

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

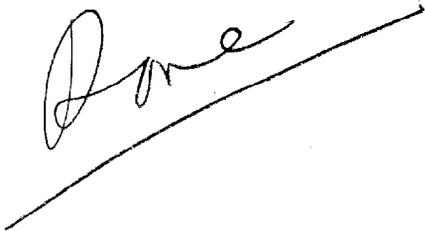
TO : COLONEL SNYDER

DATE: 17 April 1956

FROM : Colonel Forbes

SUBJECT: Chief of Staff's Remarks to Frau Reuter

1. Attached at TAB A are informal remarks in English for the Chief of Staff's use in addressing Frau Reuter on the occasion of placing a wreath on Ernst Reuter's grave in Berlin.
2. At TAB B are the same remarks translated into German.
3. At TAB C is newspaper material recalling the events of Reuter's life.



ROBERT C. FORBES
Colonel, GS
Asst Secy of the General Staff

My venerable Madame Reuter,* I am proud to be able to honor an inspiring man, your late husband. What a remarkable man he was! Passing through several other careers, anyone of which would have been enough for a lesser man, his lifelong characteristics asserted themselves: his brilliant, lucid mind; his strong will; his independence of spirit; his championship of freedom, and his non-doctrinaire philosophy.**

Ernst Reuter met and challenged destiny several times, but he reached the peak of his destiny in post-war Berlin. It was there that I came to know him, and inevitably to admire him.

With deep understanding of the Communist threat, he was determined to resist the Communist attempts to starve Berlin into submission. It was he who rallied and inspired his people. Knowing that the people would resist, The West committed men and resources to assist Berlin. Berlin's magnificent resistance, supported by the airlift, thus became the first great setback to Communist aggression. It was in this enterprise of comradeship that the German and American peoples found a common purpose, a community of destiny.

Since that time, the Freedom Bell which I helped General Clay to dedicate in October 1950, has remained as a ringing symbol of liberty, a Berlin landmark in the march of freedom. Every time its voice speaks, it commemorates a great

* For a large formal gathering: "Meine sehr verehrte, liebe Frau Reuter."

* For a small or intimate group: "Meine sehr verehrte, liebe, gnädige Frau."

** "seine nicht doktrenäre Haltung."

fighter for human liberty. The Freedom Bell is Ernst Reuter's real monument.

It is a great privilege, Madam, to pay tribute to your husband's memory.

Hochverehrte gnädige Frau:

Ich darf stolz sein auf diese Gelegenheit, einer so hervorragenden Persönlichkeit wie Ernst Reuter, Ihr verstorbener Gatte, es war, meine aufrichtigste Ehrenbezeugung zu erweisen. Er war als Mensch eine so bemerkenswerte Erscheinung! Indem er eine Anzahl verschiedener Karrieren durchlief, deren jede einer minderen Persönlichkeit genügt hätte, brachte er seine lebenslänglichen besonderen Eigenschaften zum Ausdruck: eine klare, brillante Intelligenz; starke Willenskraft; geistige Unabhängigkeit; einen Freiheitssinn der ihn zum Vorkämpfer der Freiheit machte; eine geistige Haltung, die nie zur Doktrin und Routine erharteten konnte.

Ernst Reuter ist dem Schicksal mehrmals begegnet und hat es mutig herausgefordert. Den Höhepunkt erreichte er jedoch im Berlin der Nachkriegszeit. Es war dort, dass ich mit ihm bekannt wurde und wo er mir meine tiefe Bewunderung abgewann.

Er war sich der drohenden Kommunisten-Gefahr sogleich vollständig bewusst und war entschlossen, sofort energischen Widerstand zu leisten gegen die kommunistischen Versuche, die Stadt Berlin durch Aushungern auf die Kniee zu zwingen. Er war es, der die Bevölkerung seiner Stadt zum Widerstand zusammenschloss und zur Tatkraft begeisterte. Im berechtigten Vertrauen darauf, dass die Bevölkerung sich den drohenden Massnahmen widersetzen würde, brachten die westlichen Mächte ihr Personal und Material zur Hilfe Berlins in Einsatz. Mit der Unterstützung unserer Lufttransporte wurde die grossartige Widerstandsbewegung Berlins die Gelegenheit zu einem ersten russischen Fiasko. In der Kameradschaft dieses Unternehmens entdeckten unsere beiden Völker ihr gemeinsames Ziel und ein gemeinsames Schicksal.

