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Box 85, Folder 17, Nazis - United States, 1977-1978.

The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022
PL 1 - 4000

Date 3/7/77

TO: Marc H. Tanenbaum

FROM: GEORGE SALOMON

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Nazi Criminals in America: Some Action at Last

Nazi Criminals

For 20 years, Boleslavs Maikovskis and his wife have lived on a tree-shaded street near New York, a bit withdrawn but well liked by the neighbors. The fiftyish Kowalchuk brothers are respectable tailors in Philadelphia. Andrija Artukovic, a retired bookkeeper and a pillar of Catholic endeavors, lives with his children on a beach near Los Angeles.

The four men share a much less placid past. Maikovskis, as an SS officer in Latvia, helped kill some 30,000 Jews. The Kowalchuks, members of the Ukrainian SS, aided in the murder of 4,000. Artukovic, Minister of the Interior in the Nazi puppet government of Croatia, ordered the arrest of 30,000 Jews, nine-tenths of whom were murdered.

The best-known among the more than 100 known or suspected Nazi war criminals at large in the United States is Archbishop Valerian Trifa, the head of the Rumanian Orthodox Church of America, who in a prior career as a leader of Rumania's fascist Iron Guard was the inciter of a massacre that left some 10,000 Jews dead.

Trifa came to the U.S. as a displaced person, in 1950. How he was ordained is not clear; in any case, he ousted and replaced the Rumanian bishop of Detroit--an act the church superiors, far away in Communist Rumania, could not undo. He then built a cadre of supporters by ordaining old Iron Guardists as priests, and in 1963 gained a seat on the governing board of the National Council of Churches, a confederation of denominations with 40 million members. Last October, Jewish and other groups finally succeeded in mobilizing counteraction; Trifa was in effect suspended from the board, in part because of additional evidence about his anti-Semitic past made available by the American Jewish Committee.

The U.S. Department of Justice is now trying to revoke Trifa's citizenship; but U.S. law has no statute on war criminals, and the only grounds for action in such cases are violation of immigration or naturalization laws by concealment of pertinent facts. According to the 1948 Displaced Persons Act, under which Trifa came to the U.S., visa applicants had to declare that they had not discriminated against religious or national minorities; Trifa, among other things, reportedly denied having taken part in anti-Semitic activities and thus remains subject to legal action.

Report from America, Mar. - Apr. 1977

If, on the other hand, it can be proved that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) knew about a defendant's past when he or she was admitted or naturalized, the naturalization stands. Hermine Ryan, née Braunsteiner, the former death camp guard tried in 1973, might well have escaped extradition to West Germany on these grounds if she had not, for obscure reasons, voluntarily renounced her citizenship.

Persons who came to the U.S. after 1952 are not even subject to the provision that trapped Trifa. The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, adopted that year, dropped the question about discriminatory acts--with the result that, as Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman puts it, the law today excludes "everyone from polygamists to marijuana users, from prostitutes to anarchists"--but not Nazi war criminals.

Rep. Holtzman charges foot-dragging by the INS, and a new book (*Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America*), by an investigative reporter, Howard Blum, quotes sources claiming that the criminals have been protected by a government conspiracy. That claim is dubious, but the record of public and government apathy is only too clear. According to INS's own reports, 213 persons were accused of war crimes between 1945 and 1977, with some plausibility in about half the cases. The score: Braunsteiner's extradition; one deportation order pending; nine cases in court (four only since January 1977); and three more about to be tried. In at least one case, INS took 10 years to investigate publicly made accusations.

No doubt most Americans would agree that even known Nazis must be dealt with under established standards of due process, including the presumption that an accused person is innocent until proven guilty. But there is growing concern about long-standing defects in the law, and about the kind of laxity in its application that allows accomplices in history's greatest crime to escape the reach of justice.

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

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The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

CONTACTS:
Press - Natalie Flatow
TV-RADIO - Frances P. Rosenberg

FOR RELEASE AFTER 10 A.M.
SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1977

NEW YORK, May 14.....Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D., N.Y.), at a ceremony today honoring Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, called on the House Subcommittee on Immigration to investigate why the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service had failed to deal with cases of Nazi war criminals living in the United States, and why these individuals had been permitted to enter the country and become citizens.

In an address to the American Jewish Committee, she also urged support of her bill (HR412), which would bar further entry of such people and would provide for the deportation of persons who had engaged in the persecution of others under the Nazis because of race, religion, or national origin.

During the course of a special Sabbath service in memory of the six million victims of the Holocaust, Rep. Holtzman also presented a special award to Mr. Wiesenthal on behalf of the American Jewish Committee. The service, conducted by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's National Director of Interreligious Affairs, was part of the organization's four-day Annual Meeting, continuing through tomorrow at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

Mr. Wiesenthal, Director of the Jewish Documentation Center for Nazi War Crimes in Vienna, Austria, is a survivor of the Mauthausen concentration camp who has devoted the past 30 years to tracking down former Nazis wherever they have found asylum in the world. He was largely responsible for the capture of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina in 1960.

(more)

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Describing Mr. Wiesenthal as "the living conscience of the Jewish people," Rep. Holtzman paid tribute to his "untiring efforts to keep alive the memory of the innocents slaughtered by the Nazis, and to see that the criminals are brought to justice."

In discussing the presence of former Nazis in the United States, Rep. Holtzman raised a series of questions as to how they were permitted to enter the country and why they have been allowed to remain.

"Why did the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Department fail to act on these cases for 25 years?" she asked. "Why were these people allowed to remain undisturbed until public and Congressional outcry brought action? How were some allowed to become citizens even though the I.N.S. had received information about their Nazi pasts?"

Remarking on the lack of safeguards in present procedures for entry into the United States, she declared:

"Under present immigration laws, if Hitler were alive today, he could enter this country because there is no bar on Nazi war criminals."

Rep. Holtzman reported that her bill, which had originally been proposed in December 1975 during the 94th Congress, had been reintroduced several times during the current session as more Representatives indicated that they wished to go on record as co-sponsors. The bill now has more than 50 co-sponsors. It is expected to be scheduled for consideration by the House Immigration Subcommittee in the near future.

Mr. Wiesenthal, in his response, warned of the dangers inherent in the current emergence of neo-Nazi groups in the United States and around the world.

These groups have been cooperating in an increasing propaganda campaign in the United States, Europe, South America, and South Africa, he maintained, and added:

"American neo-Nazi groups have been sending material in several languages, especially to Germany and Argentina, while neo-Nazi groups in Germany and Austria are sending their American friends the names and addresses not only of their members and sympathizers, but also of other people whom they want to indoctrinate."

"For the moment," Mr. Wiesenthal continued, "they do not strive for a mass movement. They are content with the building of cadres. They are waiting for a political or social crisis, from which they hope they would benefit as Hitler did in the Twenties."

(more)

Neo-Nazi groups are in different stages of development in different parts of the world, he stated, adding:

"In Germany and Austria, they are still at the first stage - the stage of propaganda. In Argentina, they have already moved on to the formation of terror commandos, striking synagogues, Jewish community centers, and Jewish cemeteries. In South Africa, they foment the conflict between blacks and whites; they even wanted to create an organization similar to the Ku Klux Klan - a project that was abandoned later."

As to neo-Nazi groups in the United States and Canada, he declared that "the several dozens of small organizations are not dangerous for these big democracies themselves. But they harm the American image abroad, because neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist groups all over the world, which receive this dirty propaganda from their counterparts in the States, pass it on as American propaganda."

"I have not come here to advise you on how to deal with these elements." Mr. Wiesenthal stated. "But as a friend of America, I want to make sure that you do not underestimate them. And I also want to ask you to do something to curtail their activities, of which we, the Jews in other countries, are the main victims."

Mr. Wiesenthal also expressed concern for the fact that the Communist countries, especially during the period of the Cold War, "pictured neo-Nazism as a West German problem exclusively, and not as one of all of Germany."

"Actually, they wanted to divert attention from their own crimes," he said.

Explaining that his interests extended to all situations where people were deprived of their human rights, Mr. Wiesenthal stated that he was engaged in a variety of activities related to the abrogation of these rights. He announced that he had drafted a "convention for the protection of political prisoners," which he recently sent to President Carter in response to Mr. Carter's strong stance on the human rights question.

"This project has been stalled in the European Council, although a few countries have backed it," he said. "I hope that a new initiative toward its realization may come from the United States."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the Civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 13, 1978
to Milton Ellerin
from David Geller
subject Meeting Re Alleged Nazi War Criminals

Along with other members of the inter-organizational committee dealing with alleged Nazi war criminals in the U.S., I met with Martin Mendelsohn, the head of the special unit set up by the Immigration Office. He reported on the status of several cases.

1. A. Artukovic

Until now the U.S. Government has been claiming that Artukovic, notwithstanding his proven guilt, could not be sent to Yugoslavia because we could not be sure of his getting a fair trial. About 1 1/2 years ago I, along with three members of the Committee, met with Kissinger's assistant - Eagleberger. We were informed that the State Department had sent a letter to the Justice Department indicating that the reservation regarding a fair trial in Yugoslavia no longer prevailed. A few months ago, however, it was learned that no such letter has ever been sent. A few weeks ago, Mendelsohn went to Yugoslavia and obtained an agreement that Artukovic would be charged with murder but not with war crimes, thereby supposedly eliminating any political and/or ideological dimensions. A letter to this effect is now being sent to the Immigration Service and to the Justice Department and we expect a trial to begin within the next four to six weeks.

2. V. Trifa

While a great deal of documentation exists on this case which makes it almost certain that Trifa worked with the Iron Guard, no eye witness has yet been found. The list of 50 eye witnesses which Dr. Kramer has been showing to everyone has been checked out thoroughly and they are not good. Efforts are still being made to locate eye witnesses.

The case, however, is complicated by the fact that the Romanian Government has been less than cooperative. Confidentially, Rabbi Rosen told me that Trifa has some information about the various Government officials in Romania which they do not want publicized. Therefore, they have not been willing to cooperate in terms of supplying information or eye witnesses. There is also a rumor that the Romanian Government, fearing pressure by Hungarian-Americans regarding the rights of Hungarians in Transylvania, has struck a deal with Trifa to "lay off" on condition that he and other Romanian-Americans act to offset the Hungarian pressure.

Despite the difficulties, it is quite possible that there will be a trial in the spring.

