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In Vielfalt geeint:

The foundations of modern Europe through the example of post-war Freiburg, 1945-1951

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis, “*In Vielfalt geeint: The foundations of modern Europe through the example of post-war Freiburg, 1945-1951*,” is twofold. First, after introducing the southwestern German city of Freiburg im Breisgau, I will examine some of the reconstruction activities that occurred there within the six-year period following the end of World War II. Specifically, I will discuss the work of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC, a faith-based Quaker service organization) and of the French military government in occupied Freiburg, with special attention to efforts that promoted cultural reconciliation. Second, using Freiburg as a case study of the larger-scale post-war changes that were occurring across Europe, I will explain how the exchange of ideologies, languages, and cultural practices within this period helped to lay the foundations for the modern, peaceful, and unified Europe we know today.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Why Freiburg?

As its residents lovingly quip, Freiburg im Breisgau—a city of 230,241 residents nestled in the hills of the Black Forest in Baden-Württemberg, Germany—is *eine große Kleinstadt*, a big small town. During my ten-month stay in Freiburg and in the surrounding region, I discovered this to be true myself. I had never before moved to a new city (or country) alone, but within several weeks of zipping around on the city's tram system to take care of bureaucratic and academic obligations, I discovered that Freiburg was quite a small town after all—one that was full of other international students like me. It didn't take long for me to feel right at home.

Of all the German cities I could have chosen, Freiburg appealed to me for a myriad of personal, cultural, and academic reasons. When I first started thinking about German study abroad programs, I learned that the University College Freiburg (a subset of the larger Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg offering internationally-oriented, interdisciplinary, English-taught bachelor's degrees) and Penn State's Schreyer Honors College partner with one another to offer a student exchange program. While this piqued my interest as a student in the honors college, my priority as a student in the German department was a more immersive German-speaking experience, which pointed me towards the direct enrollment program at the university.

Besides Penn State's existing connections with Freiburg, I already had personal—albeit somewhat removed—connections to the city as well. As it so happens, very distant cousins on my mother's side of the family still live in Freiburg and across the border in Switzerland, including a family historian who has documented our family's ancestral roots in Freiburg. Additionally, German-American family friends of ours lived in Titisee-Neustadt, a small Black Forest town outside Freiburg, before and during my year abroad. I had put them down as an

emergency contact on my paperwork for the University of Freiburg, but none of us could have anticipated how extensive their emergency contact duties would become: after the Covid-19 pandemic swept through Europe, they took me in as an “exchange student” of sorts, sharing their home with me until I returned to the U.S. four months later.

As a student of both German and French, Freiburg’s location close to the border with France and Switzerland appealed to me: I didn’t have to travel far to practice the French skills I had developed during my semester in Senegal. The location alone contributes both to Freiburg’s international feel and to its centrality in European history. These characteristics are further augmented by the international appeal of the University of Freiburg—founded in 1457, it is one of the oldest universities in Germany. In recent years, the university has increased its offering of English-language programs of study in order to attract a wider pool of international students.

While in Freiburg, I made my home in the *Studentensiedlung am Seepark*—StuSie for short, student residence halls at the Seepark in English. While many university-sponsored student housing options are available throughout the city, StuSie is particularly popular with international students. Through events sponsored by StuSie and by the *Studierendenwerk Freiburg* (Freiburg Student Service Center), I met and befriended students from all over Europe and the world. Germany (of course), France, Turkey, Finland, Bulgaria, the U.K., and Australia are just the first few countries of origin that come to mind. With this group of international friends, I frequently took advantage of Freiburg’s central location: we spent our Saturdays hiking through the Black Forest, tasting wines from local vineyards (Freiburg is also known as the sunniest city in Germany, making it an excellent spot for both hiking and vineyards), and hopping across the border to explore small towns and big cities alike in France and Switzerland.

During my first semester at the University of Freiburg, I took a Franco-German literature course called *Images de soi, images de l'autre : perceptions franco-allemandes dans la littérature du 18^{ème} et 19^{ème} siècle* (Images of the self, images of the other: Franco-German perceptions in 18th- and 19th-century literature). My understanding of France and Germany's shared historical enmity had previously been vague, but this course—as well as *Deutschland und Europa* (Germany and Europe), a course for international students about the history of the European Union—crystallized my appreciation of how significant this relationship was and is to European history and unity. The following semester, I further explored this topic through a linguistic lens in a course called *Sprachvariation am Oberrhein* (Language Variation in the Upper Rhine Region). The course explored regional differences in German and French dialects, with special attention to the cultural implications of this variation, especially in Alsace. Overall, Germany and France's complicated history represents a point of coalescing interests for me, synthesizing my academic disciplines of German, French, Linguistics, and Global & International Studies.

While considering between semesters in Freiburg what direction my honors thesis would take, my interest in Franco-German history and relations seemed like a natural choice, especially as I found myself in the very border region where so much of this history had occurred. More specifically, I wanted to examine this relationship within the context of post-World War II reconstruction and in conjunction with other participants in reconstruction. Having had previous experience as a research assistant to Dr. Bettina Brandt on her project about Quaker humanitarian aid in Vienna between the World Wars, I investigated whether the Quakers had been active in Freiburg during or after World War II, and whether this activity might be congruous with the activity of the French military government in Freiburg after World War II.

Given the Quakers' historical ties to the greater Philadelphia area, where I was born and raised, I was also curious to know whether Philadelphia and Freiburg shared a connection in the sphere of post-war humanitarian aid. This investigation uncovered several brief news articles about a commemorative plaque for the Quakers in Freiburg, which subsequently led me to further research at the Freiburg City Archive.

My search at the archive was very fruitful, both in my search for more information about the Quakers and about the French occupation of the city. A comprehensive report on the Quakers' involvement in relief work in Freiburg after World War I and World War II, titled *Freiburger Erinnerungen an die amerikanischen Quäker*, had been written and compiled by Franz Flamm, a local historian, and published by the city archive in 1990. Beyond this comprehensive source, I found newspaper articles from the *Badische Zeitung* and *Das Volk* detailing the material aid provided by the Quakers and explaining Quaker ideology to local Germans who may not have heard of the Quakers. Also included was a report given by Dr. Wolfgang Hoffmann—the mayor of Freiburg immediately after the war—on the activities of the Quakers in the city. Hoffmann had been an outspoken critic of the Nazi regime; consequently, he was forced into retirement from his law practice in 1937 and later arrested and imprisoned for his involvement in the July 1944 attempt on Adolf Hitler's life. After the war, he was chosen by the French military government in 1945 to be the mayor of Freiburg, and he was an early member of the Badische Christlich-Soziale Volkspartei (BCSV, a predecessor of the federal CDU party).¹

1. Landeskundliches Informationssystem Baden-Württemberg, "Hoffmann, Wolfgang," LEO-BW: Landeskunde entdecken online, accessed March 28, 2021, https://www.leo-bw.de/detail-/Detail/details/PERSON/kg1_biographien/116950692/Hoffmann+Wolfgang.

The archive's reference library contained a number of books detailing the reconstruction period in Freiburg, especially the French occupation and military government. Primary sources about the French occupation included newspaper articles from the *Badische Zeitung*, *Das Volk*, the *Südwestdeutsche Volkszeitung*, the *Südkurier*, the *Badisches Tagblatt*, and others, detailing both positive reconciliatory developments—the establishment of cultural clubs, the visit of French officials to Freiburg—as well as negative incidents, such as violent confrontations between French soldiers and German citizens. Upon returning to Penn State for my final year, I located scholarly articles from a variety of historical journals that provided historical and cultural context for the French occupation of Germany.

