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# FOREIGN SCENE

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## THE NEW WEST GERMAN STATE

*The situation of Germany at the end of the war—a major nation, possessed of no government of its own, ruled domestically and represented internationally by an alien military administration—was unique in history. True, other nations had lost their independence and been subjected to foreign rule. But they had either been annexed outright, and thus lost their status as national entities, or they had been permitted to retain governments of their own, however subordinate these might be to their conquerors. But in Germany, though the nation remained, the government ceased to exist.*

*The reemergence of a German government, after four years, is therefore an event of major historical importance. For better or worse, that government will inevitably play an important role in the events of our time. Even a battered and truncated Western Germany is bound to be a major factor in world politics, by virtue of its geographical location, its natural and industrial resources, and the energies and skills of its 47,000,000 inhabitants.*

*The contribution which a politically and economically healthy German state can make to the development of a peaceful and democratic world is very great. But, only four years after the end of the world conflagration let loose by the Hitler regime, it is scarcely necessary to point out that a Germany in the wrong hands can be a potent force for evil. The aggressions of the Nazis, and the racial and political persecutions which they launched, are all too fresh in memory to need enumeration. It is the purpose of this study to examine the new German state, and the forces at work in it, with a view to shedding some light on the direction in which it is likely to develop, and on the ways in which Allied—and particularly American—policies have in the past and may in the future affect the course of German political life. For if we are to assist the democratic elements in Germany, and to encourage them in the struggle—which in the last analysis only they can carry through*

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*to victory—against the forces which were responsible for the rise of Nazism, and against those other totalitarian forces which today seek world dominion, we must first know what they are, and what problems they face.*

*In view of the importance of the German situation at this time, the analysis of "Postwar Patterns of Jewish Migration" announced for this issue of FOREIGN SCENE will be postponed until the next.*

### THE FRAMEWORK OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

The establishment of a West German State, with broad powers of self-government, signals the end of direct military rule in the three Western zones of Germany. It is the climax of a trend in Western policy which may be said to have begun with the Stuttgart speech of Secretary of State Byrnes in September, 1946, and which was certainly not foreseen when the first American troops en-



tered Germany five years ago. It does not mean the end of American influence on the course of German development. But it does mean that henceforth that influence will take different forms and be exerted through different channels, and that the American occupation authorities in Germany will no longer possess many of the instruments which—however they were used—were hitherto available to them for promoting democratic development in Germany.

The limits of direct Allied intervention in the affairs of Western Germany are set forth in the Occupation Statute, promulgated by the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and France in Washington on April 8, 1949. It lists a number of fields in which the occupation authorities will continue to retain primary responsibility. These include German foreign relations and foreign trade; all matters relating to disarmament, including prohibited and restricted industries and the control of the Ruhr; reparations and restitution; refugees and displaced persons; decartelization and the prevention of excessive concentration of economic power, and the prevention of discriminatory trade practices; the observance of the state and federal constitutions; and German internal affairs insofar as these affect the new state's need for foreign aid. In addition to this, the three powers reserve the right to resume full control of German affairs if, in their judgment, this is necessary for the preservation of democratic government in Germany or the execution of their international obligations. They also retain a veto over all changes in the constitutional structure of the states or in any laws heretofore promulgated by Military Government, as well as over any treaties between the West German government and foreign powers, while all changes in the federal constitution require their express approval. Outside of the fields in which power is specifically reserved to the occupation authorities, the new German government and the states have full legislative authority. The occupying powers also pledge themselves to respect the civil rights of all persons in respect to immunity from arbitrary arrest, search, and seizure; representation by counsel; prompt and fair trial, etc. And they promise that within eighteen months they will reexamine the Occupation Statute in the light of experience, with a view to further extending the authority of the German government in the legislative, executive and judicial spheres. Meanwhile, they state that the German federal and state governments will be permitted to legislate even in the fields reserved to the occupation authorities, so long as they do not act in a manner inconsistent with the decisions of the latter.

It is obvious that the categories of powers reserved to the occupation authorities are rather broad, and that if the occupying powers so chose, they could intervene directly in a wide range of German domestic affairs. But such an

interpretation of the Occupation Statute would be altogether contrary to its spirit, and would be regarded by Germans of all political persuasions as a breach of faith. It appears probable that in actual practice the interpretation of the Occupation Statute will be a liberal one, and that the occupation authorities will use their reserved powers sparingly. Nevertheless, many of the fields in which these powers lie are among the most controversial in Germany; a danger therefore exists that German authorities will seek to shift to the occupying powers the responsibility for decisions in these fields—even when in fact the decisions are purely German in origin. This is particularly true in matters relating to the German economy, where the frequently expressed American preference for "free enterprise" may serve as a pretext for the adoption of policies for which their German sponsors hesitate to take full responsibility. (This happened on a number of economic questions, prior to the promulgation of the Occupation Statute.)

### THE EVOLUTION OF OCCUPATION POLICY

The creation of the West German state, in its present form, was not contemplated at the time of the Potsdam Agreement, in July 1945. The division of Germany, on security grounds, had been considered and rejected. Instead, the Potsdam conferees agreed that the entire country should be treated as an economic whole, and that central administrative departments should be set up at once. They looked vaguely in the direction of the reestablishment of a German central government at some future time, but laid out no clear road toward that goal.

At the end of the war, the German state had in effect ceased to exist. Partly because twelve years of Nazi rule had destroyed or scattered all those organized groups which might have offered a basis for an alternative government, and partly because Allied policy had not in general gone beyond the military needs of the moment, Hitler's fall left a political vacuum. The U.S.S.R. had foreseen this fact. The Free Germany Committee in Moscow, and its satellite groups among German exiles in other countries, were the Soviet answer to the problem of Germany's future. But this answer was hardly calculated—even in the atmosphere of relative interallied trust which then existed—to commend itself to the Western powers.

For their own part, the Western powers thought of postwar Germany as an area in which all government would have to remain for some time in the hands of the occupation forces, and in which democracy would have to be introduced slowly and democratic forces created *de novo*. The immediate problem, as Western leaders saw it, was the destruction of Nazism's military might; the postwar problem was only slightly different, since it involved the destruction of the political bastions of Nazism in Germany.



The provision of a German substitute for the institutions to be destroyed and the leaders to be removed was a matter which could safely—indeed, would have to—be left for a somewhat vague future time. For the moment, the gap would be filled by direct military government. Only when the four occupying powers had cleared the ground of the forces and institutions which were associated with the Nazi regime would they proceed to the next step, the gradual creation of a democratic German state.

One of the assumptions underlying this approach was, of course, a belief in the fundamental unity of purpose of the four occupying powers. It is perhaps superfluous at this time to note that this assumption was optimistic rather than accurate. Yet the original Western policies in Germany could have worked, if at all, only on a basis of such interallied agreement. This was true in the economic field, where the level of German industry agreed on by the victors was predicated on the full utilization by a united Germany of all the resources which were to be left to it. (It was also predicated on German retention of the Eastern territories subsequently annexed by Poland.) It was equally true in the political field, where the German people could be regarded as a political cipher only so long as harmony prevailed between East and West. As soon as this harmony—or rather the pretense of it which had for a time successfully concealed, at least from some Western leaders, its real absence—disappeared, the German people emerged as one of the decisive factors in determining the result of the East-West conflict. Each side attempted in its own way to range them, and the resources of their country, among its allies.