3. F. Federenko

There was a great deal of outrage expressed by legal observers as well as the Jewish community regarding the questionable actions taken by the Judge in Federenko's case, which resulted in his acquittal. AJ Congress sent a legal memorandum detailing the questionable legal procedures. The Solicitor General, Wade McCree, will decide by September 24 whether to allow an appeal on this case. The expectation is, given some of the Judge's action which clearly prejudiced the case, the appeal will probably go through. However, this is not by any means a certainty.

4. V. Hazners

The Government has rested its case. However, the defense wishes to depose witnesses in Sweden, Australia and Canada. It is presumed that they will be allowed to do so and that this will cause considerable delay. In addition, the witnesses they will hear were probably in collusion with, or are sympathetic to Hazners.

5. I. Demjanjuk

Demjanjuk is an alleged war criminal against whom denaturalization proceedings have been brought. In this case, too, there is concern that the Special Litigation Unit has not been given the financial support it needs in order to effectively prosecute this case. (See attached).

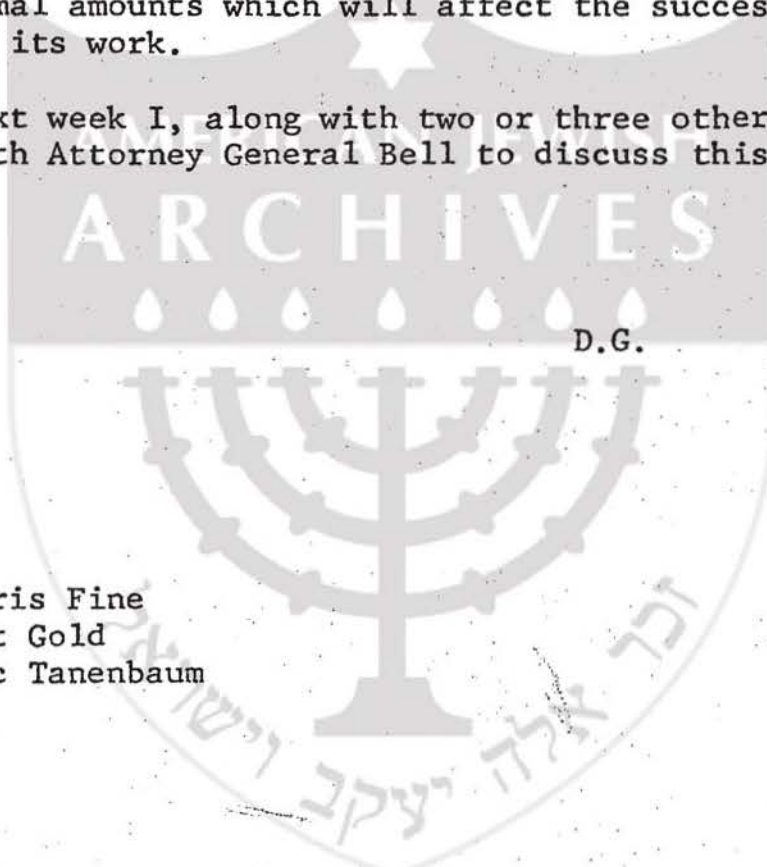
Mendelsohn feels that there are now between 20 and 30 cases that can go ahead because of a commitment from the Soviet Union that witnesses will be allowed to testify. There is some uncertainty as to whether their testimony will be given in person or whether the court will accept taped interviews.

Finally, while this Special Unit dealing with these cases has been allocated 2.1 million dollars, there are considerable financial problems because (a) the sum is small for the amount of work and personnel required and (b) the disbursement of the allocated amount depends on the Immigration Service and there is a growing concern that the disbursement is being kept to minimal amounts which will affect the success of this Special Unit in its work.

Next week I, along with two or three others, hope to meet with Attorney General Bell to discuss this whole issue.

DG: sm

cc: Morris Fine
Bert Gold
Marc Tanenbaum



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August 25, 1978

Honorable Griffin B. Bell
Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

Reports have reached me that deficiencies have become apparent in the preparation of the case of U.S. v. Demjanjuk, a denaturalization proceeding against an alleged Nazi war criminal now living in Cleveland, Ohio.

I wish to express my strong concern over the possible inadequate prosecution of this case. A repeat of the recent Fedorenko adverse decision to the government's case in Florida would nullify and gravely jeopardize the long and persistent efforts of this Subcommittee in ridding this country of these undesirable elements. Lack of preparation and a deep realization of the importance of these proceedings may have cost the government its decision in this case. We certainly would regret seeing this happen again.

The creation of a Special Litigation Unit within INS was established to bring expertise and organization to this project.

This Unit should be fully entrusted with these cases.

I would strongly urge you to place the direction of the proceedings of the DEMJANJUK case in the hands of the Special Litigation Unit. We cannot afford the risk of losing another decision.

—With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Joshua Eilberg
JOSHUA EILBERG
Chairman

JE:prb

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL
ROUTE TO
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
11 AUG 28 1978
O.R.O.M.
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL

ROUTE TO
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 14, 1978
to Morris Fine
from David Geller *DG*
subject German Statute of Limitations

As you may recall, in 1969 the West German Bundestag decided to give their Judiciary ten more years for tracking down and prosecuting Nazi criminals. At the same time, a new amendment to the Penal Code was adopted which in effect categorized the so-called "Desk Murderers", those who had signed death certificates or brought about murder without actually committing the murder itself, as "accessories" only. There was vociferous opposition to this measure, but it was unavailing. According to the JTA of Friday, June 27, 1969:

"Only Nazis charged with premeditated murder, who comprise only five percent of all war criminals will be subject to prosecution. The balance are charged with aiding in murder on the orders of superiors. They have already been granted amnesty by virtue of an article in the new West German penal code which grants amnesty to any civil or criminal offender whose offense was unpremeditated and not 'willful.' The article originally applied mainly to traffic violators and other minor offenders against public order. But West Germany's highest court decreed last month that it was also applicable to war criminals."

The ten-year extension to the State of Limitations will be up December 31, 1979. We shall have to decide whether and in what way to raise this issue again.

I spoke to Herbert Strauss, the Director of the American Federation of Jews of Central Europe, who had been quite active in the late 1960's in the effort to have the Statute extended. At this stage, however, he is not sure that it is worth the effort. Indeed, he feels that given the present political climate in West Germany and the spate of articles regarding the unreliability of witnesses 35 years after the event, efforts on behalf of the Jewish community now for a further extension would (a) fail and (b) cause a backlash. On the other hand,

we should take into consideration the renewed attention focused on the Holocaust as well as the concern of the West German government with recent neo-Nazi activities in Germany in terms of the possibility of a more sympathetic attitude by the German government than Strauss would seem to indicate.

In this connection, the Convention on the Non-Applicability of the Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, adopted by the General Assembly on November 26, 1968, is significant. The convention already signed by a few Member States is based on the principle that murder, genocide, and other crimes against humanity cannot be subject to a term of limitation.

I've been trying to find out whether the West German government has ratified this Convention. I am assuming that it has not; because if they had, the whole question of extending the Statute of Limitations would be moot.

I've inquired as to whether the Israeli government has adopted a position. I haven't heard yet.

D.G.

cc: Bert Gold
Sidney Liskofsky
Marc Tanenbaum
Mort Yarmon
Hy Bookbinder

REVEREND WILLIAM Z. GLUECK

35-43 84 ST

JACKSON HEIGHTS, QUEENS, N.Y.

TOGETHER WITH YOUR MANY OTHER ADMIRERS I JOIN IN SENDING
YOU MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES ON
COMPLETING AN IMPRESSIVE CAREER AS CHAZAN. HAVING HAD THE
PRIVILEGE OF BEING YOUR CONGREGANT FOR MANY YEARS, I AM
PARTICULARLY INDEBTED TO YOU FOR YOUR AND SALLY'S PERSONAL
FRIENDSHIP AND ENRICHING HOURS SPENT TOGETHER. I WISH YOU AND
YOUR FAMILY GOD'S RICHEST BLESSINGS AS YOU ENJOY TOGETHER
HOPEFULLY MANY MORE YEARS OF GOOD HEALTH STRENGTH AND
CREATIVE LIFE WHICH YOU SO RICHLY DESERVE. WITH CORDIAL
BEST WISHES.

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DIRECTOR

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO-SFB
April 22, 1977

Morton Yarnon
Ernest Weiner

KPIX - WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING CORP. - SAN FRANCISCO -
CBS AFFILIATE - THE BLOOD LABEL EPISODE

Following up our telephone discussions this week, enclosed are copies of the Bill Mandel column in the San Francisco Examiner, Karl Raab's column in today's S. F. Jewish Bulletin and a profile in today's San Francisco Chronicle on Allen Lee Vincent.

Following our discussion I talked with both Milt Ellerin and Sam Rabinove and obtained their counsel on the problems connected with the filing of an FCC complaint.

I will keep you posted as this situation unfolds.

Best regards.

cc: Samuel Rabinove
Rabbi Marc Tenenbaum
Milton Ellerin
Harold Applebaum
Neil Sandberg

Encls.

[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



Television

Bill Mandel



That old blood libel

One of the glaring dangers in the way television news is reported was exemplified this week in a particularly harmful manner on Channel 5.

In interviewing Nazi Allen Vincent, the station allowed to go unchallenged Vincent's absurd charge that youngsters in the Sunset were disappearing because Jews need the blood of young Christians to drink at Passover.

This fairy tale, which started in the Middle Ages and hasn't been heard in sane circles since Hitler, is known as the "blood libel." Incredibly, Vincent was not queried further on his charge by the reporter nor did anchorman Dave McEhatton have anything to say.

Calls poured in to the KPIX switchboard protesting what Vincent had said as well as the fact that no one on the air had the brains to contradict such inflammatory slander. The only response these callers received from Channel 5 was an operator who asked if the caller was "for" or "against" what Vincent had to say. Callers were not put through to any news executive to specify why they were calling—they were restricted to voting for or against.

Twenty-four hours later, on Wednesday's news, Channel 5 presented a Berkeley history professor to rebut Vincent's accusation. The professor explained the history of the blood libel and said that, of course, Jews don't kill young Christians to drink their blood. But was that sufficient? This is not a story that has two sides, two different opinions. It's not as though some folks believe Jews kill young Christians for their blood and some folks believe they don't.

It was the station's responsibility from the beginning to view the film of the Vincent interview and excise his wild allegation (this wouldn't be censorship because Vincent was being interviewed on another topic entirely—his blood libel was just a gratuitous blurt). Presenting "another view" 24 hours later was pitiful recompense.

