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Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 13, Folder 18, Catholics and Nazis, 1961-1964.

who live in deteriorating buildings can finally be decently housed—and not in segregated enclaves. There are generalized references to all these essentials in their pronouncements, but there are no comprehensive programs nor is there nearly enough emphasis on the co-ordinated *political* action required to elect legislators to bring these concepts into being.

Most basically, the “establishment” has not clearly enough joined with Bayard Rustin and similarly oriented strategists to call for more planning of the economy (without which structural unemployment will worsen) and for a change in the definition of work in an economy being increasingly reshaped by automation. Their goals have been too narrow, and if they continue to emphasize civil rights with only vague attention to economics and politics, the thrust of new black leadership will make greater inroads on their forces, actual and potential.

So far, none in the new wave—including Malcom X—have themselves been clear enough in presenting programs aimed at attacking the root causes of inequality; but because they do make fiercer sounds and because the masses will become even more frustrated if all they get are civil rights bills, more Negro support is bound to go to those who propose increasingly forceful action, whatever that action is. For all that has been written about the rage and despair among Negroes, whites generally have yet to fully realize that eventually all this intensity has to be channeled somewhere if it is

not to explode; and if there continue to be no signs of a broad national coalition, that intensity is going to be poured into various forms of black nationalism. A New York woman who was demonstrating at the World's Fair this spring said, “I have a little baby. I would rather it were dead than have to go through what my husband went through.”

A Southern Regional Council report on “the Easter Week outbreak in Jacksonville of racial violence, predominantly from Negro sources” describes “the hopelessness that is compounded out of the thudding impact upon the human consciousness of being poor, and being blocked by the very conditions of this poverty and by the weight of discrimination from any possible escape. This is hopelessness deepened by the new knowledge that the old dream of escape to the North is false—that up there it's just more of the dreary old same. ‘Our young,’ say Negroes in Jacksonville and elsewhere over the South in 1964, ‘don't care any more whether they die if they've got to go on living like we have to now.’”

What do Wilkins, Farmer, King and Young have to say to the young in Jacksonville and to the woman at the World's Fair beyond civil rights? Civil rights are essential, but they are only the beginning; and if the present Negro leadership does not act more urgently and specifically in political and economic terms, they will have fewer and fewer Negroes to lead because they have so far not shown where it is they're going.

Guenter Lewy's New Book

The Church Under Hitler

GORDON C. ZAHN

IN ONE sense it might be said that the Church has come upon unfriendly times. Despite all the favorable attention earned by the irrepressible humanity brought to it by a John XXIII, despite the exciting revitalization under way at Vatican II, it finds itself the object of a continuing (and increasingly critical) review which has at times verged upon an outright indictment for complicity—at least by silence—in the criminal acts of Adolf Hitler and his Third Reich.

A new breed of German historians and journalists, including some outstanding Catholics, have played a significant part in this revisionist study. The most widely

publicized, though perhaps least meritorious in terms of scholarship, has been the contribution of Rolf Hochhuth and the worldwide controversy it has stirred. He, it will be remembered, did not content himself with chronicling the sad failure of German Catholicism to recognize a gross moral evil and oppose it effectively and in time; instead, he chose to indict the leader of the universal Church with a personal, and major, share of responsibility for the atrocity of the “Final Solution.”

Now we have yet another treatment of this general theme, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, written by Guenter Lewy (McGraw-Hill, \$7.50). It is undoubtedly the best. Professor Lewy's analysis is different from the others in the range of issues it covers, in the probing thoroughness of its analysis, and in the author-

GORDON C. ZAHN is the author of *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars* and the forthcoming book, *In Solitary Witness: The Life and Death of Franz Jaegerstaetter* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston).

itative quality of his sources. It is unlikely that its pre-eminence will be challenged until (if even then?) the Vatican archives for this tragic period are finally made available to scholars for free and independent research. One suspects that the materials made available to this author in the various diocesan archives he visited in Germany are a reliable foreshadowing of what the Vatican deposits will reveal.

It will be interesting to see how this work will be received by that hardy band of apologists who regard it as their sacred duty to denounce anyone who would dare voice even the slightest hint of criticism concerning the Catholic record in Nazi Germany. Lewy has closed most, if not all, doors of escape for them. On the one hand, he presents evidence that is so brutally clear and shocking that one wonders how it has been overlooked until now. At the same time, he presents it in a tone of restrained scholarly detachment that makes it possible for him to so control his personal disapproval of the story he tells that his work never crosses the line separating scholarly analysis from indictment.

The first section sets the stage by reviewing the "pre-history" of the encounter between the Catholic Church and National Socialism. It begins with a survey of the early pattern of firm and open opposition and ends with the "great reconciliation" which took place once what had been an objectionable political movement became "legitimate authority." The negotiations which brought the surprisingly speedy conclusion of a Concordat in 1933 are discussed in careful detail with the result that the author's interpretation, placing a greater measure of responsibility for this development upon the Catholic parties than is usually the case, becomes quite convincing.

THE HEART of the work, however, is the extensive review of the "*modus vivendi*" issuing from that Concordat. Whether he surveys the suppression of Catholic organizations and press, the harassment of confessional schools, or the areas of Church support for Nazi foreign policies and the war to which these led, the pattern held. None of the repeated violations of the Concordat on the part of the State, none of the offenses against human values initiated by the Nazi leaders, were ever allowed to provoke a final break or even the serious threat of such a break as far as the official Catholic leadership was concerned. Protests there could be, of course; but they were always voiced in a tone of sorrow or indignation derived from the fact that the unshaken loyalty and compliance shown by the Church and its members were not being given proper recognition by the secular authority. Even the one outstanding exception, the firm opposition to the sterilization and euthanasia programs, is weakened by the fact that, in the case of the former at least, theological lines were being drawn to permit confessors to spare individual Catholics the "conflict of conscience" or the personal risk that a rigid conversion of general

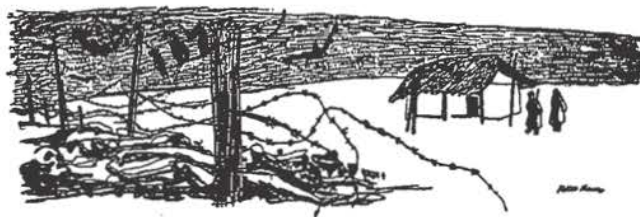
moral principle to individual moral obligation might have provoked!

Other troubling findings concern the endemic strains of anti-Semitism in German Catholic thought and practice and the implications they obviously held for the absence of effective opposition to even the earliest stages of Hitler's persecution of the Jews. Similarly, the discussion of the attitudes concerning support for, or participation in, the Resistance movement forces the reader to question the official praise and honor that has since been lavished upon the Delps, the Rupert Mayrs, the Lichtenbergs, and all the others who did "redeem the day" by taking some kind of stand in opposition to an evil regime and its immoral policies. It is quite clear that they took that stand alone and with no significant encouragement from their spiritual superiors.

The book concludes with Lewy's rather brief statement and discussion of what he, a political scientist, sees as the three basic dimensions of "Catholic political ideology." So strong is the impact of the facts presented in the earlier sections that one is tempted to skip over what the author clearly intends to be the crowning accomplishment of his whole effort. And, indeed, there is much here that should engage the Catholic reader's mind long after the finished book has been set aside.

The criticisms are not new. Once again the point is made that the Church has only recently, and with some reluctance, come to recognize the virtues of democracy; that the frequently proclaimed indifference to the various forms of government, coupled with its own authoritarian and autocratic structure, has rendered its members too susceptible to the appeals of totalitarianism; that it is perhaps too reticent about stressing socio-political applications of moral principles when doing so would seem to present some threat to institutional security. What is new is the terribly compelling force these familiar criticisms gain in the context of this most tragic historical example of the failure these tendencies can produce.

There are so many important lessons to be drawn from a book like this that one despairs of making an adequate choice. There is, first of all, what one might term the "boomerang effect" of the myth of total Church opposition to Nazism that was so carefully created after the war and is, even today, so fervently (if hopelessly) maintained in some quarters. It is now quite clear—and should have been frankly admitted all along—that the general support given the Hitler regime as "legitimate authority" outweighed whatever opposition was mounted by any



of the major religious communities of Germany and that even this opposition was generally restricted to limited ecclesiastical concerns. Had there been an honest admission of this fact at the time of the collapse of the Third Reich, the religious communities—and this holds particularly true for the Catholic community—could still have claimed a significant measure of respect and honor if only by virtue of the fact that, however restricted it was, they constituted virtually the only center of any open opposition to the regime.

UNFORTUNATELY, this was not enough. With the eager acquiescence of the Western occupation authorities, the apologists set to work and brought forth an overly idealized portrait of a suffering but still unbending Church rallying its loyal supporters to heroic resistance against the Nazis. To accomplish this dubious success, some of these writers did not even stop short of tampering with the carefully selected documentation they offered to support their case. What had to happen has now happened: objective scholarly research has ripped away the veils of this carefully manufactured mythology.

The tragedy is that now the record which would have looked so good in comparison with what other groups in Germany had been able to do has to look extremely bad because it is compared instead with the false picture that was so laboriously engineered. Even so respected a figure as Cardinal Faulhaber loses much of the luster that was rightfully his, simply because of the misguided attempt to elaborate upon his record and present him as a far more open and forthright defender of the Jews than the cold facts now show him to have been.

A second lesson relates more to the substance of the record described in that it forces us to consider the extent to which the actions of the official Church were marked by a particularistic, rather than universal, concern. Instead of voicing open protest whenever the rights of any individuals or groups were being trampled, the responsible Catholic spokesmen apparently saw their proper range of concern limited to those of their own household. In fact, there were instances in which the violations of the rights of others were condoned or even applauded.

Thus we have the almost eager willingness to accept and praise the Nazi suppression of Socialist organizations and press followed by indignant shrieks of protest when the same violations of rights were directed against their Catholic counterparts. If the question was not asked then, let us pose it now as we read the grim record of the past: should it not always be the occasion for protest when the rights of any—be they Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews—are violated? Or do we stand aside in silence until it is "our own" who are carried off to Dachau or worse?

The sharpest illustration of the shameful effects of such particularistic thinking is the record of silence in

the face of the persecution of the Jews. Long before the transports took off for the journey to the extermination camps, there were occasions demanding appropriate and effective protest. Certainly one may hold that, had the excesses of *Krystallnacht* in November 1938 and the officially-proclaimed boycott of the Jews which followed been greeted by a firm episcopal statement advising Catholics not to support so patently unjust a policy, it is very likely that "the Hochhuth problem" would have been nipped in its earliest bud. But, once again, these actions were directed against those not of "our household" with the result that, however much personal sympathy they might have stirred, the course of "prudent" silence ruled the day. Lewy's work should focus new attention to the Church's real responsibilities to and for *all* men—including, of course, Protestants whose rights are still being violated in so-called "Catholic" countries.

This kind of particularist thinking was at least linked to an awareness of religious identification. Another, and in some respects even more scandalous, kind relates to the excessively nationalistic commitment evidenced by German Catholics from the highest ranking prelate to the ordinary man in the pew. Once again we are faced with irrefutable evidence of how this factor can work to distort and block moral judgment in such a way as to support the contention that nationalism should be recognized as the "the characteristic heresy of our day."

The record of the efforts made by the German bishops of the Saar to assure as unanimous a vote as possible favoring return to Germany in the 1936 plebiscite—and this despite the fact that the Nazi regime had already given evidence of its hostility to the Catholic Church in Germany—has to be read in full detail to be believed. Yet they were not alone in this. The German bishops themselves (with the ardently anti-Nazi Galen playing a leading part) issued a proclamation calling for the return of the Saar, a proclamation which included an order that three Lord's Prayers and *Ave Marias* be added to all Sunday Masses on the day of the vote so that this outcome might be assured.

IN SUCH a context we are no longer surprised at the exaggerated nationalism following the "success" of the vote, one of the bishops going so far as to declare that this result could not be explained by natural factors alone—that God Himself had spoken to refute the notion that Catholics were politically unreliable. Nor should it be surprising that, once Hitler's foreign policies reached their logical culmination in a series of clearly aggressive wars, the German Catholics were more than ready to do "their Christian duty" in support of those wars.

Thus, just as a circle was drawn to limit the moral concern of the official Church to Catholics within the national community, another set of boundaries limited its moral concerns to that same national community as against the rest of the world. It is difficult to imagine a

more persuasive case for the kind of separation of Church and State which will protect the religious community against the temptation of ever again reducing itself to an instrumentality of a warring secular power.

Lewy's careful work should be for us a beginning. It should prompt us to reevaluate the adequacy and validity of the ethical principles which have come to dominate Catholic political philosophy and its application in the real political order. If it is quite clear in retrospect that they were not adequate and certainly not valid as they operated to govern the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Third Reich, it might be most prudent to work on the admittedly pessimistic assumption that the same would be true with respect to the relationships that obtain between the Church and any modern state. From this it would follow that we must give much more

thought than we have thus far to building whatever defenses are needed to preserve the integrity of that Church in the face of any future demands that may be made upon it or its members by an amoral or immoral secular authority.

In a very real sense—and this is probably the point of the admittedly uncomfortable focus upon the Catholic Church—only this religious community possessed the full organizational and spiritual potential for an effective resistance to the evil of the Third Reich. To the extent that it failed, as Lewy and the others have shown it did, it would be a serious mistake for us to shut our eyes to that failure in a misguided, and certainly futile, attempt to hide that tragic fact, either from the world we are commissioned to redeem or, for that matter, from ourselves.



One Man's Fancy

The Case for Dirty Linen

WILFRID SHEED

WHILE SHUFFLING through a copy of *Commentary* recently, I was hit with a sudden twinge of nostalgia. Numerous readers were taking Mr. Philip Roth to task for presenting repulsive Jewish characters in his fiction. For a moment, I might have been reading a Catholic magazine: the author could have been J. F. Powers, and the subject could have been worldly prelates. The same note of fretfulness and betrayal were sounded again and again. We know we're not perfect, of course—but supposing *they* find out?

In such cases, aesthetic considerations are given uncommonly short shrift. This is worth a parenthetical comment of its own. People still talk about sacrificing everything for art, it is a piety left over from the nineties, but such sacrifices are rarely performed. "If a writer has to rob his mother," says Faulkner, "he will not hesitate; the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is worth any number of old ladies"—and we all applaud mechanically. But words come cheap, and given a real conflict of interest, these resolutions are quickly forgotten. Even practicing artists find it fantastically hard to make *personal* sacrifices for art (hypothetical mothers are something else again), and the rest of us drop art completely when small threats arise. A work of art

that really involves our interests and prejudices will evoke the same philistine chorus from Jews, Catholics or atheists. Non-believing critics have performed some strange arabesques in front of Christian works of art, not so different from Catholic critics confronted with profane ones.

To place art before every other value, even survival, is, then, to take a splendid position which no one should hold you to in time of stress. A fortiori, any Jew in this century who opts for caution over aestheticism will get no quarrel here. (The Catholic situation is somewhat different, since our perennial enemy is not persecution but our own complacency.) But in either case, the caution seems to me misdirected, from a pragmatic point of view. As one of *Commentary's* readers pointed out, it is no secret that imperfect Jews exist—any more than Mr. Powers' priests are altogether a private joke. Nothing could be more pathetic than the illusion that we are concealing these brightly colored specimens from the world. While we tiptoe around them with eyes lowered, they are advertising themselves cheerfully enough.

In the circumstances, it would seem wiser to do our own parodies of them before the world beats us to it. A writer like Powers is actually much gentler with his victims than an outsider would be likely to be. And the world is not so horrified as we might suppose. No

WILFRID SHEED, author of *A Middle Class Education* (Houghton-Mifflin), and *The Hack* (Macmillan), contributes a regular column to these pages.

THE BULLETIN

IN THIS ISSUE:

In the Soviet Zone	p. 3
"documenta III" Traces an Evolution in Art	p. 7

A weekly survey of German affairs

issued by the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government

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A/☆ Vol. 12/No. 29

Anti-Hitler Spirit Called Guide to Germany's Future

"The revolt of July 20, 1944, became a symbol of our people's self-respect, and the start of their rehabilitation in the community of nations." This sentence was the core of President Heinrich Lübke's message in a commemoration address for the 20th anniversary of the German revolt against the Nazi regime.

Throughout the Federal Republic of Germany, the anniversary was

Since 1945, the Western industrial nations have granted aid amounting to \$75,000,000,000 to the developing countries. Of this, the Federal Republic of Germany has granted \$7,500,000,000 or 10 percent. Germany comes fourth in the list of aid-donor countries after the United States, France and Great Britain.

According to the German Foundation for the Developing Countries in West Berlin, which published the figures, the entire East Bloc contributed only about \$7,500,000,000, or roughly the amount granted by the Federal Republic alone. In addition, about 95 percent of all development aid granted by the United Nations came from the West.

marked by commemorative meetings and church services. In Bonn, Chancellor Erhard, as well as the former Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, and the Inspector General of the Bundeswehr, Heinz Trettner, laid wreaths at the monument honouring the victims of war and dictatorship. In Bonn, too, a service took place under the sponsorship of the Fédération Internationale Libre des Déportés et Interés de la Résistance (FILDIR). Eugen Gerstenmaier, the President of the Bundestag, spoke in Berlin.

**Some like it;
some don't:**
Among the more highly praised, laughed at, and ignored works at Kassel's modern-art exhibition "documenta III" (see article on page 7) is this one, entitled "Ampoules", by the French artist Arman. Its components include medicine bottles, a sardine tin, films, a tripod, visiting cards and banknotes



Message of the Resistance

President Lübke spoke on the eve of the anniversary, at the Free University of Berlin. He quoted the following lines from a summons to the German people that the men of the resistance movement would have broadcast had their attempt on Hitler's life been successful: "We call on you to become resolute within yourselves, and to achieve a confidence that is ready for sacrifices. Do not hate, but help! Do the greatest deed of all: Find the soul of our people again!" This appeal, the President declared, ought to be binding for the German people now and in future.

"The 20th of July," he continued, "is overshadowed by the great trag-

edy that the conspirators failed. ... But even so, these men accomplished a deed of historic significance. They demonstrated to the world that a desire was alive in the German people to free themselves and Europe of Hitler's tyranny, and, in all readiness to expiate, to distance themselves from the monstrous crimes."

Survivors Participate

The Berlin event of commemoration took place in the courtyard (see picture on page 3) of the former Supreme Command of the Armed Forces, in what used to be the Bendlerstrasse. The street is now named Stauffenbergstrasse, after the man who carried out the final of several attempts

on Hitler's life. It was there that the conspirators had had their headquarters, and there, too, that Graf Stauffenberg and three of his friends were the first to be executed after the failure of their revolt.

Among those who now, 20 years later, assembled in this courtyard last week, were relatives of the men executed for their role in the revolt, and some surviving members of the resistance movement. One of these was the speaker: Eugen Gerstenmaier, now President of the Bundestag, who was arrested in this very house in the Bendlerstrasse after the 20th of July, 1944.

Movement Began in 1933

In his address, Dr. Gerstenmaier refuted the assertion that resistance in Germany began only when the outcome of the war was already obvious. The members of the resistance movement, he declared, were by no means opportunists, adding:

"The truth about the German resistance movement begins with the recognition that National Socialism never succeeded in gaining the entire German people's inner compliance, in aligning them on the spiritual level. I see the start of visible resistance as on March 23, 1933, when Otto Wels, the chairman of the Social Democrats in the Reichstag, expounded the reasons for his rejection of the law of empowerment [for Hitler]."