In retrospect, it is fascinating to consider how much of my time in Freiburg was influenced by—or can at least be indirectly traced back to—the cultural developments facilitated by international actors in Freiburg in the years immediately following World War II. The American Friends Service Committee, a faith-based Quaker humanitarian aid organization, placed particular emphasis on the revitalization of student life in the city: they worked to reopen and revive the University of Freiburg by providing housing, food, and supplies to students, and by facilitating language and cultural discussion groups. The French occupation of Freiburg was the beginning of a period of reconciliation and increased cultural exchange between the two countries, leading to the establishment Franco-German cultural organizations that still function in Freiburg today. Additionally, it has become clear to me through the process of researching this thesis that the characteristics that make Freiburg what it is today—a young, multicultural university city—were born out of the ideals of tolerance and reconciliation manifested by Quaker and French leadership in the immediate post-war period.

Using the primary archival sources described above, as well as scholarly research articles about the French occupational zone, this thesis will explore the immediate post-World War II reconstruction activities of both the Quakers (serving under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee) and the French military government in Freiburg. As a pacifist entity that had no involvement in the conflict of World War II, the AFSC had a neutral relationship with the Germans and all others they served, thus setting an example for forgiveness, reconciliation, and tolerance. The French, on the other hand, shared with Germany a long history of conflict dating back to at least the Franco-Prussian War; their post-World War II relations were much more fraught than those between the AFSC and the Germans, and their shared journey towards reconciliation was not consistently a smooth one. As the paths of these international actors intersected in the fertile ground of post-war Freiburg, the resulting exchanges of cultural practices, languages, and ideologies can be seen as a microcosm of the broader progress towards a more peaceful and unified post-war Europe.

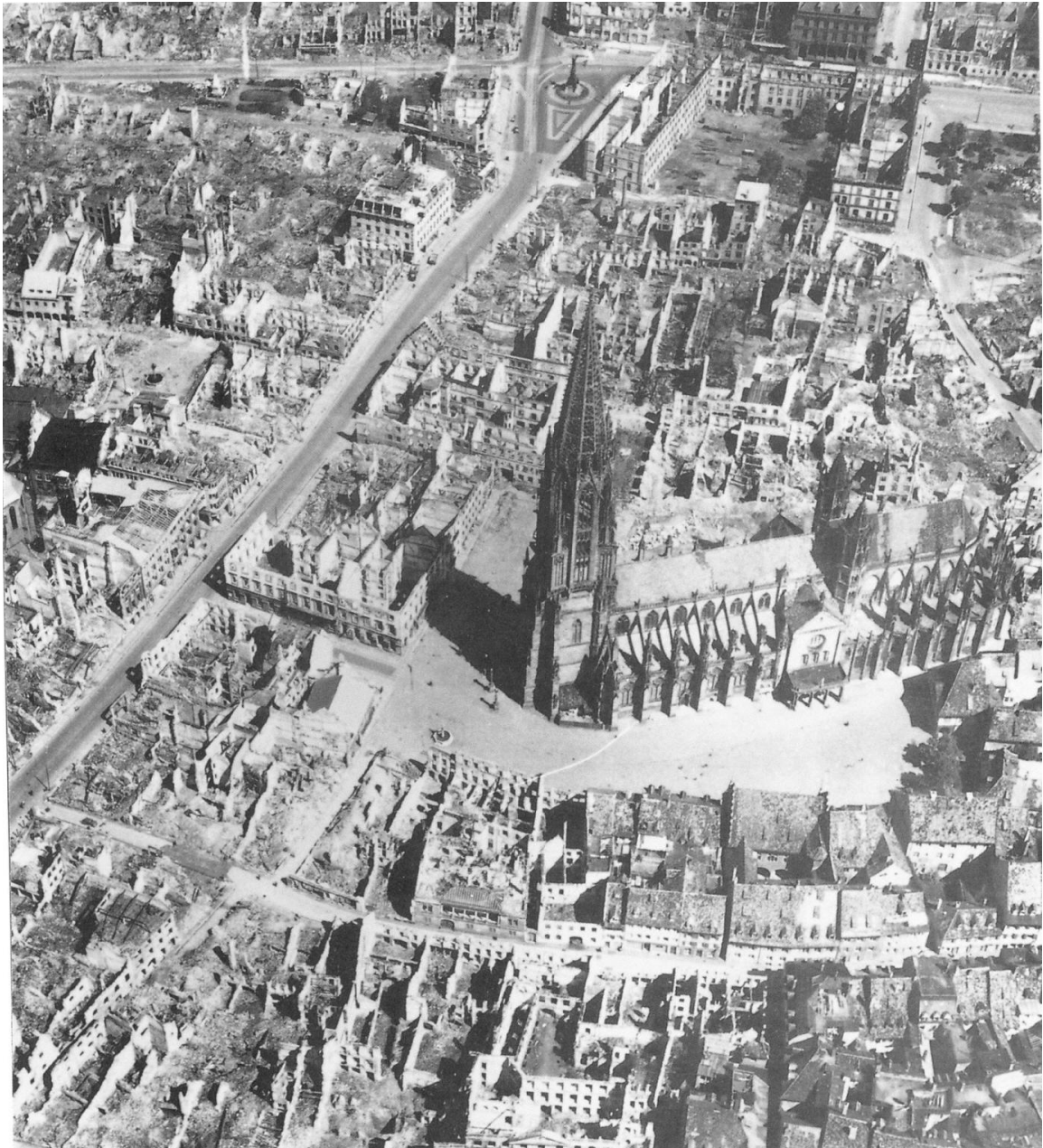


Figure 1: The Freiburger Münster, largely undamaged in the midst of the bombed-out city center, symbolized hope and renewal after World War II.

Chapter 2

A Plea for Peace: Quaker Humanitarian Aid in Freiburg, 1946-1950

Introduction: Who are the Quakers?

“I felt sick at heart walking through the vast area of ruin around the Münster which alone has been spared in the heart of the city,” wrote college professor of German Dr. Harry Pfund, the leader of the Quakers serving in Freiburg, in an October 1946 letter to his colleagues in the United States.² Grippled by multiple crises, the city was in a grim state when the Quakers stepped in to provide humanitarian aid in October of 1946: nearly two years earlier, in November of 1944, Freiburg had suffered a bombing attack by the British Royal Air Force. In under thirty minutes, nearly three thousand civilians were killed, nearly ten thousand were injured, and eleven thousand lost their homes.³ The attack had destroyed eighty percent of the old city center, including a number of traditional stores. As Pfund described, the Freiburger Münster—the city’s quintessential thirteenth century Gothic cathedral—stood largely undamaged in the midst of the destruction; the pitch of its roof was steep enough that the bombs slid off rather than exploding on impact. Its beautiful, lacy spire still stretched proudly into the sky after the bombings, symbolizing hope and regrowth following the war: much had been lost, yet good still remained and could be revitalized.

2. AFSC Archive: Harry Pfund letters, 1946-1947.

3. Joachim Röderer, "Der Bombenangriff vor 75 Jahren bleibt die traurigste Nacht in Freiburgs Geschichte" [The Bombing Attack of 75 Years Ago Remains the Saddest Night in Freiburg's History], *Badische Zeitung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany), November 26, 2019, [Page #], accessed March 18, 2021, <https://www.badische-zeitung.de/der-bombenangriff-vor-75-jahren-bleibt-die-traurigste-nacht-in-freiburgs-geschichte>.

Throughout their history as a religious organization, the Quakers have been practically oriented, called to provide humanitarian aid to groups in crisis: “For the Quakers, seeing need means wanting to help, needing to help.”⁴ Founded in 17th-century England, Quakerism is a religion whose beliefs and values are rooted in Protestant Christian tradition but whose adherents maintain a variety of beliefs and spiritual practices. Despite this diversity of practice, Quakers are united by several core beliefs: one of these is the belief that every person is loved and guided by God, and subsequently, that the light of God can be found in every person.⁵ This belief has been and is still today a driving force behind the Quakers’ emphasis on pacifism and tolerance, and behind the tangible implementation of these values in the world, which constitutes another of their fundamental practices.