Seit jener Zeit besteht die Freiheitsglocke, deren Einweihung ich im

Oktober neunzehnhundert fünfzig zusammen mit General Clay beiwohnen konnte, als ein klingendes Symbol der Freiheit, das Berliner Landmal für den Marsch zur Freiheit. Jedes Mal dass wir deren Stimme hören belebt sie das Andenken an einen unserer führenden Kämpfer im Kampf für die Freiheit des Menschen.

Es ist mir in der Tat, hochverehrte gnädige Frau, eine vorzügliche Ehre, auf diesem Wege dem Andenken Ihres Mannes meine Ehrerbietung zu erweisen.

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1. Attached is a copy of the remarks prepared for the Chief of Staff to deliver to Frau Reuter, as translated by G-2. This copy is the same as the one furnished the Chief of Staff.

2. Dr. Kraemer, a German-born civilian specialist in the Office of CA/MG, and a reserve Lt. Col. in the U.S. Army, is frequently consulted on the German language for high-level discussions. We have checked this G-2 translation with him. His opinion is that the translation is, on the whole, technically correct, although it contains a few mistakes. He says, however, that the German version has been expressed in formal, bureaucratic language, and thus has eliminated the simple, gracious appropriate language of the English original. He recommends that the German remarks be revised by a German expert with taste, and has made the minimum suggested changes in handwriting on this copy.



ROBERT C. FORBES

Colonel, GS

Asst Secy of the General Staff

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Es ist mir in der Tat, hochverehrte gnädige Frau, eine vorzügliche Ehre, auf diesem Wege dem Andenken Ihres Mannes meine Ehrerbietung zu erweisen.

Ernst Reuter

SEP 30 1953

WASHINGTON STAR

The sudden death of Ernst Reuter robs the free world of one of its strongest voices and most stalwart leaders. As Lord Mayor of West Berlin, he was the civic head of a little island of liberty entirely surrounded by the threatening Soviet sea. During the darkest days of the Kremlin's infamous blockade, he stood there rocklike and unafraid—with a kind of contagious courage that imparted itself to all the beleaguered inhabitants. Here was a historic drama of truly heroic proportions, and he was the chief actor in it, inspiring everybody to hold firm against tyranny. No man did more to insure the ultimate success of our American and allied airlift.

But this was not all that Ernst Reuter did. Before and after the blockade, as well as during it, he worked constantly in behalf of freedom, and the fervor of his effort stemmed in large part from his own early experience. For at one time in his life, in his youthful years just after the First World War, he was a Communist of considerable importance—a phase of his career that ended abruptly in 1921. By then, having acquired an intimate knowledge of the true nature of Red totalitarianism, he was so revolted by it that he became dedicated to an intense personal crusade against it. Nor did he lose sight of its evil during the period of his flight from Hitlerism. As he rightly saw it, the Soviet tyranny was no better, but perhaps much worse, than the Nazi tyranny.

So Ernst Reuter seized upon every opportunity to preach the virtues of genuine democracy and expose communism as a system

sinning against God and human nature, and hence a monstrosity bound to perish if met with resolute physical and spiritual resistance. As he once put it, "It is not external force that decides, but the spirit which is stronger than any force. . . . We are not so naive as to think that aggression can be met without arms, but we know that the mightiest weapon of all is the weapon of the spirit"—the kind of spirit, his kind, that played a decisive role in breaking the Soviet blockade. As long as freedom has a history, the name and deeds of this man will surely be written large in it.

ERNST REUTER DIES; MAYOR OF BERLIN

Leader of Western Sector,
Long Foe of the Reds, Is
Victim of Heart Attack

SEP 3 1953
By WALTER SULLIVAN
Special to THE TIMES

BERLIN, Sept. 3.—Dr. Ernst Reuter, West Berlin's Mayor and one of the best friends of the United States in Europe, died here suddenly tonight of a heart attack. He was 64 years of age.

Although Soviet pressure on West Berlin has eased for the moment, his loss presents a serious crisis for the West Berlin Government, which he has led since its formation in 1948.

In that year when the break of the Western Allies with the Soviet Union inaugurated the "cold war," Berlin split in two. The anti-Communist forces rallied around Dr. Reuter in the Western sectors and he led the city through the Soviet blockade of 1948-49.

As one of Germany's top Social Democrats, Dr. Reuter has been the keystone of West Berlin's coalition government. The Social Democrat party is the strongest in the government, having polled almost half the votes in the last municipal election, but with Dr. Reuter's passing the threat looms that the coalition will break up without his strong leadership.