Tribute From Abroad

The event was also attended by the Belgian General Jean Gérard, the president of the Union Internationale des Résistants et Déportés (UIRD), who read the following manifesto:

"In the name of the UIRD, I should like to render homage to the resistance—resistance wherever it raised its head, in Germany as in other

In a proclamation for the 20th of July, the German Federal Government expresses gratitude to the memory of "all Germans who offered resistance to the totalitarian regime" of Adolf Hitler. Excerpts from the proclamation:

"What occurred on July 20, 1944, was the most striking manifestation of resistance against tyranny, but not the only one. In all strata of our people, in those years, lived the hope that the regime would be overthrown. Only a small part has become known of what uncounted persons did, by active deeds or passive resistance, to bring this hope to fruition. Many of them suffered death or imprisonment."

"The fighters in the resistance did not act for the sake of any

personal advantage, but were impelled by their conscience. Their cause—as one of them formulated it—was 'to set up the human image again in the heart' of the German people. They knew that if their attempt miscarried it would mean their death and that in addition they would be dishonoured, defamed and misunderstood by friend and foe alike. They acted nevertheless, because humanity, justice and honour meant more to them than life. . . .

"Free Germany protects the heritage of the German resistance fighters against tyranny. They helped make it possible for the Federal Republic of Germany to become a member of the community of free nations and a pillar of the Western world. . . ."

countries, against suppression and for the sake of justice and freedom.

"The blood that was shed in common—shed in the underground movement, in the *maqui* and in concentration camps—should bind us together in the establishment of a united and brotherly Europe. With us here are French young people, sons and daughters of people who were persecuted. These young people have come as representatives of the resistance, on behalf of the UIRD, to form friendships with young Germans, in particular the sons and daughters of the victims of July 20, 1944. Our whole future depends on this friendship. Placing our trust in German youth, as in that of all our other countries, and mindful of the struggle

that united us, we must together decide on a common future in peace and freedom."

77 % of Public Wants a Broader Europe

In a public-opinion poll, taken in the German Federal Republic by the Institute for Applied Social Science (Bad Godesberg), 77 percent of those questioned favoured expansion of the European Economic Community. In particular Great Britain, Austria and the Scandinavian countries were mentioned as preferred new partners, more than half of the interrogated persons singling out these nations. It also emerged from the poll that most of all the younger generation of Germans would like the integration of Europe.

OFFICIAL NOTEBOOK

July 21 — German-Polish negotiations in Bonn culminated in the signing of a protocol, supplementary to the trade and sea-transport agreement made in March 1963. The negotiations, led by the Ambassador in the Foreign Office, Oskar Schlüter, and the Ministerial Director in the Polish Foreign Trade Ministry, Michel Kajzer, were marked by a spirit of readiness for mutual agreement.

*

July 22 — During a two-day visit to Berlin, the Deputy President of Dahomey, Justin Ahomadegbe-Tométin, was received by Burgomaster Albertz and government officials. He was especially interested in building developments in Berlin, visiting the Senator for Housing and making a tour of the city to view the most recent building projects.

*

July 23 — In a message replying to Chancellor Erhard's telegram sent on the French National Day, President de Gaulle expressed his gratitude and pleasure and his warm wishes for the happy future of the German people as well as for the further development of Franco-German

co-operation for the good of Europe and peace among men."

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July 23 — On the occasion of the U.A.R.'s National Day, President Lübke sent a telegram of good wishes to President Nasser.

*

July 24 — It was announced that the Government of Ruanda has approved the appointment of Hans Steinbach as Ambassador of the Federal Republic.

*

July 24 — President Lübke received the Ambassador of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Daniel Lucas Mfinanga, for the presentation of his credentials.

*

July 24 — In a telegram of good wishes to President Werner of Luxembourg, on the occasion of his re-appointment to office, Chancellor Erhard expressed the hope for further fruitful co-operation between their two countries and for their jointly effective contribution towards European union.

No Capital Punishment

'Frankfurt Trials a Joke,' Says Jewish Veterans Chief

By GEORGE SOUTHWORTH
Herald Staff Writer

"The war crimes trial at Frankfurt, Germany, of the SS guards from the Auschwitz concentration camp is a joke," Daniel Neal Heller, national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, said here Saturday.

Heller, a Miami attorney just returned from Frankfurt, said half the defendants at the trial are free on bond and go home to their families every night.

"These Nazi Gestapo guards from Auschwitz are not worried about their fate," Heller said. "There is no capital punishment in West Germany and if the defendants prove they were only following orders they will not receive life sentences."

"The Nazis are in top security positions. A defendant named Zech-Nenntwich was convicted of killing 52,000 Jews in Poland. Five days later he was able to escape through the front door of the jail."

One of the men that Heller heard testify was Joseph Klehr, a former SS medical orderly accused of killing 20,000 prisoners at Auschwitz by making injections into their heart muscles. Klehr protested on the witness stand that he couldn't have possibly killed more than 500 or 1,000.

Heller said this was indica-



Daniel Neal Heller Meets Pope Paul
... prayers promised for Russian Jews

tive of the attitude of the 21 war crimes defendants "who are not ashamed and don't seem to care what happens."

The commander of the oldest veterans organization in America said he will seek an appointment with President Lyndon B. Johnson "to ask him to re-evaluate what we have done in Germany."

"In Washington, West German Ambassador Heinrich Kneppstein admitted to me that there are 500 Nazi scientists in Egypt working on rockets and ground-to-ground missiles," Heller said. "And Egypt's Nasser has said he is going to destroy Israel."

"If there was a real German conscience, these Nazi scientists would be brought home. The Hitler ideology of a super race still exists in Germany and the Nazi spirit is still strong."

Heller also went to Italy and the Vatican for a special audience with Pope Paul VI to discuss the plight of the 8.5 million Jews inside Russia.

"The JWV is concerned because of the discrimination against the Jews in Russia," Heller said. "The Soviets have closed down 800 synagogues in the last 10 years."

"If you are a Jew, that word is stamped in your passport in Russia. No Jewish publications are allowed. Jews cannot buy cemetery plots in Moscow. It is illegal to bake matzo."

Heller said that when he met with the Pope it was the first time that His Holiness had publicly expressed concern for the Jews living in Russia.

"We must pray very hard for them," Heller quoted the Pope as saying in perfect English, "I will pray for them personally."

Photographs of the special audience were taken by a Vatican news photographer and the JWV commander said he was mobbed by international newsmen when he returned to his hotel.

"The Pope said he appreciated the fact that our organization had taken the leadership in this matter," Heller said, "and it was apparent that was why he wanted to make his feelings known through us."

Next step for the Miami attorney is an interview with Khrushchev himself to explain that "the entire world is concerned about Russia's treatment of the Jews."

"I have made application through the Russian Embassy in Washington," Heller said, "and I am optimistic of getting an appointment with Khrushchev in the near future."

Jewish Vet, Pope Reach Accord

The national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, a Miami man, returned here yesterday from a visit with Pope Paul and said the Pontiff was aware of the problem of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Daniel Neal Heller said the Pope told him he joined world Jewry in sympathizing with the plight of Soviet Jews and said he would pray for them.

Heller, a local attorney, was granted a 15-minute private audience with the Pope.

The veterans chief also had planned to meet with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev but cancelled his Russian travel arrangements when Soviet officials said they could not assure him a meeting with the Communist head.

SYNAGOGUES CLOSED

After being named national commander of the group last year, Heller decided to direct his efforts toward easing the plight of Russian Jews.

"When I learned about the 800 synagogues being closed in Russia during the last 10 years and the things being done to discourage religion, I felt some action was needed.

"In the Soviet Union every citizen is required to carry an internal passport — but a Jew is the only one whose religion is marked in it."

NO GUARANTEE

With the approval of the State Department, Heller began making arrangements through the Soviet Embassy in Washington to see Khrushchev.

At the same time he started working to arrange an audience with the Pope.

An invitation from the Vatican arrived but the Soviet Embassy told Heller it could not guarantee a meeting with Khrushchev.

"They said they could assure

me that I would be meeting with the highest government officials who have ever discussed this matter with an outsider," Heller said.

"But I said that wasn't good enough — Khrushchev or I don't go."

Heller made it clear to the Soviet Embassy that he had plans to see the Pope and pointed out that it would be unfortunate if the Soviet premier couldn't find the time. But the Russians repeated their offer which Heller rejected.

EXPRESSED CONCERN

Although no official statement was issued by the Vatican, Heller said the Pope expressed his concern for the problem and urged Catholics to pray for those oppressed.

Along on the trip with Heller was Abraham Kravitor, a past national commander of the group.

Heller's party also visited Israel where they met with the

nation's president and military chief of staff.

While in Europe, they sat in on the German military war crimes trials in Frankfurt.

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

FOREIGN SERVICE

-7-

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1964

CHURCHMEN OBSERVE ANNIVERSARY
OF ABORTIVE ANTI-HITLER PLOT

By Religious News Service (7-21-64)

BERLIN (RNS) -- West German Protestant and Roman Catholic churchmen and government officials led memorial ceremonies in major cities of the country marking the 20th anniversary of the abortive plot against Hitler and his regime on July 20, 1944.

The observances, as in former years, emphasized the dual role of religion in the conspiracy to end Hitlerism by force and to found a new Germany based on Christian faith.

One role was the actual participation of Protestant and Catholic churchmen in the plot, and the other was the power of Christian conscience which motivated top military and civilian leaders to attempt the revolt.

In Protestant and Catholic sermons, those who gave their lives in the revolt were lauded as martyrs. The sermons stressed that the resistance fighters sacrificed their lives in defense of their faith and conscience and for the freedom of their homeland and its people.

Principal religious services included a Pontifical Requiem Mass celebrated by Julius Cardinal Doepfner, Archbishop of Munich, in the Queen of Martyrs church here, recently erected in memory of victims of Hitler's regime.

The Mass was attended by many prominent religious and civic dignitaries, including West German President Heinrich Luebke, and by members of families of Nazi victims.

Meanwhile, Lutheran Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hannover conducted and preached at a service in West Berlin's Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial church, also attended by clergy and lay leaders.

Participating in this service were Bishop Otto Dibelius of Berlin, former chairman of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKID), and Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, a member of the EKID Synod and president of the West German Parliament.

Bishop Lilje was sentenced to eight years in a concentration camp because of his resistance to Nazism and was found in chains when liberated by the Allies.

Bishop Dibelius helped to protect some conspirators seeking to escape after the plot to kill Hitler failed. At the time he was taken to a hospital in Berlin for medical treatment and was kept there after his recovery to protect his life.

Dr. Gerstenmaier, a Lutheran minister who had actively joined in the plot, was captured in the headquarters of the German High Command on the same day of the attempted assassination and was condemned to death. The sentence, however, was later commuted to seven years' imprisonment, and he was liberated from a Bavarian prison by American troops in 1945.

In his sermon Cardinal Doepfner told the congregation, "The martyrs for the other Germany died that we might live for that other Germany."

(more)

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

FOREIGN SERVICE

-8-

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1964

Bishop Lilje, who also stressed the spirit of sacrifice, said that the plotters against Hitler acted because they believed that "the chain of inhumanity and guilt" of the Nazi regime "could be broken only if someone had the courage to take new guilt upon himself."

Another memorial observance was a Catholic youth rally at the Berlin Ploetzensee prison, where participants in the plot, including several priests, were executed.

Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and other West German government officials placed wreaths at memorials erected in honor of the conspirators.

Another service was held in the court of the German High Command headquarters in East Prussia on the spot where Count Claus Stauffenburg was shot a few hours after his attempt to kill Hitler failed.

The count, an Army officer, placed a bomb under Hitler's table. The Fuehrer escaped with minor injuries, having moved away at the moment the bomb exploded.

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WHITE CLERGYMEN DEMONSTRATE
AGAINST OUSTER OF BISHOP

By Religious News Service (7-21-64)

SALISBURY, So. Rhodesia (RNS) -- More than 50 white clergymen of various denominations staged a demonstration here to protest a deportation order served on American Methodist Bishop Ralph E. Dodge of Salisbury.

The ministers marched to the office of Southern Rhodesia's prime minister where they gave government officials a letter asking that the order be revoked.

It stressed that the ouster of Bishop Dodge "would create a wide gulf between the government and world Christian opinion."

The protest also applied to the deportation of Robert E. Hughes, an American Methodist lay missionary, who was included in the government's order.

Observers here said the demonstration was believed to be the first time in Southern Rhodesia that white ministers marched against a government action.

The deportation order, dated July 9, gave Bishop Dodge and Mr. Hughes 14 days in which to leave the country. Bishop Dodge has asked for a 40-day stay to take care of church business before leaving, but no reply has been received from the government.

If he leaves the country, the bishop is expected to go to Northern Rhodesia, at least temporarily. He is in charge of Methodist work in the Rhodesias, South Africa and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique.

Southern Rhodesia gave no official reason for the ouster, except to label Bishop Dodge and Mr. Hughes as "undesirable immigrants." Both have been outspoken in criticizing racial discrimination in the country.

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✓ Catholic Telegraph (Cinc.)
GER
Cincinnati -

Bishop Put End To Nazi Euthanasia

Mainz, Germany — A prominent German Jesuit theologian in a television broadcast flatly denied testimony by an alleged war criminal that a Catholic Archbishop had told the Nazis that the Church would tolerate so-called "mercy-killing" under certain circumstances.

Father Johannes Hirschmann, S.J., contradicted assertions made by Hans Hefelmann, a former Hitler aide on trial in Limburg, that the late Archbishop Heinrich Wienken had told the Nazi regime that the Church would tolerate its euthanasia program if it were limited strictly to killing mentally and physically handicapped persons. The prelate, who was a titular Archbishop when he died in 1961, served during the war years as Coadjutor Bishop of

Meissen and director of German Catholic Charities.

Father Hirschmann in his TV talk said that Bishop Wienken's stand was the opposite of what Hefelmann had stated. He revealed what he called a hitherto unpublished letter from Bishop Wienken in which Bishop Wienken told the government he had been authorized by the German Bishops' Conference to state that if the euthanasia program were not stopped a joint pastoral letter condemning it would be read from each of the 17,000 Catholic pulpits in Germany, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

Father Hirschmann said the Nazis then proposed to provide what they called safeguards. But he said Bishop Wienken was adamant, and because of his insistence the program was ended.

The theologian said that if the German Bishops had had authentic documents concerning the Nazi slaughter of the Jews, as they had about the euthanasia program, they would have taken just as strong a stand in defense of the Jews. He said however that the Nazi war of genocide against the Jews was organized with greater hatred and precision than that against the handicapped, so that it is impossible to know the regime would have acted if the Bishops had spoken out against the holocaust of the Jews. (NC)

Catholic Telegraph (Cinc., Ohio)

June 12, 1964

TRANSCRIPT OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CONFERENCE ON THE
DESTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY, 28th Nisan, 5724.

by Seymour Siegel

It is with dehilu u-rechimu that I begin to speak. The subject is too vast, the problems too agonizing for words--lecha dumiah tehila. But speak we must. Otherwise we would not be forced to clarify our thoughts, and clarification of thinking is also part of divine worship.

The events we discuss this morning are among the most momentous events in Jewish history--perhaps in all history. They involve horrors that defy description and had called forth heroism which seems to go beyond human limitations.

To me, one of the most horrible paragraphs in all literature is the first sentence of a first-person account of the last days of the Warsaw Ghetto:

The ghetto was burning--for days and nights it flamed, and the fire consumed house after house, entire streets. Nearby on the other side of the wall, citizens of the capital strolled, played and enjoyed themselves.¹

It is a damning criticism of our times that the events we commemorate here have not resulted in a radical revision of our thinking on the crucial problems of existence--both individual and Jewish--and that books on Judaism published in the 50's and the 60's are not much different than those written in the 30's and 40's.

¹ The Last Days of the Warsaw Ghetto, Ziviah Lubetkin, Commentary May, 1947, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 401.

The task I have been assigned is to point to some theological consequences which emerge from the contemplation of the tragedy we commemorate today. I cannot offer solutions to the agonizing question of how could God allow children to be cast into the gas ovens. To attempt to do so would be both presumptuous and foolish. I cannot--nor can any human being--offer an illustrated guide map of the mind of God.

I will, however, attempt to offer some reflections and suggestions as to the directions in which our thinking should move in the light of the European tragedy.

I should like to touch on five areas:

1. our conceptions concerning the nature of man.
2. our conceptions concerning the nature of Divine Providence.
3. our conceptions concerning the nature of faith.
4. our conceptions concerning the nature of Jewish existence.
5. our conceptions concerning our duties as men of our age.

On the Nature of Man

When we consider what has happened and how it happened and the reactions of the vast majority of those who were responsible for what has happened--one echoes the words of one of the survivors:

(It was shameful to be alive)²

²Es iz gevehn a harpeh tsu leben, quoted in Kiddish Hashem (ed. S. Niger) Cyco Bicher-Farlag, 1948, p. 27.

We should put to rest, once and for all, all utopian views of man--all views which see human nature as perfectable, as basically rational. We should recognize the immense strength of the demonic forces which reside within the human breast--demonic forces which are not the result of bad education or poverty--but result from the perversity of human nature which caused even God to regret the fact that he had created us. The evil inherent in human nature is not the result of the jungle which evolution will eventually conquer. It is not the result of a lack of evolution--but rather its very ferocity is due to our enormous development. Our infinite imaginations, our awesome power, our need for security make literally almost anything possible.

We cannot, of course, yield to a corrosive pessimism. This would make existence too much to bear. Man seesaws in history between animality and divinity "Like a pendulum, he swings to and fro." Man is potentially the most wicked of all beings. This is because spirit and animality are so curiously intertwined in our natures. Animals eat. Only men are gluttons. Animals have sex. Only men are lustful. Animals kill each other. Only men construct Dachau's. Man is also potentially the most exalted of all beings-- for to him is given the gift of freedom and the awesome responsibility for completing the work of creation--to guard the destiny of God in the world. To recognize both the misery and the grandeur of human nature is a task we must undertake.

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every level of existence--including the Holy itself.

We cannot solve the problem of evil completely. But we are not exempt from dealing with evils. "At the end of days evil will be conquered by the one. In historic times, evils must be conquered one by one."³ Great cities, millions of people, ideas, institutions, governments, dreams, and plans all lay in ruins at the end of the war. Utopian man died then, too.

s, governments, dreams, and plans all lay
the war. Utopian man died then, too.

Providence

question keeps resounding over and over again

One question keeps resounding over and over again. How could God allow all of this to happen? I, of course, cannot offer an answer.

³ Heschel, *God in Search of Man*, p. 377

David Hume expressed the dilemma:

If he is willing to prevent evil, but is not able,
then he is impotent.

If he is able, but not willing,
then he is malevolent.

If he is both able and willing, why then evil?¹

The ancient problem of evil arises because three assertions are held to be true.

1. evil is real
2. God is good and
3. God is omnipotent

Historically, solutions of the problem have tended to deny one of these propositions. Evil is not real (Oriental mysticism); God is not necessarily good (Islam) or that He is not allpowerful (The limited God theory of Brightman, etc.)

These solutions deny the heart of religion.

There have been other suggestions, as well. It has been asserted that suffering chastens, that it enobles, that it tests the person's character. It has been point out that tsohar (brilliance) and tsara have the same letters; that leid leads to mitleid.

Inflict thy promises with each occasion of
distress -- that from our incoherence we
may learn to put our trust in thee and
brutal fact persuade us to adventure, art,
and peace. (W. H. Auden)

All of these assertions which have been part of the literature of religion, may make suffering palatable, but not understandable. And certainly they have little relevance when we speak of suffering in the dimension of the European holacost.