When ACLU executive director David Fishlow called KPIX general manager George Resing to demand something in the way of redress, Resing actually told Fishlow he doesn't like to meddle in the news department's operation.

Beyond the content of this contretemps is a larger problem: the very poor preparation of many TV news reporters. With reporters' pay keyed to the number of stories they get on the air, it doesn't make economic sense for a reporter to bone up on a story. The result is what happened this week: a reporter gets fed a line of blather and stands there nodding in bovine agreement. A skin-back 24 hours later is hardly a substitute for accuracy and preparation.

Candid Comments

How The Mass Media Spurs Anti-Semitism

It can be said that anti-Semitism is on the rise.

Symptoms? Last week a local TV station was used to broadcast the "blood ritual, charge against Jews. That is the grandfather of them-all, dating back at least 1,000 years. Even before Hitler, Jews were massively slaughtered in the name of the "blood accusation", that Jews sacrifice Christian children.

One frightened woman called the JCRC to say: "I was raised with this "blood charge", as a child in Poland; I never expected to hear it on the six o'clock news in San Francisco."

Others told of recent encounters with anti-Semitism. One distinguished professional recounted two such personal incidents within past weeks, the least of which was being called a "Jewish swine" by a stranger. What is going on?



Raab

Reliable surveys tell us that about one-third of our American neighbors individually hold so many anti-Semitic beliefs that they fully qualify as "anti-Semites." The proportion of anti-Semitic Americans has not changed much over the last 50 years. It was a little higher in the 1930s, but not that much.

However, during the 1940s, when we fought a popular war against the Nazis, the public expression of these anti-Semitic attitudes became unfashionable.

It was not considered in good, patriotic taste to say it, even if you believed it. If you listened carefully in the clubs, or in the school yards of San Francisco, you could still hear the slurs. But they were made more furtively than in the past, and they rarely entered the public arena. And that would eventually have had some long-range educational impact.

But that began to change somewhere in the 1960s. The Left broke it open; the Right became emboldened; and people like General George Brown began to make their public declamations. There may be no more anti-Semites in America than there were 20 years ago; but there surely seems to be a rise in the open public expression of their anti-Semitic attitudes. And that's dangerous.

A large responsibility must be laid squarely on those opinion-makers who are not themselves anti-Semitic but who no longer take the dangers of anti-Semitism seriously. We are again being told by some mass media operatives that we are "over-sensitive." Well, if everyone else is going to be under-sensitive, then we had better be over-sensitive.

When an angry Jewish delegation confronted the management of the TV station which allowed a Nazi to spout the blood ritual charge, the delegation was first told that this was just part of free news coverage. Nonsense; this is not a first amendment matter. It is one thing for government to prevent the mass media from saying something; it is another thing for the mass media people to exercise editorial responsibility.

The mass media use only a fraction of the material which they get. The criteria by which they edit should have more to do with journalism than with show biz; more to do with reporting the news than trying to make it. If hard news makes social mischief, so be it. But the reckless creation of mischief for the sake of gratuitous sensationalism is inexcusable.

This TV station agreed to do some remedial things, including refutation and editorials, but the fact that it happened in the first place shows how dismally the mass media have allowed themselves to be used as a vehicle for the Nazis to artificially stimulate the public display of anti-Semitism.

An alarmed group of San Francisco leaders — Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Black, Latino, Asian — has been gathered together as a continuing civic force to combat this tendency. But there is a role here for every individual citizen — especially with regard to the radio and TV stations, which use the public air on condition that they serve the public well. The Federal Communications Commission which grants and periodically reviews licenses, cannot tell the stations what to say or not to say; but it is supposed to evaluate each station's general pattern of responsibility.

Those licenses are valuable and competed for.

When you see or hear something irresponsible on a radio or TV station, write an immediate comment to the Federal Communications Commission, 1919 "M" St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20554, to fatten the file of that station against the day of license renewal — with a copy of course, to the station.

Views of our columnists do not necessarily represent the views of this newspaper.

A Nazi Who Calls Himself Gentle

By George Draper

Allen Lee Vincent thinks of himself as "a very gentle person" and yet the fact of the matter is he has deliberately turned himself into a target for anger and violence — anger and violence that he, himself, has incited.

"I was standing there talking to these two cops," he said recently of an incident that occurred last year, "when this guy walked up and copped a Sunday on me ... Split my cheek wide open."

Things have gotten so rough for him lately that he's taken to wearing a bullet-proof vest and sleeping with a gun.

What's Vincent's problem? It's simple, on the surface. He likes to stand around in public places wearing a white crash helmet, paratrooper boots and a brown shirt with swastika arm-band. He's a Nazi.

Vincent professes to love whites, particularly the blond, blue-eyed variety so much admired by the non-blond, non-blue-eyed Adolf Hitler.

Conversely, Vincent hates Jews, Indians, blacks, Orientals, Mexicans, Portuguese and others he considers to be non-white.

For instance, talking about blacks: "When I look at the darker races it repulses me very much," Vincent replies.

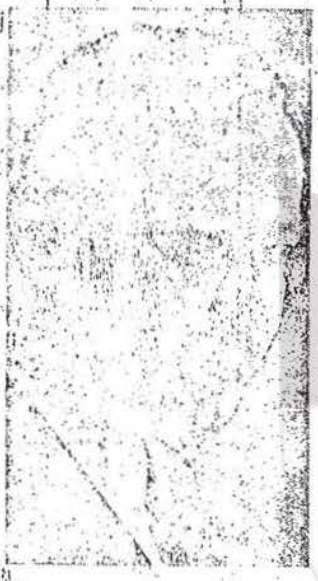
Has he ever been attracted to a Jewish woman?

Vincent rolled his eyes thoughtfully at the ceiling. His woman friend, Erica, who speaks in a thick German accent, was seated nearby awaiting his response.

"Maybe in junior high school," Vincent said at last. "Lots of Jews were always inviting me to parties. I don't think I had an affair. To me, looking at a Jewish woman is like looking at the Devil."

Vincent is an ex-convict. He has a State Department of Corrections IQ rating of "dull-normal." Late last month, he opened the Rudolph Hess bookstore in the Outer Sunset District.

He erected a big swastika on the outside of the store and loaded the shop up with copies of Hitler's "Mein Kampf," George Lincoln Rockwell's "White Power" and other racist volumes.



Allen Vincent was shocked when his bookstore was smashed

Vincent insists he was not aware that the bookstore was just across the street from Temple B'nai Emunah. Therefore he was shocked, he says, when 50 furious people smashed the bookstore on the night of April 1 and sent him and his Nazi followers scurrying for safety.

In discussing the incident, Vincent said "real white people" are "very shy" and "don't want to hurt anybody."

If they're not like that, he said, it's either because they've been misbred (a "gene's gone haywire" someplace) or "they've been hurt so badly they're smashed to smithereens."

If Vincent harbors a scathing suspicion of all non-whites and Jews in particular, he is also plenty leery of a lot of his fellow Nazis.

He thinks there is something "definitely fishy" about Matthias Koehl, who took over leadership of the National Socialist White People's Party after George Lincoln Rockwell was bumped off by one of his storm troopers in 1967.

Vincent was upset because Fuehrer Koehl deposed him as San Francisco's Nazi troop leader last year, allegedly for breaking party rules by allowing beer at a Hitler-Fest membership meeting at Stern Grove.

Vincent, who has the face of an aging cherub, wrote off another Nazi bigshot as a homosexual and said he suspects one San Francisco trooper was trained in Israel and planted in the local unit.

His friend Erica has a matronly figure and stringy blonde hair that falls below her shoulders. She refers to Negroes as "black meat" and when she talks about the people in Chinatown she draws back the corners of her eyes with her index fingers and grins.

After being deposed as the local fuehrer last year, Vincent started his own Nazi splinter party — the National Socialist White Workers Party — and installed himself as chief. Police sources say he has possibly six helmeted, swastika-sporting followers.

Just how Vincent gets by financially is something of a mystery.

He is known to have worked from time to time as a painter. But law enforcement sources believe he is supported mainly by Erica (whose real name is Charlotte Magnette) and by contributions from a few admirers.

Vincent was born in 1932 in Los Angeles. His father, who was of German ancestry, worked as a Hollywood movie set painter. His mother was Scotch-English.

"She came from a farm in North Carolina and she was very beautiful. I saw her only once. After she died I visited her tombstone," Vincent said.

Vincent's parents separated when he was one year old and he was sent to live with an aunt and uncle on a small farm in Oregon.

When Vincent was nine he returned to Los Angeles to live with his father, who had remarried. His step-mother, he said, drank quite a lot and "when I'd come home from school there'd be the smell of booze."

When he was 11 or 12, Vincent said, he and another boy stole a car and ran away. Vincent was caught and sent to a forestry camp.

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He ran away from the camp, was caught again and placed in the custody of the California Youth Authority. That was 1946.

Vincent was in and out of various CYA institutions for the next seven years, where he was known for his "rosy-checked, youthful appearance" and for being a "non-conformer."

But in 1953, when he was 21, he was arrested for grand theft in Los Angeles. That was the beginning of a ten-year career in prison.

"He is unable to make any kind of satisfactory adjustment to life," a prison official noted when he was received at Chino.

Prison records contain some clues to Vincent's personality.

One notation says, "He was much afraid of being called a sissy."

Another found him "avoiding trouble with other inmates by withdrawal."

Yet another record states that Vincent was known to have "hallucinations and delusions."

He experienced a "psychotic episode" while at Soledad in 1955 and was shipped north to San Quentin for treatment as a "schizophrenic."


Three years later, Vincent spent 11 months in the State Mental Hospital for the Criminally Insane at Atascadero.

Vincent was finally paroled for good from the California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo in 1963 and, according to his version of things to come, marched straight down to the Nazi Party headquarters in Los Angeles and signed up.

He first put on the swastika, he said, about three months later when he suited up for a demonstration.

"I felt pretty good," he recalled recently. "The

CONTINUED
NEXT PAGE

The logo for the American Jewish Archives is a shield-shaped emblem. At the top center is a five-pointed star. Below the star, the words "AMERICAN JEWISH" are written in a bold, sans-serif font. Underneath that, the word "ARCHIVES" is written in a smaller, similar font. The entire logo is rendered in a light gray color.

swastika gave me a sense of pride and of being true to my people. It was something special, very special."

Vincent said that when he joined the Nazi party he was not particularly aware of Jews and thought it was the blacks who were causing all the trouble — rioting, looting, burning.