At its conception and throughout history, the denomination has remained small, with an estimated 377,557 Quakers worldwide in 2017.⁶ Their relatively small size as a religious group has not precluded their involvement in international affairs, however, especially in peacekeeping and in providing humanitarian aid. As a means of putting Quaker values into action, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was founded in 1917 in order to both respond to atrocities of World War I and to provide Americans who objected to military service with a means of serving peacefully: “Guided by the Quaker belief in the divine light of each person, AFSC works with communities and partners worldwide to challenge unjust systems and promote

4. Erika Uhlig, "Die Quäker: Ihr Ideal der Nächstenliebe und ihr praktisches Hilfswerk in Freiburg" [The Quakers: Their Ideal of Brotherly Love and Practical Relief in Freiburg], *Das Volk* (Germany), July 16, 1947 (this and all further German translations are my own).

5. Friends General Conference, "FAQs about Quakers," Friends General Conference, accessed March 5, 2021, <https://www.fgcquaker.org/discover/faqs-about-quakers#Christian>.

6. FWCC World Office, "Finding Quakers Around the World," map, Friends World Committee for Consultation, July 2017, accessed March 5, 2021, <http://fwcc.world/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/fwccworldmap2017.pdf>.

lasting peace.” Moreover, in the spirit of Quaker values, “[AFSC] respect[s] the equality, worth, and dignity of all people and regard[s] no one as [their] enemy.”⁷

Following both World Wars in Europe, teams of AFSC members established themselves in a multitude of European cities, forming an interdependent network of aid sites while simultaneously collaborating with other local and international organizations. In the wake of multinational conflict, their neutral, unbiased stance towards all parties involved made their relief work uniquely effective and was appreciated by all those they aided. In his “Report on the Activities of the American Quakers in the City of Freiburg im Breisgau,” Dr. Wolfgang Hoffmann—mayor of Freiburg from 1945 until his death in 1956—wrote that “when the American Quakers came to Freiburg in October of 1946, they were not unknown there. The population still remembered the Quaker help from the years after the First World War. The *Sonnenhaus* [House of the Sun] of the University Children’s Hospital gives testimony of their former work in our city.”⁸ Because the AFSC had already established themselves as a neutral and supportive party among the citizens of Freiburg (and elsewhere in Europe) after World War I, their presence was readily accepted once again when they returned to deliver relief after World War II.

The team of AFSC members that arrived in Freiburg in 1946 was relatively small, comprised of fewer than two dozen members. They were led by Dr. Harry Pfund, a professor of German Studies at Haverford College⁹ (he took a sabbatical from his post at Haverford from

7. American Friends Service Committee, "Vision, Mission, and Values," American Friends Service Committee, last modified June 20, 2020, accessed March 5, 2021, <https://www.afsc.org/vision-mission-and-values>.

8. Wolfgang Hoffmann, "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Amerikanischen Quäkerhilfe in der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau," October 14, 1948, Stadtarchiv Freiburg im Breisgau, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany.

9. Haverford College, Swarthmore College, and Bryn Mawr College, three small private liberal arts schools in the Philadelphia area, were all founded by the Quakers during the 19th century. Although the colleges no longer have any official religious affiliation, they are still influenced by their Quaker heritage, and they maintain Quaker & Special Collections libraries.

October of 1946 to August of 1947 while he was serving in Freiburg), and his wife, Marie Pfund. Dr. Pfund oversaw the AFSC within the entirety of the French zone and was also directly involved in their activity in Freiburg, while Mrs. Pfund directly oversaw the AFSC in Freiburg. After the Pfunds returned to the United States in 1947, Charles Read—another leader at the administrative level in the French zone—took over as the leader of the AFSC in Freiburg. The remaining members of the AFSC in Freiburg were divided into subgroups according to their tasks: some took on administrative roles, some were charged with the transportation of food and clothing and others with their distribution, and some managed the Quaker “student house.”¹⁰

The AFSC was not the only American aid organization operating in Freiburg after World War II: they were part of a larger association of American humanitarian aid organizations known as the Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany (CRALOG). CRALOG members included various religious and human rights organizations¹¹ that had been approved by State and War Department officials under the Truman administration.¹² As of 1947, these member agencies had “already shipped 23,760,905 lbs. of food, clothing and medicines to Germany” at an estimated total value of \$12,000,000.¹³ CRALOG also worked closely with the military government of each occupational zone in order to define their respective responsibilities in the shipment, allocation, and distribution of supplies.

10. Franz Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen an die amerikanischen Quäker (1920 - 1953)* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany: Stadtarchiv Freiburg i. Br., 1990), 50-51.

11. Namely, the member organizations were: American Friends Service Committee, Inc., Brethren Service Committee, Inc., Church World Service, Inc., Committee on Christian Science Wartime Activities of the Mother Church, Congregational Christian Service Committee, International Migration Service, Inc., International Rescue and Relief Committee, Inc., Labor League for Human Rights, A.F. of L., Lutheran World Relief, Inc., Mennonite Central Committee, Inc., National CIO Community Services Committee, Russian Children’s Welfare Society, Inc., Tolstoy Foundation, Inc., Unitarian Service Committee, and War Relief Services – National Catholic Welfare Conference. Also working alongside CRALOG and the AFSC in Freiburg were several Swiss organizations, including the Schweizer Spende and Schweizer Caritas.

12. *Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Germany (CRALOG) Annual Report* (n.p., 1947), 1.

13. *Council of Relief*, 3.

Although the AFSC operated within the context of this larger relief effort, their Quaker-specific practice of neutrality, pacifism, and tolerance “without consideration of political, racial, or religious affiliation”¹⁴ is what makes their work of interest within the question of future European unity, particularly in the context of Freiburg, where their work intersected with the French occupation of the city. My research focuses on the activities of the American Friends Service Committee specifically after World War II, but I will refer to them interchangeably as either the AFSC or as the Quakers throughout this thesis.

Material Aid Provided by the Quakers in Post-World War II Freiburg

The bombing attack of November 1944 had largely destroyed Freiburg and its resources, leaving its citizens without food, clothing, medicine, and shelter. The AFSC was also active in Koblenz and Ludwigshafen, two other German cities in the French Zone,¹⁵ but due to the great need in Freiburg and its location relative to the French and Swiss borders, it was designated as the headquarters of the entire relief organization¹⁶. Along with other members of CRALOG and other international relief agencies, the AFSC took on the responsibility of meeting the material needs of Freiburg’s some 105,000 surviving citizens, as well as refugees that arrived in the city after the war.

Because the situation was so desperate in Freiburg, the Quakers were obliged to make difficult choices about whom they would treat with the highest priority: “Their principle was that the help should be sufficient and that it was more important to help a small but most needy group

14. Uhlig, "Die Quäker."

15. Uhlig, "Die Quäker."

16. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 22.

rather than extend their work with no effect to anyone.”¹⁷ Consequently, the AFSC devoted themselves to aiding several particularly vulnerable, often younger groups: expectant and nursing mothers, infants and children under six, the sick, and students. Throughout their time in Freiburg, their aid plans were dynamic and tailored to the situation at hand in order to take into account the most urgent need and the most serious deficiencies, often picking up the slack where the aid of other organizations was lacking.¹⁸

With the needs of these groups in mind, the Quakers’ first priority was to address the dire hunger crisis in Freiburg that had resulted as a consequence of the bombings. In November of 1946, doctors had determined that 10,000 people in Freiburg required special nutritional allowances, and that the body weight of 40 percent of these people was below the norm. Between August and December of 1945, the rate of emaciation of children had increased from 7 percent to 48 percent. The infant mortality rate had reached 18.8 percent. Widespread illness was another consequence of malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions: people suffered on a huge scale from dizziness, fainting spells, abnormal tiredness, and abnormally low blood pressure, along with tuberculosis and septic infections.¹⁹

The AFSC procured and methodically distributed calorie-dense foods to address this crisis. From February 1947 through June 1948, they distributed monthly provisions to an average of 10,400 persons, including 1,500 malnourished expectant and nursing mothers as well as 8,500 infants and young children.²⁰ Throughout the total period of Quaker engagement in

17. Hoffmann, “Bericht über,” 3.

18. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 25.

19. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 26.