¹ HUME, Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion, quoted from
C.W. Hendel, Hume Selections (New York, Scribners 1927)
p. 365

What can we say? Perhaps nothing. But let me suggest some lines of consideration or meditation rather than explanation.

It is a major premise of our faith that God is all-powerful. Otherwise He would not be God. However, in the Jewish view, God may be understood to be limited--not by other divinities, but by Himself. He is limited because He has given man freedom to choose and He has given freedom to nature to operate according to natural law.

The price for granting this freedom is the possibility of suffering--a suffering which God Himself endures.

If every time a man tried to stab his fellow, the knife would become blunt, if every time he put his hand into the pocket of his neighbor he could not withdraw it, then the sheer impossibility of committing evil would propel men in the direction of the good, and there would be little or no merit in doing it.

Without the power to produce its sinners, mankind could not produce its saints. The ability to sin is man's greatest distinction. God is omnipotent. But he has given us the power to create history, and we cannot commit the folly of shifting the responsibility for our debacles to God. Providence is the potential power to control events; the power to shape evil events into good consequences.

The evil remains evil--terribly evil. But the power of God working through men and through the contingencies of nature and history push events into good ends.

In understanding the events of our time we would do well to reconsider the ancient concept of hastarat panim. Man first hides from God. He disobeys Him. The will of God is to be with us; to be manifest. "But the doors of the world are slammed on Him, His truth is betrayed. He withdraws, leaving man to Himself.¹ Can this be a partial explanation for our tragedy?

But, as has been pointed out, in our tradition, God is a hiding God, not a hidden God.² He makes darkness His hiding place. History is now a mystery. We know only hints and guesses now. In the end, we will know the meaning of our anguish and our suffering.

Handwritten Hebrew text:
פניו פניו פניו פניו פניו
פניו פניו פניו פניו פניו
פניו פניו פניו פניו פניו

History yields only partial meanings. But when there is hastarat panim, we can pray with the Psalmist:

Handwritten Hebrew text:
יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה
יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה
יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה

These notions do not pretend to be an answer. The mystery remains, the questions remain on our lips and in our hearts. But perhaps we can begin to understand.

THE NATURE OF FAITH

Much has been written about the nature of Faith. Faith is not the acceptance of intellectual propositions alone. Faith is trust in the one to Whom we are related. It involves a

relationship which persists even though we cannot fully comprehend the ways of One to Whom we have faith. If we lack understanding, we have the certainty of relation, of concern for us. Though we cannot explain God, we can speak to Him. We can still ask ourselves to love the Lord with all our hearts, even though we live in an age of Auschwitz. This is the meaning of emuna. Two quotations from contemporary writers explain this eloquently:

"In this our own time, one asks again and again: how is a Jewish life still possible after Oswiecim? I would like to frame this question more correctly: how is a life with God still possible in a time in which there is an Oswiecim? The estrangement has become too cruel, the hiddenness too deep. One can still "believe" in the God who allowed those things to happen, but can one still speak to Him? Can one still hear His word? Can one still, as an individual and as a people, enter at all into a dialogic relationship with Him? Can one still call to Him? Dare we recommend to the survivors of Oswiecim, the Job of the gas chambers: "Call to Him, for He is kind, for His mercy endureth forever"?

But how about Job himself? He not only laments, but he charges that the "cruel" God has "removed his right" from him and thus that the judge of all the earth acts against justice. And he receives an answer from God. But what God says to him

does not answer the charge; it does not even touch upon it. The true answer that Job receives is God's appearance only, only this that distance turns into nearness, that "his eye sees Him," that he knows Him again. Nothing is explained, nothing adjusted; wrong has not become right, nor cruelty kindness. Nothing has happened but that man again hears God's address.

The mystery has remained unsolved, but it has become his, it has become man's.

And we?

We--by that is meant all those who have not got over what happened and will not get over it. How is with us? Do we stand overcome before the hidden face of God as the tragic hero of the Greeks before faceless fate? No, rather even now we contend, we too, with God, even with Him, the Lord of Being, Whom we once, we here, chose for our Lord, We do not put up with earthly being, we struggle for its redemption, and struggling we appeal to the help of our Lord, Who is again and still a hiding one. In such a state we await His voice, whether it come out of the storm or out of a stillness which follows it. Though His coming appearance resemble no earlier one, we shall recognize again our cruel and merciful Lord."⁵

⁵BUBER, MARTIN At the Turning , Farrar Straus and Young Inc. 1952 pp. 61 and 62.

(From J. L. Magnes)

"I have said that I do not know what the meaning is of this desert of thick darkness that shuts us in. But by means of this religious approach I find myself facing in the positive direction, and not the reverse. It is as though two men were together standing on a narrow, obscure path. This path is the pessimism common to both. Then the one turns with all his might in the direction of No, and there he remains standing, while the other turns with all his might in the direction of Yes, -- yes, there is a meaning to all this.

Thus turned, this man cannot stand still. He has started on a long and weary road. He wants with all his will to be among those who seek the Face and pursue righteousness. But from that man God hides His Face. An opaque screen holds him asunder from the living God. For all his trying to come nearer and to touch the outer fringe, he cannot. It will not be given him to appear before the presence, to hear the voice, or to understand the meaning of these massacrings, this wanton butchery. Yet, he can do no other than to persist in his quest to the last, to keep on inquiring, struggling, challenging. He will not be granted tranquillity of soul. But if it be given him to renew the forces of his being day by day and constantly to be among the seekers, the rebellious--that is the crown of his life and the height of his desire.

It is said of Rabbi Isaac Levi of Berdichev that he spoke thus:

"I do not ask, Lord of the world, to reveal to me the secrets of Thy ways--I could not comprehend them. I do not ask to know why I suffer, but only this: Do I suffer for Thy sake?"

(Magnes cont'd.)

For us, too, it would be enough to ask, not what is the meaning of this anguish, but that it have a meaning; and that our need of asking be so sincere that it becomes a prayer.

Teach us only this: Does man suffer for Thy sake, O Lord?"⁶

It is only with this faith that we who have witnessed so much death can live.

On the Nature of Jewish Existence

We must bring our minds and our hearts to again contemplate what it means to be a Jew. We are challenged, threatened, persecuted. "It is either tragic or holy to be a Jew." The very fury of the events which we speak of this day, the very irrationality of it, betrays to us that there is something mysterious, something unique about Jewish existence. Being a Jew is not merely a natural phenomenon. In a curious, uncanny, and tragic way, anti-semitism is the other side of the coin of chosen-ness. The violent enmity against the Jew of totalitarians of all stripes, shows that the Jew by his very being is an affront to those who would enslave man and claim sovereignty over the whole person. This is the tragic yet awesome quality of Jewishness. The natural inclination is to sacrifice chosen-ness:

הנה אנו רואים כי אף על פי שהיהדות היא דת של
אמונה באלוהים, היא אינה דת של פחד
אלוהים, אלא דת של אהבה אליו. והנה אנו רואים
כי אף על פי שהיהדות היא דת של אמונה, היא אינה
דת של אמונה בלבד, אלא דת של אמונה ושל מעשה.

⁶ MAGNES, J.L. In The Perplexity of The Times, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem - 1946 pp 77 and 78.

Merciful God
Choose another people
We are exhausted of dying
We have no prayers left
Choose another people
We have no blood left
To be a sacrifice
Merciful God
Give us coarse clothes
of shepherds of sheep
of smiths by the hammer
And do us one more kindness
Take away your Presence from us.

However, in the light of all that has happened, can we give up the essence of our Jewishness? To be a Jew is a high destiny, to witness to the Almighty. This witness all too often arouses fury and hatred. We dare not give up our destiny.

Our Responsibilities

One final thought comes to mind. We cannot explain how all that happened was possible. But we can understand what we must do, because it has happened. We can rededicate ourselves to the belief that without Torah, we will be overwhelmed by the evil which is part of our natures. We must realize that every hour we fight on a spiritual battlefield where millions have already perished. We must commit ourselves to the fight for human betterment with realism, dedication and devotion.

We cannot forget--neither those that perished--nor that being a Jew is a high destiny, that the values of Judaism are precious and not to be lightly sacrificed for the sake of embracing western culture, which--let us repeat it daily--created Auschwitz. Let us not forsake the moral and intellectual values created within Jewish life. The West with all its great institutions has proven to be a tragic failure. And if nothing else, it is incumbent upon each one of us, those who have survived, to take the place of those who have perished. We must teach it diligently to our children when we sit down and we go in the way and put it on the doorposts of our houses--this is a people which bears the awesome badge of suffering--a suffering brought about not by natural catastrophe, by accidents of nature--but through the demonic forces which so often take possession of man.

But more than that each one has to live two lives--our own and in proxy, one which has been destroyed.

Who can fathom God's ways. His thoughts are not our thoughts. But we must believe that in some way the suffering of our people has brought the redemption of mankind closer. I thought, at first that this last sentence would be callous and presumptuous. But then I read a collection of poems, statements, stories and songs composed by the victims of the sho'a themselves. I should like to close with reading a page from that book.

Thousands of people, living, healthy, life-loving go to the slaughter--marching with shuffling feet, apathetic, indifferent. The shadow of death hover already over all of us. Near me there stands out a figure of a tall, old, Jew with a patriarchal, grey beard...He carries his talis and tephillin under his arm. Nothing more...Thus we were in tribulation and despair. Suddenly, the old Jew with the talis and tephillin jumps up and says with a strong and confident voice. Jews, do not be troubled! Do not be melancholy! Why do you sit thus! Not in sadness, God forbid. If I would only have something to drink, I would propose a lechayim. Lechayim, Jews, Lechayim. Do you not see how we are going to greet the Messiah? (1)

Kiddush Hashem, op.cit., pp.27-28

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The Church and the Nazis

A new book keeps the discussion alive

In 1933, when I was fifteen years old, I was sent to study for a year at a boarding school in Bavaria. Hitler had been in power several months when I asked a fellow student, the son of an Austrian nobleman, how the Catholic Church stood on the question of National Socialism. "She is neither for nor against it," he replied simply — and as it turned out, quite inaccurately. A little while later I put the same question to a priest of the nearby parish of Neubuern am Inn. He placed a finger over his lips and whispered, "Caution!" A few weeks later the same priest lectured the Catholic boys in the school, during a religious instruction class, on the evils of communism; he showed slides and kept up a running commentary. "See the Mongolian traits in this photograph of Lenin," he said at one point. "Lenin was a dreadful man!" In those days I was too naive to ask whether the same dread attached to the Archbishops of Tokyo, Peking and Saigon because of their Oriental features, but I remember being puzzled by the racist implications of the priest's "argument" against communism.

I remembered these incidents while reading Guenter Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (McGraw-Hill, \$7.50). This is a documented account of "how the Church stood on National Socialism" and it is dismal reading. Lewy traces the appallingly enthusiastic collaboration with Hitler's government of most of the German bishops, most of the time; the sources for much of his material were the archives of several, though not all, Catholic dioceses in Germany. In his preface Lewy mentions parenthetically that "officials in the dioceses of Bamberg, Cologne, Freiburg/Breisgau, Rottenburg and Speyer, for reasons best known to themselves, declined to cooperate." It seems doubt-

ful that these closed files could contain evidence any more damaging than what Lewy found in the archives to which he was courteously given access. (It is tempting, though, to speculate whether the records concealed in the Vatican archives, still secret, would support or mitigate Lewy's charges. The persistent refusal to open them, even in the face of the wholesale charges of "The Deputy," does not inspire any confidence that the archives would refute Lewy's thesis. However unscientific, it leads one to suspect that the Church's hidden records would not restore her reputation but probably damage it further. It may be then that Vatican officials have refused to open the archives because the truth might scandalize the simple.) In any case, the author's scholarship has illuminated a particularly unhappy failure of moral leadership in our time.

Mr. Lewy, a Jew, fled Germany for Palestine in 1939, at the age of fifteen, and subsequently settled in the United States. He is understandably indignant that the Nazi thugs who murdered his people and brought so much destruction to the Western world should have received so much help from the official Catholic Church. I doubt if any honest Catholic researcher, willing to persevere for three years in what must have been an unusually distasteful task and faced with the same material, could draw any different conclusion. But this is not a harangue. Lewy is fair and as generous as he can be, given the facts at his disposal. He gives due credit to those Catholic heroes who publicly defied the Nazis: Father Muckermann, the Jesuits Alfred Delp and Rupert Mayer, Provost Lichtenberg, Cardinal von Preysing; he acknowledges, too, the deaths of three thousand priests in concentration camps, though he points out that many of them were apt to have been arrested

for such minor offenses as listening to foreign broadcasts. Lewy states that there is no evidence to support the claim that there was an organized, full scale Catholic resistance to Nazi tyranny: individuals who took this stand were exceptions to the general attitude and behavior of Catholics (laity, priests and bishops). The dissenters from the prevailing acquiescence had formed their consciences in opposition to pastoral letters, joint statements of the bishops' conferences, and the line followed by the diocesan press. And they received no official support when arrested. I found two of Lewy's discoveries especially unnerving: a Rhineland bishop who became a contributing member of the SS in 1933 and remained so until expelled, against his will, by the SS in 1938; the persistent attempt by Church authorities in the twenties and thirties to discredit a nineteenth century anticlerical writer, Otto von Corvin, whose book *Der Pfaffenspiegel* was being used by the Nazis in their Church-baiting propaganda; one of the arguments against von Corvin used by bishops and others was that "according to latest research he [von Corvin] was not of Aryan descent."

The disagreeable experience of reading this book forms a picture in the mind that Hitler completely disregarded the priestliness of the German bishops and priests and considered them, for all practical purposes, propagandists whom he could tease and frighten into working for him when he wanted. Lewy's work seems to bear out the notion that Hitler's psychological estimate of German Catholicism was in the main correct, and that the magnificent exceptions did not have enough influence to upset his calculations. For example, Lewy points to the political use the Nazis made of the Church apparatus in campaigning to make the Saar plebiscite vote for unity with Germany rather than France. Lewy cites pronouncements by the chanceries of Trier and Speyer dioceses to the effect that according to Catholic Church teaching Saarlanders had a moral duty to vote for their traditional fatherland, Germany; the arguments of the anti-Nazi press of the Catholic German Language League were eventually swept aside. The poli-

the jaws of gadgets, of aluminum, glass, atomic-powered complexities of machines that transformed deserts into gardens, the seas into oil fields, jungles into factories. No silence anywhere, no joy, no serenity, just the shape of man and his gadgets, invading, cutting down, transforming nature into a totem of hydraulics, gears and shiny metal boxes and tubes. In the Ford city of tomorrow there were no buildings, just streaks of light, the noise of electric impulses, and the kind of atmosphere I expect to find when all I hate in science fiction comes true. In the midst of the General Motors city (a vampire city that would suck the blood out of any normal man) a Gothic cathedral rose up, spires and all; around it was aluminum, glass, elevated streets and no sun, sky, hill or grass. (What was supposed to be grass couldn't possibly survive in that oxide air.) As for the flesh, the spirit, they lay screaming on the edge of a fifty-storey garage.

Gadgets were king. Everywhere the gimmick, the trick, the curiosity: press this and hear an Irish lyric; press that and find out what the Salvation Army is doing in Vermont; press something else and find out how to be popular. Watch a movie about God, about what goes on in water molecules (I think that's what went on in the Danish Pavilion). Ride through time backwards, forward; see a simian caveman carving out a wheel; observe dinosaurs munching grass; put a penny in a slot and get a picture of an angel.

Trade corrupts everything but nowhere more violently than at the Vatican Pavilion where a material-

istic malaise has transformed the Pietà into a garish, soapy trinket administered to the spirit like an emetic. Surrounded by a setting of twinkling blue lights, it lurks behind a glass screen in a crush of sacred music, while the "folk" gawk, on a moving platform, at that minor, though lovely, statue, not knowing whether to cry, pray, laugh, fall into a fit or sigh with despair. A minor piece of sculpture has been raised to a relic, a holy thing, a fetish, but it has been raised to that anti-art in a vulgar, tasteless jumble of religious horrors. The whole Pavilion is saved from absolute disaster only by the craft and imagination of Norman Laliberte, who has brought taste, joy, and style to the mystery of the Church which otherwise suffers again the assault of the bourgeois fist that covers everything it touches with dust, ashes and blasphemy. If the second Vatican Council has ever been rebuked, it is rebuked here, ruthlessly and shamelessly.

One would expect that a world's fair be a monument to art, to the spirit. There is a certain crude wonder about this one (scientific, mechanical, sheer physical achievement), but surely we do not have to stand for all *that* trash, all *that* noise, all *that* salestalk. The World's Fair is a huckster's paradise; everything is for sale. One feels that the Pietà is selling the Church; that the cities of the future are selling Chevrolets; that the high school band sawing away in sublime dissonance in the New York State Pavilion is selling New York State. The Acropolis in the Greek Pavilion was a setting for some propaganda about Greek work-

ers, and for all its Scandinavian panache the Swedish Pavilion seemed as enthusiastic about a mouthwash as it was for its folk art. There must be a limit to the arrogance of industry, of commerce, of international big business.

But it was the waste that really depressed me. At one point I felt like diving into the Thailand pool, in spite of the dirt, to scoop up the pennies the tourists had thrown there. For I know of some children in the Bowery who were promised four years ago that a park would be created out of four blocks of land given them by the City of New York. Nothing was ever done to clear away the filth, the mud, the broken glass and cigarette butts; they remain a scandal in the face of their suffering. The children wrote to the Mayor reminding him that the World's Fair had been built in two years but in four years not one minute of work had gone into their playground. They never received an answer.

The World's Fair is mindless, dumb. It is a junk pile, another ghetto where the world can fool itself into believing that it is magnificent, that it is the salvation of the spirit. Man, who made it, who believed in it, has built a monument to man's banality, to his greed, to his shattered spirit. Item: at the Hollywood Pavilion they spelled Museum, Musium; and on a sign listing the countries in an international arcade they spelled Colombia (South America) Columbia. It was a kind of stupidity, that Fair: a Miss Fyre, I mean a mysfyre; I mean yawn, ho hum.

—NED O'GORMAN

ticking of the Saar bishops is just one example of sophistry practiced by many German prelates and publicists, some of whom went so far as to draw parallels between Nazi ideology and Catholic teaching. Inevitably, incidents such as these build up a monumental distrust of the way any German's mind works. One can only try to remember that Germany also produced Bach, Schiller, Dürer and that even in Nazi Germany there were men like Adenauer (he is not mentioned in Lewy's book) and priests like Father Muckermann, who managed to keep their sense of good and evil among all the lies and confusion.

Lewy is not at all sure public protests by Pius XII would have done more good than harm; he is, however, one of the many who believe that a Vatican statement at least would have authenticated the truth of the atrocities, which many Jews disbelieved until they were being herded into the gas chambers. His quotations from the Pope's talks with Myron Taylor's assistant, Harold Tittmann, are available for verification in any library that carries the U.S. Government publication, "Foreign Relations of the United States." When Tittmann vainly sought a Papal declaration on the Nazi shooting of hostages and Jewish massacres, he was told a protest "would jeopardize the situation of the German Catholics," and that Jewish massacres were "difficult to verify." One cannot help feeling that, if nothing else, the Pope's language was inadequate to the situation. Lewy makes an error of interpretation, however, when he maintains that Pius XII's failure to put *Mein Kampf* on the Index or excommunicate Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler left the impression that they remained Catholics in good standing: "the Führer until the end of his reign was allowed to remain a member of the Church, i.e. he was not excommunicated." Most Catholics will realize that Hitler and these other gentlemen, who were listed as Catholics in the German Who's Who during the Hitler era, had long since excommunicated themselves. But the non-Catholic world could hardly be expected to know the details of Catholic discipline. As far as they knew — or cared — Hitler re-

mained in good standing with the Catholic Church, because no official publicly repudiated him.