For the Russians, this involved primarily the creation in their zone of Germany of a "people's democracy" in which control would rest with their loyal supporters, the German Communists. Here they planned to create both the political instrument and the apparatus of state power, especially a mass "people's police," which would enable them to take over all of Germany when the four zones were unified and direct military rule came to an end. This was the policy which they pursued from the beginning; the deepening split between East and West imposed no changes on them, but did make the realization of their program more difficult.

For the Western powers, the altered situation created the need for an entirely new policy. But the transition to that policy was far from simple. In many respects, the essentially negative approach of the initial period had prevented the creation of a sound basis for the policies which events later made necessary. To this, and to the persistence into the later period of methods and attitudes developed in terms of the earlier, may be traced many of the inadequacies and inconsistencies of Western policy in Germany.

In particular, the Western powers had not sought to develop German democratic forces with anything like the energy which the Russians had put into the building of the Communist movement in their zone. Yet the establishment of a democratic Western Germany was obviously a far more complex problem, requiring much more active participation on the part of the German people, than the replacement of one dictatorship by another in the Eastern zone.

## DEMOCRATIZATION AND DENAZIFICATION

The original approach of the United States to the problem of German democratization had found its most notable expression in the denazification program. This developed gradually and somewhat unevenly in the first year and a half after American troops entered German soil. The earliest American directive, issued on November 9, 1944, provided for the removal from public office and "other positions of influence and trust" of "all active Nazis and ardent sympathizers of the Party and of all militarists and leading military figures." It provided for the screening of suspects by Military Government Officers, with the aid of the Counter-Intelligence Corps, and for the use of a questionnaire (the famous *Fragebogen*), which every official or applicant for office was to fill out. And it set up mandatory arrest categories (the members of the Gestapo and SD, or Security Service) and additional discretionary arrest categories. This directive indicated certain general lines of policy, but since "active Nazis and ardent sympathizers" could mean much or little, it left very wide discretion in the hands of local commanders. By and large, neither they nor their Military Government Officers and CIC staffs were well equipped to deal with the problem of interpreting the directive in practice. Their natural tendency was to turn to the "nice people" who had large houses, good educations (including a knowledge of English), and relatively well-dressed daughters. But many of these people had close connections with the Nazi regime. Hence many Nazis obtained positions as secretaries and interpreters for Military Government, and were able to exert a significant influence on its day-to-day decisions, as well as on its selection of Germans to work with. Moreover, this initial directive, while it provided for the removal of Nazis from government positions and for the blocking of their assets (which was never effectively carried out), did not call for their removal from key posts in private business. Thus the business interests which had been closely associated with the Nazi regime were able to weather the initial storm and consolidate their position against future attacks.

In July 1945 this gap was filled, in theory, by Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive 1067. This provided for the removal of



"all members of the Nazi Party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities, all active supporters of Nazism and militarism, and all other persons hostile to Allied purposes" not only from governmental and quasi-governmental posts, but from all positions in civic, labor, and economic organizations, commerce, industry, agriculture, finance, education, the press, and other information activities. Moreover, the categories of those to be removed were defined so broadly that if they had been taken literally, all members of the Nazi Party would have been subject to removal. By and large, however, the directive was not taken literally. (Thus, General Patton made his widely quoted statement that "This Nazi thing is just like a Democratic and Republican election fight" and told his subordinates: "If you need these men, keep them, and don't worry about anything else." Nor was Patton's attitude exceptional.) A factor which contributed to the readiness of the responsible officers to disregard JCS 1067 was that it—like every directive before and since—told Military Government what Germans to remove, but not what ones to put in their places. Since Military Government officers seldom had much information of their own on this subject, they continued to use the people they knew.

Subsequent directives further spelled out the general principles already enunciated, subjecting 136 categories of individuals to mandatory and an additional 22 categories to discretionary removal. The two sets of categories accounted for over a fourth of the adult population of the American zone. This meant that there was almost nobody in the zone who, even if not affected himself, did not have relatives or friends who were. Thus denazification was assured of unpopularity from the start. Moreover, many of the mandatory removal categories included large numbers of harmless individuals, who had never before identified themselves with the Nazis but were now compelled to do so. (This fact was recognized by the directive itself, which provided a procedure for the retention of persons in the mandatory removal categories if they were merely nominal Nazis—but only if they were irreplaceable.) And, since the groups affected were so large, all the discretionary categories were inevitably treated with the greatest leniency. Yet many of those, notably the financial beneficiaries of the Nazi regime, were inherently more dangerous than most of the mandatory categories.

Meanwhile, it became evident that a few thousand Military Government officers could not possibly enforce the denazification regulations. The more Draconian the laws, the greater the incentive to deceit and collusion for their evasion became, and the smaller the possibility of enforcing them by direct Military Government action. Hence various steps were gradually taken to transfer part of the responsibility to the Germans. And in June 1946, pursuant

to the "Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism" of March 6, 1946, the administration of denazification was turned over to the Germans—although still under Military Government supervision and control.

This law, written by Military Government and promulgated by a decree signed by the Ministers President of the three states of the American zone (Bremen was then still under British administration) required all residents of the U.S. zone above the age of 18 to register and file questionnaires called *Meldebogen*. On the basis of the information contained in these, the public prosecutor was to decide whether each individual was subject to trial under the law. Originally, he had very little discretion, being required to bring to trial all persons who had been members of the Nazi Party or its affiliated organizations, or fell within the previous mandatory removal categories. All persons whose questionnaires showed them to be chargeable under the law were barred from any positions above the rank of ordinary labor, and could not be restored to them until they had been tried. This was true even if the questionnaires indicated that they were chargeable only as "Followers," although conviction in this category would not involve any such penalty.

#### DENAZIFICATION IN PRACTICE

Something over 26% of the residents of the zone turned out to be chargeable. It was the task of the prosecutors and denazification tribunals to sort them into five categories—Major Offenders, Offenders, Lesser Offenders, Followers, and Exonerated. The prosecutor was required to indicate the class into which an individual fell, on a basis of certain mechanical criteria, after which it was the duty of the tribunal to determine the class to which he actually did belong on the basis of the evidence. The law provided that those who appeared to fall in the first two categories were to be tried first, since it was realized that the longer trials were delayed, the lighter the sentences were apt to be, as the memory of Nazism faded. But what was not realized when the law was drawn up was that, in view of the tremendous number of trials it required, they would take many years to complete. Hence if the most heavily incriminated were tried first, those whose guilt was only nominal would remain barred for years from their normal occupations. Thus there was tremendous pressure to disregard the priorities established in the law and try the small fry first, in order to free them from their disabilities. As for the more heavily incriminated, they were only too happy to have their trials postponed.