20. These provisions included 178,500 kg. of Purina, 62,000 kg. of sugar, 34,000 kg. of margarine, 11,500 kg. of milk powder, 12,000 kg. of cocoa, 350,000 kg. of baby food, and 4,5000 kg. of soy flour; the average weight of each package was 2 to 2.5 kg. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 27.

Freiburg, 652.5 tons of food were distributed among the population.²¹ Special attention was paid to the sick: they received packages with food and medicine according to their individual medical needs, often delivered by a volunteer if they were too sick to collect the package themselves. The distribution of food also allowed the Quakers the opportunity to make personal connections with those they were serving.

There was also a shortage of medicinal supplies in Freiburg in the years after the war. The Quakers procured and distributed cod liver oil for the treatment of tuberculosis patients, as well as ingredients for the production of worming pills, vitamins for children, anesthetic and injection agent, bandages and gauze, and more.²² In order to improve the efficiency by and conditions under which the sick were treated, the AFSC put their truck at the disposal of the University Hospital's reconstruction office; prior to the Quakers' arrival, there had been a lack of transport to provide any building materials for the hospital's reconstruction.²³ Both the university and the hospital were historically of great importance to the Quakers; after World War I, they had helped to establish the *Sonnenhaus* (House of the Sun) mentioned by Dr. Hoffmann in his report. The *Sonnenhaus* was an offshoot from the University Hospital that served as a treatment and research center for pediatric tuberculosis.

The provision of shelter and clothing was another of the AFSC's priorities. 5,840 apartments had been entirely destroyed by the bombing attacks, and another 15,545 were badly damaged.²⁴ The Quaker barracks at the Wiehre train station served as a distribution site for food and medicine, as emergency living quarters for those who had lost their homes, and as

21. Hoffmann, "Bericht über," 3.

22. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 31.

23. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 24.

24. Hoffmann, "Bericht über," 2.

administrative and living quarters for the Quaker volunteers themselves.²⁵ The procurement of building materials for and the construction of these barracks—which were partially comprised of a barracks from a former Nazi labor camp in Poland—proved to be one of the AFSC’s most significant undertakings, requiring collaboration with the Swiss in order to exchange U.S. dollars for Swiss francs (the overall cost of the barracks was nearly \$9,000), and with the French military government in order to expedite the transport of materials.²⁶

25,000 citizens of Freiburg, in addition to 2,400 refugees who had made their way to the city, owned only the clothes they had on their backs.²⁷ In a survey of 10,313 children, only 2,000 had shoes with soles made of wood or a substitute material; 3,500 had only sandals to wear to school.²⁸ The Quakers issued 330 bales of clothing and 90 boxes of shoes, containing approximately 25,000 pieces of clothing, to those who had lost their belongings.²⁹ 1,600 wool blankets were also distributed to protect against the cold of the winter of 1946-47. Overall, 32,000 persons were provided at least once with clothing and shoes.³⁰

In the immediate post-war period, the material aid provided by the Quakers was a stroke of good fortune and was warmly welcomed by the hungry, sick, and homeless population of Freiburg. A sense of mutual trust arose as a result of the personal connections between the Quakers and the Germans they served, smoothing the way for the Quakers to provide not only material aid, but also educational and spiritual aid, in Freiburg.

25. AFSC Archive: Harry Pfund letters, 1946-1947.

26. AFSC Archive: Harry Pfund letters, 1946-1947.

27. Hoffmann, “Bericht über,” 2.

28. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 33.

29. Hoffmann, “Bericht über,” 3.

30. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 35.

“Spiritual” Aid Provided by the Quakers in Post-World War II Freiburg

Among the Allied-affiliated relief organizations operating in Freiburg after World War II, the Quakers distinguished themselves by their active practice of tolerance for all people regardless of political, religious, or racial affiliation (as Switzerland had remained neutral during the war, the same can be said of the relief they provided in Freiburg). The American or Allied perception of the Germans throughout the war had been fueled by hatred and fear, but in the ruins of the post-war world, the Quakers were among the first American organizations that, according to their religious principles, endeavored to grant amnesty to the Germans in order to create a more peaceful world.³¹ In doing so, they set an example for others in occupied Germany to do the same in order to work towards a collaborative and unified future.

Providing intellectual and spiritual nourishment was just as important to the Quakers as providing food, medicine, clothing, and shelter: in fact, the two worked in tandem with one another. Education, especially targeting young adults, was one of the most critical and practical means by which the Quakers embodied their utopian values of peace and tolerance for all.

Freiburg, the home of one of Germany’s oldest universities, was an ideal place for the Quakers to put these values into practice:

The Albert-Ludwigs-Universität was a favorite object of the Quakers...Without wanting to proselytize, the Quakers quietly nurtured the hope that young students in particular would be receptive to the spirit of reconciliation, of peacefulness, and of international solidarity among all people—and they were proved to be right. In conjunction with the aid they provided to meet urgent material needs in the midst of the ruins of the city, the Quakers wanted to establish the first signs of international solidarity.³²

31. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 18.

32. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 44.

The possibility of studying at the university had been suspended due to the war and the ensuing destruction, but as early as 1947, students were preparing to begin or to resume their studies. University facilities were partially reopened but had been severely damaged in the bombing attacks and, due to a lack of supplies and heating, were insufficient for holding classes.³³

To address this problem, in June of 1947, the AFSC opened a wooden barracks across from what is today one of the four main university buildings (*Kollgiengebäuden*) in the city center, in addition to the barracks they had established at the Wiehre train station. This barracks in the city center was known as the *Quäkerstudentenhaus* (Quaker Student House) and served a variety of purposes to support students, a group whose needs the AFSC had highly prioritized. The barracks functioned as a cafeteria, a sewing and shoe repair shop, a study space, and simply as a place for students to warm up. It was also a distribution site for food packages and other donations for students who had been identified as high-risk by doctors.³⁴

The barracks also housed a large reading room. The AFSC had collaborated with the Schweizer Spende (a Swiss relief organization) in the procurement of materials for and the construction of both the barracks at the Wiehre train station and the student barracks. This collaboration extended to the furnishing of books for the reading room. In a letter to the AFSC site in Caen, France, which had ties to Swiss publishers, Harry Pfund expressed his desire to “purchase a small supply of recent Swiss books in the German language, representing the fields of literature, history, biography, government, etc, and make them available to our book-hungry German friends in the way of a lending library.”³⁵ Through this connection with Swiss

33. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 44.

34. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 45.

35. AFSC Archive: Harry Pfund letters, 1946-1947.

publishers, along with donations from other publishers in the U.S., Great Britain, and France, the Quakers managed to fill the shelves of the reading room 4,500 books on many different topics and in many different languages.

Most importantly, several small rooms in the barracks served as a space for students to meet in casual discussion groups, which eventually evolved into more targeted programs with regular meeting times:

In the winter semester of 1948/49, no less than 24 discussion and conversation groups were formed, all of which continually enjoyed great participation. One of the main goals of these groups was to bring together students of various nations in a friendly way and to facilitate the exchange of ideas. It was then that the first Franco-German Club was created [see Chapter 3]. English, French, Spanish, and Italian language groups were established. These also enjoyed high attendance and filled the Student House each evening...In the midst of turbulent times still fraught with contempt, resentment, and thoughts of retribution towards the Germans, one could sense here for the first time the spirit of student community across all national, ideological, and political boundaries.³⁶

These discussion groups and language groups were not only a tangible manifestation of Quaker values; they also laid the groundwork for future educational and cultural exchange through the University of Freiburg.

In addition to revitalizing the university, several members of the AFSC in Freiburg worked to establish cultural exchanges between Freiburg's high schools and high schools in the United States and in France. Dan Wilson, a member of the Quaker Committee of southern California, visited Freiburg in order to observe and then report on the AFSC's activities there once he had returned to his hometown of Whittier, California. After this visit, he wrote to Dr. Hoffmann, Freiburg's mayor, "I believe Freiburg is one of the most welcoming cities I have ever visited...Surely you will be as happy as I am about the warm bond between the populations of

36. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 46.