No doubt there was a lot in the cultural and intellectual baggage of German Catholicism at the time of the Hitler period that made it wholly inadequate to cope with Nazism. (I once asked a well-educated priest who knew Germany well, how it could be that seminary training in philosophy did not give the German clergy suitable moral and mental equipment to see National Socialism for what it was and to reject it. He answered that what the German seminarians were taught was, if anything, designed to make them eager followers of the "Brown Doctrine.") Certainly the official Church's moral guidance to German Catholics in this period was anything but "unchanging" or "infallible." It changed from an initial correct posture of anathema to exhortations to the faithful to support the war effort, to be loyal and patriotic, and to obey their Führer; the crimes Catholics committed in the name of this obedience are appalling to contemplate. On the other hand, the moral climate of post-Versailles Germany was so bad that it is not surprising that people at first saw a distinct improvement in Hitler's program and promises, however much else there was about them they did not stomach willingly. Winston Churchill was for a time deceived by Hitler, as one may discover by reading his *Great Contemporaries* and Lewy cites pro-Hitler statements by respected German Catholic intellectuals like Karl Adam and Dr. Erich Klausener. In this sense Hitler seems to have fulfilled one of the specifications of an Anti-Christ in that he deceived even the elect. Bearing all this in mind, we might also consider the point made by Albrecht von Kessel, a diplomat who was a member of Ambassador von Weizsäcker's staff at the German embassy in the Vatican during the Nazi occupation of Rome. Writing about "The Deputy" (in which he is mentioned by name) in the controversy published by the Hamburg newspaper, *Die Welt*, and published in English in the June, 1963, issue of *Atlas*. Von Kessel said: "Anyone who has persevered — never mind why — in a diplomatic



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career under a totalitarian and criminal regime, knows what different levels of credibility can mean. Written documents [of such a time] should be judged from the purely pragmatic point of view. Their purpose is often the exact opposite of that which the naive reader assumes. Take, for instance, the lance corporal who served in the unit of one of my friends. This man talked himself practically onto the gallows, but was rescued by a false affidavit from my friend who swore that the lance corporal, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, had always been a fanatical follower of the Führer. Two years later, on the basis of this false affidavit, the Americans locked up my friend as an influential Nazi. Documents from the days of the terror frequently consist, to put it bluntly, of nothing but lies. One must search for the motives which with a document was written rather than try to draw conclusions from the document itself."

I would like to think that the anti-Semitic, nationalistic, bellicose, morally insensitive Church that emerges from Lewy's study has nothing to do with me or the Church I love. Still, had I been a German bishop in the Nazi period, reared on the Kaiser's politics and on the moral theology of Hieronymus Noldin (who called sexual intercourse "*res in se foeda*" — a thing fetid in itself), I don't know that I would have done any better than the worst of them, nor that I would have acted like the consistently anti-Nazi von Preysing, trained as a lawyer before entering the priesthood, or von Galen, the "Lion of Münster," who successfully railed against the Nazi program of euthanasia. I think it must be conceded that when the German bishops were intimidated, they feared less for their own safety than for that of the nuns, children, aged and sick under their care, who were endangered immediately by the Nazis and potentially by the Soviets. Beyond that, I wonder if it was objectively possible to act correctly as a bishop under Hitler, since the State gave enormous financial support to the Church; in one sense the Church in Germany was "kept" by the State as a result of Bismarck's capitulation after his unsuccessful Kulturkampf. Though this was considered a concession to the

Church — and in some quarters the Church's rightful due — it had the eventual effect of compromising the Church's freedom and integrity in a way that is perhaps difficult for Americans to appreciate because of the traditional separation of Church and State here.

Despite the grievous assault Lewy's book mounts against the Church's honor (much less conveniently remote than the Spanish Inquisition), I find myself perversely welcoming studies of this sort. The bishops who exhorted German Catholics to support Hitler and his war expected to be obeyed, and in so doing they did an injury to the Church's teaching authority; if the damage is to be repaired, the first step is to look the record in the face. Lewy has certainly helped to bring at least part of the record to light. The truth ultimately cannot hurt the Church, but in this case it can make one sad. Among countless other things, Lewy's book made me think of something Thomas Merton once wrote: "People have no idea what a saint can do, for sanctity is stronger than the whole of Hell." In Nazi Germany the power of Hell was unleashed and the hard fact is that it was overcome not by sanctity but by the military and industrial might of the Allies.

—PETER WHITE

It thinks, therefore
it is

NORBERT WIENER may well come to be seen as the most important figure in the history of twentieth century technology. He was the father of the study of cybernetics, a mathematician of outstanding brilliance, and a man deeply concerned with the human implications of his discoveries. It is fitting that his last book, *God and Golem, Inc.*, A comment on certain points where cybernetics impinges on religion (The M.I.T. Press, \$2.95), should have appeared almost simultaneously with Wiener's death, as his final contribution to his subject.

Cybernetics emerged as a science from the study of control systems; Wiener called it "the study of control and communication in the animal and the machine." Expositions of its nature and capabilities are usually either rigorously mathematical, as is the case with much of Wiener's own writings, or in the form of more general logical princi-

ples, which are easier to read, but also can be misleading. Wiener is one of the few who handle both well, although naturally enough with a predisposition to the mathematical.

Even to readers who are not professional cyberneticians, the philosophical implications of the science are readily obvious. Wiener and other logicians, such as Turing, Pitts, McCulloch and their followers, have shown, both theoretically and in practice, that machines can be made to duplicate many kinds of human behavior. In particular, machines can learn, can make decisions of a non-trivial kind as a result of weighing up evidence; and, in theory, they can reproduce themselves. Clearly this sort of technology seems to raise problems for the traditional Christian account of the nature of man. It is about this that Wiener talks in *God and Golem, Inc.*

Cybernetics may be called "the science of applied logic"; it is perhaps worth looking a little at some of the general lines along which cybernetic thought can proceed before considering Wiener's book in detail. It can be shown that it is possible to build a machine to show any behavior which can be defined in a finite number of words. This is a well established result, and there is no reason to doubt it. Consequently, if we wish to maintain that there is something special, something unique about the nature of man, we have a direct, but at the same time, a curiously difficult task. If we can show that there are behaviors which humans show, which cannot be so defined, or if we can show that there are aspects of human natural history which are not behavior, then in principle machines cannot be constructed to duplicate them.

It is important to realize that it is quite impossible to start by saying "man has a spiritual soul, so he isn't a machine," or something of that kind. The reason is simply that we cannot observe a soul in anyone else, nor in ourselves. We do not have a direct intuition or experience of a soul. And indeed with regard to other people, the way we know that we are dealing with some one who has a soul is by his behavior. Since he does certain things (including talking to us about his experiences), we say we know he is a human being, and therefore that he has a spiritual soul. But notice that we deduce the latter from the former; we know about souls because of behavior. Hence it is by no means certain, *a priori*, that we couldn't duplicate any

22 Babes in Arms

Mowed Down, SS Trial Told

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1964

Frankfurt, Aug. 3 (AP)—Wives and children of anti-Nazi resistance fighters in World War II were among the millions of prisoners slaughtered in the Auschwitz concentration camp, a former inmate testified today.

They were stripped of their clothes, lined up facing a brick wall and then shot in the back of the head, Otto Kuesel told the court trying 20 former SS guards and Auschwitz functionaries.

"Mothers with babes in arms were often victims," he said. These mothers, he added, were forced to hold their babies while SS (Elite Guard) men killed the infants first.

Points Out Defendant

Kuesel, who came to Auschwitz as the camp's second prisoner in May, 1940, said he would never forget two executions he witnessed. They were the shooting of the wife and child of a German army officer who had defected to the British and the execution of an 18-year-old Polish Jewess and resistance fighter.

Defendant Hans Stark carried out the executions, Kuesel said.

Asked by Presiding Judge Hans Hofmeyr to prove he knew Stark by pointing him out, Kuesel walked over the former SS sergeant, pointed a finger at him and said: "That's him."

Stark jumped up and said: "I never did the things he accuses me of."

Kuesel also identified five other defendants and said they killed and tortured in Auschwitz.

A second witness was Mrs. Charlotte Bartsch, who volunteered her services as a teletype operator for the SS and was employed at Auschwitz from 1943 until war's end. Although she said she sent and received reports concerning mass gassings of adult and child inmates, Mrs. Bartsch insisted she could not remember anything specific about the camp.

Reminded of pre-trial testimony in which she had said camp physicians and guards selected inmates to be gassed, Mrs. Bartsch protested:

"I cannot imagine that I ever said such a thing. I don't even know what that word means—'selecting.'"

Mrs. Bartsch's husband, a former SS man she met at Auschwitz, is now head of criminal police in Krefeld, West Germany. He, too, when he appeared as a witness several months ago, said he could remember nothing specific about the camp.



In 'Deputy' Dispute: New Pius Defense

H-T
5-15-64
By The Associated Press

ROME. An Italian government minister said yesterday he has a document showing that the 1937 Pope Pius XI encyclical condemning Nazi anti-Catholic persecution was written by Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli who became Pope Pius XII.

Defense Minister Giulio Andreotti, who had frequent Vatican contacts during World War II as head of a Catholic university students association, wrote about Pius XII in the political weekly *Concorde*.

He said the controversial Rolf Hochhuth drama "The Deputy" prompted him to seek in the Vatican archives



Giulio Andreotti

documents relating to Vatican attitudes on Nazism.

The Hochhuth play criticizes Pius XII for failing to make a public denunciation of Nazism's persecution of European Jews.

Mr. Andreotti said he was given a photostatic copy of the original draft of the encyclical "Mit Brennender Sorge" (With Burning Concern), issued by Pius XI in 1937. Mr. Andreotti said he recognized throughout the handwriting of Cardinal Pacelli, who became Pope Pius XII in 1939.

The current Italian Defense Minister also said Cardinal Pacelli, who was Vatican State Secretary under Pius XI, advised the Pontiff to avoid

seeing Adolf Hitler during Hitler's 1938 visit to Rome unless Hitler should declare beforehand that the Nazi stand against Catholicism was taken against the Fuehrer's will.

Mr. Andreotti cited Vatican documents in which the future Pius XII ordered Italian bishops to abstain from taking part in ceremonies honoring Hitler on his visits to their cities.

"When war exploded in all its destructive capacity," Mr. Andreotti said, "Pius XII addressed his entire pontifical action to the field of charity. There is no political propaganda, no literary or theatrical artifice that can cancel those pages of civil merit."

CARDINAL'S STAND ON NAZISM IS TOLD

45 Statement Says Church Fought Hitler's Aims

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

A memorandum written in 1945 by Joseph Cardinal Frings, then Archbishop of Cologne, about the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the Nazi regime has come to light. The Cardinal declared in the not oppose Hitler when he became Chancellor in 1933 because his "first official declarations were so moderate that there seemed to be no basis for opposition."

Later, he said, "as soon as the true spirit of Nazism was made plain, the Catholic Church was the leader and in all truth the center of opposition to that spirit."

The text of the memorandum appears in an article by Dr. George N. Shuster in the July 11 issue of *Ave Maria*, a Catholic weekly published by the Holy Cross Fathers in Notre Dame, Ind.

Dr. Shuster, a former president of Hunter College, is assistant to the president of the University of Notre Dame. In 1945 he was chairman of the War Department's Historical Commission, and he served as state commissioner for Bavaria in 1950-51.

Requested Memorandum

Dr. Shuster said that Cardinal Frings wrote the memorandum, entitled "Concerning the Guilt of the German People," at his request. He added he had never referred to it directly until the current article, which is a review of "The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany" by Ginter Lewy.

Dr. Shuster calls the document "an authoritative statement concerning the outlook of the German bishops during the Nazi period."

"German Catholics had no reason for refusing to recognize the government of Hitler in 1933," Cardinal Frings wrote, "since no other existed and this one had the power firmly in its hands. To stage violent revolution is hardly comparable with Catholic teaching. Legal ways of establishing another government did not exist."

The Cardinal had this to say of the time after it became apparent that the Hitler regime was far from moderate:

"The Church is not established to control the state, in the sense that she is obliged to protest through her bishops and priests against every act of in-

Sun and Moon

The sun rises today at 5:27 A.M., sets at 5:27 A.M., and will rise tomorrow at 5:27 A.M.
The moon sets today at 8:33 A.M., rises at 1:10 P.M., and will set tomorrow at 9:34 A.M.



justice which the rulers commit. "She must protest for juridical reasons when one of her own rights is violated—when, for example, church property is illegally confiscated. This she did."

"Since she also has an obligation to practice charity, she must champion the innocent when there is reason to assume that she can help them thereby. She did so in innumerable letters to the Government, most of which did not even receive an answer."

Bishops Cited

The Cardinal cited several bishops who protested against the mistreatment of minorities and the slaughter of mental defectives. This had some effect, he said.

"Other Bishops took a public stand against the treatment accorded to Jews and others held to be of alien blood," he continued. "Concerning other matters, such as the fate of the prisoners of Dachau, the bishops remained silent, in order not to add to the misery of those involved."

The church did not protest Hitler's declaration of war because information on his motives was sketchy, he said.

"Once war had been declared," he wrote, "German soldiers did what they considered their duty in accordance with their oaths to the flag. The German soldier obeyed and fought stoutly, so long as the injustice or the hopelessness of the conflict was not evident. Catholic moral teaching endorses this attitude."

Couple Sentenced for Theft

LOS ANGELES, June 26 (AP)—A convicted husband-and-wife bank robbery team held hands Friday as they were sentenced to prison terms in United States District Court. John W. Maslowsky Jr., 26 years old, and his wife, Char Lee June, 23, of St. Paul, had pleaded guilty to robbing a savings and loan association in nearby Sun Valley of \$1,154 April 15. Maslowsky drew 17 years. His wife received an indeterminate sentence pending psychiatric treatment.

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Comet, Echo 1 at 12:17 A.M., 2:39 A.M., 3° above eastern horizon, moving NE; at 1:10 A.M., 3° above western horizon, moving NE.
Echo 1 at 4 A.M., 5° above eastern horizon, moving NE.

WITNESS SAYS FEW KNEW OF JEWS' FATE

Special to The New York Times

BONN, July 20—Gerhard Engel, who served as a German general in World War II, told a Munich court today that only a "very small body" of high-ranking Nazis knew that Hitler's "final solution" for the Jews was death.

Mr. Engel testified at the trial of Karl Wolff, who was a general in the SS (elite guard). The testimony bolstered Wolff's argument that the purpose of concentration camps had appeared comparable to that of "Indian reservations in the United States."

Wolff, who headed Heinrich Himmler's personal staff, is charged with complicity in the murder of 300,000 persons, mostly Jews, by arranging for into Auschwitz and other concentration camps.

Mr. Engel, who now directs an industrial enterprise in the Rhineland, said Wolff had supported army protests against mass executions and deportations in Nazi-occupied countries.

A Foe of Hitler Finds All of Us Are Guilty

By JERRY TALLMER

"Excuse me," said the stout old man in his loud voice, because he is a little hard of hearing, "excuse me if I say I have helped thousands of people but I cannot say my guilt is put away."

His name is Heinrich Gruber and he is Lutheran pastor and dean of the Evangelical Church of Berlin and yesterday he was here in New York to see Herman Shumlin's production of "The Deputy." He has seen it all over Europe and is a friend of playwright Rolf Hochhuth and later this summer Grove Press will be bringing out a piece of his about it in a book entitled "Storm Over 'The Deputy.'"

"I will not minimize the guilt of my people or my own guilt," he said, "but perhaps 10,000 people or perhaps 100,000 people could have been saved from the gas chambers if only someone had acted. I will not speak about the Pope," he said, meaning Pius XII, "but we cannot say he was a man without mitschuld, without guilt, for there is no man without guilt."

"After Kystnacht in 1938," he said—the night of the destruction of the shops of Jews—"I write letters to all statesmen. And nothing happens."

In the next year he started to save all Jews he could by legal means. The war began and he proceeded to save all Jews he could by illegal means. It got too much for him; too little to be done.

There was a concentration camp, the Gurs concentration camp, in southern France, where the French guards were worse than the SS. Pastor Gruber tried to send in medicine. Nothing doing.

"If you cannot bring in medical supplies to these people—then, but if you can go there, you can be of some help."

Arrested

He told the gauleiters he wanted to go. They refused. Instead they arrested him and sent him to Sachsenhausen and afterward to Dachau. He had his teeth kicked out and on another occasion was left for dead among the corpses.

In the camps you were not allowed to die from 3 p.m. to evening bells. Any who died within that period were dragged along until evening by their fellow prisoners. Pastor Gruber was dragged along until they discovered him still alive.

His semi-death was heart attack. A Nazi doctor looked him over and called him swine. "My father and grandfather," sneered the doctor, "were Protestant pastors." Pastor Gruber spoke of fire and brimstone and presently the Nazi doctor said, "Pastor, you've got to get out of here."

They let him out, without explanation, probably to prove something to the Allies, at Christmas of 1943.

Tears Were Impossible

"In Dante's 'Inferno,'" he said, "poor people can weep and cry, but in the inferno of Hitler it was not possible to cry. What I say to young people always is we must learn from the past. If you are an old man of 73 as I am, I can say that that is what I cannot agree: that people will excuse the silence."

Priest Says Pius Studied Nazis' Excommunication

Rome, May 16—Pope Pius XII has been quoted as saying he thought many times of excommunicating Nazis for their Jewish persecution but held back because of pressures on the Vatican and fear of making things worse for the Jews.

The latest comment about the wartime Pontiff's activities concerning Nazism, sparked the controversial Rolf Hochhuth drama, "The Deputy," was in an article by the Rev. Piro Scavizzi.

Father Scavizzi, a former Italian army chaplain, quoted Pius in the Italian religious

monthly, "La Parrocchia" (The Parish).

The priest said he learned about Nazism's Jewish exterminations while accompanying Italian troops to the Russian front through Germany and Austria.

He said he was received by Pope Pius in a private audience

while in Rome later with a hospital train.

"I told him all I knew," Father Scavizzi wrote, "and I saw him cry like a boy and pray like a saint."

The priest quoted the Pope as saying:

"Please tell everyone, every one you can, that the Pope agonizes for them (the Jews). Many times I thought of scorching Nazism with the lightning of excommunication and of denouncing to the civilized world the criminality of the extermination of Jews."

"We have heard the very grave menace of retaliation, not on our person but on the poor nation."

"We have received from various channels urgent recommendations that the Holy See not take a drastic stand."

"After many tears and many prayers, I have judged that a protest of mine not only would mail to help anyone but would create even more fury against the Jews, multiplying the acts of cruelty."

"Perhaps my solemn protest would have earned me praise from the civil world but it also would have procured for the Jews a more implacable persecution . . . I love the Jews."

Says Nazi Whistled As He Picked Victims

Frankfurt, West Germany, Aug. 28—(Reuters)—An Auschwitz camp doctor whistled "La Donna e Mobile" ("Woman Is Fickle") from "Rigoletto" as he selected victims for the chamber victims from a trainload of Polish Jews, a camp survivor testified here today.

