. Now for years the United States and other Western Allies have insisted that Germany must be reunified, while the Soviet Union has recognized both the Federal Republic of West Germany and its own puppet régime in "East Germany", and insisted that there are in fact "two Germanies". From now on we may anticipate that the Soviet Union will at any time suddenly plump for a formula which will give the Western "Liberals" one of the verbal victories which they so love—a "reunification" of Germany, a reunification on such Communist terms as would amount to virtual annexation of West Germany to the Soviet Zone.

A unified Germany within the Communist bloc might

dominate the Communist bloc. That would be the implicit come-on. Plausible. Combined with The Ratchet and *détente*, it might work. If I were Chief of Staff for The Conspiracy (which praise the Lord I am not), I would set up an agenda something like this:

(1.) Get the Bonn Government of West Germany in a spirit of *détente* through trade arrangements with such satellite nations as Romania (which recognizes its fellow satellite "East Germany") to give a sort of morganatic recognition to "East Germany".

—Just a moment's digression here for a matter of terminology. I get tired of writing "East Germany" in quotes, and I refuse to write it without quotes when I mean the Soviet Zone of Germany. Yet "Soviet Zone" itself fails to indicate the puppet Government under Walter Ulbricht. The formal name, "German Democratic Republic", is just too preposterous. We need a term as convenient as "Bonn" is for West Germany. Now the Ulbricht puppet Government has offices in a section of East Berlin (it really is East Berlin) called Pankow, so let's call it Pankow, which a number of writers already do, but not so many but what I thought I'd better take time out to explain it.—

(2.) Get Bonn to relax its claims to the German lands beyond the Oder-Neisse line. It would have to do this if it had any hopes of ever trading with Poland. And doing this would surely be in the spirit of *détente*. And if you're in the middle between the United States and the Soviet Union, and those two are entering an era of *détente*, what are you going to do—fight 'em both? Get with it, man, *détente* is IN!

(3.) Get Bonn to feel that if it is going to recognize Pankow half way, it might as well go whole hog (*le mot juste*) and unite with Pankow. Bonn could tell itself that it would be the dominant partner. The Bonn Government's theory is, anyhow, that it belongs in Berlin. Its Parliament has met there—in West Berlin, that is—just to show that (a) it claims jurisdiction over *all* of Germany, and (b) Berlin is the true capital of *all* of Germany. At such a meeting April 7, 1965, Soviet jet fighters buzzed "Congress Hall" and broke windows all over the city with sonic booms to show what they thought of Bonn's claim to Berlin. Bonn couldn't and its American friends wouldn't do anything about those buzzings. Oh, the State Department protested to Moscow, but so what! Now Pankow is already in Berlin—East Berlin, that is, but Berlin is supposed to be all one city, as well as the true capital of all of Germany. If Bonn and Pankow could be united, the pair of them would live in a united Berlin in a united Germany. The Wall would come down, the Iron Curtain in Germany would come down. It would be moved—how far west? Out into the Atlantic, maybe, or maybe to about Hagerstown, Maryland. But with lots of *détente* and a burning desire for unification, why could not Bonn approach Pankow? Meanwhile, to be sure, The Ratchet would hold Pankow right where it is, firmly in the Communist clutch. That's how you Communize all of Germany.

How could I "get Bonn" to do these things? Why, if I were Chief of Staff for The Conspiracy, I'd be on the best of terms with such people as Lyndon Johnson, Charles de Gaulle, and Harold Wilson—people of influence. The new Chancellor of the Bonn Government, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, has already agreed with Lyndon Johnson (they talked at Adenauer's funeral) that he will do nothing of international consequence till he clears it with Washington. Lyndon

Johnson said he would clear things with Bonn, too. Ha!

Don't tell me that Germans just wouldn't unite themselves with the puppets of Russian Communists. Hitler united with Stalin. Bonn would have better rationalizations available for uniting with Pankow. One hears from the Left pretended alarms that Germany is threatened with a resurgence of Nazism, that the new National Democratic Party (N.D.P.) is "Neo-Nazi", that it got some votes in Hesse and Bavaria and has members in the Bonn Parliament, though it is not part of the coalition Government headed by Kiesinger. One hears, too, pious exclamations over the fact that Kiesinger was in 1933 a Nazi, though, it is said, he quickly became disenchanted with Hitler and quietly dragged his feet during the rest of the rise and fall of the Third Reich. One gets a sort of joyous antiphon of these Leftwing lamentations from a few American Rightwingers who seem to find consolation in the prospect of a possible Nazi revival on the Rhine. Seems to me it should not be forgotten that it was Hitler who gave the Eastern half of Poland to Russia in September 1939. Yes, I know that he intended to double-cross Stalin, but he didn't succeed. Good intentions are not enough. Stalin's motto, by the way, was "Socialism in One Country"; Hitler's was "National Socialism".

Well, if I were Chief of Staff for The Conspiracy, I'd also dangle Austria before German eyes as eventually part of the unification scheme. Above all, I'd suggest that nothing in the world prevents Germany from being the Number One Nuclear Power of the World except Soviet reluctance to let her get started, and that such reluctance could readily be changed to cooperation if Germany just had the right—pardon me, a sufficiently Left—attitude.

(To be continued)

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