The unpopularity of the law made it difficult to enforce. Qualified personnel were reluctant to serve on the tribunals; frequently these were therefore staffed by persons with ulterior motives. (Thus, the Communists at first



sought to utilize the tribunals for their party purposes, although they later withdrew on the ground that only the little Nazis were being punished.) Social pressure on behalf of leading citizens who had also been leading Nazis was very strong, especially in rural districts, where many of the members of the tribunals were in any case sympathetic to the point of view of their neighbors. Corruption was also frequent, since the members of the tribunals were usually poor men, their salaries were tiny, and many of those who came before them were rich not only in money but in goods. And while the power of Special Branch officers of Military Government to set aside verdicts provided a theoretical safeguard against malfeasance, it had little value in practice. Few Special Branch officers had either the time, the inclination, or the training to go through the records of all the trials within their jurisdiction. When they overruled the tribunals, it was often on a basis of caprice, and brought the law still further into disrepute. What was worse, some Special Branch and CIC officers—particularly in rural areas where they were not under the observation of other Americans—actually protected notorious Nazis, either from motives of friendship or for more disreputable reasons.

Hence the denazification law imposed heavy sanctions on millions of little Nazis who had never profited from the regime in any significant way nor participated in its crimes, but permitted leading Nazis to escape with slight penalties or none at all, while businessmen who had profited from the regime without needing to join the party escaped trial entirely. Meanwhile, the backlog of cases sank very slowly. Trials—mostly of minor Nazis eventually classed as followers—proceeded at a rate which indicated that their completion would take  $8\frac{1}{2}$  years. Under these circumstances, the aim of the denazification process shifted from the removal of Nazis to the clearing of dockets. The first major steps in this direction, in the latter part of 1946, consisted of two amnesties which removed about a third of all those chargeable under the original law. Then, by permitting the prosecutors to reclassify as Followers before the trial many who had originally been mandatorily assigned to higher categories, these were brought under the amnesties. And finally, in March 1948, it was made possible for those whom the prosecutors designated as Followers to escape trial if they accepted the classification and no one else claimed that they belonged in a higher category, and to pay a fine of 2,000 Marks by mail. In view of the inflation at the time, this amounted to an amnesty for all well-to-do Followers. Trials of those who were still regarded as chargeable in the higher categories dragged on for approximately a year more—indeed, a few are still on the dockets—but to all intents and purposes denazification was over.

Of 3,428,794 persons charged under the law as of January

31, 1949, 2,475,420 were amnestied without trial. Another 18,062 were exonerated, on the ground that they had actually opposed Nazism and suffered under it. The 477,860 who were classified as Followers—mostly by the so-called “post-card” trials—included many originally charged in a higher degree but downgraded by prosecutors and courts. Most of them were punished only by fines and pre-trial disabilities, but some who had the misfortune to be tried earlier suffered imprisonment and other penalties. In the top three categories, 105,141 persons were classed as Lesser Offenders, 21,277 as Offenders, and only 1,561 as Major Offenders. But it must be remembered that many thousands of persons charged with specific war crimes were sentenced to execution or long prison terms elsewhere, and hence never came before denazification tribunals.

Thus, while most of the actual Nazi thugs were either killed, imprisoned, or driven into hiding, those who had carried out the “legal” aspects of Nazi rule, or had profited by it, were in large measure permitted to return to positions of influence. To some extent this was inevitable, since the Nazi state had by design sought to implicate the widest possible group in its activities, and had made it very difficult for the business and professional classes to escape such involvement. But it could have been to at least some extent avoided, had the denazification procedure been designed to eliminate the genuinely dangerous elements, rather than to determine the precise degree of guilt of every individual for the activities of the regime. At the same time, the widespread sympathy in Military Government—in all three Western zones—for the very classes which had been most deeply involved in the activities of the Nazi state, was inevitably influential in aiding those groups to return to power.

The effort to democratize Germany by removing undemocratic personnel from key positions in the economy and civil service can hardly be said to have achieved its goal. Irrespective of whether this road could have led to success, it is no longer open. Today, the hope for German democracy lies rather in the subordination of the undesirable elements who remain, to a genuinely democratic government, and this in turn depends on the establishment of German political life on a firmly democratic basis.

## THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

If denazification, which represented the first step in the original policy of Western, and in particular American, Military Government, achieved only very limited success, a more adequate job was done in creating the formal structure of democratic government and political life. Even here, the American authorities in Germany were somewhat slower than the Russian, though quicker than the British and French, to permit the organization of political



parties. This was due to a theory, widely held in the United States and zealously propagated by the Communists here, that it was necessary to permit political and other institutions to grow "from the ground up" in order to keep them from again falling into the hands of the people under whose leadership the Weimar Republic had failed. The colonial administrators who formed the bulk of British officialdom in Germany, and the French, who distrusted all German self-organization, readily agreed to this approach. This policy was followed not only with respect to political parties, but in regard to labor unions as well. It was the hope of the Communists that they might succeed in penetrating into key positions in this manner, and that in any case the slower development of democratic institutions in the West would permit those organized from the top down in the Soviet zone to dominate the national organizations which would eventually be set up. This might have worked out, had Soviet policy not so thoroughly antagonized the German people and discredited the German Communists. As it was, the principal beneficiaries of the step-by-step policy were German reactionary groups. Trade unions were able to reorganize only in spite of great difficulties, somewhat mitigated by the fact that some of the officials of the Manpower Division of Military Government—not enough, however—understood the problem better than did the policy-makers, and stretched or even ignored directives in order to help rebuild the labor movement. In the political field, the obstacles placed in the way of rebuilding the parties favored the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its Bavarian affiliate the Christian Social Union (CSU), since the churches were the only institutions permitted to organize on a more than local basis from the beginning, and they supplied the CDU-CSU with a ready-made organizational structure.

The first state-wide elections in the American zone were for the Constituent Assemblies, and took place on June 30, 1946. They showed the beginnings of a two-party system, the CDU-CSU getting 47.9% of the vote and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) 33.6%. On November 24 of the same year, the first state legislatures of the American zone were elected, giving CDU-CSU 43% to 32.6% for the Social Democrats. In the British zone, the first statewide elections did not take place until April 20, 1947—two years after the fall of Hitler and almost a year after the first state elections in the American zone. They showed the Social Democrats to be the strongest party, with 36.8% of the vote to 32.2% for the CDU. Finally, on May 18, 1947, elections were held in the three states of the French zone for state legislatures, resulting in a CDU victory with 50.3%, while the SPD got 29.2%.

As a result of these elections, coalition cabinets were formed in most of the states, and a beginning was made

in the reconstruction of German self-government. But even in the American zone, where more of an effort was made to return power to the German authorities than in either of the others, Military Government was continually stepping in to overrule—or to direct—both cabinets and legislatures even in matters of detail. No German government was able to carry through any policy, or any German legislature to formulate one. This was hardly an atmosphere to encourage the development of a sense of democratic responsibility in German officials, or of active participation in the voters. Rather, it tended to encourage bureaucratic irresponsibility and political cowardice on the one hand, and cynicism on the other. Difficult decisions were left to Military Government; laws were passed with the public support of political leaders who then went privately to Military Government and urged that they be vetoed. Palace intrigue was substituted for democratic discussion. And the voters began to ebb away from the parties which had participated in the cabinets and thus—despite all their efforts to escape responsibility—become identified with all the decisions which were made by the occupation authorities.