Dr. Aron Bejlin of Tel Aviv, a 55-year-old Israeli Health Ministry official, told the court trying 21 former members of the camp staff on mass murder charges that he and his mother were in a trainload of 2,000 Polish Jews deported to Auschwitz in February, 1943.

"While I, wearing a bandage with a violet cross—the red cross was not allowed for Jewish doctors—was chosen for the camp, my mother was taken on a truck to the crematorium," Dr. Bejlin said.

"All I saw of her as we waited there was her gray-green coat that came back on a truck containing all the clothes of those people gassed."

"The camp doctor made the selection that day, and as he did it, he whistled 'La Donna e Mobile.'"

Bejlin said the camp doctor had his own method of dealing with a spotted fever epidemic. All patients with a temperature over 99.5 degrees were sent to the gas chambers, he said.

Florida Paper Backs GOP For First Time in 98 Years

Ocala, Fla., Aug. 28 (AP)—For the first time in its history, the Ocala Star-Banner has endorsed a Republican candidate for President.

The Star-Banner, in its 98th year, editorially endorsed Sen. Goldwater as "the man for the job" of President.

He Retracts 50-Year-Old Statement

Shrewsbury, England, Aug. 28 (Reuters)—A 63-year-old man publicly retracted a statement he made 50 years ago which led to his school principal being fired as a pro-German sympathizer.

"She was probably the first victim of the Great War spy and it has troubled my conscience ever since," John Barkley said. He inserted his retraction in his local newspaper.

The school teacher, Lily Tart, died several years ago. But the 50-year-old drama of her dismissal was revived here by an exhibition depicting the mood of Britain in the first few weeks of the 1914-18 war.

She was dismissed after young Barkley and three other boys reported to the village policeman that Miss Tart told their class the Germans might do some good if they came to England.

Explained Barkley in his retraction:

"Her words were misunderstood—she only meant that we boys should pull up our socks."

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Continued from page 686

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German Cleric Clarifies Church-Nazi Pact of '33

New light has been shed on the 1933 concordat between the Catholic Hierarchy in Germany and the government of the third Reich.

Information on the incident is contained in an 82-page issue of the Vatican City weekly L'Osservatore della Domenica. Devoted entirely to the work of the popes in behalf of peace, the issue includes extensive documentation on the efforts of Pius XII to preserve peoples from the destruction of war, and to aid the persecuted, especially the Jews.

According to the paper, German Jesuit Father Robert Leiber, a long-time associate of Pius XII, writes that Church officials concluded the concordat with the Nazis, because its rejection could have meant publication by Hitler of its contents.

Father Leiber said that if this had happened, Hitler would have been able to tell the people he was prepared to grant to the Church, assurances contained in the concordat, but the Pope, by rejecting them, preferred to be on the side of Germany's enemies.

The priest states that the Church "could have rejected the concordat only if the German government had refused to recognize the rights and liberties of German Catholics—but all this was accepted without discussion.

Binding Precedents

He said a vote of the Catholic parties, the Centrist party and the Bavarian Peoples party, for "the laws which gave Hitler full powers," and also the consent of the bishops to collaboration of Catholics with the new state, were "precedents" which "were binding also for the Holy See."

Although the issue traces the papacy's work for peace over the past half century, the majority of the articles deal with the role of Pope Pius XII.

Titiles Tell

That the issue as a whole can be considered a documented defense of Pius XII against accusations against him by German playwright

Rolf Hochhuth can be seen from a glance at some of the titles of the articles: "Only Pius XII Protested against the Aggressions of Nazi Germany," "The Why of a Post-humous Trial," and "From 'The Vicar' to the Scapegoat."

The weekly includes several articles on personal attempts by various cardinals and bishops to save Jews from the Nazis. One article deals with the activities of Pierre Cardinal Gerlier of Lyons and the late Jules Cardinal Saliege of Toulouse in Nazi-occupied France. Another cites the work of the late Archbishop Angelo Rotta in Nazi-dominated Hungary, and still another with Bishop Giuseppe Nicolini, O.S.B., of Assisi.

The issue reverberates with statements of thanks to Pius XII from Jews who were saved by him and from persons directly involved in his work in behalf of the Jews.

One article elaborates the thesis that the 1939 non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union enabled Hitler to launch his attacks on Poland and on the West. It also asserts that Soviet food sent to Nazi Germany rendered the Allied blockade useless for almost two years.

Pacelli's Pen

An unsigned article adds some light on the question of who wrote the anti-Nazi encyclical Mit Brennender Sorge which was published over Pius XII's signature. It has recently been maintained that Pius XII, then cardinal secretary of state, wrote the encyclical. However, this article says the encyclical was basically the work of Michael Cardinal Faulhaber with the then Cardinal Pacelli contributing.

It says "In the second half of January, 1937, there came to Rome the three cardinals, Bertram of Breslau, Schulte of Cologne, Faulhaber of Munich, and the two bishops, Von Galen of Muenster and Von Preysing of Berlin. An examination of the situation (in Nazi Germany), completed in a collective audience on the 17th and in other particulars on the following days up to the 24th, demonstrated the need for a public act. There was need to denounce publicly the harassing and persecutory measures, against which not even the Holy See was able to make itself heard; need to reveal the foundations of a doctrine, openly denying God and the Christian Faith; and need to add a word of encouragement and comfort to the clergy and faithful exposed to persecution. The German prelates begged the Pope (Pius XI) to

raise his voice in an encyclical.

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Cardinal Surprised

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Father Leiber says Cardinal Pacelli was taken by surprise at the published decision of the German bishops leaving Catholics free to collaborate with the Nazi state.

He says it was then that the Nazis proposed the concordat.



N.Y. Times 6/8/64
**CARDINAL'S STAND
ON NAZISM IS TOLD**

**'45 Statement Says Church
Fought Hitler's Aims**

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

A memorandum written in 1945 by Joseph Cardinal Frings, then Archbishop of Cologne, about the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the Nazi regime has come to light. The Cardinal declared in the memorandum that the church did not oppose Hitler when he became Chancellor in 1933 because his "first official declarations were so moderate that there seemed to be no basis for opposition."

Later, he said, "as soon as the true spirit of Nazism was made plain, the Catholic Church was the leader and in all truth the center of opposition to that spirit."

The text of the memorandum appears in an article by Dr. George N. Shuster in the July 11 issue of Ave Maria, a Catholic weekly published by the Holy Cross Fathers in Notre Dame, Ind.

Dr. Shuster, a former president of Hunter College, is assistant to the president of the University of Notre Dame. In 1945 he was chairman of the War Department's Historical Commission, and he served as state commissioner for Bavaria in 1950-51.

Requested Memorandum

Dr. Shuster said that Cardinal Frings had written the memorandum, entitled "Concerning the Guilt of the German People," at his request. He added he had never referred to it directly until the current article, which is a review of "The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany" by Günter Lewy.

Dr. Shuster calls the document "an authoritative statement concerning the outlook of the German bishops during the Nazi period."

"German Catholics had no reason for refusing to recognize the government" of Hitler in 1933, Cardinal Frings wrote, "since no other existed and this one had the power firmly in its hands. To stage violent revolution is hardly comparable with Catholic teaching. Legal ways of establishing another government did not exist."

The Cardinal had this to say of the time after it became apparent that the Hitler regime was far from moderate:

"The Church is not established to control the state, in the sense that she is obliged to protest through her bishops and priests against every act of injustice which the rulers commit. She must protest for juridical reasons when one of her own rights is violated—when, for example, church property is illegally confiscated. This she did."

"Since she also has an obligation to practice charity, she must champion the innocent when there is reason to assume that she can help them thereby. She did so in innumerable letters to the Government, most of which did not even receive an answer."

The Cardinal cited several bishops who protested against the mistreatment of minorities and the slaughter of mental defectives. This had some effect, he said.

"Other bishops took a public stand against the treatment accorded to Jews and others held to be of alien blood," he continued. "Concerning other matters, such as the fate of the prisoners of Dachau, the bishops remained silent, in order not to add to the misery of those involved."

The church did not protest Hitler's declaration of war because information on his motives was sketchy, he said.

"Once war had been declared," he wrote, "German soldiers did what they considered their duty in accordance with their oaths to the flag. The German soldier obeyed and fought stoutly, so long as the injustice or the

hopelessness of the conflict was not evident. Catholic moral teaching endorses this attitude."

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



6/25/64

Final Look At Schemata

VATICAN CITY (NC) — The coordinating commission of the Second Vatican Council will meet late in June for a final look at all four schemata which remain to be sent to the world's Bishops.

These schemata are: on the nature of the Church, the Church in the modern world, on the missions and on Revelation.

The schema on Revelation has been subjected to prolonged discussion and painstaking redrafting in the mixed commission created by Pope John XXIII for that purpose when the original schema encountered heavy resistance at the council's first session. Since then it has been reported at least half a dozen times that a satisfactory draft had been achieved. The draft to be presented to the coordinating commission represents more than a year of intensive discussion.

The schema on the Church in the modern world was scrutinized at a three-day meeting early in June of a mixed commission drawn from the theological commission and a lay apostolate commission.

The theological commission also put the finishing touches on the schema on the nature of the Church at a week-long meeting that began June 1. The commission on the missions did the same to its schema at a week-long session beginning June 4.

Greater Love Hath No Man

An 18-year-old Rye boy, a 1963 graduate of Stepinac High School, has apparently successfully received a kidney from his 35-year-old brother in a delicate transplant operation in New York last week.

Tim Butler of 61 Purchase St., Rye, who had to leave his freshman year at St. Michael's College, Santa Fe, New Mexico because of a kidney ailment, received a kidney from his brother John of Fairfield, Conn.

Authorities at New York Hospital yesterday said Tim's condition was satisfactory and his brother's was good. They are the sons of Mrs. Martin Butler of Rye and brothers of Thomas Butler, Rye city councilman. They are parishioners of the Church of the Resurrection.

NOTE TO MY NEIGHBORS
We might as well give up the notion
That we can arrest any rise.
For what in me is pure conviction
Is simple prejudice in you.
—Phyllis MacInnes

STATE PAPERS SHOW

Pope's Target WAS Nazis

WASHINGTON (NC) — Pope Pius XII told the United States at the beginning of 1943 that he could not specifically condemn Nazi atrocities, as he was being pressured to do, without also denouncing the bolsheviks, and the Allies probably would not like that.

The Pope also made it clear that he felt that everyone should have seen in his Christmas message of a few days before a clear condemnation of Nazi atrocities.

Those things are brought out in an official State Department publication, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1943, Volume II, just made public. They have a particular timeliness in view of the current stage play "The Deputy," whose author Huchhuth charges that Pope Pius XII did not sufficiently denounce the Nazi persecution of Jews.

TITTMANN TELEGRAM
Pope Pius XII's observations are contained in a



Pope Pius XII

telegram sent to the State Department by Harold H. Tittmann, then at the Vatican as assistant to Myron C. Taylor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's personal representative to the Vatican. Taylor was not in Vatican City at the time of the dispatch, dated Jan. 5, 1943, and sent through Switzerland.

Reporting that he had a 40-minute conversation with Pope Pius XII "at the customary New Year audience," Tittmann said the talk at first dealt with the Holy See's efforts to save Rome from aerial bombing, and then went on to other matters.

"With regard to his Christmas message," Tittmann told his superiors in Washington, "the Pope gave me the impression that he was sincere in believing that he had spoken therein clearly enough to

satisfy all those who had been insisting in the past that he utter some word of condemnation of the Nazi atrocities and he seemed surprised when I told him that I thought there were some who did not share his belief.

OBVIOUS TO ALL

"He said he thought that it was plain to everyone that he was referring to the Poles, Jews and hostages when he declared that hundreds of thousands of persons had been killed or tortured through no fault of their own, sometimes only because of their race or nationality.

"He explained that when talking of atrocities he could not name the Nazis without at the same time mentioning the bolsheviks and this he thought might not be wholly pleasing to the Allies.

APPREHENSIONS

"He stated that he 'feared' that there was foundation for the atrocity reports of the Allies but led me to believe that he felt that there had been some exaggeration for purposes of propaganda. Taken as a whole he thought his message should be welcomed by the American people and I agreed with him."

Tittmann also reported that he told the Pope how much he appreciated being able to attend the Midnight Mass the Pontiff had celebrated for members of the diplomatic corps on Christmas Eve. "I said I was impressed by this demonstration above the havoc of war of the brotherhood of man

when friend and foe alike were seen to kneel together at the altar in order to receive Holy Communion from the hands of the Universal Father," Tittmann telegraphed.

GERMANS ABSENT

"The Germans, however, were conspicuous by their absence and I could see that their lack of cooperation in this instance had affected the Holy Father. He was inclined to attribute the absence to fear on their part that they might incur the displeasure of the more extreme Nazi leaders had they attended."

The release of this latest information recalls a communication from Tittmann dated October 6, 1942, in which he said "another motive, possibly the controlling one, behind the Pope's disinclination to denounce Nazi atrocities is his fear that if he does so now, the German people, in the bitterness of their defeat, will reproach him later on" for having contributed to the condition of German defeat.

Tittmann said Germans had made similar accusations against Pope Benedict XV for his World War I statements.

"When it is borne in mind that Pius XII had many years of conditioning in Germany, it will not seem unnatural that he should be particularly sensitive to this particular argument," Tittmann added, obviously referring to the long service Pius XII had in Germany as a diplomat of the Holy See.

CATH News 6/25/64

Paper Traces Popes' Peace Work Focuses on Pius XII's Efforts

VATICAN CITY—(NC)—L'Osservatore Della Domenica, the Vatican City weekly, has published an entire issue of 82 pages devoted to the work of the popes for peace over the past half century.

It covers efforts of the Vatican to avoid or end war from the reign of Benedict XV to the present. The special issue includes extensive documentation on Pius XII's efforts to preserve peoples from the destruction of war and to help the persecuted, especially the Jews.

The newspaper points out that the Palestine guard was vastly expanded during the war, mostly by the addition of Jews.

THAT THE issue as a whole can be considered a documented defense of Pius XII against accusations against him by German playwright Rolf Hochhuth can be seen from a glance at some of the titles of the articles: "Only Pius XII Protested Against the Aggressions of Nazi Germany," "The Why of a Posthumous Trial," "From 'The Vicar' to the Scapegoat," "Not a Noisy and Futile Protest But Silent and Saving Action," "A Diplomat Remembers Pius XII," "Heart Warm with Generosity," "They Lament That the Pope Does Not Speak But the Pope Cannot Speak," "The Dilemma of the International Red Cross: to Protest or to Help?"

The weekly includes several articles on personal attempts by various cardinals and bishops to save Jews from the Nazis. One article deals with the activities of Pierre Cardinal Gerbet of Lyons and the late Jules Cardinal Salgues of Toulouse in Nazi-occupied France.

Another cites the work of the late Archbishop Angelo Rotta in Nazi-dominated Hungary, and still another with Bishop Giuseppe Nicolini, O.S.B., of Assisi.

The issue reverberates with statements of thanks to Pius XII from Jews who were saved by him and from persons directly involved in his work in behalf of the Jews.

ONE ARTICLE elaborates the thesis that the 1939 non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union enabled Hitler to launch his attacks on Poland and on the West. It also asserts that Soviet food sent to Nazi Germany rendered the Allied blockade useless for almost two years.

An unsigned article adds some light on the question of who wrote the anti-Nazi encyclical "Mit Brennender Sorge" which was published over Pius XII's signature. It has recently been maintained that Pius XII, then cardinal-secretary of state, wrote the encyclical.

However, this article says the encyclical was basically the work of Michael Cardinal Faulhaber with the then Cardinal Pacelli contributing.

It says: "In the second half of January, 1937, there came to Rome the three cardinals, Bertram (Adolf) of Breslau, Schulte (Karl) of Cologne, Faulhaber of Munich, and the two bishops, (Clemens) Von Galen of Munster and (Konrad) Von Freysing of Berlin. An examination of the situation (in Nazi Germany), completed in a collective audience on the 17th and in other particulars on the following days up to the 24th, demonstrated the need for a public act."

"There was need to denounce publicly the harassing and persecutory measures, against which not even the Holy See was able to make itself heard, need to reveal the foundations of a doctrine openly denying God and the Christian Faith, and need to add a word of encouragement and comfort to the clergy and faithful exposed to persecution. The German prelates begged the Pope (Pius XI) to raise his voice in an encyclical...."

"The work was immediately begun, and Cardinal Faulhaber was given the task of drawing up some points as a basis for the definitive work. The Cardinal presented them, entirely written in his own hand, divided into one clearly articulated doctrinal part and another pastoral and oratory part for the various classes of the Christian people."

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The article says Cardinal Pacelli edited the entire encyclical, though the encyclical reflects "the outlook and temperament" of Pius XI.

A longtime associate of Pius XII, German Jesuit, the Rev. Robert Leiber, writes on "Cardinal Pacelli and the German events of 1933."

He says Cardinal Pacelli was taken by surprise at the published decision of the German bishops leaving Catholics free to collaborate with the Nazi state.

He says the Nazis then proposed a concordat. He asks, "Why did the Church not refuse to conclude a concordat with the Reich?"

Leiber's reply is that the Church "could have rejected the concordat only if the German government had refused to recognize the rights and liberties of German Catholics—but all this was accepted without discussion."

HE SAID a vote of the Catholic parties, the Centrist party and the Bavarian Peoples party, for "the laws which gave Hitler full powers," and also

From Russia

WORCESTER, Mass.—(NC)—The Rev. Louis F. Dion, A.A., former chaplain for Catholics in Moscow, USSR has been appointed president of Assumption college here.

the consent of the bishops to collaboration of Catholics with the new state, were "precedents" which "were binding also for the Holy See."

He added that if the Church had rejected the proffered concordat, "all that Hitler would have had to do would have been to publish the text of the concordat to make it manifestly clear that he was prepared to grant these assurances to the Church, but that the Pope, by rejecting them, preferred to be on the side of Germany's enemies."

Dinner Will Spark Poland's Birthday As Catholic Land

A Chicago audience of some 7,000 persons will spark the local celebration of Poland's Millennium of Christian birth with a dinner Thursday, Aug. 16 at McCormick Place.

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Auxiliary of New York and national director of the Propagation of the Faith, known to millions of TV-viewers, will be the speaker.

THE \$15-A-plate dinner will help raise at least \$100,000 to pay the expenses of Chicago's celebration of Poland's millennium in August, 1966 at Soldier Field. A committee of 2,000 persons is working on plans for the Aug. 16 dinner.

His Eminence Albert Cardinal Meyer who is patron of the millennium observance, has invited Poland's Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński to be here for the 1966 millennium together with more than 100 members of the U.S. hierarchy.

Bishop Aloysius J. Wycislo, Auxiliary of Chicago and pastor of Immaculate Heart of Mary parish, is honorary chairman of millennium observance to be held in Soldier Field.

General chairman Msgr. Alfred L. Abramowicz, vice official of the Archdiocesan chancery office, said tickets for the Aug. 16 benefit dinner can be obtained by sending check or money order to the Millennium committee, 1303 N. Ashland, Chicago, Ill. 60622.

THE NEW WORLD
CHICAGO, ILL.
JULY 3, 1964 ★ 3

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Churches Must Attack Local Race Problems

By GEORGE G. HIGGINS

ON MONDAY, June 22, representatives of the major religious groups of this country jointly sponsored an outdoor prayer service in Washington, D.C., within the very shadow of the Capitol, to give thanks for the passage of the Civil Rights bill and to pledge themselves to do everything within their power to prepare their constituents to live up to the spirit as well as the letter of this historic federal statute.