Whittier and of Freiburg.”³⁷ This bond went on to become something more substantial: in the early 1950s, a high school exchange program was established between the high school in Whittier and the Goethe-Gymnasium in Freiburg.

Peggy Stevens—another member of the AFSC in Freiburg—spearheaded the School Affiliation Program, the goal of which was to encourage transnational reconciliation and friendships. She corresponded and met personally with teachers and their students in Freiburg in order to establish a community of young German-American and German-French pen pals.³⁸ According to Quaker values, these various reconciliatory efforts and educational exchanges served to cultivate the intellectual life of high school and university students and to promote cross-cultural understanding after a long period of cross-cultural conflict and violence.

The Quakers’ Legacy in Freiburg and Throughout Europe

After having stepped down from his role as the head of the AFSC in the French zone in September 1947, Dr. Harry Pfund was named an honorary citizen of Freiburg in April 1949. This honor was

not just an act of gratitude towards the Quakers and towards thousands upon thousands of anonymous donors; it is at the same time the expression of the sincere will to continually cultivate the warm friendship with our benefactors across the ocean, even after the greatest national need has been overcome.³⁹

The Quakers’ work after both World War I and World War II was commemorated in several other ways in Freiburg. In 1950, the Committee for Street Naming decided to change the name

37. Flamm, *Freiburger Erinnerungen*, 40.

38. Stadtarchiv Freiburg: B1/328 Schachtel 3 Nr. 62.

39. Franz Flamm, *Die Auslandshilfe für die Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 1945-1949* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany, 1950), 26.

of the street near the Wiehre train station, where the Quakers had established their barracks, to *Quäkerstraße* (Quaker Street).⁴⁰ In 2012, a commemorative plaque was unveiled on the corner of *Quäkerstraße* that recognizes the AFSC and of the Schweizer Spende, with whom the AFSC closely collaborated, for their contributions of humanitarian aid during the period of post-war reconstruction in Freiburg.⁴¹

The AFSC and their British counterpart, the Friends Service Council, were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947 for the humanitarian aid they had provided both directly after World War II and throughout several centuries in Europe. Gunnar Jahn, the chairman of the Nobel Committee, stated in his speech at the award ceremony:

The Quakers have shown us that it is possible to translate into action what lies deep in the hearts of many: compassion for others and the desire to help them – that rich expression of the sympathy between all men, regardless of nationality or race, which, transformed into deeds, must form the basis for lasting peace. For this reason alone the Quakers deserve to receive the Nobel Peace Prize today.⁴²

With the bestowal of the Nobel Peace Prize, the Quakers were recognized on the world stage for their historical role as peacekeepers. Rather than simply looking back with appreciation on this history, however, this gesture also highlighted the pertinence of Quaker values moving forward. Pacifism and tolerance would be essential in the years after the war as European nations began to make progress towards putting their long history of conflict behind them.

40. Stadtarchiv Freiburg: C5/XII/3368.

41. Annette Aly, "Eine Gedenktafel für die, die kamen und halfen" [A Commemorative Plaque for Those Who Came and Helped], *Badische Zeitung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany), February 17, 2012, [Page #], accessed March 5, 2021, <https://www.badische-zeitung.de/eine-gedenktafel-fuer-die-die-kamen-und-halfen--55947926.html>.

42. Gunnar Jahn, "Award ceremony speech," speech presented at University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1947, The Nobel Prize, accessed March 5, 2021, <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1947/ceremony-speech/>.



Figure 2: Quaker Street: In commemoration of the Quakers' aid in Freiburg after the First and Second World Wars (photograph is my own)



Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg entstand in Holzbaracken beim alten Wiehre-Bahnhof ein Verteilungszentrum für Hilfsgüter aus dem Ausland.

Ungeachtet der im deutschen Namen verübten Untaten und des Kriegsleids, das von Deutschland ausgegangen war, versorgten von hier aus zwischen 1946 und 1949 ausländische Hilfswerke die notleidende Freiburger Bevölkerung mit überlebenswichtigen Gütern.

Über 2000 Freiburger Kinder kamen in den Genuss der Schülerspeisung durch die vom Basler Caritasverband organisierte

SCHWEIZER SPENDE.

Kleine Kinder, deren Mütter und schwangere Frauen erhielten Essen und Kleidung durch die AMERIKANISCHE QUÄKERHILFE.

In den Baracken am alten Wiehre-Bahnhof fand mit Unterstützung der Sparkasse auch die Verteilung von

CARE-Paketen statt.

Weitere Hilfe kam unter anderem aus Schweden, Irland, Spanien, Brasilien und Argentinien.

In Dankbarkeit erinnert sich Freiburg an den segensreichen Einsatz von Martha Walz-Birrer und Franz Blum aus der Schweiz, Harry Pfund aus den USA sowie Arne Torgersen aus Norwegen und ihren Helfern.

Die Spenden des Auslands bewahrten viele Freiburger nicht nur vor Krankheit und Tod, sondern gaben ihnen auch neuen Lebensmut.
Die Taten der Helfer sind Mahnung für eine bessere Welt ohne Hunger und Völkerhass.

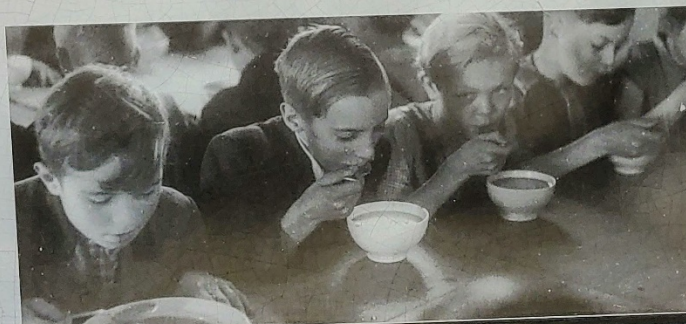


Figure 3: A commemorative plaque near the Wiehre train station, where the AFSC had established their barracks (photograph is my own)

Chapter 3

From Tensions to Tolerance: The French Military Occupation of Freiburg, 1945-1951

Introduction: A Brief History of a Fraught Relationship

Until the end of World War II in 1945, relations between France and Germany had been fundamentally characterized by their *Erbfeindschaft*—their hereditary enmity. The history along the shared border of these two core European countries is one of seemingly endless conflict and violent disputes. The French border state today known as Alsace and the German border state today known as Baden-Württemberg (the federal state where Freiburg is located) were frequently and variably occupied by the other country's military, up until and including the reconstruction period after World War II. Within the past century and a half, this *Erbfeindschaft* manifested itself through several instances of war and occupation, the progression of which provide essential context for the French occupation of Freiburg following World War II.

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 was fought along the border between France and Baden, and it concluded with France's defeat and the Treaty of Versailles of 1871. With the signing of the treaty, Wilhelm I was named Kaiser, or emperor, of the newly unified German nation, and was crowned in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles. As the French had been determined to capitalize on the Franco-Prussian War as an opportunity reestablish themselves as the most powerful nation in Europe, both their defeat and their neighboring enemy's unification from scattered states into a powerful, centralized nation were sources of significant national humiliation for France.

As part of their unification after the Franco-Prussian War, Germany annexed the French states of Alsace and part of Lorraine. Fifty years, at the end of World War I, another Treaty of

Versailles was signed—this time at Germany’s expense. Germany had suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Allies and was forced to take responsibility for the war, and consequently, to pay full reparations to the victors. The economic burden of reparations triggered massive inflation in Germany as they printed more and more money to pay their debts. When they still failed to pay in full, France and Belgium occupied parts of the Rhineland from 1923 to 1925 in order to extract the costs of reparations through labor and natural resources. In 1940, a year after the outbreak of World War II, Nazi German troops marched into Alsace, reclaiming the contested region as part of their ever-expanding quest for more *Lebensraum* (living space).