More recently, the real power of the German authorities has increased. But the division of power between them and Military Government has remained such that it has been impossible for the voters to place clear responsibility for any action. (Thus, price and rationing controls were removed by the conservative majority of the Bizonal Economic Council on the plea that the Americans wanted it done—although in actuality Military Government was not at all happy about the speed of decontrol, and even tried rather ineffectually to slow it down.)

## THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The same situation carried over into the creation of a West German State. The initiative for this state came, not from the Germans themselves, but from the Foreign Ministers of the three occupying powers. (Indeed, few German leaders were anxious to share responsibility for an act that they feared would be interpreted as the splitting of Germany, and all consequently stressed that the state was not a state, and that in any case the Western powers, not they, were creating it.) When the Parliamentary Council met at Bonn on September 1, 1948, its members knew that the powers of the government they were to set up would depend on the Occupation Statute to be promulgated by the Western powers. But it was not until April 9 of this year that they were finally informed of the terms of that statute. Until then, they were forced to operate in a species of vacuum. This did not mean, however, that they did not hear from the occupying powers in the interim.



On the contrary, the latter intervened on several occasions to support the position of the CDU-CSU against that of the SPD on questions relating to the division of powers between the state and federal governments, as well as to state their opinions on various other subjects. In no case, incidentally, did they intervene in an effort to strengthen the exceedingly weak provisions of the constitution for the protection of civil rights. (Only in a few of these guarantees, notably those against racial discrimination and against conscription, is there omitted the phrase "except as provided by law" or its equivalent.)

The constitution, as finally adopted, provides for a federal system in which the division of powers between state and central governments does not differ greatly from that in the United States. But the position of the states as

residual possessors of all authority not specifically delegated to the central government is stronger than in this country, because the German Basic Law contains no such "elastic clause" as does the United States Constitution. Moreover, the Bundesrat, the upper house of the bicameral central legislature, consists of members appointed by the state governments, bound by instructions from them, and subject to removal by them at any time. Thus the state governments, as such, play a direct part in federal legislation.

The lower house of the federal parliament, the Bundestag, is elected by universal suffrage, and its members apportioned to the states on a basis of population. (The electoral law under which the first Bundestag was elected provided that three-fifths of the members were to be chosen by plurality election in the districts, and the various parties

## The New Government

*President*—Dr. Theodor Heuss, FDP

*President of the Bundestag*—Dr. Erich Koehler, CDU

*President of the Bundesrat*—Dr. Karl Arnold, CDU

*Chancellor*—Dr. Konrad Adenauer, CDU

*Minister for ERP Affairs*—Franz Bluecher, FDP

*Minister of the Interior*—Dr. Gustav Heinemann, CDU

*Minister of Justice*—Dr. Thomas Dehler, FDP

*Minister of Finance*—Dr. Fritz Schaeffer, CSU

*Minister of Economics*—Dr. Ludwig Erhard, CDU

*Minister of Agriculture*—Wilhelm Niklas, CSU

*Minister of Labor*—Anton Storch, CDU

*Minister of Transport*—Dr. Hans Seebohm, DP

*Minister of Posts*—Hans Schuberth, CDU

*Minister for Housing*—Eberhard Wildermuth, FDP

*Minister for Refugees*—Hans Lukaschek, CDU

*Minister for All-German Questions and East-West Trade*—Jakob Kaiser, CDU

*Minister for Bundesrat Affairs*—Heinrich Hellwege, DP

While Dr. Erhard, whose policy of decontrol was a major election issue, holds the Economics Ministry, all other ministries dealing with the control of the economy have been given to the Free Democrats—the most extreme advocates of "free enterprise"—except for the Labor and Finance Ministries. The former, which is relatively unimportant, has been given to a representative of the Catholic trade unionists, while the crucial Finance Ministry has been given to a representative of the CSU. This is of particular significance due to the conflict over the division of financial resources between state and federal governments. The final division of a number of taxes between the states and the central government must, under the Basic Law, take place by the end of 1952. Hence the present government may well have the power to determine that division. The installment in the Finance Ministry of an extreme advocate of states' rights may therefore have a major effect on the whole future course of the new republic.

Another post of major importance is that of the

Justice Minister, who has the task of setting up the federal court system, and will probably have a decisive influence on the determination of its personnel. Dr. Dehler, who holds this ministry, was active in the old Democratic Party and in the democratic (and predominantly Social-Democratic) pre-Hitler defense organization, the Reichsbanner. He was imprisoned by the Nazis for underground activity, and has since the war continued to play a progressive role. One other Ministry is significant—less because of the man who was given it than because of the man who was not. This is the Ministry of Agriculture, held in the Bizonal government by Dr. Hans Schlange-Schoeninger. Dr. Schlange-Schoeninger, although a member of the Christian Democratic Union, was a vigorous critic of the policies of Dr. Erhard, while he himself was vigorously attacked by the Bavarian CSU for maintaining controls on food. He has now been forced out by his opponents—which probably means that the "free market" policies already in effect in other spheres will now be extended to agriculture.



were then to be assigned enough of the remaining two-fifths of the seats in each state to give them what they would have been entitled to under proportional representation. These additional seats were assigned from state lists drawn up by the parties. Only parties which secured at least five percent of the vote in a state, or carried a district in it, were entitled to share in this distribution of supplementary seats. This law, representing a compromise between the straight plurality election sought by the CDU-CSU and the proportional representation advocated by the SPD, does not apply to later elections, the procedure for which will be decided by the federal parliament.)

The federal executive branch consists of a President, elected by a convention composed of the members of the Bundestag and an equal number of delegates from the state legislatures; a Chancellor elected by the Bundestag, and a cabinet appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Chancellor. Both President and Chancellor can be elected by a simple plurality (if no candidate can obtain a majority), the former after three ballots, the latter after two weeks. Since the Bundestag is able to remove the Chancellor only by electing another by majority vote, or by refusing a vote of confidence on an issue on which he requests it, it is possible for a Chancellor to be elected and remain in office for the entire life of a Bundestag without ever having a majority. Moreover, he can, with the support of the President and a majority of the Bundesrat, pass "emergency" laws which have been rejected by the Bundestag. All these provisions are intended to avoid a situation where the absence of a parliamentary majority paralyzes government; their danger lies in the temptation which they offer to a Chancellor to govern with minority support as a normal thing, instead of making the compromises necessary to secure a parliamentary majority.

Normal legislation requires a majority in the Bundestag, subject to a suspensory right of veto on the part of the Bundesrat. However, the consent of the Bundesrat is required for certain types of legislation, particularly in the field of taxation, and amendments to the Basic Law require the support of two-thirds of each house. A Federal Constitutional Court is empowered to settle all questions relating to the interpretation of the Basic Law.