THE DISTINGUISHED participants in this unprecedented service—which would have been literally unthinkable less than a decade ago—had reason to be very proud of the role they had jointly played in bringing about the passage of the Civil Rights bill.

As might have been expected, however, they were properly modest about their own accomplishments and, instead of patting themselves on the back, they apologized for being Johnny-come-lateies in the crusade for inter-racial justice and pledged themselves to make up for lost time in the crucial days that lie ahead.

Representatives of the major religious groups, in offering thanks to God for the passage of the Civil Rights bill, did not pretend, like the pharisee in the Gospel narrative, that they and their followers or constituents have been better than the rest of men on the matter of racial justice, but rather, like the publican, they expressed contrition and regret for the past failures of the churches and the church-related agencies and institutions and a firm purpose of amendment.

This is all too obvious, of course, and, though it had already been said in another context by the President of the United States and by other responsible public leaders since the passage of the Civil Rights bill, it was well that it was said again, in a religious setting, by representatives of the churches.

It will be up to the churches and church-related organizations and institutions to take the lead in preparing the American people to comply with the Civil Rights law and to go the law one better, so to speak, by voluntarily developing in every community in the United States an atmosphere of interracial harmony.

Representatives of the churches and of other organizations and agencies desirous of promoting this worthy objective at the local level will want to pay careful attention to the common sense advice contained in a new booklet, "Guidelines: A Manual for Biracial Committees."

THE AUTHOR OF THIS 96-page booklet, George Scherner, who is a recognized expert in the field of inter-group relations, says, among other things, that the popular belief that "racial or religious groups can be controlled or managed through leaders" is a myth.

He warns that it is a delusion on the part of government officials and prominent community figures to assume that they have established inter-group communications by bringing leaders of the various population elements together.

A local committee of "prominent, respected and wise people can decide what and how to communicate," Mr. Scherner continues, "but their mere presence or participation on a committee does little to influence the behavior of what is presumed to be their following. Followers quickly reject the leadership if it deviates from the wishes and opinions of the group."

Up to this point the Churches have done a reasonably good job at the top level by issuing public statements and manifestos on the morality of race relations but, by and large, they have yet to succeed in organizing and effectively deploying their resources at the local level.

MR. SCHERNER'S BOOKLET should prove to be very helpful to them in meeting this crucial challenge. Copies of the booklet can be secured by writing to: Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

SUM AND SUBSTANCE

Melchite Bishop's Interest Covers Council, Politics

By JOHN B. SHEERIN, C.S.P.

Bishop Georges Hakim, Melchite Bishop of Nazareth in Galilee, is now in the United States. You may remember him as the host to Pope Paul on his visit to the holy places in Israel. Some of the big picture-weeklies identified him as an Orthodox prelate, an error which the jovial and ecumenical-minded Bishop undoubtedly enjoyed.

Two weeks ago I met him at the Church center at the United Nations, renewing an acquaintance that began in 1960 when I was his guest for several days at his residence at Haifa. He is an outspoken cheery Arab with the optimism of Pope John in his eyes and conversation.

THE BISHOP HAS HIS own flock very much in mind. He says that the situation of the Christians in Israel has improved considerably since 1960. For instance, Christian Arabs can now join the labor union and receive sickness and unemployment benefits. He himself has joined the union.

However, his horizon is not bounded by the borders of Galilee. He is deeply concerned about the Arab refugee problem, not only in regard to the thousands of Christian refugees but also in relation to the hundreds of thousands of Muslims who lost everything when they went into exile.

At the Church center he spoke strongly in favor of the statement on the Jews that will come up for discussion at the third session. He admitted that some other bishops had asked that the statement be taken out of the ecumenism schema as its presence in the schema would be unwelcome to the Muslims. Therefore these bishops feared that the Christian minorities in Muslim lands would suffer if the Council approved it.

Bishop Hakim however felt that the schema should be discussed entirely from a religious standpoint, not from a political angle. He contended that such a statement is to be expected at this time since this is the first general council of the Jews, and secondly because the World Council of Churches in 1961 formally denounced anti-Semitism. The fact that the Bishop is himself an Arab adds to the force of his position.



WISH
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Free Nation

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universal Church. But just what practical steps would best implement this teaching, Council seemed reluctant to say. Rather impression left from several speeches was this: a matter the Pope should decide. Several speakers suggested an international council of bishops who would be sent to the world's national or regional episcopal conferences. Some observers thought individual bishops selected from throughout the world, with more of an ad-hoc nature, might handle the job better.

DELICATE PART OF this decision to the bishops of the world, as successors to the college of the Apostles, into closer consultation with the Pope includes their relationship to the Roman Curia. Pope Paul who holds a key position in the Curia under Pope XII has a background of first-hand experience which suits him for the job. But the question on the best means to move the Church in this direction admittedly is not easy to

Pope Paul has been criticized for not moving fast enough, for having scuttled the spirit form provided by Pope John, for the color or failure of the second session. A Pope, aware of his position of high responsibility, always subject to such carping of course, did not take too long for a play to come; attacking Pope Pius for not doing enough for the Jews. Some member of the John Birch Society could be writing a semi-documentary on Pope John's part in the opening to the left.

ME MAGAZINE ALREADY is criticizing Pope Paul for not doing enough to pave the way for progressive reforms. Maybe Nationalism is working up something to criticize the way he is shaking up the conservatives. Pope Paul's strong and, according to all calculations, brilliant idea to visit the Holy Land (meet with Orthodox Patriarch Athenagoras I) showed that the present Holy Father is willing and ready to take his own part and his leadership among Catholics in the ecumenical movement. His speech at Bethlehem rededicated too his Christian love for the whole human race.

At the least of his accomplishments in his reign has been the recent evidence of his deep concern for the welfare of men as they struggle with human problems like birth control. His statement showed his own awareness of this problem and gave the world a new perspective into the honesty of the Church's efforts to grapple with moral problems.

The reign of Pope Paul has already been an unusually eventful one. It holds promise of more in the future. Catholics should be more to their responsibility to support him in their prayers.

Control Issue

Church study centuries, the findings of social scientists, biologists and psychologists, and the question was this: instinct or experience?

Yesterday was commemorated in Israel as Holocaust Day

A PLEA FOR THE DEAD

I WAS barely fifteen when I first took part in a strange discussion about dignity and death and their possible relationship. People who were already dead and did not know it were debating the necessity rather than the possibility of being killed in what they called a dignified manner.

The reality of certain words escaped me; around me people were arguing; I heard everything and understood nothing. They said: we are going to die. I didn't believe it. They insisted: we must fight. I didn't see why.

I am twenty years older now and familiar with all the paths leading to the graveyards. And the discussion is still in progress. Only the participants have changed. Those of twenty years ago are dead. And I understand even less of it all.

History destroyed

It was spring, 1944. The first Hungarian "transports" had reached their destination: Auschwitz. The name was unfamiliar; we did not know that it had already entered history, that it had already destroyed history.

From the railway station, surrounded by police dogs and barbed-wire, we marched toward the unknown. Far off wreaths of red and yellow flame rose from factory chimneys into a moonless sky. It was then that some young men called for an uprising. Without arms? Pocket-knives, fists and finger-nails would do. There was nothing to lose and nothing to gain, save honour.

Older people spoke up against it: God may intervene even at the very last moment; one must not precipitate matters. The argument spread. Then it was too late.

The uprising did not take place. And the Almighty did not intervene.

Lately, we have all begun to ponder the problem posed by the incomprehensible, or at least enigmatic, behaviour of the Jews in the concentration camps. Why did they go like cattle to the slaughter? Important, if not essential, because it touches on eternal verities, that question has begun to nag at previously clear consciences; they suddenly need quick reassurance, need to have the guilty identified and their crimes specified, need to see isolated the meaning of events they lived through only vicariously.

Fashionable

The subject has become fashionable. It replaces Brecht, Kafka and Communism, all hackneyed now, worn out. In intellectual circles in New York, San Francisco, elsewhere, no evening is a success without Auschwitz. Psychiatrists, novelists, actors all have an opinion; each is ready to supply all the answers, to explain away all the mysteries: the executioner and the victim, even the destiny that brought them together on the same stage, in the same cemetery. It's simple. One need only understand history, politics, psychology, economics (take your choice); one need only accept the primary truth that was always and everywhere A+B=C. If the dead are dead, it's that they desired death. Beyond the diversity of theories,

set forth with outrageous certainty, is the unanimous conclusion that the victims, because they were part of the game, must share in the responsibility of their own fate.

This is strikingly novel. Until now the Jews have been held responsible for everything that happened in this world: for the death of Jesus, for war and poverty, for famine, unemployment, revolutions and counter-revolutions. Now they are the cause of their own tragedy.

Our generation is full of sages and renowned teachers who have studied all the books and all the theories. They "know." I ought to admire them. I am still incapable of interpreting the terrified smile of that child torn from its mother and transformed into a flaming torch; nor can I comprehend the night which, in that instant, darkened the mother's eyes. Job chose questions and not answers, and certainly not speeches. He never understood his own tragedy, which was, after all, only that of one man betrayed by God and his friends.

Mystery in defeat

These thinkers and philosophers refuse to understand that the events of those days flowed from no law, and no law flows from them. The prime material here is composed of death and mystery; it outruns our perceptions. One question leads to another and all are the same, and have nothing to do with the answers, whatever they are. A whole generation of fathers and sons couldn't have disappeared without creating, by their very disappearance, a mystery that passes our comprehension and

represents our defeat. I still do not understand what happened, or how, or why. And my calculations always produce the same obstinate number: six million.

When the attorney-general asked the witnesses at the Eichmann trial why they offered no resistance, many answered simply: "Whoever wasn't there will never understand."

Well, I was there. And I still don't understand. What helped me survive and for what purpose? How did the Jews in

By

Elie Wiesel

Galicia manage to remain calm while digging their own graves? Why did that woman remain sane, having seen her child thrown in the air and used as a target for a German marksman? Why, and in the name of what, with what right, did she not go mad?

I don't know why. But who are we to ask her that question? The world was silent when Jews were massacred; let it have the elementary decency to be silent now, too. Its questions come a bit late; they should have been addressed to the executioner then, or to his accomplices, those who knew and said nothing. In London, Stockholm, Geneva and Washington, and in the Vatican, too, the upper levels of government were aware of each transport bearing its human cargo to the end of the night. Yet no voice was raised. In the newspapers of that period Auschwitz and

Buchenwald took up less space than traffic accidents.

The prisoners inside their barbed-wire universe were not unaware of their total abandonment. They knew themselves excluded, denied by the rest of humanity. In 1940-44 the conspiracy of silence seemed universal. Great Britain shut Palestine's gates, the Swiss accepted only the rich, and later the children. "Even if I had been able to sell one million Jews, who would have bought them?" Eichmann asked, not without truth. "What would you expect us to do with one million Jews?" echoed Lord Moyné in Cairo.

There is no one left to count on: this was the feeling that prevailed in Auschwitz. Treblinka and Maidanek. We have been erased from history. Not only men died in Auschwitz but also the idea of Man, created in His image. The world burned its heart out there.

Man's glory

These observations are made without hatred, but not without anger. I find it more than shocking. I find it indecent to have to come to this: to have to plead in defence of the dead.

They are indicted now for having behaved as they did; they should have acted otherwise, if only to reassure the living, who might then go on believing in man's glory and grandeur.

I plead for the dead, and I do not even say that they are innocent. I say simply that I do not confer upon myself the right to judge them.

Let them rest in peace. Do not ask them the meaning of

their death. It might prove dangerous. These dead have their questions, and theirs might well be more disturbing than our own. Their questions survived them. They will survive us.

My plea would be incomplete if I said nothing of the armed battles that many Jews did fight during the holocaust. But there is no need; so much has been written about the active fighting elite composed of men, women and children who with their pitiful tools stood up to the Germans in Warsaw, in Bialystok, in Grodno, and—God knows how!—even in Treblinka, Sobibor and Auschwitz.

Each a victim

If we were capable of enough sincerity, enough humility, we would offer these heroes unreserved admiration and make legends of their deeds; we are incapable of it.

The lesson of the holocaust, if any, is that strength is illusory, and that within each of us there is a victim who is afraid, cold and hungry. And ashamed. You wish to understand? There is no longer anything to understand. You wish to know? There is no longer anything to know. It is not by playing with words or with corpses that you will understand or know.

The Talmud teaches man never to judge his friend as long as he has not stood in his place.

But the murdered Jews are not your friends; they never were. It is because they had no friends that they were displaced with the wind and the smoke somewhere near a peaceful spot in Silesia named Auschwitz.

The time has come for all of us to learn and to be silent.

The Arab boycott

I—WESTERN HEMISPHERE

How effective is the Arab boycott? An investigation has been conducted by "Jewish Chronicle" correspondents throughout the world. Their findings are surveyed by G. D. PAUL in a series of three articles.

SEEN from the Arab Boycott Office in Damascus the attractions of South America are not difficult to appreciate: sizable Arab communities, many of them commercially influential and some politically active; organised and well-entrenched neo-Nazi groups; a smouldering spirit of nationalism—on paper, at least, a promising field for the campaign intended to sever Israel from her commercial relations with the rest of the world.

In fact, the situation is somewhat different, as Dr. Hussein Triki has been finding out. Dr. Triki was sent to South America by the Boycott Office some two years ago with unlimited funds and the promised co-operation of every Arab embassy, legation and consulate. He settled first in Chile where he intended to establish his headquarters, but the Government objected, and the office is now in Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina.

Dr. Triki works hard. He is constantly on the move. In some countries, where the "buying" of journalists is not an unknown phenomenon, his presence is marked by a plethora of newspaper and magazine articles favourable to the Arab cause. In others he has to content him-

self with speeches and press conferences.

In localities where there is an Arab community Dr. Triki's practice is to establish a "branch" of the Arab League. To support his activities he has established a Spanish-language magazine, "Nacion Arabe," which is not only anti-Israel but also anti-Jewish. How successful has all this activity been in furthering the Arab League's purposes?

Unsuccessful

In Argentina anti-Zionist and anti-Israel activities have been conducted by small Arab groups ever since Israel's establishment, but it is only since Dr. Triki's appearance that the Arab League has become energetically engaged on the local scene. However, despite outside instigation, the Jewish and Arab communities, each numbering about 450,000 members, are still on good terms.

There are a dozen or so Arab institutions in Buenos Aires and some others in the provinces which, although ostensibly social, cultural or sporting in character, are used by the Arab League for anti-Israel and anti-Jewish activities. There is a striking similarity between their

propaganda and that of such neo-Nazi, anti-semitic organisations as Tacuara.

However, efforts to further the cause of the Arab boycott, through these groups and by Dr. Triki himself at a higher level, have proved unsuccessful. Trade between Israel and Argentina is favourable to the latter in a ratio of 15:1 and commercial exchanges are far in excess of those between Argentina and all the Arab countries combined.

But the Jewish community continues to face a barrage of agitation fomented by the Arab League representative. Most frequently raised is the bogey of dual loyalties. More disturbing is the constantly reiterated suggestion that the Jews are "bleeding" Argentina by the transfer of hard currency to Israel. But this sort of propaganda has made a mark only with limited circles of the Arab community and, of course, with Argentine antisemites.

In February, the Argentine daily "La Nacion" denounced Triki's activities which, it said, were devoted to "promoting



The Iraqi Ambassador, Mr. Abdul al-Razzaq, at the Foreign Office in December when he "warned" Britain against intervening in the "Mancroft Affair"

anti-Jewish action" and to provoking public opinion against Israel. The evening paper, "La Razon," accused Triki of being a Nazi sympathiser during the war years. And, last week, even the Lebanese Ambassador in Buenos Aires was reported to have expressed concern about Triki's activities.

Little is heard of boycott activities in Brazil. The only known case is that of a local firm which acts as an agent for the Zim Line. A letter from the Boycott Office giving the usual warning about trade with Israel was ignored.

Chile has a powerful Arab community which is economically stronger than the Jewish one. There is, however, a long tradition of amicable trade relations between the two. This continues to stand the test, but is under pressure from the Arab

Continued on page 34, column 2

Elie Wiesel was 13 when the Nazis came to Sighet, in Hungarian Transylvania, and transported the Jewish community to Auschwitz. He has published a book on his experiences, "Night."

SERMON FOR THE WEEK

Demagogues and Democrats

TO his followers, and to many of the people who heard him, Korah must have appeared as a courageous figure, struggling gallantly against dictatorship and undue privilege. We can see them nodding their heads in approval when he challenges the authority of Moses and Aaron with the democratic statement: "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, and the Lord is in their midst."

It is the old technique of subversive talk that parades in the pious pretence of upholding the people's rights, and the promise of advantages to be had in a change of government.

The Torah tells us that God caused the earth to swallow up Korah and his followers, to show that there is no future in this kind of irresponsible attack on established authority.

YET the unceremonious crushing of the Korah revolt does not rule out the sincerely motivated protest. Judaism teaches that differences of opinion are not only permissible but necessary for the health of the social organism.

It could not be otherwise in a tradition that sees Abraham, its founder, challenge the justice of God himself: "Shall the Lord of all the earth not execute judgment?" It is in keeping with that same tradition that Jeremiah and Job ask their searching questions, demand that God justify His ways with man, and yet retain their place among the sacred books.

Likewise the Talmud faithfully records the disputes in Jewish law of the schools of Hillel and Shammai, and concludes that the opinions of "these and these were the words of the living God."

And what of the remarkable "Dudele" composed by that passionate defender of his people, the saintly Chasidic Rabbi of Berdichev, who arraigns God for the sufferings that He permits to be heaped on the Jewish people: "I, Levi Yitshak, son of Sarah of Berdichev, say, 'Let there be an end to those sufferings!'"

IT is in that spirit, too, that the individual Jew acquired in Jewish communities the right to stop the services in the synagogue until he extracted from the leaders the promise that his grievance would be heard without delay.

And perhaps this was the meaning in that strange and unexpected sequel to the Korah story, when God commands Moses to have the fire-pans, used by the 250 dissidents, beaten into a covering for the altar.

It was as if to say: This rebellion was negative and destructive. Let future generations beware of such self-seeking rebels. But the attitude of critical appraisal of the stewardship of those in authority is indispensable to a mature people and a free community. For the supreme test of any great man, or any great ideal, is integrity.

Personal Opinion

THE Reform and Liberals have agreed to make joint use of the Leo Baeck College, which was founded by the Reform movement in 1956 and which already has more ministerial students than Jews' College.

The Reform Synagogue, unlike its German namesake, has never been doctrinaire in character. It has never attempted to chart new pathways to Heaven. Its approach has always been pragmatic, and it looks upon itself as a living shoot of the stultified trunk of Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy.

The Liberal movement, on the other hand, was a conscious departure, with its trinity of Ms (Montagu, Montefiore and Mattuck) and its radical reassessment of the whole Jewish creed. The Reform movement has a hankering after the old forms, the Liberals have a compulsion to seek out new ones. The former places the onus of proof on change, the latter on tradition. And now they are to have a joint seminary. Can a joint movement be far behind? I think not, and I can anticipate its character. Unions between conservatives and radicals tend to be like the union between Red Riding Hood's grandmother and the wolf.

The syllabus of the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, said Mr. S. S. Levin, the chairman, at the annual prize-

giving, stems from "Moses and Sinai."