Finally, following Nazi Germany’s defeat at the end of World War II, Germany was carved up into four regions to be occupied by the Allied Forces. Although France had not attended the Potsdam Conference and was late in joining the victors’ table, they secured occupation of parts of southwestern Germany, including Rhineland-Palatinate, South Baden, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern (the latter two today form the federal state of Baden-Württemberg).

Finding itself in a highly contentious border region whose history is comprised of a long back-and-forth of occupations, intensive cross-cultural contact with the French was an established fact in Freiburg. Historical context reveals that this contact was not necessarily peaceful or productive nature, but contact it was all the same. Starting in April of 1945 with the French occupation of Freiburg, this contact only intensified: their city entirely destroyed in the devastating aftermath of World War II, the citizens of Freiburg had no choice but to tolerate—if not work together with—their French occupiers. On a larger scale, Franco-German reconciliation was a necessary component of the revitalization, modernization, and unification of post-war Europe:

Considering that the two countries had at war with one another three times within a seventy-year period, their close partnership today is all the more extraordinary. Their proclaimed 'hereditary enmity,' manifested in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 as well as in the two World Wars, left deep scars that resonated throughout Europe. It is all the more astonishing how quickly this hostility was overcome in the first years of the postwar period. But how did this peaceful transformation come about?⁴³

By taking Freiburg as a case study for the larger transformations occurring between France and Germany and across Europe in general, this chapter will attempt to identify the origins of this imperfect, yet remarkably peaceful, transformation.

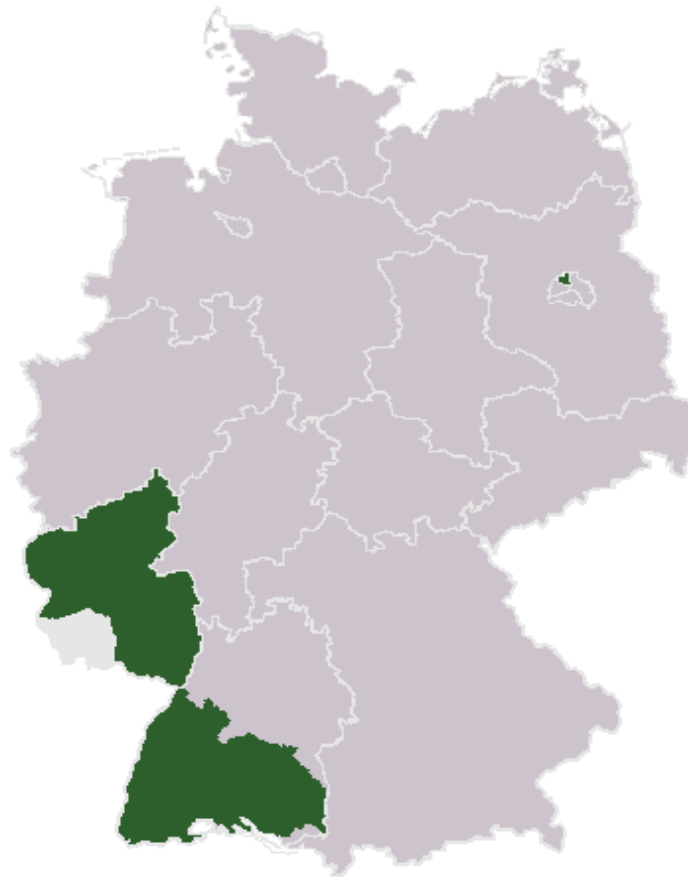


Figure 4: The French Zone of occupied Germany. Freiburg im Breisgau is located in the southernmost section of the French zone.

43. Thomas Freisinger and Jonas Metzger, "Die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen" [German-French Relations], *Bürger & Staat*, October 25, 2017, 239, accessed March 8, 2021, https://www.buergerundstaat.de/4_17/frankreich.pdf.

The Distinguishing Features of the French Zone

After the defeat of Nazi Germany at the end of World War II, the Allied powers had a common goal: the denazification, demilitarization, decentralization, and democratization of Germany. During the Potsdam Conference, held in the summer of 1945 and attended by leadership from the United States, the United Kingdom, and the USSR, it was decided that Germany would be divided into occupational zones in order to achieve these goals. Notably, French leadership had not been invited to and was not present at the conference: “Stalin echoed the feeling of many Allied officials that France constituted an unworthy victor who in 1940 had ‘simply left the door open to the enemy.’”⁴⁴ This was the first and one of many key distinctions between the French zone and the other Allied zones. Having been defeated by the Nazis earlier on in the war, the French were later to join the victors’ table, and their defeat in and of itself was another significant dissimilarity to the other Allied powers: “France was the first Allied power to experience war on its own soil and the only one to suffer defeat by the Germans.”⁴⁵

As the previous section on historical context has established, the French had a more complicated relationship with the Germans than did the other Allied occupiers. France was the only Allied power that shared a border—and the accompanying history of conflict—with Germany. This history rendered France’s relationship to Germany far more nuanced than that of the other Allies; while fraught with conflict, the two countries’ shared history also granted them greater cultural familiarity with one another. More recent research on the French zone has revealed that, due to this cultural familiarity and in spite of the violent history that these two

44. Corey Campion, "Remembering the 'Forgotten Zone': Recasting the Image of the Post-1945 French Occupation of Germany," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 37, no. 3 (Winter 2019): 80, PDF.

45. Campion, "Remembering the 'Forgotten Zone'," 79.

countries shared, the cultural and social policies in the French zone were less restrictive towards and more widely accepted by Germans than previously thought.⁴⁶

As Germany's neighbor, France would experience the consequences—both positive and negative—of Germany's post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation far more directly than would the other Allied powers. For this reason, "the main goal of the occupation of Germany was to prevent future German aggression. After all, [the French] had experienced three German invasions in seventy years."⁴⁷ Particularly in anticipation of the eventual withdrawal of the Allies from their respective zones, the French had more self-serving reasons to invest in an intensive denazification and democratization policy in their zone.

In addition to motives of national security, France had motives of national self-interest that set them apart from the other Allies. Having suffered defeat and subsequent occupation by Nazi Germany during the war, the French were eager for an opportunity to reestablish their national image as the *grande nation* on the European—if not the international—stage. Successful administration of their zone in occupied Germany was one means of achieving this goal: "While [the French] sincerely hoped that their chosen paths would provide the most effective policies for helping people overcome uncertainty and trauma, their policies often conveniently dovetailed with other priorities that benefited from the perceived French national interest and the preservation of France's prestige."⁴⁸

46. Heike Bungert, "A New Perspective on French-American Relations during the Occupation of Germany, 1945—1948: Behind-the-Scenes Diplomatic Bargaining and the Zonal Merger," *Diplomatic History* 18, no. 3 (1994): 334.

47. Bungert, "A New Perspective," 335.

48. Laure Humbert, "French Politics of Relief and International Aid: France, UNRRA and Rescue of European Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany, 1945-47," *Journal of Contemporary History* 51, no. 3 (July 2016): 612, JSTOR.

The administrative elements and strategies that were particular to the French zone manifested themselves on a smaller scale in the French military occupation of Freiburg. In looking at Freiburg as a concrete example of how French policies unfolded, newer research also sheds light on the “surprisingly new and positive aspects that emerge and cast doubt on conventional view of the ‘gloomy French period’”.⁴⁹

The Outcomes of the French Occupation of Freiburg

French troops marched into Freiburg in April of 1945, simultaneously putting an end to the twelve-year period of National Socialist rule in the city and provoking a period of violent confrontations between French soldiers and the citizens of Freiburg: the first weeks of the occupation were marked by harassment, rape, and plundering.⁵⁰ Administratively speaking, the beginning of the military occupation was a whirlwind of strict curfews, the renaming of streets, the removal of Nazi imagery, and the surrender of military equipment.