But after being in the party for a while, he said, he came to realize he had suffered at the hands of the Jews. He rapidly mentioned pornography, slum lords, organized crime, pollution.

Vincent and Erica ("She's been through hell with me") claim they worship Odin, the Norse war god whom fallen warriors are supposed to join in Valhalla.

How does he feel about Jesus Christ?

"I don't want to open up that can of worms," says Vincent.

In any event, Vincent has persisted since 1963 in making people angry by wearing the swastika, which he calls the symbol of race and life, at public demonstrations.

Did the shock treatments he underwent for three months at San Quentin have anything to do with his becoming a Nazi? he was asked.

"Nothing," Vincent said.

"No," Erica chimed in, "he was just a little boy who didn't like his step-mother. He was looking for his mother."

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Note for the Schmidt Meeting

Our Israeli friends in Bonn are worried that the drive to get extension of the Statute of Limitations may fail for the following reason. Some parliamentarians are suggesting a split:

Not abolition of statutory limitations for murder.

Rather, abolition of statutory limitations on Nazi murder.

The fear is that this proposition will so confound matters that there will not be sufficient votes for any abolition, of either kind.

Chancellor Schmidt himself advocates the abolition of statutory limitation for murder---as he said in South Carolina this past Wednesday. This is the position our Israeli friends, too, support, rather than any split proposition.

They are urging us to ask Schmidt not only to reaffirm his position, as he has done, but to use his influence and prestige to try and sway the vote in this direction.

It is now expected that the issue will come before the Bundestag in about two weeks.

NOTES FOR DISCUSSION WITH CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT

1. THE CHANCELLOR'S VIEWS ON THE ENERGY CRISIS -- ITS IMPACT ON EAST-WEST ALLIANCES; PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ON THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SCENE
2. STATUS OF THE DEBATE ON THE STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS
3. THE CHANCELLOR'S VIEW OF KARL CARSTENS IN LIGHT OF THE NEWS AND EDITORIAL COMMENTS
4. THE SITUATION IN IRAN
5. DISCUSS THE POTENTIAL FOR PROJECTED EXCHANGE PROGRAM



MEETING WITH CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT

JUNE 8, 1979

Background Briefs

HELMUT SCHMIDT

Elected Federal Chancellor May, 1974....In the Brandt/Scheel Cabinet, he was Federal Minister of Finance. He was born in Hamburg on December 23, 1918...has been a member of the Social Democratic Party since 1946. In 1947/48 he was Chairman of the German Socialist Student League....He was the first German Chancellor to visit Auschwitz where he said, "We have come to Auschwitz to remind ourselves and others that without knowledge of the past, there is no path to the future....We Germans of today are not guilty as individuals, but we must take upon us the political heritage of those who were guilty. In this lies our responsibility...." Schmidt has been especially active in promoting Ostpolitik and in efforts to solve the problems between the two Germanys.

WEST GERMAN/ISRAEL RELATIONS

West German relations with Israel have generally been very good. Of special significance has been the West German basic pro-Israel stance in the EEC. Except for Holland, it has been West Germany that has withstood pressure, primarily from the French, to steer the EEC toward a stronger pro-Arab bias. Nevertheless, there have been occasions when the relationship has been strained. These have occurred when in a number of international forums, the West German government has chosen to either abstain or in some cases vote against Israel. In addition, in 1978 during a visit to Jerusalem, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt caused a furor by his remarks regarding the Middle-East situation which had a decidedly pro-Arab tilt. He further aggravated the Israelis during a visit of Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd to Bonn when he referred to the Palestinians' right to a state of their own.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned strains, the West German government has made significant efforts to establish a cordial relationship with Israel and its people. German polls consistently indicate support for Israel. The West German-Israel relationship has been especially positive in the area of trade.

Today West Germany is the second most important trading partner with Israel after the United States and has pushed Great Britain, which was always Israel's second most important client, down to third place.

STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The Statute of Limitations on the prosecution of Nazi war criminals is due to expire December 31, 1979. The issue is currently being debated in the Bundestag and it is expected that a vote will be taken in mid-June. While many German legislators and jurists have serious reservations about extending the Statute of Limitations because of an unwillingness to change an old German legal tradition and because they do not wish to set a precedent for "tampering" with the German Basic Law, there seems to be overwhelming support for the view that Nazi crimes were so different in quality and quantity that an exception must be made.

Wherever judicial action has already been taken on an individual case, the prosecution of that case will continue in any event after December 31, 1979. At the present time, there are about 4,700 West Germans awaiting sentencing or under investigation for war crimes.

It has been suggested by some German parliamentarians that the German Basic Law should be changed to abolish the statute of limitations on all murder. However, recent reports indicate that there is a majority sentiment to limit the extension to Nazi war crimes. Basically the proponents of extending the Statute of Limitations argue that even if practical results are meager, extending the Statute of Limitations is a moral responsibility.

RESTITUTION

The Restitution Agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany, the State of Israel, and Jewish organizations represented by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany was signed on September 10, 1952. Among the provisions, it required that the Government of the FRG pay three billion German marks (\$714,300,000) to the State of Israel and 450 million marks to various Jewish organizations. It is estimated that when all claims for loss of property will have been settled, the FRG will have paid 4.2 billion marks as restitution in that

category alone. Adding additional payments under several other categories, it is estimated that the total of compensation monies, to Jews and other victims of Nazi persecution, will eventually amount to about 85 billion marks.

AJC PROJECTS

1) German Educators Project

During the period 1960 through 1968 the American Jewish Committee conducted a program of bringing selected German educators to the United States to study our methods of teaching for democracy and to adapt what they had learned in this country to the educational programs and procedures in German schools.

The program for the German educators was devised and conducted in cooperation with the Institute for International Education, located in New York, and administered by that organization in collaboration with the American Jewish Committee. In Germany, the program was administered by the Institute of Social Research of the University of Frankfurt, headed by the late Professor Max Horkheimer, Consultant in Germany to the American Jewish Committee. A separate Study Bureau for Political Education was set up, under the directorship of Dr. Friedrich Minssen, a leading German educator, whose function it was to select study group members and conduct follow-up programs in Germany.

One of the more significant outgrowths of this program was the establishment in 1965 of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Bildung (German Association for Political Education), whose objective was to integrate the activities of all teachers of political subjects in German public secondary schools, universities and adult education programs. Of the 15 educators from different Laender who founded this organization, 7 had participated in the American study missions.

2) Oberammergau

AJC has been involved since the 1950s in efforts to change the anti-Semitic character of the Oberammergau Passion Play. Our comparative content analysis, Oberammergau 1960 and 1970 -- A Study in Religious Anti-Semitism, focused scholarly attention on the anti-Jewish impact of the play, and led to a decision on the part of

some Oberammergau officials to replace the present Daisenberger text with an earlier text (the Rosner script) in which the role of the Sanhedrin and "the Jews" is less central to the drama. That decision was reversed when ultra-conservative factions committed to the Daisenberger text were voted into office in Oberammergau.

A day-long symposium sponsored by AJC and the Bavarian Catholic Academy took place in Munich November 19, 1978. The scholars who participated agreed that-- "In depicting the Passion of Jesus, the Jews must now be portrayed with more honesty, with greater respect for their religious traditions, and with greater recognition of their rich traditions of scholarship...."

3) West Germany History Textbook Study

The AJC commissioned a study of leading standard texts used in West Germany schools. The study, entitled "Jews in West German History Textbooks," was prepared by Dr. Wolfgang Bobke. Dr. Bobke concluded that the Nazi genocide of the Jews is presented impressively and in detail, and also commended the treatment given to the birth and development of Israel. On the other hand, he found the textbooks seriously lacking in presenting a continuous account of the history of anti-Semitism and of the status of Jews from the Middle Ages to the present day. This lack makes Hitler appear as a demonic, inexplicable phenomenon and gives no insight into the historical forces which led to the Holocaust.

4) Young Leadership Exchange Program

The AJC and appropriate authorities of the FRG will develop in the next few months an exchange program designed to,--(1) provide young leaders of the American Jewish community with an objective view of the new Germany and,--(2) provide an opportunity for young Germans--professionals, members of the Bundestag, journalists, etc. an opportunity to study the American Jewish community and its contribution to the social and political life of the United States.

COVER STORY

Leading from Strength

A man called "the Doer" heads a proud, prosperous nation

It was an anniversary that passed without fanfares or triumphalism. May 23 marked the 30th birthday of the Federal Republic of Germany as a democratic country. Six days earlier, the 518 members of the lower house of parliament had assembled inside Bonn's Bundeshaus—a white, flat-topped, modern building with none of the grandeur of other, older European parliaments. Under a 30-ft. backdrop of the national insignia, a black eagle with spreading wings, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt took the podium. Sturdy-looking as a Hamburg dock, chin set squarely as a chopping block, he methodically reviewed the state of his nation three decades after its occupation by the three Western Allied powers that defeated Nazi Germany in World War II. The Federal Republic, he said, had unparalleled economic development, democratic security at home and high prestige abroad,

détente in the traditional tinderbox of Central Europe. At one point in his speech, Schmidt said something that could not help stirring the silent emotion of every deputy in the chamber. Said he: "We, the older generation, should stop perhaps for just a moment, and with a bit of astonishment, say to ourselves, this nation already has its own history. And it is, I believe, the best and most dignified part of German history."

Few Europeans with long memories would quarrel with that freeze-frame assertion; it seemed to crystallize the strong new sense of national identity and self-confidence now emanating from Bonn. Long reluctant to exercise a leadership equal to its political and economic strengths, West Germany has finally come of age as a Continental power. Much of the credit for this belongs to Helmut Schmidt. More than any other postwar

Chancellor since *der Alte*—the late Konrad Adenauer—Schmidt has shouldered his way into the front row of international leaders and has increasingly shown that he is not afraid to play a great-power role. Thanks largely to Schmidt's imposing political skills, says one ranking British diplomat, "the West Germans have moved from an occupation mentality to an independence of mind."

Last week Schmidt was preparing to fly to the U.S. for a four-day "private" visit that would include an important bit of unofficial summitry in Washington. President Carter has scheduled roughly three hours of talks with the Chancellor, who will also meet with congressional leaders and breakfast with National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. In addition, the U.S. public will be able to take the Chancellor's measure when he fans out to give three major speeches in

Eye to eye and chin to chin, Chancellor Schmidt and President Carter test each other at the Guadeloupe summit of Western leaders last January



his fluent, almost unaccented English: at Columbia, S.C., where he will attend a centennial celebration for the late former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes; at Harvard, where he is to deliver the main commencement address and receive an honorary doctorate; and at the American Council on Germany, a foreign affairs organization in New York City.