Moses has been charged in his time with many things and it seems a little hard to burden him also with the syllabus of the London Board. Yet if what Mr. Levin says is true it may explain why Moses tarried so long on the mountain top. He was probably trying to urge a more practical course but without success. Mr. Levin remains no less obdurate, but it is one thing to have a majority on the Board and another to find the right way to teach our children to be Jews.

It may at first sight seem surprising that Poland, which now has only about 25,000 Jews, should have the only permanent Yiddish theatre in the Diaspora, and perhaps in the world, for the Yiddish theatre in Israel does not show much signs of life. It should be remembered, however, that Yiddish is the sole manifestation of Jewishness encouraged in a Communist country, and Jews from all over Poland crowd to it as pilgrims used to crowd to the Wailing Wall, as the last remnant of a magnificent culture. "When we come to a town," Mme Kaminska told me during her last visit to Britain, "it is more than an artistic event; it is a deeply emotional occasion."

The visits of the group to this country are also emotional occasions, with something of the atmosphere of a family reunion. I saw them first in 1957, then again in 1961. It was much the

same audience in much the same numbers, only looking four years older. Today there are still mothers who can explain the meaning of the lines to their daughters. The quality of the acting is such that the words are sometimes superfluous, but in another decade or two the audience, like the audiences at the recent International Theatre Festival in London, will have to be provided with translators. This time the plays are all reminiscent of the East European Jewry of the past. They will awaken nostalgia in many of us heightened by the evocative nature of the "Yiddish word." I hope the community will fill the Scala Theatre for every performance for the next three weeks.

Israel must be the only country in the world with a shortage of tailors and a surplus of doctors. One reason, I suppose, is that while tailors often urge their sons to be doctors, I know of no doctor who has ever urged his son to be a tailor. Things may change. A visit to a tailor can now be more expensive than one to a doctor. I remember once coming upon a doctor in Israel who was trying to mend his own suit. "It isn't difficult," he said. "You pick up a bit of stitching and cutting in medicine. Besides, I can't afford a tailor." Hence, perhaps, the injunction: "Physician, mend thyself."

Ben Azaï

LETTER FROM ROME

Blood libel lives on in Italy

THE town of Trent in north-eastern Italy is perpetuating the lie of a "Jewish ritual murder" dating back to 1475. In the church of St. Peter and St. Paul the child "victim" is venerated as a saint.

Guides still show to visitors the mummified body of the child "victim," St. Simon, in a glass case; a fifteenth-century wooden sculpture depicting a group of Jews in the act of ritually killing the child; and stained-glass windows with the same theme, put in only ten years ago. The town's art gallery shows paintings of the same scene.

A 60-page booklet relating the "martyrdom" is sold in the church and in the town. Written by a priest, Giovanni Panizza, it was published in 1955 with the sanction of the Catholic authorities.

The booklet says that in 1475 the Jews of Trent, who lived in a ghetto of three houses, accumulated great wealth by usury and operating gambling houses. On the eve of Good Friday of that year, Simon, the three-year-old child of a tanner, was "kidnapped by the Jewish wolves."

Myth disproved

Six pages follow in which the Jews are said to have tortured the child, who eventually died, and it was stated that the Jews celebrated Nisan 15 in "a particularly happy mood, because they had been able to use the blood of a Christian child."

The booklet then tells of the trial, "confession" and execution of most of the town's Jews, the expulsion of the rest and the confiscation of their property.

Historical documents exist, however, to disprove this fantastic myth. They state that on March 23, 1475, the child of a Christian cobbler disappeared. His body was later found in a stream near the house of a Jew and this was enough to accuse all the town's Jews of ritual homicide. They were tortured until they "confessed" and were then executed. Well-grounded doubts as to the legitimacy of the "trial" however, induced Pope Sixtus IV to open an inquiry.

His envoy, who was accused by the bishop and magistrates of Trent of having been bribed by the Jews, returned to Rome with the



Wooden sculpture of the "ritual murder of St. Simon" in the Trent Church of St. Peter and St. Paul

finding that the Jews were innocent and that the people guilty of the crime were two Christians named Sweizer and Anzelino. Anzelino was tried in Rome and hanged.

Five years later, in 1480, the people of Trent received the right to venerate Simon as a saint. They claimed that the dead child was performing miracles and Pope Sixtus IV granted their request.

Then, in 1782, the Sacred Congregation of Rites proclaimed Simon as patron of Trent and established his feast day on the third Sunday after Easter.

Every year a procession led by the bishop goes through the streets of the town exhibiting the body of Simon and the instruments with which he was said to have been tortured by the Jews. Children take part in the procession.

Italian Jews have tried for a long time to end the hate-producing myth, but discreet inquiries from

local Catholic authorities have indicated that no bishop, however progressive, is prepared to renounce a local saint.

To representations for the removal of the paintings from the town's art gallery the superintendent replied that this was not possible, because they were the work of a well-known local artist.

Approaches to the Vatican have met with the response that it is virtually impossible, and there are no precedents for reversing or modifying a proclamation of a saint by the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

Only one avenue seems open. It is for the Vatican to instruct the Bishop of Trent to remove the sculpture and stained-glass windows, to withdraw the book and to stop the guides giving the present version of the "martyrdom" of St. Simon. Italian Jews are trying to obtain this redress.

Tullia Zevi



After nearly 2,000 years Israel is once again a sovereign State in the Middle East. The ancient realm of David and Solomon is today reborn as one of the world's most modern and progressive States. Yet the new nation is only 16 years old!

The story of Israel's spectacular resurgence—without precedent in history—is fully told and pictured in a special 13-page supplement in the June 13 issue of *The Illustrated London News*, on sale TODAY. It is a subject of fascinating interest, since it is a history which contains more drama and colour than most nations experience in a century.

Besides the saga of Israel's rebirth, the supplement provides a complete pictorial survey of the national life, dealing with economic, cultural and tourist aspects. Among the topics covered are the vast land development and building schemes, the controversial irrigation project for the Negev, the new ports and already world-famous academic bodies like the Weizmann Institute for Science.

Four pages of full-colour photographs are included in the supplement, which is one of the most important ever undertaken by this journal. Buy it today (price 2/6) or ask your newsagent to deliver it or else order direct from the Publisher (2/11, including postage) at

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June 12, 1964

West Germans Pay Tribute to Anti-Hitler Plotters of 1944

By ARTHUR J. OLSEN
Special to The New York Times

BONN, July 20—A nation still not at peace with its conscience paid tribute today to a group of German conspirators who tried to kill Hitler 20 years ago.

West Germany's political and religious leaders united in honoring the men who attempted on July 20, 1944, to assassinate the Nazi dictator as martyrs and saviors of the moral tradition of a non-Nazi "other Germany."

"The martyrs for the other Germany died that we might live for that other Germany," Julius Cardinal Döpfner said at a requiem mass in West Berlin.

The Evangelical Bishop of Hanover, Dr. Hanns Lilje, said at another memorial service that the July 20 plotters acted because they believed that "the chain of inhumanity and guilt" of the Nazi regime could be broken "only if someone had the courage to take new guilt upon himself."

Bishop Lilje, himself a participant in the anti-Hitler resistance, spoke at Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin.

In Bonn, Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, former Chancellor Adenauer and Gen. Heinz Trettnier, chief of the armed forces, placed wreaths at a memorial at Bonn University.

Many other memorial ceremonies were held throughout the country on the anniversary of the attempt of an army officer, Count Claus von Stauffenberg, to kill Hitler at his East Prussia headquarters with a satchel bomb.

The bomb exploded, but Hitler was only slightly injured. A belated move to carry through the anti-Nazi coup d'état was quickly crushed.

Two hundred participants in the plot were later executed and 5,000 more persons suspected of resistance activity were liquidated before the war ended 10 months later.

The Federal Post Office issued a new series of stamps today bearing the portraits of eight martyred resistance leaders. They included three army officers, three politicians, one



Chancellor Ludwig Erhard of West Germany supervises placing of wreath at monument in Bonn memorializing those participating in unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Hitler.

churchman and a Munich University student, Sophie Scholl.

At the former army headquarters on the Bendlerstrasse in Berlin, the command post of the conspirators, the "Hilfswerk July 20," a welfare organization, was founded. Eugen Gerstenmaier, President of the Parliament who was another survivor of the German resistance, said that it was a mistake to assume that moves against Hitler began only when it had become clear the war was lost.

"The truth about the German resistance begins with the recognition that the National Socialists never succeeded in bringing the whole German people together," Dr. Gerstenmaier said.

Other official speakers ad-

dressed themselves to a present problem of internal division within West Germany on the issue raised by Colonel Stauffenberg and his fellow-conspirators.

Many West Germans remain troubled by the moral issue of rising against a national leader in time of war. The problem is particularly acute among military officers, some of whom were torn two decades ago between fidelity to their oath of allegiance and disapproval of Hitler's acts.

In a recent opinion poll only 19 per cent of the adults ques-

tioned said they favored making July 20 a national memorial day.

In an anniversary statement to members of the new German armed forces, Defense Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel declared that Colonel Stauffenberg and his fellow officers stood as models for the German soldier.

"Conscience must stand over command, and the rejection of senseless, impossible or illegal orders belong to the good German soldierly tradition," Mr. von Hassel said.

"Every individual soldier carries responsibility for his acts

and "their consequences," he added. "Along with the rights that the soldier as a citizen in uniform enjoys, he remains bound to his duties as a citizen with all the consequences of personal co-responsibility."

Mr. von Hassel also offered reassurance to the many German soldiers who did not take part in the conspiracy against Hitler.

"July 20 as an act cannot be typical for the general situation of the soldier in that time, he said. "The great majority of soldiers then incurred no guilt. They served Germany, which they believed to have been attacked, at the risk of their lives."

"They bled and died for the fatherland," he added. "No one can detract from the honor of that German combat soldier who was not guilty of any crime."

Mail Theft Sentences Upheld

LONDON, July 20 (Reuters)—The House of Lords upheld today the sentences of three men convicted of conspiring to obstruct justice in Britain's \$7 million mail train robbery last August. The three were Brian Field, 29 years old; Leonard Field, 31, and John Wheeler, 41. The Fields, who are not related, had had their sentences reduced on appeal to five years. Wheeler's sentence was three years.

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FOR YOUR INFORMATION
ISAIAH TERMAN

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

October 4, 1963

TO: Foreign Affairs Committee
FROM: Harris Berlack, Chairman
RE: The Vicar

The attached report on the play Der Stellvertreter (variously translated as The Vicar, The Deputy, or The Representative) was prepared by staff and representatives of the American Jewish Committee in Germany, France and the United States.

In light of current world-wide reactions to the play, and the question of Papal intervention on behalf of Jews in World War II, I am sure you will find the report significant and timely. Should a production of the play be mounted in the United States, as is proposed, I hope this document will prove useful.

Best wishes.

The American Jewish Committee

OCT 28 1963

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DER STELLVERTRETER

On February 20th 1963 a play opened in West Berlin which created an immediate sensation, and began a controversy that has spread to many lands and can be expected to continue -- perhaps even in exacerbated form--for some time to come.

The play is Der Stellvertreter (The Deputy, or The Vicar) by a previously unknown playwright, Rolf Hochhuth, put on by the veteran producer Erwin Piscator. The reason for the historical and emotional disputes aroused? The play presents a searing, dramatic condemnation of Pope Pius XII because he failed to take a vigorous public stand against the persecution and murder of the Jews during the Nazi era.

The play claims to be essentially correct from an historical point of view.

Theaters in Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Great Britain and Scandinavia have announced their intention to produce the play. The film rights have been sold to French producer de Beauregard. In book form the play, accompanied by pages of historical documentation and material cited by Hochhuth in support of the play's thesis, has proved to be as immediate a success as in Germany. Six weeks after its appearance it had become the number one West German bestseller. English translations have been ordered by the Grove Press in the United States and by Methuen in England. An Italian edition is being prepared by Mondadori. Certainly, as both book and play appear in different countries one can expect the same kind of disputes and arguments that have already taken place in West Germany. There have already been answering reactions to the play, not only in that country but from the official Vatican newspaper Osservatore Romano. The new Pope, Paul VI, replied to the play in an article written a few days before his election, and reprinted by Osservatore Romano in the special issue devoted to the new Pope's coronation.

THE PLOT

The hero of The Deputy is a Jesuit priest, Father Riccardo Fontana. Father Riccardo, aware of what is happening to the Jews under Nazism, strives desperately to arouse the Catholic hierarchy. He pleads his case for open action by the Church before the Pope himself. Clearly, according to the play, "His Holiness has known for weeks what the SS had in store for the Jews." In Father Riccardo's view the deputy of Christ who has such knowledge "yet keeps silent for reasons of state, who spends even a single day making up his mind, such a Pope is a criminal." In a key scene in Act IV of the play, where the Pope and Riccardo confront each other, and while the latter describes Nazi horrors and pleads for the Jews, Pope Pius happens to dirty his hands with ink while signing correspondence. The Pope raises his hands

"in a hurt and accusing manner, like a wound," reads Hochhuth's detailed stage instructions. This obviously represents one of the keys to Pope Pius' personality for playwright Hochhuth who, in stage instructions, refers to the Pope's custom of always washing and disinfecting his hands after contact with visitors (as reported by his personal physician, Galliazi-Lisi). In such fashion Pius is portrayed as a cold personality without human contact, moved primarily by diplomatic calculations and reasons of State.

Contrasted with this is the personality of Riccardo. Having failed in his mission to rouse the hierarchy, as he considers a true Christian should, he places the Jewish star on his robe and voluntarily accompanies a transport of Roman Jews to Auschwitz, where he is killed by an SS bullet. On the one hand then, in Hochhuth's play, there is the Pope, Christ's deputy on earth--but one who fails to fulfill his destiny. On the other hand, there is Riccardo, the humble individual priest who chooses to be crucified, to die in Auschwitz, even though he cannot be sure that his sacrifice will not be in vain.

Parallel to Riccardo, as one of the heroes of the play, is SS Obersturmfuhrer Kurt Gerstein. Actually, it might be pointed out, the theme of Hochhuth's tragedy was never intended to center around the Pope's personality and actions (even if this is what has aroused the controversy) but deals essentially with the struggles of Riccardo and Gerstein. The latter, a staunch Protestant and member of the Bekenntniskirche in real life, entered the SS as a hygiene expert. Here he actually played a double role; for he sabotaged Nazi efforts and worked for religious resistance movements at great personal risk. When, in 1942, he witnessed the exterminations at Lublin, he informed the Swedish authorities as well as the German Protestant Bishop Otto Dibelius and the Catholic Nonce in Berlin.

Counterfoils in the play to the hero-figures are Baron Rutta, a Nazi economic leader and industrialist, who is a conscious participant in the crimes, and Der Doktor, a character who combines features of the notorious Dr. Mengele, the Nazi medical sadist, and Reich Propaganda Minister Goebbels. Mengele was the "demonic angel" of Auschwitz whose fine, sensitive looks won the confidence of women and whose apparent kindness put at ease the children he used for experiments. The "Doktor," like Gerstein, is a high-strung intellectual, but differs from the latter in that he has no humanity or faith. Finally, apart from some minor characters, there are the victims: Dr. Lothar Luccani, a Jewish convert to Catholicism, his old father and his family, including three small children. All are deported to Auschwitz from "the very front step of the Pope's residence," with the exception of the youngest child who is saved by an Italian woman.

In playwright Hochhuth's view, therefore, the Pope truly failed in fulfilling his task of Christ's vicar on earth. Hochhuth admits that the Pope was faced with a terrible problem: What could he do? What would have been the effects if the Pope had protested openly against Nazi crimes? What would have happened to the Church as a whole, to the members of the Church most directly concerned (that is, those in Nazi-dominated lands) and with regard even to Pius' and the Vatican's own safety - especially after the city of Rome came under direct German jurisdiction? Hochhuth's essential thesis is that the Pope was too conscious of non-humane reasons, that he was moved more by such considerations as:

The idea that Nazism was preferable to Communism, and Hitler an ally against Soviet Russia;

Concern for the over-all strategic position of the Catholic Church, which led him to leave anti-Nazi priests to their fate;

Church economic needs and personal affiliations with German big industry which was on Hitler's side.

The Pope, according to Hochhuth, did not even have any pangs of conscience; there was no "heroic" or "tragic" decision by Pius as Church officials today assert, but pure indifference. Hochhuth himself summed up the essence of his argument in one sentence in an article in Die Welt, in the course of polemics around the play:

"The fact remains: if one takes one's religion seriously, if one measures the sincerity of the Church by the claims it makes, the silence of the Pope was a crime."

THE DISCUSSION

Obviously, discussion about such a play has a special impact and significance in Germany that it cannot have in any other land. Nonetheless, many points raised in Germany can be expected to arise in other countries as well, attendant upon the play's production. What have been some of the main arguments and reactions? Two of these arguments can be dealt with in fairly summary fashion.

AD HOMINEM ARGUMENT

The first is an ad hominem argument. Playwright Hochhuth and producer Piscator are both Protestants. (The latter was persecuted by the Nazis for his "Jewish decomposing intellectualism," although the son of a Protestant Minister and of purely "Aryan" descent.) Ergo, some opponents imply, they are anti-Catholic. There is, of course, quite a history in Germany of antipathy between Catholics and Protestants, expressed politically and socially. There seems, however, little solid ground for such an ad hominem charge. True,

the play is a condemnation of the Pope--but its major hero, Father Riccardo, is a Catholic. Nor does Hochhuth attack the Papacy as an institution. Following the death of Pope John XXIII he wrote an obituary for West Germany's leading weekly magazine, Der Spiegel, expressing his view that Pope John represented precisely the kind of warm-hearted man who would not have kept silent. Piscator has given as his reason for presenting the play that it is a literary masterpiece, going far more deeply than previous plays and literary productions into Germany's "unresolved past." There is, given his past, no reason to believe that he acted from any other motive. Piscator, it must be remembered, is an avant-garde producer renowned since the Weimar period of the Twenties when the German theatre reached its peak as a medium of social criticism. He was, incidentally, a key figure in producing the play and the book. Since the publishing house which originally had a contract with Hochhuth, Ruetten Loening Verlag (a subsidiary of the major West German firm of Bertelsmann), decided against publication of the play; it was primarily through Piscator that another publisher was found and the play put on.

The Play's Artistic Merit

A second argument centers on the artistic merits of the play. Sharing Piscator's opinion is the Director of the Frankfurt Theater, Harry Buckwitz, who called the play a "masterpiece" and the "most gifted work of a young German author to be found today." On the other hand, another producer, August Everding of the Munich Theater, asserted that the play violates the rules for tragedy and that the subject has not been mastered, despite some impressive scenes. Similarly, Bochum stage director Hans Schalla termed the play not successful, artistically, and its verses bad and utterly senseless. Der Spiegel described the piece as "no worse than any other German play by a new author."

Certainly, few plays have been this long. Had it been produced in full, it would have taken some seven hours; Piscator cut it in half. Comments AJC's correspondent in Western Germany: "What Hochhuth has tried to do is to throw light on the whole complex, on the entire machinery, of persecution in relation to the characters of those actively, semi-actively or passively involved. Such an approach makes all cheap sentiment impossible. At the same time, it is a source of weakness, for the task is much too big for any author: the happenings so horrifying, the characterizations so complicated, that the work seems to me to be a series of fragments and not an entity. It is for this reason that the play, according to traditional standards, cannot be called a complete work of art. Yet it is this same fragmentary character, evidencing the author's earnestness and passionate identification with the subject, that gives the play so much of its strength."