It wasn't until five months later that the chaotic and violent occupation of Freiburg became more deliberate and restrained. Following the end of the war in September 1945, Freiburg became the capital of French-occupied Baden and consequently the seat of the French military government.⁵¹ While this decision rendered the occupation more formalized, it also renewed tensions between citizens and soldiers: despite the homelessness crisis that had resulted

49. Peter Fäßler, "Hauptstadt ohne Brot. Freiburg im Land Baden (1945 - 1952)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau: Von der badischen Herrschaft bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., comp. Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001), 3: 393

50. Robert Neisen, *Und Wir Leben Immer Noch! Eine Chronik Der Freiburger Nachkriegsnot* (Freiburg, Germany: Promo-Verlag, 2004), 50.

51. Peter Fäßler, "Demokratischer Neubeginn unter französischer Besatzung," in *Freiburg 1944-1994: Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau*, ed. Ulrich P. Ecker (Waldkirch: Waldkircher Verlag, 1994), 165.

from the November 1944 bombings, 2,540 available apartments were seized in order to provide housing for the French soldiers occupying the city.⁵²

The hunger crisis described in the previous chapter only exacerbated these tensions. With no one else to blame for their situation—and with accusations against the French for feeding themselves with resources from their occupational zone⁵³—the continual lack of food and resources fed into propagandistic ideas that many in Freiburg held about the French authorities.⁵⁴ The French were also frequently criticized both by the other Western occupiers and by those they occupied for treating their zone as another of their many *Ausbeutungskolonien*—another colony to be exploited. However, it was often not closely considered that France itself had spent four years under harsh German occupation. At the end of the war, France's economic situation was hardly better than that of occupied Germany; food supplies were lacking in areas of France as well in the immediate post-war period, and there were calls for reparations for the damage caused by the Germans during the war.⁵⁵

In spite of the tensions and confrontations that arose as a natural outcome of post-war confrontation between historic enemies, more recent research on the French occupation of Freiburg has revealed a great deal of positive progress towards reconstruction and reconciliation, even in the years directly after the war. Early on in the occupation, significant progress was made on material reconstruction:

52. Fäßler, "Hauptstadt ohne Brot," 3: 395.

53. Fäßler, "Hauptstadt ohne Brot," 3: 395.

54. Marlis Steinert, "Zwischen Gestern und Morgen. Volksmeinung und öffentliche Meinung in der französischen Besatzungszone, 1945 - 1946, im Spiegel französischer Quellen" [Between Yesterday and Today. Popular and Public Opinion in the French Zone of Occupation, 1945 - 1947, in Reflection of French Sources], *Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire du temps présent*, no. 13/14 (December 1, 1989): 50, PDF.

55. Helmuth Auerbach, "Die politischen Anfänge Carlo Schmid. Kooperation und Konfrontation mit der französischen Besatzungsmacht 1945-1948" [The Political Beginnings of Carlo Schmid. Cooperation and Confrontation with the French Occupational Power], *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 36, no. 4 (October 1988): 606, PDF.

At the municipal level in Freiburg, the first priority was solving the most tangible problems: ensuring food supplies, economic reconstruction, clearing rubble, providing housing, restoring water and gas lines, and reopening public transportation. In the context of these tasks, the cooperation between the occupying power and the Germans was exceptionally good. German politicians were full of praise for the French, both administratively and in terms of personal relationships.⁵⁶

As was noted before, France would benefit directly from economic prosperity in their occupational zone, particularly because their own economy had suffered so greatly during the war. They had good reason, therefore, to contribute to the economic and infrastructural reconstruction of Freiburg: what they sowed in the city, they would also reap.

Cultural revitalization was another key component of the French occupation in Freiburg. Only three months after the occupation began, in July of 1945, a chamber orchestra of the city theater held the first concert in Freiburg since the end of the war.⁵⁷ Featuring Freiburg's mayor, Dr. Wolfgang Hoffmann, as a soloist on the piano, the concert raised over 60,000 Deutsche Mark for the reconstruction of the city theater.⁵⁸ The French also played a role in the establishment of the *Südwestfunk* (southwest radio) broadcasting service—the local studio in Freiburg broadcasted their first program in August of 1946—and the *Freiburger Nachrichten*, which later became the *Badische Zeitung*, a regional newspaper.⁵⁹

As described in the previous chapter, the Quakers and other international humanitarian aid organizations facilitated many reconciliation efforts with an emphasis on mutual cultural understanding. In December of 1949, however, a “Franco-German Club” was established by both German and French political leaders in French-occupied Freiburg. The club had two

56. Fäßler, "Hauptstadt ohne Brot," 3: 397

57. Fäßler, "Hauptstadt ohne Brot," 3: 398

58. Fäßler, "Demokratischer Neubeginn," 168.

59. Fäßler, "Hauptstadt ohne Brot," 3: 398-399

presidents, one representing each nationality: Lieutenant Colonel Monteux, the head of the French occupation of Freiburg, and Freiburg's mayor, Dr. Hoffmann.⁶⁰

In his address at the inauguration of the Franco-German Club, Lt.-Colonel Monteux articulated the goals of the club:

The Club that we are inaugurating today proposes a unique goal: to facilitate and to develop relations between French and German citizens for the purpose of allowing a mutual understanding between them.

This effort appears necessary if one considers that, in the past, the French and the Germans have generally met one another on the field of battle and that, in the present, the large majority of them continue to live in ignorance of one another.

Today, this situation appears paradoxical and full of dangers, because the French-German antagonism is obsolete from here on out...

The Club opens its doors to all French and Germans who desire above all to maintain and to develop that which draws them nearer to one another in order to then overcome more readily that which separates them.

- To all those who believe in the possibility of a Franco-German community of ideals and interests
- To all those who think that what is left of our Western civilization is worth saving.⁶¹

At its outset, the club had approximately 200 members. A "house of understanding," complete with a library of German and French books and space for group gatherings, was designated as the location for monthly meetings.⁶² To support the club financially, members paid monthly dues in whatever amount they could afford or were willing to give.⁶³ In April of 1950, the club announced the creation of several special interest subgroups: a literary group, an artists' group, a press group, a bridge group, a chess group, and a table tennis group.⁶⁴ Additionally, the club organized a six-day trip to Paris in August of 1950: the agenda included a

60. Stadtarchiv Freiburg: C5/1857/300-21-4, Heft 1: Deutsch-Französischer Klub.

61. Stadtarchiv Freiburg: C5/1857/300-21-4, Heft 1: Deutsch-Französischer Klub (This French translation is my own).

62. "Ein Haus für die Verständigung" [A House of Understanding], *Schwarzwälder Post* (Germany), October 12, 1949, 119th edition.

63. Stadtarchiv Freiburg: C5/1857/300-21-4, Heft 1: Deutsch-Französischer Klub.

64. Stadtarchiv Freiburg: C5/1857/300-21-4, Heft 1: Deutsch-Französischer Klub.

bus tour through the city, a reception at UNESCO headquarters, a tour through several museums and theaters, and a wine tasting.

In addition to the Franco-German Club, a French Institute was founded in 1946 in Freiburg: it was the first institute of its kind in western Germany and still operates today. While the focus of the Franco-German Club was interpersonal relationships and cultural understanding through informal activities, the French Institute had a more educational focus. In connection with the University of Freiburg, the Institute offered events, courses, and lectures;⁶⁵ they also offered art exhibits, concerts, theatrical performances, and housed a large collection of French literature in their library.⁶⁶

A series of public opinion surveys among young people were carried out in the French zone throughout the occupation, some of which focused on Freiburg specifically. Towards the end of 1945, a survey of forty young people between 14 and 25 years old revealed decreasing loyalty to National Socialist ideologies and leadership and a sentiment that their lives and well-being had been traded in for a war effort that resulted in defeat.⁶⁷ In September of 1947, another survey in Freiburg found that a majority of those surveyed (21 against 17) condemned antisemitism and the antisemitic practices that had been carried out under Hitler's rule.⁶⁸

A month later, in October 1947, a series of surveys revealed German opinions on their future relations with the French and the other Allied occupiers. To the question of whether it was in the interest of the border regions in Germany to "fraternize" with the French occupiers, 84

65. "Vom Freiburger Französischen Institut" [About the Freiburg French Institute], *Schwarzwälder Bote* (Germany), December 3, 1952, 202nd edition.