Carter and Schmidt have a number of critical issues to discuss, ranging from energy and economics to defense and détente. Perhaps most of all, the two leaders need to improve their personal rapport. Says one Washington policymaker: "Let's face it. Our relations with West Germany have not gone as well as they could over the past 2½ years." The President and the Chancellor have had a severe "chemistry" problem. As one White House official puts it, "The two get along when they are together; the problem is when they're apart."

Schmidt in the past has scarcely concealed the personal animosity and near scorn he feels toward Carter. He has made frosty comments about Carter's "preachy fanaticism" on human rights and his "narrow evangelistic approach" to the problem of nuclear proliferation. The President's turnabout on the neutron bomb, when he suddenly stopped plans to develop the weapon after imploring West European governments to accept it into the NATO arsenal, deepened Bonn's suspicions about the Administration's capacity for leadership. Actually Schmidt could not escape a share of the responsibility in the neutron bomb affair, having stonewalled Carter's urgings in the first place.

When the dollar went on the skids last year, Schmidt's view of what he regarded as Carter's unpredictability and vacillation became downright disdainful: "What sort of a government is it that lets its country's currency go to hell?" he is said to have asked American visitors in Bonn.

Reciprocal suspicions were aroused on the U.S. side when Bonn cautiously dragged its feet about reflating its economy in order to serve with the U.S. and Japan as a "locomotive" of the world economy. Schmidt stirred up other apprehensions about what Washington regarded as West Germany's self-centered approach to economic problems. A key example: Schmidt's vigorous campaign for the European Monetary System, which, except for the British pound, ties European Community currencies together within a narrow band of fluctuation. The scheme was originally devised as a protective measure for Europe against the gyrations of the dollar. But as the deutsche mark became an increasingly popular reserve currency in the treasuries of many countries, some economists suspected Schmidt was chauvinistically trying to create a "mark zone" that would eventually rival the dollar's dominion in international finance.

The diplomatic friction between Washington and Bonn eventually led to



Schmidt cups an ear and Britain's Margaret Thatcher shields her eyes at press conference

fears that Bonn's assertively independent approach, which French Pundit Raymond Aron dubbed "Gaullism in a minor key," might prove a threat to Western solidarity. The first hint that West Germany might possibly be distancing itself from NATO was delivered by a leading figure of the left wing of Schmidt's own Social Democratic Party. Just as General Alexander Haig and other NATO commanders were warning about the Soviet Union's ominous military buildup, the S.P.D.'s parliamentary floor leader, Herbert Wehner, insisted that Moscow's moves were "defensive and not offensive." Wehner argued against the deployment of U.S. Cruise and Pershing II nuclear-tipped missiles on West German soil to counter Soviet intermediate-range weapons not covered by SALT II.

Schmidt, whose personal commitment to NATO is unquestioned in Washington, managed to squelch Wehner and reassure his European allies. But the dovish words from S.P.D. leftists could not help raising the specter of a West Germany one day seeking a "special relationship" with the Soviet Union at the expense of the West, perhaps in the name of the dormant but enduring long-range goal of reunification with East Germany.

Administration officials hope that the worst in Bonn-Washington relations is over. They and the West Germans also insist that the deep root of the relationship—a shared belief in a strong defense as well as in continued détente—remains as sound as ever. Nor is Washington unhappy about West Germany's unabashed new global role. In fact it would be content if that role continues to grow. Says one Administration planner: "We don't want to push the Germans. But insofar as they feel comfortable with a position of greater leadership, we can encourage it."

Gratified by the active part that Bonn has played in European affairs, the Administration hopes Germany will also play a larger role in collective efforts to resolve the Cyprus crisis, mitigate the iso-



With his predecessor, Willy Brandt



With France's President Giscard

A new sense of national identity.

lation of President Anwar Sadat, and work out a solution for Namibia. Nonetheless, substantial issues are at the top of the agenda that face the Chancellor and the President when they meet. Items:

European Defense. Schmidt favors SALT II; with White House encouragement, he is expected to promote the treaty on his speaking tour. The Chancellor, however, is concerned about the Soviet intermediate-range missiles, which are not covered by the treaty and thus fall into a "gray zone." They have confronted him with West Germany's traditional dilem-



Ships queue up to unload in Hamburg's crowded, bustling harbor on the North Sea

ma as the point-country on the frontier of divided Europe, namely, how to balance the strengthening of NATO against Bonn's continuing *Ostpolitik*—the policy of "opening to the East" launched a decade ago by Schmidt's predecessor, Willy Brandt. That is why Schmidt is reluctant to allow the U.S. to station its counter-missiles on West German soil unless other NATO countries also agree to do so.

Nuclear Policy. In his disastrous first meeting with Schmidt, Vice President Mondale attacked West Germany's agreement to sell nuclear reactors to Brazil. That controversy has cooled by several degrees. While the deal with Brazil has not been canceled, Schmidt has agreed not to sell reprocessing technology to Third World countries until the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation program deals with the issue later this year. On domestic nuclear energy, Schmidt and Carter share a common problem: namely, the rising public concern about the safety of nuclear power plants.

Economic Worries. Despite the improved performance of the dollar in recent months, Schmidt is seeking assurances that the Administration will continue its efforts to support the dollar and will bring U.S. policy on energy consumption under control. With about a third of its G.N.P. dependent on exports, West Germany is more sensitive than most countries to global economic stability. Schmidt and Carter want to compare their notes for the June 28 Tokyo economic summit that both men will attend. For its part, the U.S. is seeking stronger West German commitments to help with the financial rescue of two vital allies: Turkey, which is on the verge of bankruptcy and vulnerable to political upheaval, and Egypt, which has been politically and economically isolated from the rest of the Arab world since signing the peace treaty with Israel.

One additional factor makes the Schmidt visit especially important. The Chancellor arrives a week before the East-West summit in Vienna, where Carter

will confront Brezhnev face to face for the first time. Schmidt has met the Soviet leader twice, most recently in May 1978. Carter wants to elicit every tip he can: how to judge Brezhnev's moods, how to broach touchy subjects, and most of all, how to deal with his shaky, if not sinking, health.

As the two leaders meet, they find themselves in quite different political positions. Schmidt enjoys a popular support at home that is probably more solid than that of any other major Western leader. His approval rating is often as high as 70% in the polls, which he watches as closely as any other modern politician. Carter has not scored that well since his election. In terms of international prestige and influence, West Germany is certainly a nation on the way up. Many West Germans believe their country's ascendancy is due partly to a conscious decision by Schmidt to take up the slack of what he has perceived as weak U.S. leadership that has diminished global confidence in the Carter Administration.

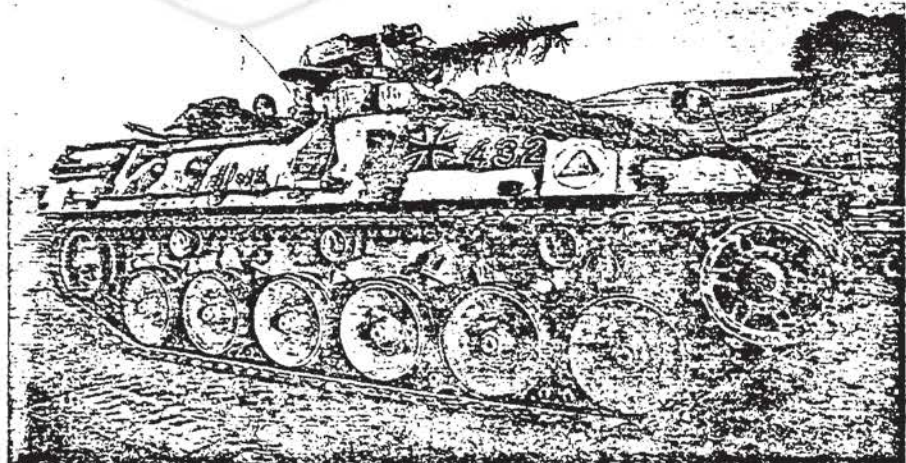
The emergence of West Germany as a self-confident power has been a natural evolution—the product of an enlightened policy by the Western Allies after World War II that reinforced Teutonic diligence

and determination. In 1945 Hitler's thousand-year *Reich* lay in ruins. Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Düsseldorf were reduced to jagged piles of debris. The Allies' "carpet" bombing had blighted the industrial heartland of the Ruhr Valley and the transportation facilities of the whole country. It was a country with millions of homeless refugees, without leadership, and with a heritage that had to be rebuilt from scratch.

Having already sent millions of dollars' worth of goods as stopgap relief, in 1948 the U.S. embarked on the Marshall Plan and over the next four years systematically distributed some \$12 billion in economic aid to Western Europe—including West Germany. That rescue program, perhaps the most costly humanitarian effort in history, fueled the industrial revival of the country, made Americans highly respected in Germany at the time, and is still vivid in the memory of a grateful older generation.

Risen from the wasteland, and painfully adjusting to its collective guilt about the Hitler era, the Federal Republic for years remained reluctant to assert itself. Adhering scrupulously to the democratic rules and confines of their postwar constitution, West Germany's 61 million people busily created the most stable big society in Western Europe. The limitations on rearmament obviously helped the Germans, as it did the Japanese, to concentrate resources and energies on export industry instead of defense.

Yet even within the prescribed quotas for military manpower and non-nuclear weaponry, West Germany also built a standing army of 489,000—the largest, best-equipped and most disciplined in Western Europe and second only to the U.S. and Turkey in the NATO alliance. That military machine faces an enduring dilemma: it has to be strong enough for the defense of Central Europe, but never so strong as to provoke the Soviet Union's obsessive fear of a re-nascent, militaristic West Germany. "We must be cautious," says Defense Min-



West German soldiers on a Leopard tank take part in a NATO exercise

Not allowed the luxury of withdrawing into a bystander role, like a grand duchy.

World

ister Hans Apel. "Neither in Eastern nor Western Europe can we create the impression that we are longing for a special military position. On the other hand, we are not allowed the luxury of withdrawing to the bystander role of a grand duchy. We must be involved, but not overinvolved."