"Basically," goes on AJC's correspondent, "there is a kind of helplessness in Hochhuth's play, a constant return to the point of origin. Why did it happen? How could it happen? -- and it is this constant return to the source, as if Hochhuth were struggling to throw off some dark burden, that makes for fragmentation, for the fact that we do not have here the usual drama with a beginning, a development and a conclusion.

"Perhaps in our time such is the only form in which this tragedy can be written."

THE CONTROVERSY

The ad hominem arguments and those about the play's aesthetic value as a work of art are, however, largely irrelevant to the heart of the real controversy. There are really two parts to this fundamental discussion: How accurate is Hochhuth's history and evaluation of the Pope's personality? Could or should the Pope have made a choice other than the one he did--should he have come out and made a vigorous public denunciation of the Nazi murder of Jews?

How Historically Accurate?

At the opening of the play the Berlin Diocese distributed a fly-sheet concerning Pope Pius' attitude toward the persecution of Jews by the Nazis. Included were statements made shortly after the end of World War II by Elio Toaff, Chief Rabbi of Rome, by World Jewish Congress President Nahum Goldman and by (former) Nuremberg War Crimes Prosecutor Robert Kempner, expressing gratitude for the Pope's aid.

On March 7, 1963, the German Bishops' Conference declared the play "disgraceful," especially in view of the fact that Pope Pius XII had done a great deal (1) to avoid the outbreak of war, and, during the war (2) had done much to prevent the flow of blood among the peoples of the earth, especially in the extermination of peoples and nations." The Conference stressed that "We German Bishops remember with respect and gratitude the Holy Father," who had shown special concern and affection for the German people, before, during and immediately after the war.

The General Vicar of the Berlin Diocese, Prelate Adolph, published a letter in which Pius XII in April 1943 wrote to the Bishop of Berlin, Graf von Preysing that he, Pius, was leaving it to the judgment of the bishops as to whether or not they wanted to risk reprisals through public proclamations or to hold back. "This is one of the reasons why we ourselves are limiting ourselves. The experiences which we had in the year 1942 with Papal documents freed for transmission to the faithful justifies our attitude, as far as we can see." This letter, Hochhuth today admits, was not known to him; and it seems to prove that the Pope was not as "indifferent" as depicted in the play.

Hochhuth's central fact--that Pope Pius never made any public denunciation of Nazi crimes specifically as they affected Jews--is not denied by anyone. According to the Pope's Personal Secretary, Father Robert Leiber, in an article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of March 27, 1963 "Pius could only protest in general statements: and never specifically for Jews because so much injustice and cruelty was perpetrated on all sides." Similarly, the Osservatore Romano of April 5th, in a lengthy article devoted to the play, asserts that the basis of discussion is wrong and that one cannot simply discuss "The Pope and the Jews" but must deal with the broad subject "The Pope and the Victims of Nazism" if matters are to be seen in perspective. The paper states that Jews were the "first and most numerous...victims of the Nazi weltanschauung, but they were not the only ones to be offered to the holocaust of genocide and the Nazi moloch. The reverant thoughts of the world go without distinction to all the millions of internees and dead..."

In his historical appendix Hochhuth makes mention of general Papal acts re Nazism. There is a description of Pope Pius XI's encyclical of 1937 "In Burning Concern," said to be authored by Pius XII while he was Vatican Secretary of State, and denouncing Nazi crimes. He includes, too, Pius XII's Christmas speech of 1942, and the Pope's declaration in the Osservatore Romano of October 25, 1943 that his "fatherly charity concerns all human beings regardless of nationality and race." Further, Hochhuth describes the fact that Pius XII ordered the hiding of several thousand Jews in monasteries. Hochhuth charges, however, that all these announcements by the Pope were mild, general, and couched in verbal diplomacy; that Pius did nothing officially to prevent the deportations in Rome in 1943, unless secret archives should prove otherwise. Hochhuth has stated that he was not able to view Vatican archives or interview high-ranking dignataries.

The Osservatore Romano article (April 5) pointed out that at the time the Germans were rounding up Jews in Rome, the Pope had made it known that Catholic institutions could and should welcome Jews; and that 3,767 were so sheltered till the end of the German occupation, plus another 680 for shorter periods, not including those given shelter in the Vatican itself.

Father Leiber, in his article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, declares that Hochhuth's sources must be questioned since he had no admission to the Vatican archives. He reports on the special section of the Papal Information Office which "searched for Jews" and describes collaboration between the Papal welfare organization San Raphael, headed by Father Anton Weber, and the Jewish organization Delacem, which worked especially for emigration, and stresses aid given personally to Jews in Rome by Pius. Leiber estimates the financial Papal contribution for Jews at about 2½ billion lire or 4 million dollars. Father Leiber conceded Hochhuth's charge that Pope Pius found Nazism preferable to Communism and that Pius, "viewing broader perspectives," did

see more danger in Stalin's Communism than Hitler's Nazism; but he denies that the Pope saw a "Crusade in Hitler's war against Russia."

Maintenance of the Concordat concluded between the Vatican and the Hitler regime in the summer of 1933 is another subject raised in discussion around the play; and indeed has been an issue hotly debated among German historians for some time. This Concordat created a "modus vivendi" between the Vatican and Hitler whereby the Church relinquished all political claims and which resulted in the dissolution of the Catholic Center Party. Hitler, on the other hand, promised the Church sovereignty in the religious sphere and in its religious schools. Hochhuth's claim is that the Concordat was mainly the work of Pius, at the time he was Nuncio in Berlin, and that he was anxious to save it even after Hitler's crimes became known to the world. Catholic historians such as Friedrich Heer in Vienna, he points out, have declared that in maintaining the Concordat "Pius made a terribly wrong decision." Heer asserts that the Pope and many Cardinals "unconsciously more than consciously saw in Hitler's war against Russia a possible liberation from Communism." Heer asserts further that the problems presented in the play were put to him in Rome, in 1945, by Catholic priests, in much the same perspective as the play. According to Heer, they usually added that under Pius XII's predecessor, Pius XI, "this attitude would not have been possible."

Risks to the Vatican

A good deal of controversy focuses on the possible risks to the Vatican itself if the Pope had come out with an open statement concerning Jews, particularly at a time when Rome was in the hands of the Germans. In a letter to Die Welt, Albrecht von Kassel--who at the time of the Nazi occupation of Rome belonged to the staff of the German Ambassador to the Vatican, and who himself is mentioned in the play--insists that

"Finally all of us--that is to say all members of the German Embassy at the Vatican--agreed on one point. No matter what our other differences may have been, we were convinced that a fiery protest by Pius XII against the persecution of the Jews would in all probability put both the Pope himself and the Curia in the greatest danger, and at that late date--namely in the fall of 1943--would not have saved the life of a single Jew. Hitler, like a trapped beast would react to any menace that he felt directed at him with proportionate violence."

..."It must be reasserted that Hitler, like a beast of prey, pursued by a pack of hunters--in this instance the Allies--was capable of absolutely any hysterical or criminal act. The idea of taking the Pope prisoner and transporting him to the Grossdeutschen Reich (Greater Germany),

had entered into his calculations from September 1943 until the Allied armies reached Rome in June 1944. We had specific information that if the Pope had resisted there was the possibility that he would be "shot while attempting to escape."

Hochhuth, in answer to this, wrote in Die Welt: "It is impossible to assume--and no one in the Vatican did, either in 1943 or in 1959--that Hitler would have made a 'martyr' of the Pope. And it is totally untrue that a 'fiery protest' by the Pope, in Mr. von Kessel's words, 'would not have saved the life of a single Jew.'" Hochhuth goes on to cite examples--all of which had been already quoted in his appendix and each taken from a different year--which he says show that Papal help could have been given without danger. Hochhuth mentions that when the Papal Nuncio in Bratislava found out about the gas chamber deaths of Jewish deportees near Lublin, in 1942, he requested an investigation; deportations were halted for two years. The playwright further asserts that, "even in 1944, when the Pope was under Allied protection" and after Jewish deportations had started in Hungary and the Papal Nuncio there had called attention to the "meaning of this action," still Pius did nothing. Von Kessel's version, Hochhuth goes on, is flatly contradicted "by all available German documents: the Goebbels diaries, the von Weizsacker* memoirs and even by the report of Father Leiber on the German occupation of Rome..."

Historian Alexander Ruestow took a similar position to that of Hochhuth, asserting in a letter to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of May 16, that the Church had plenty of diplomatic experience so as to be able to protest without great practical danger to itself.

The Effect of Papal Intervention; Pope Pius XII:

Should Pius XII have acted differently?

To Hochhuth's "Yes" there comes from Catholic circles a vigorous "No." For, they say, such action would have had no effect on Hitler and might have had even further harmful effect on Jews.

For example, Jesuit Father Oskar Simmel declared that Pius chose "that which probably was the lesser evil."..."He had to think of the many Jews who still could be aided quietly through his embassies, through priests, members of the orders and many other people, regardless of faith and nationality." The effect of a public protest might have been to "cut off once and for all every aid." Hitler, Simmel said, would only have utilized a protest "to place the Catholic Church on the side of the Allies in the eyes of the German people."

Others, in discussing the Pope's inaction, refer to the example of Dutch bishops who in 1942 publicly protested against the persecutions with the result that converted Jews, up to then excluded from the deportations, were also sent to extermination camps.

* German Ambassador to the Holy See during the war years

Father Leiber, in his article, pointed out that the Pope's position was very similar to that of the International Red Cross. The Red Cross had to decide at one point whether to make an official protest against Nazi crimes against Jews, but did not do so because it feared that Hitler would break the Geneva Treaty and stop all Red Cross work.

Historian Hans Buchheim, in a discussion about the play at the Katholische Akademie, Munich, declared that the Church could not have protested successfully about Jews (as it had in the case of the mentally ill) because anti-Semitism was central to Nazi ideology and the Nazis would not have retreated so easily.

Protestant Bishop Otto Dibelius, in a statement in the Sonntagsblatt, attacked Hochhuth's play as "a highly naive manner to write history." It is utterly unreasonable to say that "Pope Pius XII--and he alone--is guilty that millions of Jews died," said Dibelius, who stressed that Protestant and Catholic Christians alike tried "to the utmost, in observance of legitimate clerical rights, to aid ministers and practising Christians in the concentration camps." Both behind the scenes and publicly Christians condemned the killing of the mentally ill and resisted the extermination of the Jews, the Bishop asserted. "If Pope Pius XII felt that he had to keep silent about horrible things for the sake of his Church, and because he would have done more harm than given aid, it may be painfully regretted. But guilt? Who was guilty in this case? Was it not much more those great powers who sometimes mentioned these things, but never pursued them? Was it not the neutral powers who kept silent even though we asked them--asked them urgently--to speak up?"

(Bishop Dibelius, it should be noted, was himself very much in a position similar to Pius XII, and reacted very much like the Pope.)

Robert Kempner, a Deputy Prosecutor at the post-war Nuremberg Trials, also took the view that "a propagandistic stand of the Church against Hitler's Reich would have been to provoke suicide, to cause the murder of more priests and Jews."

And here is how Cardinal Montini--now Pope Paul VI--put the situation in a letter to The Tablet (Great Britain) June 29, 1963:

"As for his omitting to take up a position of violent opposition to Hitler in order to save the lives of those millions of Jews slaughtered by the Nazis, this will be readily understood by anyone who avoids Hochhuth's mistake of trying to assess what could have been effectively and responsibly done then, in those appalling conditions of war and Nazi oppression, by the standard of what would be feasible in normal conditions --or in some hypothetical conditions arbitrarily invented by a young playwright's imagination. An attitude of protest and condemnation such as this young man blames the Pope for not having adopted would have been not only futile but harmful:

that is the long and short of the matter. The thesis of Der Stellvertreter betrays an inadequate grasp of psychological, political and historical realities. But then the author was concerned above all to write an interesting play.

"Let us suppose that Pius XII had done what Hochhuth blames him for not doing. His action would have led to such reprisals and devastations that Hochhuth himself, the war being over and he now possessed of a better historical, political and moral judgment, would have been able to write another play, far more realistic and far more interesting than the one that he has in fact so cleverly but also ineptly put together: a play, that is, about the Stellvertreter who, through political exhibitionism or psychological myopia, would have been guilty of unleashing on the already tormented world still greater calamities involving innumerable innocent victims, let alone himself."

It is Hochhuth's description of the Pope's personality that has aroused, among leading Catholics and former collaborators of the Pope, a good deal of the storm. Paul VI continued in his letter:

"...the nature itself of my work as 'Sostituto' in the Secretariat of State, gave me access to the mind, and I would add, to the heart of this great Pope. The image of Pius XII which Hochhuth presents, or is said to present, is a false one. For example, it is utterly false to tax Pius with cowardice: both his natural temperament and the consciousness that he had of the authority and the mission entrusted to him speak clearly against such an accusation. I could cite a host of particular facts to drive this point home, facts that would prove that the frail and gentle exterior of Pius XII, and the sustained refinement and moderation of his language, concealed--if they did not, rather, reveal--a noble and virile character capable of taking very firm decisions and of adopting, fearlessly, positions that entailed considerable risk.

"Nor is it true that he was a heartless solitary. On the contrary, he was a man of exquisite sensibility and the most delicate human sympathies. True, he did love solitude: his richly cultivated mind, his unusual capacity for thought and study led him to avoid all useless distractions, every unnecessary relaxation; but he was quite the reverse of a man shut away from life and indifferent to people and events around him. Rather, it was his constant desire to be informed of everything. He wished to enter fully into the history of his own afflicted time: with a deep sense that he himself was a part of that history, he wished to participate fully in it, to share its sufferings in his own heart and soul."

At the end of March, Father Hans Mueller preached against Hochhuth's play before 5,000 West Berlin Catholics, referring to

the work as blasphemous and calling upon all Catholics to fight against the defamation of the Pope. On the site of the Dachau concentration camp, on April 29, Bishop Johannes Neuhaesler, himself a victim of Nazism, defended Pius XII. The Bishop had known him personally and had been deeply moved by how Pacelli, then Nuncio in Berlin, had struggled with his conscience over the question of the Concordat with Hitler. The Vatican Embassy in Bonn considered legal action against Hochhuth for blasphemy and defamation of the dead, but later decided against the move. In a discussion at the Katholische Akademie--in which a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jew participated--it was generally agreed that there was no decisive protest on the part of the Pope; but that the figure of the Pope had been drawn too one-sidedly by Hochhuth.

Propst Heinrich Grueber, who was active in helping Jews in Berlin, and who was himself imprisoned in concentration camps from 1941-5, wrote on Hochhuth's behalf in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (March 27) that, in the Hitler period, the only decisive stand was to "speak loudly," and that all indirect or secretive proclamations were insufficient, if not cowardly. Grueber was careful to stress that Protestant Christians had failed just as much as Catholics, and that he did not want to condemn "the other religion." It is possible, Grueber said, that secret documents will one day reveal that Hochhuth's picture of the Pope is wrong, but secret documents had no effect on the Christian faithful, and here the Pope utterly failed. Grueber rejected the argument that a Papal protest might have caused still worse measures, asking: "What could have been worse?"

The Osservatore Romano of April 5th also took issue with Hochhuth's picture of the Pope as a fearful man, cut off from the people. Said the newspaper: "Pius XII with his protest against the Hitlerian invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg showed that he was not afraid of the concentration camp. Certainly, it was not courage that he lacked. Nor was he turned from his duty by his pretended aristocratic aversion for the fate of the people (even so is he described!)" goes on Osservatore Romano indignantly.

Such are the main lines of this controversy. On the one side, the picture of the Pope drawn in Hochhuth's play as a cold, emotionless person, moved only by reasons of state and not by those of humanity, and who failed in his fundamental duty as Christ's Vicar on earth, based on the author's reading of such public documentation as is available in the work of historians like Poliakov, Reitlinger, the memoirs of German officials and published Vatican documents. The playwright argues that the Church could have acted without any great risk to itself, as evidenced by the fact that certain others did so act; and that, in any event, whatever might have been the hypothetical results of public protest by the Pope, that at any rate he should have acted. On the other side, there are Hochhuth's critics who say he drew an unreal and false picture; that, young and naive, he could not understand how

matters really stood in those dramatic times; that the Pope was a courageous man fully conscious of his duty and torn by the decisions that he had to make; that he could only act for humanity as a whole and not for Jews in particular if he were to play his true role; that, behind the scenes, he did help Jews as much as possible; and that for him to have taken up the cause of the Jews particularly in public protest would have hurt and not helped their cause.

Official and Popular Reaction in Germany

On May 5, answering an interpellation of 20 Christian Democrat deputies in the Bundestag, Bonn Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroeder declared: "The Federal government is gratefully aware that after the break-up of the National Socialist regime Pope Pius XII was one of the first who actively worked for a reconciliation between Germany and other nations." This fact "makes any belittling of the memory of the deceased Pope especially from the German side, particularly incomprehensible and regretful." "The German people," the Foreign Minister said, "has repeatedly and unequivocally expressed before the world public that it is fully conscious of the extent of the persecution and mass extermination of the Jews in the Third Reich, for which Germans were responsible." Through domestic legislation and international treaties the German people had tried to compensate for that part which could be compensated. Pope Pius XII, Schroeder said, had on various occasions raised his voice against racial persecution in the Nazi period and removed numerous Jews from the grasp of the persecutors.

Public reaction is very difficult to evaluate. The play ran about three weeks in Berlin. It was closed by original contract because the theater was moving to a bigger playhouse, but was scheduled to open again. The theater was sold out, and tickets available only on the black market. While, generally, it may be said that the play and the problems it posed once more aroused German complexes, the extent of the discussion should not be taken for depth. Press reports tried to be most objective. There was considerable wrangling over "historical facts," to a point that sometimes the major issues became lost. The German radio was conspicuously silent on the subject; television had a one-hour show, being very careful to give "all sides." Symptoms of anti-Catholicism, quite strong in certain Protestant circles, found its expression in a number of letters to the editor, but generally Protestants were careful in their criticism because they did not want to be suspect of intolerance toward the Church. There was some apprehension that the play, presenting issues in drastic form, was not conducive to the development of good relations between the various religious groups.

If a general trend could be determined in Germany, it was the one typical for years with regard to the problems of the "unresolved

past": to look elsewhere for someone or something in order to place responsibility for Hitler's crimes. Hochhuth was accused of thus shifting a burden belonging to the German people, or to the world, on to the shoulders of Pope Pius XII.

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Jewish Reaction

In Western Germany, neither the Central Council of Jews of Germany nor any other official Jewish body has published any statement, to date, reacting to the play.

An aide to Jewish community leader Heinz Galinski, H. C. Sellenthin, wrote an article about the play in the Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden a few days after its opening. In this he accused Hochhuth of partiality and declared that the documents published by the Berlin Diocese (that is, the letters of gratitude from Jews like Nahum Goldman and Rabbi Toaff, to the Pope), proved that the author was wrong. This article, however, was published without the knowledge of Jewish officials--or rather, before they were aware of what the discussion was all about.

The publisher of the Allgemeine, Karl Marx, refused to participate in the West German television program held about the show. Privately, the Secretary-General of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, H. G. van Dam, has said that it was not for the Jews to take an official stand but that he was very much for the play.

Father Leiber, in his article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of March 27 quoted Jewish historian, Leon Poliakov's Beyliare de la Haine to support his thesis that the results of a public protest by Pius XII would have been detrimental. In a letter to the editor on April 11, Poliakov wrote that Leiber had quoted him out of context, and that he had unequivocally stated how "disconcerting and embarrassing" it was that the head of the Catholic Church had never raised his voice against the crimes of Auschwitz and Maidanec.

September 1963