The Basic Law adopted at Bonn can be the basis of a democratic government. But it is certainly not ideally designed for this purpose. Many specific points which might properly have been left to legislation are enshrined in constitutional law, largely as a result of Allied insistence that the federal government should have no powers not enumerated. On the other hand, the guarantees of civil and political liberty, as has been pointed out above, are extremely weak.

This is not a result of any lack of belief in these liber-

ties on the part of the majority of the delegates. Rather, it traces back to the belief that anti-democratic elements must be denied civil liberties, if democracy is not to commit suicide. This tendency reflects itself in such provisions of the new constitution as Article 18, which denies the basic political rights to those who "abuse" them "in order to attack the free, democratic basic order," and Article 21, which provides that "Parties which, according to their aims and the behavior of their members, seek to impair or abolish the free democratic basic order or to jeopardize the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany, shall be unconstitutional." Since the decision on what parties fall under this category is left to the Federal Constitutional Court, it may very well be that a German government will find itself faced against its will with a crisis caused, let us say, by the outlawry of the Communist Party.

## THE ELECTIONS AND THE FUTURE

Whether German democracy will work will, of course, depend far more on who is operating the machinery than on the nature of the machinery itself. Very beautiful constitutions, in the hands of the tyrannically minded, may prove instruments of tyranny. The Soviet Union is a case in point, and even in Germany, Hitler subverted the Weimar constitution by using its own provisions, notably those providing emergency powers, and by securing a constitutional two-thirds to "amend" it to make him absolute. On the other hand, even a very poorly constructed constitution—or none at all, as in Britain—may, in the hands of democratically minded people, work very well.

The elections to the German Bundestag gave over 75% of the vote to the parties descended from the three—Social Democrats, Democrats, and Center—which formed the Weimar coalition. Unfortunately, however, not all of these parties represent the same things that their prototypes did. The Social Democrats, somewhat stronger than before 1933 because they have absorbed a large part of the former Communist vote, still represent the interests of democratic labor. The small Center Party carries on the tradition of the trade union left wing of the old Center Party. But Christian Democrats and Free Democrats (FDP), having absorbed the bulk of the old right-wing parties, have inevitably had their own centers of gravity shifted to the right of the pre-1933 parties from which they trace their descent. In the case of the Free Democrats, this shift has reached a stage where they seem likely to become at best what Germany has never had and could well use—a genuinely democratic right-wing party.

The CDU still has a sufficiently large progressive element in both its membership and leadership so that it may eventually return to the role of the old Center Party—or,



alternatively, split into right and left wings. But whether it will move to the right or left may in large part depend on the political alliances it makes. In those states where it continues to govern in coalitions with the Social Democrats, it will perforce take a relatively progressive position. The same will be true if it should eventually form such a coalition on the federal level. For the present, however, the CDU under Dr. Adenauer has chosen to ally itself with

the FDP and the German Party. Such a coalition will tend to strengthen the most reactionary elements in the CDU—and in the FDP as well. However, if the Social Democrats offer an able and determined parliamentary opposition, they may force the governing coalition to be extremely wary in its behavior, and will in any case be in a position to take advantage of any failure on its part to solve the problems which face the German people today.

## GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (CDU—*Christlich-Demokratische Union*) and CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION (CSU—*Christlich-Soziale Union*) are closely allied sister parties. The CSU operates in Bavaria, when to a large extent it carries on the tradition of the Bavarian People's Party under the Weimar Republic. The CDU functions in the rest of Germany, and is descended from the old Catholic Center Party. Many of its present leaders, however, were affiliated with the old German Nationalist and German People's parties. The two parties function as one on the federal level, and their activities are coordinated by a loose working committee. Both differ from their pre-1933 prototypes in that they include Protestants as well as Catholics. In both, but especially in the CSU, the membership and leadership are still nevertheless chiefly Catholic. They advocate state-supported denominational schools, a Concordat between Western Germany and the Vatican, and in general favor a close relation between church and state. The CDU-CSU also stands for a relatively weak central government, and in the case of some elements in it—especially in the CSU—this is carried to an extreme. The predominant group in the CDU-CSU leadership is extremely conservative in economic questions, and closely associated with big business interests. But there is a strong Catholic trade unionist element in the CDU, and to a lesser extent in the CSU, which takes a position close to Christian Socialism. Some concessions to this group have been made in the party programs, and in party policies in some of the states. On a federal level, however, it has little influence on party policy. While most of those in the CDU-CSU believe in political democracy, some of the right-wing elements close to the Catholic hierarchy are inclined to prefer a "Christian corporate" state similar to the Portuguese regime of Dr. Salazar, or even to the Franco regime in Spain. Many, but by no means most, of the leaders of the CDU-CSU suffered under the Nazis. On the other hand, many of them played important roles in the operation of Hitler's economic machinery, or were otherwise associated with the functioning of the Third Reich.

The CDU-CSU is a much less cohesive organization than the SPD. Its greatest source of strength is the support it receives from the churches, and especially from the Catholic Church. On the whole, it is strongest in rural sections. It is represented in eight of the West German state governments, and holds some posts in that of Berlin. In the elections for the

### Leaders of the CDU-CSU

DR. KONRAD ADENAUER, Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, was Mayor of Cologne prior to 1933. He was removed from office and twice arrested by the Nazis. Dr. Adenauer served as President of the Bonn Parliamentary Council. He is the outstanding national leader of the CDU, and belongs to its right wing.

DR. KARL ARNOLD, Prime Minister of North-Rhine-Westphalia and President of the Bundesrat, is the most notable left-wing CDU leader. He was an official of the Catholic trade unions before 1933. In 1944 he was arrested because of his involvement in the July 20 anti-Nazi conspiracy.

DR. LUDWIG ERHARD, Minister of Economics, performed the same function in the Bizonal administration. In that capacity, he carried out a policy of removing all restrictions on the distribution and production of consumer goods, while entrusting the allocation of industrial raw materials to the "self-regulation" of trade organizations.

DR. HANS EHRHARD, Prime Minister of Bavaria, is a jurist by profession. He is Chairman of the Bavarian CSU, and represents the extreme advocates of states' rights. He belongs to his party's right wing.

JAKOB KAISER, former Chairman of the CDU in the Russian Zone and now Minister for All-German Affairs, was a leader of the Catholic trade unions in the pre-Hitler period. He was arrested for underground activity in 1938, but was released after seven months for lack of proof. He participated in the July 20 conspiracy, and after its failure went into hiding until the end of the war. He attempted to work with the Russian authorities during the occupation, but eventually was removed by them from the leadership of the East zone CDU, because of his defense of the Marshall Plan and his opposition to the Communist-inspired People's Congress. He represents the left wing of the CDU.



West German Parliament, the combined CDU-CSU vote exceeded that of any other party, amounting to 7,357,579 (CSU 1,380,341; CDU 5,977,238), or 31% of the total. It won 139 seats in the Bundestag, and is the strongest party there. In last December's Berlin elections, the CDU received 258,664 votes, 19.4% of those cast.

**SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SPD—*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*)** is a democratic socialist party. Its general point of view is similar to that of the British Labour Party. It advocates socialization of key industries, particularly those of the Ruhr, and a direct share in the administration of both public and private industry for the workers, organized in unions and works councils. It favors a relatively centralized government for

### Leaders of the SPD

**DR. KURT SCHUMACHER**, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, was a Social Democratic Reichstag deputy before Hitler came to power. He was arrested by the Nazis early in 1933, and spent the greater part of the Nazi period in concentration camps.

**DR. CARLO SCHMID**, Vice-President of the Bundestag, is Professor of Law at the University of Tuebingen, as well as the German translator of a number of French classics. He served as leader of the Social Democratic group in the Parliamentary Council which drafted the Basic Law.

**DR. ERNST REUTER**, Mayor of Berlin, was one of the founders of the German Communist Party, but broke with it in 1921 and has since then been one of its most hated opponents. He later held various public offices, including that of Reichstag deputy. After having been twice sent to concentration camp, he left Germany in 1935. While in exile he taught at the University of Ankara and served as adviser to the Turkish government on transportation. When he returned to Germany he was elected Mayor of Berlin but barred by a Russian veto, only taking office after the final splitting of the city during the blockade.

**ERICH OLLENHAUER**, Deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, was active in the Socialist youth movement before 1933, and in that year became a member of the party executive committee. During the Hitler period he was in exile.

Germany, on the ground that this is needed to deal with the problems of economic reconstruction and resettlement of refugees. The SPD, like the other German democratic parties, is also committed to the idea of a United States of Europe, to which the various nations would surrender much of their sovereignty. Most of its leaders were imprisoned or exiled under the Nazis. It is strongly opposed to all forms of totalitarianism,

whether Fascist or Communist. It stands for separation of church and state, and favors public non-denominational schools.

The SPD is a tightly knit and nationwide organization. It derives its principal strength from the industrial workers, although there is no direct connection between it and the trade unions. (The latter are non-partisan.) It is represented in the governments of nine of the eleven states of Western Germany—all except those of Bavaria and South Baden—and also controls that of Western Berlin. In the recent elections in Western Germany it received 6,932,272 votes, 29.2% of the total. In Berlin (which was not permitted to take part in the federal elections) the SPD polled 858,461 votes, or 64.5%. It is thus the largest party in Western-occupied Germany, although not in the present territory of the West German federation. It has 131 of the 402 seats in the Bundestag, the popularly elected lower house of the federal parliament.

**FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (FDP—*Freie Demokratische Partei*)** is the most conservative of the parties which operate throughout Western Germany. It adheres to the doctrine of undiluted laissez-faire in economics. In politics, it favors a strong central government and separation of church and state. Its adherents include both democratic and humanitarian liberals (in the Nineteenth Century sense) and reactionary ultra-nationalists. While its national leadership is at present in the hands of representatives of the former group, such as President Theodor Heuss and Justice Minister Thomas Dehler, its recent gains in popular support appear to have come mainly from the latter. Its more progressive wing traces back to the Democratic Party of the Weimar Republic; its more reactionary, to the German People's Party, the party of that section of big business which accepted the republic, but did not rejoice in it.

The FDP is the most loosely organized of the nation-wide parties. Its main support comes from professional and intellectual groups, and from some sections of big business. It has also received some support from crypto-fascist groups, in areas where there was no alternative further to the right. (In Hesse, it made an alliance with the neo-fascist National Democrats, who were not licensed on a statewide basis, and the leader of that group was elected on the FDP slate.) It is represented in four West German cabinets, as well as in the Berlin government. In general, its representatives in the various cabinets are drawn from its democratic wing. In Berlin, it received 214,145 votes, or 16.1%; in the West, 2,827,885 votes, or 11.9%, enough to make it the third strongest party, with 52 seats in the Bundestag.

**COMMUNIST PARTY (KPD—*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*)** is the last of the four nationwide parties. It bears a generic resemblance to all the other Communist parties of the world. It denies the legitimacy of the West German state, and denounces the parties which support it as quislings and splitters of Germany. It emphasizes the need for German unity, and denounces all acts of the Western occupation powers—but never of the Soviet Union. It has sought to appeal to the "little Nazis" by demagogic nationalism, but without much success.

The KPD is much weaker than it was under the Weimar Republic, and has been losing ground since the end of the war.



It was the only party to win fewer votes in the Bundestag elections than in those for the provincial legislatures, in spite of the five million increase in total vote cast. It received 1,360,443 votes, 5.9% of the total. While it did not carry a single district in Western Germany, it was awarded 15 seats in the Bundestag, under the system of modified proportional representation which was used. No precise figures on Communist strength in Western Berlin are available, since the Communists boycotted the election there. An analysis of the figures, in the light of the phenomenally high percentage of participation in that election, indicates that the maximum Communist strength there is under 4%, however.

### Leaders of the FDP

DR. THEODOR HEUSS, leader of the Free Democratic Party and President of the German Federal Republic, is a historian, educator, and journalist. He is widely respected, even by his political opponents. Before 1933 he represented the Democratic Party in the Reichstag, and in accordance with the decision of his party caucus voted for the Enabling Act which formed the legal foundation for Hitler's dictatorship. He himself, however, never supported the Hitler regime, and his book "Hitler's Weg," published just before the Nazis came to power, was burned by them in 1933. He is conservative in economic questions, a firm believer in civil liberties, and an advocate of a strong central government and of the separation of church and state.

DR. REINHOLD MAIER, Prime Minister of Wuerttemberg-Baden, was also a Democratic deputy before 1933, and hence voted for the Enabling Act. During the Nazi period he engaged in the private practice of law. He is generally regarded as having played a constructive role in the reestablishment of German democracy.

DR. THOMAS DEHLER, leader of the Bavarian FDP and federal Minister of Justice, was active in the old Democratic Party. He was imprisoned by the Nazis for underground activity. After the recent elections, he urged the formation of a cabinet including the Social Democrats. He represents the more progressive section of his party.

DR. AUGUST MARTIN EULER, Chairman of the FDP in Hesse, was for some years counsel for IG Farben. In the recent elections, he arranged an alliance in Hesse between the FDP and the neo-fascist National Democrats. He represents the extreme right wing of his party.

BAVARIAN PARTY (*Bayern Partei*) is in favor of the greatest possible autonomy for the states, even in the field of foreign affairs. It is strongly anti-Prussian—Prussian meaning anything which is not Bavarian. It is also predominantly monarchist, favoring the claims of the Wittelsbach family which formerly ruled in Bavaria. On most other political and economic questions it is in

general agreement with the right wing of the CSU. Its activities are confined to Bavaria.

The Bavarian Party has been gaining ground steadily since it split off from the CSU. In the recent elections it received 986,606 votes—only 4.2% on a nationwide basis, but 20.9% of the Bavarian total. It has 17 seats in the Bundestag. In general, although it refuses to accept the Bonn constitution, it will probably vote with the CSU. However, it rejected an invitation to join a coalition government headed by the CDU-CSU.