So long as the memory of German militarism hung in the Continental atmosphere—alongside Soviet supersensitivity about the guns of Bonn—it seemed imperative not to make waves. It was far safer for West Germany to think of itself, in the European context, as a banker than as a politician, and certainly not as a general. Willy Brandt recounts that John Kennedy once asked him to tell him candidly how Germans perceived themselves. Brandt's blunt answer: "Of course, I hold my head up high, but inside I bow and scrape."

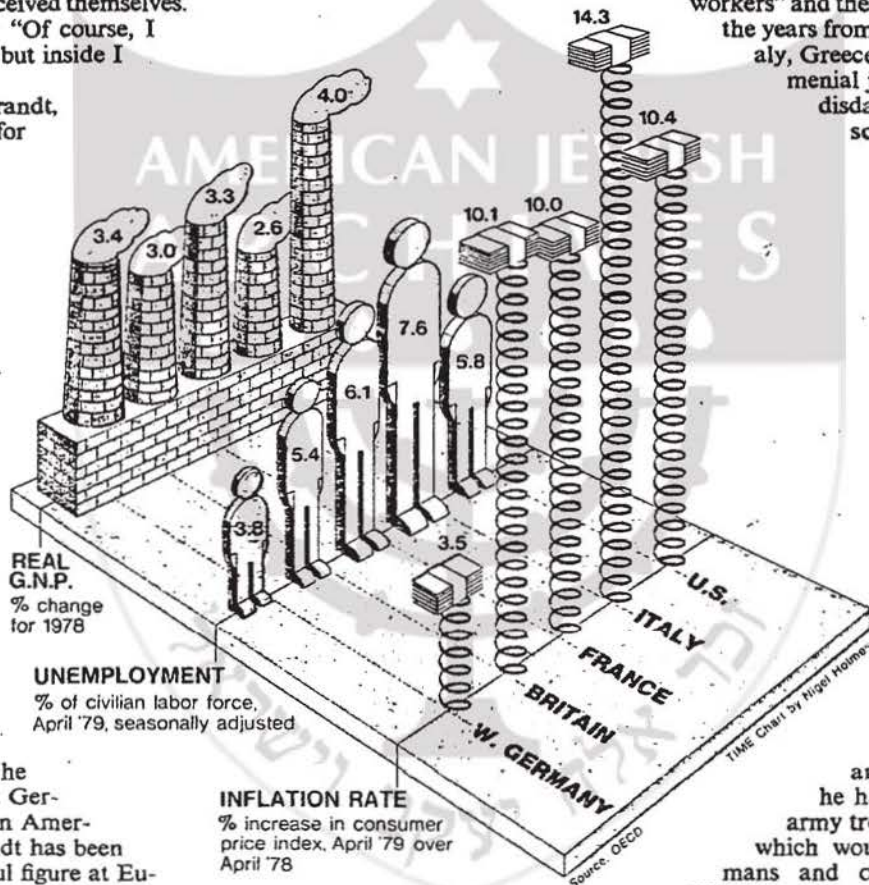
Five years ago, Brandt, the idealistic crusader for *Ostpolitik*, was forced to resign as Chancellor after one of his closest aides, Günter Guillaume, was arrested as a spy for East Germany. Along came Schmidt, and the new West Germany is progressively spreading its wings with little apology. Its self-confidence has been amply demonstrated, and not only in open defiance of U.S. preferences on a variety of key issues. Pursuing a more active diplomacy in the Third World, Schmidt has ranged far afield; earlier this year he visited Brazil, Peru and the Dominican Republic, leaving no doubt that he means to expand West German commerce in Latin America. Increasingly Schmidt has been cutting the most forceful figure at European Community summits. Says a Danish diplomat ruefully: "If the Germans don't agree, it can't be done in the E.C."

The launching pad for West Germany's political takeoff has been there all along: its rock-solid economy, second only to that of the U.S. in the industrialized West. The *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle) of the '60s and early '70s continues. Last year West Germany had another immense trade surplus, \$21 billion; its gross national product is expected to grow more than 4.5% in 1979, and despite the rising cost of oil to a country that produces almost none of its own, inflation will probably not exceed 4%, by far the lowest figure of any major Western economy.

Unemployment is also down, from

5.9% in early 1976 to the present 3.8%. The jobless figure has remained remarkably low despite the country's profound restructuring of key industries, which, as in the rest of Europe, have come under pressure from low-cost foreign competition. West Germany's textile industry is now oriented to high fashion, steel toward high-grade specialty alloys, shipbuilding away from supertankers to small, specialized vessels. Unlike many other industrial countries, West Germany foresaw the problem of competition and moved swiftly.

It drew on the workaday cooperation among management, labor and government that has long been a touchstone of the country's stability. While Britain, for



instance, still suffers from class conflict, Germany already had a limited form of worker participation in management as early as the Weimar Republic. In his state of the nation speech, Schmidt singled out the trade unions in particular for their "admirable wisdom and sanity." Schmidt's friend and only rival as the leader of the E.C., French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, has often cited West Germany as a model for his own country's economic development.

In part because it can well afford to, West Germany has also produced something of a cultural resurgence. More than \$1 billion a year, perhaps the biggest cultural subsidy in the world, is spent by state and federal authorities to finance an aesthetic amalgam of 800 museums, 1,600

art galleries, 60 opera houses, 96 orchestras and 200 legitimate theaters. West Germany has its own new wave of film makers—Rainer Fassbinder, Werner Herzog, Wim Wenders—whose reputations as cinematographic cult figures rival those of the Truffauts and Godards who starred in France's *Nouvelle Vague* of the '60s. Director Volker Schlöndorff won top honors at the Cannes Film Festival last month for his film version of Günter Grass's classic, *The Tin Drum*.

For all its burgher prosperity and bustling stability, West Germany is not without problems. The burden of the unemployment falls mainly on the *Gastarbeiter*, the 3.9 million "guest workers" and their families imported over the years from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece and Portugal to do the menial jobs that West Germans disdain. As jobs have become scarcer, more than a

million *Gastarbeiter* have been repatriated, either by inducement or expulsion; the remainder live as alienated poor in urban ghettos, cut off from the rest of society.

The Teutonic obsession with internal security has raised concern about the "Ugly German" on occasion. Throughout its largely successful campaign against the wave of terrorism by the notorious Red Army Faction, the federal government refrained from overreacting and jeopardizing civil liberties. During the whole period, Schmidt acted coolly and shrewdly. First of all,

he had the sense not to call army troops out into the streets, which would have alarmed Germans and other Europeans alike. When he did use troops, in 1977, it was to launch the dramatic commando raid that rescued a hijacked Lufthansa airliner at Mogadishu.

In 1972, however, parliament passed a controversial "job ban" aimed at barring extremists and members of the minuscule Communist Party from all public jobs by means of a system of excessive "loyalty" checks. The law has since been modified and now exempts individuals who may have belonged to extremist organizations in the past but are no longer members. Abroad, the residual "Ugly German" image has not been dissipated by the 26 million West German tourists who annually seek the sun (vacations for industrial workers average 4½ weeks a year); as travelers, Germans often come on strong, flaunting their deutsche marks, in

the old image of the American tourist.

Helmut Schmidt has said, "It will take 50 years to forget the Nazi past." Yet West Germans have progressively tried to come to terms with it. The turning point was Brandt's act of atonement in 1970, when he knelt before a memorial in the Warsaw ghetto to victims of Hitler's Holocaust. The Nazi issue arises periodically; the election two weeks ago of Christian Democrat Karl Carstens, a former Nazi Party member, as West Germany's new President provoked protest demonstrations by left-wing groups dressed in mock Nazi uniforms. It was clearly a milestone in national adjustment when the TV series *Holocaust* was shown throughout the country earlier this year. The series provoked no serious protest, as might have happened in the past. Instead, for the first time, national soul searching about the Nazi period was brought out in the open in an intense public debate.

One inheritance of the past that sociologists and pundits detect is a surprisingly strong undercurrent of dark insecurity that runs beneath the gleaming material surface. It is evident in the mood of uneasiness among students. It is regularly reflected in a brooding quality that characterizes Germany's new plays, novels and poetry. In many subtle ways, it affects the citizen at large. Says Richard Lowenthal, professor emeritus at Berlin's Free University: "The citizens of West Germany live more securely than at any time since 1914, but they do not feel secure." However, the uncertainty produces a beneficial impulse: to refresh the democratic institutions constantly because they are never quite taken for granted. But it also shows that the Germans will not soon, if ever, get rid of the *Angst* that has inhabited the Teutonic soul since the Lutheran Reformation.

No one better personifies the confidence, and complexes, at work in today's German society than Helmut Schmidt. "He has all the positive and negative German qualities, and this explains his enormous popularity," says one Bonn bureaucrat. "We are thrifty. Cleanliness and order are still our most valued virtues. We tend to organize everything. Our industriousness is both admired and deplored by foreigners. And we are arrogant. The whole German mentality can be seen through Helmut Schmidt." Adds University of Cologne Sociologist Erwin Scheuch wryly: "Schmidt is an above-average average German."

His popularity, which regularly runs far ahead of his own Social Democratic Party, is also due to his broad political placement. Schmidt is an internationalist, a liberal on most social issues, and a strict economic conservative when it comes to guarding against



Schmidt weekendng with Wife Loki

inflation—even if that means curbing welfare spending. As he put it during a recent visit to London to meet Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher: "I am not a socialist, I am a democrat." In light of his sound-money, free-market policies, many politicians have observed that he might seem more at home in West Germany's conservative Christian Democratic Union than in his own S.D.P. In fact, a number of key C.D.U. parliamentarians murmur privately that they dearly wish they had him as leader of their party.

Schmidt is a magnetic speaker and skilled television performer. Characteristically, most West German politicians tend to shout down at their audience, as though thunder were persuasive, and to gesticulate like bandleaders. Schmidt carefully modulates his resonant baritone voice and paces the words in his crisp North German accent. His rigid grip on the tiller of the ship of state. As he moves



Visiting his father at home for the elderly

Cigars in the pocket and quantities of Coca-Cola.

into a crescendo, he is apt to whip off his glasses with a flourish, as though to meet each spectator eyeball to eyeball. Franz Josef Strauss, 63, the burly leader of Bavaria's ultraconservative Christian Social Union, calls Schmidt "the Federal Actor." Helmut Kohl, 49, the hapless C.D.U. chairman who was deposed last week as his party's candidate for Chancellor in the 1980 elections in favor of the more dynamic Ernst Albrecht, 48, grumbles sarcastically: "If I were half as beautiful as beautiful Helmut, I would have an easier time in politics."