Walther Schreiber, Deputy Mayor who is a member of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union, will serve as acting Mayor until the city's Chamber of Deputies elects a successor to Dr. Reuter.

Dr. Reuter's career has made

Continued on Page 5, Column 2



DEAD AT 64: Mayor Ernst Reuter of West Berlin, who died yesterday of heart attack.

ERNST REUTER DIES; MAYOR OF BERLIN

Continued From Page 1

him one of the most interesting political figures in Europe. He once was secretary general of the German Communist party.

He entered the German political scene in 1918 with a letter of recommendation from Lenin, saying that "young Reuter has a brilliant and lucid mind—but is a little independent."

Dr. Reuter's trademark was a basque beret he usually wore in public. Unlike most political leaders, he lived in one of a string of identical houses in the suburban district of Zehlendorf.

Known for Human Qualities

These aspects of the Mayor's personality, plus his gift for impromptu speeches, won for him the reputation of being "sympathisch"—a congenial and human person.

He had been in good health until yesterday evening when he complained of a slight cold. Yesterday morning he recorded his usual Sunday broadcast to East Germany "where the shoe pinches."

Early this morning he had a heart attack. To avoid causing alarm it was officially announced that he was suffering from bronchitis. Shortly before 7 P. M. he had a second heart attack, which was fatal.

He leaves his wife, two sons and a daughter. An hour and one-half after his death the city was asked to lower its flags in mourning. West Berlin radio programs were interrupted to give the news.

A. D. N. official East German news agency, with unusual swiftness issued a report at the same time saying "the head of the West Berlin Administration" had died.

Dr. Reuter first achieved worldwide fame during the Berlin blockade and airlift. His speeches in front of the ruined Reichstag Building to crowds of several hundred thousand did much then to rally the West Berliners on the side of the Allies.

In picturing Berlin as an "island of democracy in a red sea" he also dramatized the city's plight in the United States and encouraged support for an airlift that cost the United States taxpayers several hundred million dollars.

He made several trips to the United States. His most recent, in spring of this year, sought to raise money for the refugees pouring into West Berlin from East Germany at that time.

Member of Pacifist Group

The son of a sea captain, Dr. Reuter joined the Social Democratic party on the eve of World War II. He drifted into the pacifist wing of that party and his pacifist connections later saved him from the Nazis.

During World War I he was wounded on the Galician front and saved, he later said, only by the kindness of Russian peasants.

When he was forced to work as a prisoner in the coal mines, his Socialist agitation among his colleagues reached the ears of Lenin, who made his commissar of the German minority group in the Volga valley.

After his return to Germany he was jailed briefly as a Red.

He then became involved in the stresses and strains that tore apart the German Communist party after World War I. For three months he was secretary general of the party and then returned to Social Democrats.

He was succeeded as secretary general of the Communist party by Wilhelm Pieck, now president of the East German Government, and

chairman of the Socialist Unity [Communist] party in the Soviet zone.

Dr. Reuter entered Berlin politics and did much to unify the city's transport system. He visited New York to obtain a loan for this purpose.

Arrested 3 Times by Nazis

He was arrested three times by the Nazis. Twice friends among the British quakers obtained his release from a concentration camp. The third time he escaped and spent the World War II years in Turkey.

Because he was regarded more as the champion of a strong policy against Communism than as an agitator for Social Democratic goals he was highly regarded by United States officials. The latter were generally more sympathetic to his belief in a forceful policy toward the Reds than their British and French colleagues.

His successor may be Dr. Otto Suhr, chairman of the West Berlin Chamber of Deputies. He, too, is a Social Democrat but because he probably will have a number of rivals for the post his election is not certain.

In effect Dr. Reuter has been remier and Foreign Minister of a small country surrounded by hostile territory.

It was typical that he always tried to drive across the Soviet zone when visiting West Germany rather than fly. He did this to reaffirm the right of West Berliners to make such a trip, although he has been one of the chief targets of Communist propaganda.

Last Wednesday he was turned back by the People's Police because of a slight error in his papers. In May, he had to wait in line for four hours at the border during a holiday rush.

Perhaps his chief private relaxation was the reading of Greek classics in the original. He also was a chain smoker and it was said that his wife handed his ration of cigars to his chauffeur before he started for work each morning.

Strong Foe of Defeatism

Dr. Ernst Reuter had no use for appeasement or defeatism. Courage and audacity were his weapons. "We must stop acting like rabbits in the presence of a snake," he exhorted his West Berliners.