GERMAN PARTY (DP—*Deutsche Partei*) is confined to Lower Saxony, Hamburg, Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein. It is descended primarily from the old Hanoverian Party, which sought the separation of Hanover from Prussia and the restoration of the Hanoverian monarchy under the British royal house. About half its strength still derives from this source, and in the state of Lower Saxony (formerly Hanover) it is particularistic—a sort of North German Protestant version of the Bavarian Party. But in the rest of North Germany, and to a small extent even within Lower Saxony, it has become a vehicle for ultra-nationalist and even neo-fascist elements. Both wings of the party are extremely conservative in all economic questions. The DP's 17 members in the Bundestag support the government of Dr. Adenauer, in which it has two posts. In the recent elections it received 940,088 votes, slightly under 4% of the total. But in the four states where it ran candidates, its vote ranged from 12.1% in Schleswig-Holstein to 17.9% in Bremen.

CENTER PARTY (*Zentrum*) is confined to North-Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein, and has significant strength only in the first of these. It is the result of a split from the CDU by a group of left-wing Catholics, identified with the tradition of the Catholic trade union movement. In economic matters, its position is fairly close to that of the Social Democrats in practice, but technically is based on the Papal encyclicals. The Center Party also agrees with the Social Democrats in favoring a strong central government. But, as a purely Catholic party, it takes an even more uncompromising position against separation of church and state than does the CDU. (It was for this reason that the delegates of the Center at Bonn voted against the Basic Law, after the Pope had sent a pastoral letter criticizing its provisions on cultural questions.) On political questions, it is strongly democratic. The principal strength of the Center Party is among the industrial workers of the Ruhr and Rhineland. In the recent elections it polled 727,343 votes, of which 601,278 were in North-Rhine-Westphalia. It received 3.1% of the total national vote, but 9% of that cast in North-Rhine-Westphalia. That province also supplies all of its ten seats in the Bundestag. Like the Communists, the Center owes its seats entirely to proportional representation, since it did not carry a single district.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION ASSOCIATION (WAV—*Wirtschaftliche Aufbau Vereinigung*) is for the time being confined to Bavaria. It has, however, already taken tentative steps toward expanding into other states. Both in its ideology and its methods, the WAV has some neo-fascist characteristics; in general, however, it should still probably be classed as an



amorphous and politically indeterminate expression of discontent, rather than as a neo-fascist movement. Its principal leader has a clear record of opposition to Nazism, and spent several years in exile. But the Party could easily become a full-fledged fascist movement. Its theoretical basis is a demand for "government by technicians," and the substitution of "plebiscitary democracy" for parliamentary rule. In practice, however, its principal support has nothing to do with its program, but derives from an electoral alliance with the leading refugee group in Bavaria, which Military Government had refused to license as a party on a statewide basis. The future role of the WAV seems likely to be that of representing specifically refugee interests, and whether it develops in a fascist direction or is absorbed in a general democratic milieu will depend less on its doctrines than on whether any real progress is made toward solving the problem of the refugees. The WAV received 681,981 votes in the Bundestag elections, 14.4% of those cast in Bavaria and 2.9% of the national total. This was sufficient to give it 15 deputies.

GERMAN RIGHTIST PARTY (DRP—*Deutsche Rechts Partei*), together with its alter ego, GERMAN CONSERVATIVE PARTY (DKP—*Deutsche Konservative Partei*), is the one overtly neo-fascist group which participated in the election under its own banner. It is licensed only in the four states of the British zone, and has strength only in Lower Saxony. Leaders of this party have made such statements as that Germany needs another 1933, and its electoral propaganda methods have been largely borrowed from the Nazis. Its strength is drawn partly from unreconstructed ex-Nazis, but largely from the dispossessed and discontented, who are less interested in its program than in its promise to "do something." The fate of this and similar groups depends less on anything they may do than on the success of the democratic parties and the occupying powers in creating a democracy capable of functioning effectively in both the political and economic fields. The DRP-DKP received 428,949 votes in the Bundestag elections, 1.8% of the total. But its 273,012 votes in Lower Saxony were 8.1% of those cast in that state,

and sufficed to give it 5 seats in the Bundestag—all on a basis of proportional representation, since it failed to carry any district. (Since the election, it has merged with the National Democrats of Hesse, under the chairmanship of Dr. Heinrich Leuchtgens, elected on the Free Democratic ticket in that state.)

OTHER PARTIES AND GROUPS than those already discussed received a total of about 6% of the vote. No other recognized party received as much as 1%, but most of the 1,140,257 votes cast for independents went to representatives of refugee organizations which were not licensed as parties. (This deprived them of the benefits of the proportional representation feature of the electoral system, although they were able to elect district candidates, and did elect 3.) The figures for one such organization, the Emergency Association (*Notgemeinschaft*), are available separately for Württemberg-Baden, where it polled 229,263 votes, 16.7% of the state total. So far, these groups have no ideological ties; their future development depends on that of the refugee situation in general. It is possible, if the WAV succeeds in expanding from its Bavarian base, that they will merge with it into a refugee party which would then command about 8% of the national vote. Or they may be absorbed either into the democratic or anti-democratic groups already functioning.

The largest of the remaining groups, the Radical Social Freedom Party (*Radikale Sozial Freiheits Partei*), polled 217,627 votes in the British zone and Bremen, for approximately .9% of the national total. It is a "funny money" party, based on the theories of Sylvio Gesell (similar to those of the Social Credit movement and Dr. Townsend), and has no particular significance. The only other party to secure a seat in the Bundestag, the South Schleswig Voters' Association (SSW—*Sued-Schleswig Waehlervereinigung*), is a group favoring the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark. Its 75,387 votes were 5.9% of those cast in that province. The only other separatist movement to present candidates, the Rhenish-Westphalian People's Party (RWV—*Rheinisch-Westfalische Volkspartei*) polled only 21,910 votes—.3% of those cast in North-Rhine-Westphalia.

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Dec 2, 49

GERMANY

HEADLINES: JEWRY, EUROPEAN ALLIES DISTURBED BY REPORTS OF AMERICAN PLANS TO REARM GERMANY... JOHNSON, BRADLEY DENIALS FAIL TO ALLAY FEARS... NY TIMES CORRESPONDENT REVEALS NAZIS RULE GERMANY, NAZI PUBLISHERS AGAIN DISSEMINATING ANTI-SEMITISM...

BACKGROUND

& COMMENTS: Jews were not alone in their anxiety over reported American policy in Germany. Notwithstanding assurances by General Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of Defense Johnson, that "the U.S. Government does not favor rearming of Germany at this time," reports from France told of the latter's deeply ingrained suspicion that such plans were underway. Well-informed American correspondents, both in Washington and overseas, confirmed the French view by stressing Johnson's use of the phrase "at this time," and pointing out that the rearming of Germany, just now, was unfeasible because of French resistance and because the Western states were not sufficiently armed themselves to counter-balance a rearmed Western Germany which might turn around and join the Soviet.