To Germans who admire his churning drive and nuts-and-bolts expertise as an economic manager, Schmidt has become "the Doer." Some of his most devoted followers call him "Super-Schmidt." But there are also many who are critical of his notoriously quick fuse and slashing insults. This has earned him yet another nickname: "Schmidt the Lip."

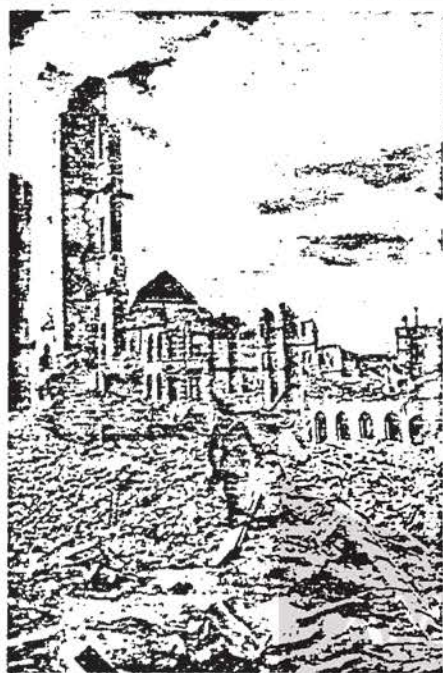
Even the Chancellor's closest supporters admit he has a vanity and impatience that can blister into arrogance. In his clockwork Cabinet meetings, he thinks nothing of cutting off the first digression with a knifing "That's not pertinent!" He once complained about Ludwig Erhard, who succeeded Adenauer as Chancellor, that "talking with him is like trying to nail Jell-O to the wall."

Control and practicality are Schmidt's watchwords. Sixteen-hour days of budgeted, systematic labor are normal for him, and he often brings home stacks of buff-colored dossiers to read until two or three in the morning. Even so, Schmidt is what Germans call a "*Morgenmuffel*," one who hates to get up in the morning. At the London economic summit in 1977, not suspecting that it might further damage their personal rapport, Carter invited him to a 7 a.m. breakfast; Schmidt was appalled.

It is a rare occasion when he can relax at home with his wife of 36 years, "Loki."

Their modest residence, situated on the Rhine within sight of the Chancellery, is furnished in modern-functional style and decorated with expressionist and impressionist paintings. Bookcases are filled with volumes on history and economics. Schmidt occasionally relaxes with a mystery story, preferably by Agatha Christie, plays Bach or Mozart on a large electric organ, or challenges his wife at chess and double solitaire. He hates to lose at chess, as well as politics; when he does, he is apt to rail at his own "stupidity" for making the wrong move.

Although no athlete, Schmidt at 60 is vigorous and trim: 5 ft. 8 in., 172 lbs. A chain-smoker of mentholated cigarettes, he drinks no alcohol except for dutiful sips at a dinner or reception. He never refuses a cigar, however. Devoted



The Ruhr city of Essen in ruins in 1945

to his 90-year-old parents, whom he visits at a home for the elderly near his beloved Hamburg, he unflinching sticks the proffered cigar in his pocket to take to his father. Schmidt and his wife spend every weekend possible in Hamburg. On summer holidays at their cottage on a lake in northern Germany, they are joined by their only child, Susanne, 31, an economist like her father, who works for the Deutsche Bank branch office in London.

Schmidt originally planned to be an architect. Instead, in 1937 at the age of 18, he was drafted into the Wehrmacht and served with an anti-aircraft unit that fought on both the Eastern and Western fronts. After being commissioned a first lieutenant, he was captured at the Battle of the Bulge and held as a prisoner of war for six months in Belgium. Earlier, he had joined the Hitler Youth, as did every other boy in his school. His submissive stance is said to have privately troubled Schmidt in later years. Returning after the war to the devastation of Hamburg, he abandoned architecture to study political economy because, as a friend recalls, "considering the scope of the task of reconstruction, he believed he could be of more use."

In 1949 Schmidt graduated at the top of his class at the University of Hamburg. While still a student, he joined the S.P.D., partly because his schoolteacher father had been a lifelong member. A successful stint as a whiz-kid interior minister in the Hamburg local government at 31 earned him national recognition. In his first try in 1953 he was elected to the Bundestag. In 1969, after two years as S.P.D. Bundestag floor leader, he entered Brandt's national Cabinet as Defense Minister. By the time Brandt began to lose his political authority Schmidt was West

Germany's internationally regarded Finance Minister and the Chancellor's increasingly powerful stand-in. "When occasionally Willy wouldn't show up, it seemed perfectly natural that Helmut would take over the sessions," a Cabinet colleague recalls. Just as naturally, when Brandt resigned after the Guillaume scandal, Schmidt took over as Chancellor.

As popular as he is with the public, Schmidt does not have correspondingly dominant control over his own government, which is a coalition of his own S.P.D. and the middle-road Free Democratic Party. In the surprisingly close 1976 elections, the S.P.D.-F.D.P. coalition ended up with a greatly reduced majority—253 out of 496 voting seats in the Bundestag. Although F.D.P. today has only 40 seats in the Bundestag compared with the S.P.D.'s 224, the F.D.P. can, and does, exercise disproportionate power in the coalition. With four key portfolios in its hands, the F.D.P. can make its voice heard in major policy decisions. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, for instance, does not always agree with Schmidt; he is currently concerned that Bonn is perhaps too soft toward the Soviets and too tough toward the U.S.

Schmidt also faces a division within his own party, provoked mainly by Wehner's small but militant left-wingers. They are unhappy about the F.D.P.'s disproportionate power. In addition to their dovish stand on European defense, the leftists also differ with Schmidt on nuclear energy and social welfare policies, which, they complain, have too often been compromised for the sake of limiting inflation, and for the sake of accommodating the F.D.P.

Schmidt is almost as popular in other Western European countries as at home. Nonetheless, there is a lingering fear behind lots of closed government doors that the Chancellor just might be, or become, too strong; that the goblins of West Germany's past could emerge to influence its Continental behavior. Other Europeans still have deep memories of the Germany of the past and, fairly or not, wonder if the new West Germany ever acts entirely in the present.

Not that they expect a resurgence of authoritarianism; the proven solidity of West Germany's democracy persuasively rules that out. Rather, they point to other experiences that have contributed to West German insecurity, like the devastating inflation of the Weimar Republic in 1922-23, which helps explain the German obsession with maintaining the value of their currency.

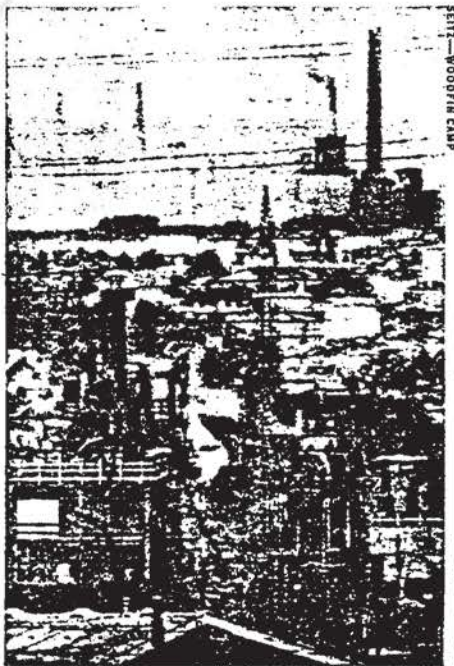
One senior British diplomat who admires Schmidt complains that the new West German leadership is still too narrowly focused on national interest instead of international cooperation. Says he: "We haven't yet seen the wider vision. It is still 'Germany First.' And the German stand—like Scarlett O'Hara's vow that 'I'm never going to be hungry again'—

is 'We are haunted by inflation.'"

Italian Economist Nino Andreatta, a leading planner for the Christian Democrats, blames West Germany for holding back Western European recovery because of its excessive fear of inflation. One Italian foreign ministry official goes further, saying that West German policies have actually slowed down the process of recovery, and complains that "we have told Bonn this many times but to no avail."

The West German answer, in brief, is that inflation for economies is a killer disease. Otmar Emminger, head of West Germany's equivalent of the U.S. Federal Reserve, uses a different image. "Inflation is like a dictator," he says. "It must be fought before it becomes established, or it is too late." A German warning about dictatorship has a certain authority about it.

If Europeans were to "stop a moment" as Schmidt asked on the 30th anniversary, they might see through the clear glass of the present that the postwar achievements of West Germany he listed are already far more than anybody could have expected. Even those Europeans who quibble with Bonn's economic policy know that the country that turned the Ruhr into the peacetime turbine of Europe should be more than capable also of becoming more outward looking and less tightfisted, given time. Many are willing to bet on it, and therefore to welcome the growing West German power. "What disturbs us is to have a power vacuum in Western Europe," says Italian Author Luigi Barzini, one of the Continent's shrewdest pundits. "It's as if this were a circus without a lion tamer. That is dangerous. So, by and large, we would not be terribly disturbed if the tamer were West Germany."



The thriving, reconstructed Essen of today
A rescue that is still vivid in memory.

An Interview with Helmut Schmidt

"Wars may become possible for the single reason of competition for oil"

"Germany is one of the medium powers of the world. It is a non-nuclear power. It is in a lower class than the United States, the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom and others."

Always sensitive to historic European misgivings about the Germans, Helmut Schmidt is careful to play down Bonn's emerging political strength. But last week, as he ranged across a series of other global and strategic questions in an exclusive interview with TIME Bonn Bureau Chief William Mader, the Chancellor himself sounded every bit like a great-power leader. Excerpts:

Q. What should the consuming nations be doing about the energy crisis?

A. No. 1, we have to educate our societies and induce our economies to conserve energy to a much greater degree than we so far have been able to bring about. One of the most important instruments in so doing is to let people feel the fast-rising real costs of energy. Second, to a growing degree we have to replace oil by other primary resources of energy, especially coal and nuclear energy. Foreseeably, we will within the next one or two decades get into a worldwide debate about the irrevocable consequences of burning hydrocarbons—whether oil or coal or lignite or wood or natural gas—because the carbon dioxide fallout, as science more or less equivocally tells us, results in a heating up of the globe as a whole. This leads to the third point, namely the necessity to put up rather large sums of money in order to develop scientifically, and from the engineering side, sources of energy like nuclear, geothermal, solar energy, all of which enable us to avoid the CO₂ consequences.