For the Communists he had nothing but contempt. "Work with those people? Never!" he said. "They are foolish enough to believe that ideas can be stopped by roadblocks and ditches."

Dr. Reuter worked under Stalin, when the latter was Minister for Nationalities. He said later that

Stalin had the mentality of a drill sergeant.

Dr. Reuter was unshaken by Communist smears, character assassination, threats, promises, tricks or cajoleries. And so he destroyed the myth of Communist "inevitability." In his isolated outpost behind the Iron Curtain, he led a resistance movement that inspired the free world. To him its success foreshadowed the liberation of the East Germans and all other enslaved peoples.

In 1950 when the Communists threatened a May Day "youth march" as a show of strength to cow the West Berliners, and pave the way for their absorption, Dr. Reuter beat the Communists to the punch. He called out 500,000 determined-looking anti-Communists for a demonstration of their own, and the Soviet threat petered out.

When the anti-Communist uprising took place last June in East Germany, with riots in East Berlin Dr. Reuter termed it "the beginning of the end of the East Berlin regime." He said it was a historic opportunity to achieve a united pro-Western Germany.

Later he played an active role in distributing food parcels to Communists could not feed and who came to West Berlin for relief. He said the U.S. food program had hurt the Communists as much as the June uprising, and showed the Soviet regime was crumbling.

Honored by American Legion

In West Berlin virtually all anti-Communists, including conservatives, recognized his leadership. All over the free world his deeds were an inspiration. He received the Medal of Merit of the American Legion.

Dr. Reuter was born in Apenrade, Schleswig-Holstein, July 29, 1889. His father was a Prussian merchant-marine captain and a conservative, who disowned him when he turned Socialist. He studied the classics, history and political economy at Marburg, Muenster and Munich Universities, but cut short his education when his father stopped his financial support. Three of his five brothers died in World War I. One is a Lutheran minister. Another was a Nazi from whom Dr. Reuter was estranged.

Dr. Reuter went to work in 1911 first as a private tutor in the classics, next as a newspaper re-

porter. In 1912 he went into politics as an instructor in the Social Democratic party's school for adult education in Berlin.

Slightly bent and limping from a World War I wound, he was a striking figure in post-war Berlin. He spoke several languages, but said he was proud to be a German. It was once said of him that he looked like a painter, spoke like an orator, hurried like a New York business man and worked like a horse.

His political creed was something like that of the moderate wing of the British Labor party. He was always an advocate of workers' rights.

He was married twice. He had two children by his first marriage and one by his second. A son, Harry, 28, is a mathematics teacher at Manchester University, England.

Bonn Mourns Reuter's Death

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES.
BONN, Germany, Sept. 29—The death of Mayor Reuter was mourned in the West German capital tonight as "a great blow to freedom loving world."

In separate statements issued President Theodor Heuss, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Erich Ollenhauer, Social Democratic leader and Dr. James B. Conant, United States High Commissioner "deeply regretted" the death of the Berlin mayor.

Dr. Adenauer said that although he had differed with Dr. Reuter politically he had been united with him in common work for the cause of Germany.

"I shall never forget him," Dr. Adenauer said, "his death leaves a painful gap in the German political life."

President Heuss said Dr. Reuter's achievements in Berlin were of "historical rank."

Dr. Conant said Dr. Reuter's death was a "great blow to freedom loving people throughout the world."

Herr Ollenhauer said Dr. Reuter would be mourned by "millions of people at home and abroad" and added that Berlin, Germany the whole free world and the Social Democratic party had suffered an irreplaceable loss.

British Express Regrets

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES.
LONDON, Sept. 29—A Foreign Office spokesman expressed the profound regret of the British

Government at the death of Dr. Ernst Reuter, West Berlin's Mayor. The great stature he acquired here at the time of the Russian blockade had been heightened each time he visited London. On those visits he held a reunion with his son, G. E. H. Reuter, who is a lecturer in mathematics in Manchester University.

EISENHOWER MOURNS LOSS

Says Reuter Was a 'Born Leader'
—Dulles Sends Regrets

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29—President Eisenhower eulogized Dr. Ernst Reuter, Mayor of West Berlin, as a "born leader" whose death today would be mourned by "liberty-loving people everywhere."

The President's sentiment was echoed by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, who sent a message of condolence to Frau Reuter praising her husband's "valiant stand for freedom."