66. "Fruchtbarer Kulturaustausch: Zehn Jahre Französisches Institut in Freiburg" [Fruitful Cultural Exchange: Ten Years of the French Institute in Freiburg], *Badische Zeitung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany), October 13, 1956, 239th edition.

67. Steinert, "Zwischen Gestern und Morgen," 49.

68. Steinert, "Zwischen Gestern und Morgen," 52.

percent answered affirmatively.⁶⁹ Even more notably, a special survey on the topic of European unification yielded interesting, and promising, results. 77 percent stated that they would be prepared to abstain from any form of nationalism in order to join the idea of a unified Europe, an opinion that seemed to be fueled by two different interpretations. First, European unification would be a means of restoring Germany's political and economic autonomy among its European peers. Second, the loss of Hitler's war and the painful consequences that followed had opened the eyes of the Germans to the fact that a peaceful and unified path forward would be more fruitful than the destruction of war triggered by nationalist ideologies.⁷⁰

Another hint at the role Freiburg would play as a microcosm for the future of the European Union was the visit paid to Freiburg by Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister and one of the founders of the European Coal and Steel Community, a predecessor of the European Union. His visit during August of 1949, a mere two months before the Federal Republic of Germany (otherwise known as West Germany) was founded, was of an unofficial nature; it was important to him simply to learn firsthand about the situation in the French zone and about the wishes and views of its population.⁷¹ He also met Mayor Dr. Hoffmann, who asked Schuman to include Freiburg into the zone of regional border traffic, so that citizens of Freiburg could foster relationships with Swiss citizens on the other side of the border, particularly in Basel.⁷²

69. Steinert, "Zwischen Gestern und Morgen," 63.

70. Steinert, "Zwischen Gestern und Morgen," 67.

71. "Badische Besprechungen mit Robert Schuman über die Besatzungskosten und die Umstellung der Besatzungsverwaltung" [Badisch Meetings with Robert Schuman about the Costs of Occupation and the Transition of the Occupational Administration], *Badisches Tagblatt* (Germany), August 23, 1949, 98th edition,

72. "Unter Gleichberechtigten" [Among Equals], *Nationale Zeitung* (Germany), August 25, 1949, 392nd edition.

French-occupied Freiburg was by no means an immediate utopia in the years following the end of World War II. As was to be expected after at least one hundred years of national rivalry—maybe even longer—it is no surprise that hard feelings, cultural stereotypes, and incidents of destructive conflict constituted hurdles on the long path to peace. And peace was, in fact, the ultimate end of this path, even in spite of France and Germany’s painful history. In 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community was founded as an effort to compel France and Germany to work together and to share their resources, particularly those resources that had the capacity to power the machine of war. And in 1963, the Élysée Treaty—a bilateral friendship treaty—was signed by French President Charles de Gaulle and German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, putting an official end to the countries’ long shared history of *Erbfeindschaft*. The progress towards cultural reconciliation and appreciation that occurred in Freiburg during its occupation by the French are significant examples of the changes that gradually built a more peaceful and unified Europe.

Chapter 4

In Vielfalt geeint: Looking Ahead to a Unified Europe

The reconstruction activities undertaken by various groups in Freiburg in the years immediately after World War II did not occur in isolation from one another, nor were they isolated in the course of history. When understood as occurring in synthesis with one another, the implications and outcomes of these post-war activities point to larger-scale changes that were occurring as many European countries began to put the history of conflict behind them in favor of a more unified future. To an extent, Freiburg—which was a multicultural border city to begin with, even before the effects of post-World War II reconstruction activities took root—represents an appropriate microcosm of these larger transformations, the ripple effects of which are still visible today in institutions and states of affairs both in Freiburg and throughout Europe.

The involvement of the AFSC and other international humanitarian aid groups in post-World War II Freiburg—and elsewhere throughout Europe—can be interpreted as an early indication of the impacts of globalization on post-war development in Europe. Even the occupational effort of the Allies and their involvement in the post-war political and economic administration of Germany represents the collaboration between European and other international actors. For the first time, American and other international non-governmental organizations stepped in to become more heavily involved in European affairs, including the eventual creation of the European Union.

The spread of Quaker principles in Freiburg is indicative of a post-war shift in values that more closely resembles the ideals of the European Union we know today, rather than those of the disjointed and combative European states of the first half of the twentieth century and earlier. Guided by the belief in the light of God in each person, the Quakers approached each situation

with the mindset of pacifism, tolerance, and openness. Without taking sides, they extended an olive branch to those who had long been perceived as the enemy. Political and religious conflict had been the status quo throughout Europe's long history, but Quaker attitudes demonstrated that a peaceful path forward was possible, and that the diversity of cultures, languages, and religions across the continent was something to be celebrated—not something to be feared, denounced, or fought over.

The Quakers' celebration of cultural diversity and belief in the inherent worth of all groups was made manifest in their post-war educational efforts. Even before the Quakers' involvement, Freiburg owed a large part of its cultural identity to its university, but the Quakers were a driving force behind the revitalization of university activities after the destruction of World War II. These educational efforts focused especially on the promotion of cross-cultural encounters through discussion groups and through the establishment of a reading room filled with books in various languages. Today, the attitude that cultural exchange is a vital part of education is alive and well at the University of Freiburg and throughout Europe. The Erasmus+ Program, which has facilitated the standardization and the interconnection of European university programs, provides a straightforward way for E.U. and non-E.U. students alike to spend a semester or more of their academic program in another country. To supplement this educational exchange, the Erasmus Student Network provides international exchange students with the opportunity to engage with local and other international students through events and cultural programming. I myself participated in many events arranged by Freiburg's ESN chapter during my year abroad. Additionally, the Freiburg Student Service Center's tandem partner program, which provides the opportunity for students to connect with speakers of other languages, flourishes among Freiburg's population of international students.

The Erasmus+ Program is just one of many institutions of the European Union, whose creation and continued success are largely owed to the cooperation between Germany and France that was born in the immediate years following World War II. Although the earlier years of the French occupation of Freiburg were plagued by conflict and unrest, the emerging collaboration between both countries and the act of putting their generations-long *Erbfeindschaft* behind them were hugely significant—even necessary—for the process of European integration. In fact, many consider the 1951 European Coal and Steel Community to be a precursor for the European Union, which was officially founded in 1993 with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty. Even today, France and Germany represent the two most populous countries of the European Union, and no major international policy decisions can be made without approval from French and German representatives.⁷³

Despite all the positive progress that was achieved through reconstruction activities, post-World War II Freiburg was not a utopia by any means, nor was the path towards peace and unification consistently a smooth one. Many of the problems that plagued post-war Freiburg and post-war Europe in general are similar to problems the European Union has encountered in more recent years. For instance, in the years after the war, Germany faced a serious refugee crisis. German soldiers, prisoners of war, and expellees returned to Germany only to find that their homes had been destroyed. A new refugee crisis has emerged over the past decade, with Syrian refugees fleeing the civil war in their home country; many have sought asylum in the European Union and especially in Germany. As a consequence of this crisis, nationalist ideologies have regained traction in Germany and across Europe. The anti-immigrant, anti-refugee rhetoric espoused by right-wing political parties such as the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) is

73. Freisinger and Metzger, "Die deutsch-französischen," 240.

strikingly similar to the National Socialist propaganda that was targeted in the denazification efforts in the French zone. In summary, both the positive and negative developments of post-war reconstruction in Freiburg are reflected in modern Europe.

Freiburg is just one small German city, but its international nature lends itself to serving as a case study of the broader changes that were happening throughout Europe after World War II. The Quakers' promotion of pacifism and tolerance, alongside the gradual progress within the French occupation towards Franco-German reconciliation and cooperation, represent the beginnings of the long path towards a future in which France, Germany, and all other European nations would be united in diversity—in *Vielfalt geeint*.



Figure 5: A view over Freiburg im Breisgau, October 2019 (picture is my own)

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