And this leads me to a fourth point: I have the feeling that we have not seen the ultimate maturity of nuclear energy as yet. I think the fast-breeder question, linked as it is with the question of reprocessing,* should not be decided right now. We need some more years to decide that one. In the meantime, we have to keep that option open. Of course, this entails two other questions in the energy-political field that deserve closest attention: 1) international precautions or safeguards against proliferation of weapons-grade material, and 2) processing security, whether it is reactors, reprocessing, fast-breeders or the stowaway business for the remnants.

I would like to make three footnotes. No. 1, as regards processing security, I have asked for an international evaluation of the Harrisburg incident, in order to bring about greater safety in all our countries. Second, I will stick to the nonproliferation treaty Article Four, [which states that] every country in the world has the undisputed right to the peaceful use of nuclear en-

*The problem involves both cost and nuclear proliferation. Plants for fuel reprocessing are large and expensive. Fast-breeders in the reprocessing plants produce plutonium that can be used in building weapons.



ergy. And third, I will point to the great danger that if nuclear energy is not developed fast enough, wars may become possible for the single reason of competition for oil and natural gas. And I think that the scarcity of oil and the rising prices for crude, which are a menace to the functioning of our economies, can lead to wars. This problem has to be understood as a grave one for the last two decades of this century.

Q. Do you believe that force, if necessary, should be used to secure oil supplies for the West?

A. I hate that I have to be quite frank in answering this one. I have deplored these utterances.

Q. What is your response to reports that West Germany is drifting away from the Atlantic Alliance?

A. That notion is being nurtured by people who for domestic reasons either fight my government in Bonn or fight the Carter Administration in Washington. It has been invented as an instrument in order to criticize the actual policies of the Carter Administration or the Social Democratic-Free Democratic coalition in Bonn. The malevolent intention of such rumors is obvious. It is also obvious that the *raison d'être* of the Federal Republic would be lost if and when my country lost its strong [sense of belonging] within not only the Atlantic Alliance but also within the European Community.

One will, at the same time, have to bear in mind the geo-strategic situation of my country, being nearest to the territories in which you have big Soviet armies in Europe. One will also have to bear in mind the facts that Germany is divided and that West Berlin is in a particularly sensitive situation. Therefore, for ten years it has been the policy and strategy of my country to use our strong foundations within the Western community as a basis from which to try—and so far not unsatisfactorily—to ease the situation for the people living in a divided nation, to ease the situation especially toward the Eastern neighbors of Germany. In other words, not to let the East-West relaxation of tensions or détente circumvent the Central European situation.

Q. What is your assessment of Soviet military strength?

A. I have been in politics for more than a quarter of a century. Within that quarter of a century I have repeatedly heard voices that talked, sometimes in an even alarmed way, about the oncoming military superiority of the East. It never has materialized. I remember very clearly Jack Kennedy's talk, before he became President, about the so-called missile gap. I recall the race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in the fields of rocketry and satellites. In the end—and this is the experience of a

quarter of a century—the West has always been strong enough to make it understood that we would defend ourselves very effectively. Therefore I don't have any inferiority complexes right now about Eastern military power.

Q. How would you evaluate West Germany's political strength internationally in relation to its military and economic strength?

A. The economic strength of our country is sometimes grossly overestimated. The German economy is strong in itself, it is solid. On the other hand, it is only one-fifth or one-quarter of the volume of the American economy. The strength of the deutsche mark is envied sometimes, sometimes applauded and hailed, but one must not delude oneself. It does not mean that the Germans can buy the whole world. The Americans could buy, more or less, the whole world.

One can understand this very clearly if one looks to the Swiss franc. The Swiss franc is even a stronger currency than the deutsche mark, and the Swiss economy is even stronger than the German economy, but nobody would ever believe that for this reason Switzerland is a world power. Swiss defense is first-rate, but nobody would ever believe that for this reason Switzerland is a world power. To sum it all up: Germany is not a world power; it does not wish to become a world power.

But I will not deny that taking all into account, Germany politically is much stronger today than it was ten years ago, 20 years ago. There is no doubt about it. Fifteen years ago, a prominent West German politician used to quip that Germany economically was a giant but politically was a dwarf. I don't think that this holds true any longer. But I am rather cautious that nobody in Bonn overplay Germany's hand. There still is the unique vulnerability of this divided nation. There still is the sensitivity of all our neighbors in Europe, who well remember what was done to them in the German name under Hitler.

Q. What are the greatest problems facing the world economy?

A. There are three. The first is the general notion in most countries, including the Communist countries, the developing and industrial countries alike, to consume more than we produce and to fill in the gap by printing money. [That leads to] inflationary monetary policies as well as inflationary fiscal policies.

The second factor rather suddenly broke upon all of us: namely, the oil price explosion and the insight that energy would become rather scarce much more quickly than anybody had foreseen. It misled a number of governments to seek refuge—because they had to pay high energy prices—in printing even more money and creating even more inflation. This led to an upheaval in the fabric of the world economic system. I would prefer not to call it a system any longer. It is more a constellation than a system. At least it is a very unsystematic system.

Third, a number of developing countries today produce their own steel and their own ships, not to mention their own textiles. This has led to the necessity for a rather wide-ranging re-



structuring of industrial capacities and professional capabilities in the developed world. This process is not going fast enough.

Q. How important is SALT II to East-West détente?

A. Let me ask the question: How would the world change if SALT II failed or were not ratified on the American side? I have no doubt that the world would lapse back not only into a full-scale arms race between the East and West but also into another cold war.

Q. How would you assess U.S.-German relations, and your own relationship with President Carter?

A. Our personal relations are good. We have been able to exchange our views without any mental or tactical reservations, which in itself is a great asset and leads to close cooperation. There have been federal Chancellors in Bonn and American Presidents who have not been on such good terms in their times. But personal relations are only one aspect between our two countries. Relations between the two administrations, in the German view, are characterized by three significant experiences. No. 1, we have, to a very great degree, adopted American ideas about the structure of a federal democracy, American ideas of human rights. Second, we have experienced an astonishing degree of American solidarity vis-à-vis a former enemy over whom you won a terrible war. There is a great underlying appreciation in Germany for this lesson in solidarity. Third, the Germans are convinced that their outward security has been maintained by the U.S. more than by anybody else. I think the American nation does feel that the Germans have proved to be as industrious as the Americans themselves, and that they follow similar economic and international philosophies. My feeling is that the American nation, in a rather nondramatic way, has come to accept the Germans and the Federal Republic of Germany as an almost natural ally.

Q. Is there a trend toward political conservatism in the Western world?

A. I definitely do not sense such a trend. If such a trend existed, Jimmy Carter would not have been elected President, for instance. What I do sense is the fact that some Western industrial democracies are to some degree restless nowadays, which is only natural given the fact that almost all of them are under deep impact of the world economic crisis. It is only natural that the electorate in the first place holds its own government to be responsible for economic evils. Where you have conservative governments, this can lead to change toward a more liberal or progressive administration instead. Where you have liberal or social-democratic governments, it can lead to a more conservative government. It can also, as we have seen rather recently in Austria, lead to a result where the people think that their government has done well in a set of economic dangers, and I guess the same is going to happen in Germany next autumn.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 12, 1978
to Abe Karlikow
from David Geller
subject Meeting at INS regarding nazi criminal trials -- 12/11/78

A small inter-organizational group met yesterday with David Crosland, General Counsel for the INS, Martin Mendelsohn, the head of the Special Litigation Unit, and, during the first part of the meeting, Commissioner Leonel J. Castillo, the head of the INS. The delegation-- Phil Baum (AJ Congress), Jacqueline Levine and Abe Bayer (NJCRAC), Elliot Welles (ADL), Bert Siegel (Philadelphia JCRC), and Herman Ziring, leader of a Riga survivor group--spent four hours reviewing the status of current cases and general INS policy regarding this issue. The Commissioner, I believe, was impressed with the feelings expressed by Mr. Ziring that until recently the cases were handled apathetically, with lawyers going through their motions unaggressively and on a pro-forma basis.

Commissioner Castillo made three basic points:

- 1) While he did not know enough about the history of the way this issue has been handled, it is obvious to him that it is very "late" in terms of the age of the witnesses and the defendants, and the fact that so much time has elapsed in gathering the relevant archival and other evidence.
- 2) That the freeze on hiring announced by President Carter in his anti-inflation campaign is being very rigidly and aggressively implemented and the Special Litigation Unit cannot look forward in the near future to expanding its staff. Finally,
- 3) The SLU to date has not been denied anything it has requested and the basic reason for the delay in the SLU getting started was the bureaucratic red tape through which it was forced to plod in terms of office space, furniture, telephones, etc., etc.

At one point in the discussion, I suggested that given the financial crunch, Jewish organizations might be helpful to the SLU in terms of identifying and procuring the testimony of historians and other authorities on the various dimensions of the Holocaust. The Commissioner, Crosland and Mendelsohn felt that this would be helpful to them and agreed to review some of their cases to see where such material was needed. We also discussed the necessity of being kept more closely informed regarding the status of a variety of cases, since in many instances the Jewish community was unaware of the progress being made.

Finally, it was suggested that Jewish organizations that had not already done so should publicize the list of concentration camps about which eye witness testimony is needed.

Several specific cases were mentioned. The NJCRAC is preparing a list and I shall send you a copy as soon as I obtain it. There was a good deal of discussion about the Trifa case. A deposition had been taken of Rabbi Rosen during his stay in the United States. In addition, Trifa was deposed on December 6th and made what Mendelsohn described as "damaging statements." However, it is still extremely important to continue the search for eye witnesses. The only helpful testimony given by a few of the witnesses on Charlie Kramer's list did not refer to Trifa specifically, but dealt with the Rumanian Iron Guard. It was suggested that ads be placed in the Rumanian newspapers in Israel (if this has not already been done) seeking those who could testify against Trifa.

On the general subject of witnesses, both Crosland and Mendelsohn told us that the Soviets were not allowing eye witnesses to come to the United States to testify. In some instances, the INS had been told that the witnesses were old, senile and/or invalid. In a number of cases, however, it was discovered that these witnesses were actually in good health. There will have to be further discussion to determine whether this issue should be aired publically.

Crosland told me he may be in New York in a couple of weeks. I think I will invite him to our building so that Rabinove and others will have a chance to meet him.

DG:rf

cc: Sam Rabinove
Seymour Samet
Milton Ellerin
✓ Marc Tanenbaum