Russell Hill, NY Herald Tribune Paris correspondent said: "When American leaders say 'not now' to German rearmament ... they undoubtedly have in mind that unforeseen events could produce a changed situation within a few years." NY Times correspondent C.L. Sulzberger, also cabling from Paris, reported: "Can Western Europe be defended against potential Soviet aggression on a line based on the Elbe River, and if so, can this be done without establishing a West German army?" He added: "The continental powers, typified by France, are in favor of an Elbe defense line and in favor of a disarmed West Germany. Any French government that abandons either position probably would fall from power. Yet, the two views would seem to be irreconcilable." The rearming of Germany, apart from causing political upsets in European capitals, "might risk provoking a sudden Soviet reaction," Sulzberger reported. According to Joseph and Stewart Alsop, NY Herald Tribune columnists, Soviet orbit diplomats "have been hinting widely that rearmament of Germany by the West would be considered a Casus Belli by the Soviet Union; try to rearm Germany, the line has been, and the Red Army will sweep to the Atlantic." The Soviets are reported to be arming Eastern Germany by the setting up of a "peoples police" equipped with tanks.

A full column by the important head of the NY Times Washington Bureau, showing the possible need of such rearmament in the near future, reveals that the government is planting its story in influential places for an eventual softening of public opinion to the point of acceptance. Meantime, the NY Times has published a series of dispatches by correspondent Drew Middleton exposing resurgent Nazism in Bavaria. His first dispatch (Nov. 23) began with a quotation from a report prepared by a high official of the Office of the Land Commissioner for Bavaria: "It is very important to recognize that renazification has left Bavaria largely in the hands of those who controlled it under Hitler." Middleton added: "Bavaria is not alone. Investigation in the other states of the U.S. zone reveal a resurgence of Nazism... anti-democratic attitudes are not the exclusive possession of the resurgent Nazis." He reported that former Nazis receive promotion preference over men who entered the state service after 1945. In the Ministry of Education and Religion, excluding school teachers employed by the Ministry, 60% of all employees are former Nazis; in the Ministry of Finance 77% of all employees are former Nazis; in the Ministry of Justice -- a strategic Ministry -- 81% of all employees are former Nazis. The newspapers of Bavaria, he reported, "today reflect its 'renazification', the newspaper field having been invaded since September by more than 90 large and small papers, many of them owned and edited by the same men who owned and edited them under Hitler," and revealing the Nazi touch "in the marked increase in the number of derogatory articles on the displaced persons, a percentage of whom are Jews... These stories serve to confirm and intensify the already strong anti-Semitism and anti-foreign feelings in Bavaria."

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MISCELLANEOUS:

Testifying under pressure before the Anglo-American Commission in 1946, Chief Rabbi Sasson Khadoury of Baghdad, scored Zionism as having upset amicable relations between Arabs and Jews. Several weeks ago, Baghdad reported that several scores of Jews were arrested for alleged violence against the Rabbi. A Reuters dispatch this week said that the Rabbi resigned in a dispute with the community. This may indicate that notwithstanding persecution, Baghdad Jews are apparently opposed to yielding any further to governmental pressure, and that the Rabbi may have been ready to yield to such pressure. It is significant that not a single Iraqi Jew has today issued a public statement denying overseas reports of the persecution of Jews, despite the pressures undoubtedly exercised by Baghdad to obtain such demand.

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# TEMPLE EMANUEL-SABBATH SERVICES

Friday Evening, June 24th, 8 o'clock

1944  
RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

will conduct the Services and will speak on

"ADOLPH HITLER STILL WALKS IN GERMANY"

The program of denazification in Germany has been a failure. Many former Nazis are still in positions of responsibility and may be said to be running Germany. Anti-Semitism is increasing daily. WHAT HAS HAPPENED? WHAT HAS GONE WRONG?

## KADDISH LIST

Matilda Tescher, Hattie Pizer, Isham Jesselson,  
Tillie Heitler Bloom, Ferdinand Levy, Anna Schenkein  
Annie B. Klingstein, Mollie Shwayder, Henry L. Cooper



# THE SPECTRE OF HITLER

## II

WHEN the government of the newly constituted federal republic of western Germany assembled in the city of Bonn for its first parliamentary session last September, several pressing legislative problems were hastily brought to the floor.

Like these:

"We need a national anthem!" one representative demanded. "And why not *Deutschland ueber Alles*?" If Allied observers were shocked by this suggestion, the Germans took it in stride. The assembly murmured its approval of the martial air that through two World Wars has been synonymous with the Teutonic dream of world domination.

At another session, Herr Loebe, oldest member of the Lower House, proposed that the membership rise for a moment of silent tribute to those who had perished under the Nazi yoke. Herr Loebe was careful not to single out Jewish victims for this honor. Yet his feeble, inconsequential admission of German guilt for the horrors of Hitlerism was greeted with derisive shouts of "No! No!" from the legislators.

Thus the "new democracy" of western Germany got down to business. Whatever its gratitude to the Allied powers for granting the reestablishment of a free German state, the first acts of the government were calculated demonstrations of Teutonic arrogance.

Should we have expected better? The nub of our occupation policy was predicated on a two-step program: first, the democratization of the German spirit; second, the establishment of a free government that would conform with the principles of that free and democratic spirit.

Continued on page 6

the *ADL* bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF AMERICA

NOVEMBER 1949

The Defeat of  
**ARMSTRONG'S**  
**\$50,000,000**



Cadets stroll in front of Jefferson Military College's antiquated buildings. At right: George W. Armstrong.



THE morning mail of June 23, 1949, delivered to every United States congressman a "complimentary copy" of a pretentious 96-page booklet, *Zionist Wall Street*, an absurd effort to link up Zionism, Wall Street and communism as one and the same thing. The weird reasoning expressed in the pamphlet and its dependence upon the fraudulent *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as the prop for documenting its case immediately earmarked it as one more gasbag literary gyration of the anti-Semitic fringe.

The booklet was circulated with the compliments of its author: George W. Armstrong of Texas, lawyer, ex-county judge, banker, steel manufacturer and owner of cattle and oil-bearing lands. At 84, he is a hale, well-preserved figure of a man and as fine a caricature of the fading Dixie bourbon as you could want.

The Judge—he prefers that title—had made a dozen previous attempts at pamphleteering, using his own funds to publish his weary gospel. *Traitors*, a loud-mouthed tirade against the Truman civil rights program appeared in May, 1948. Armstrong supported the Dixiecrat candidates, paying for ex-

Continued on page 7



# COMMENT:

*Benjamin R. Epstein*  
National Director

## The Joint Defense Appeal

AMERICAN Jewry has long labored under an "emergency" psychology. Jewish life, tragically, has been one "fire" after another. True, we have always responded to the alarm — at times heroically so, as witness the gigantic rescue operation conducted overseas since the end of the war.

Similarly, on the domestic scene, "emergency" has been the clarion call to action. The brash, overt form of anti-Semitism has always rallied the community to the support of our work. Evidently, self-preservation is still a primary urge of mankind.

But today thankfully we have passed beyond emergencies. We have slowly but surely moved into an era that calls for long term programming toward the building of a society in which an *absence of discrimination* will be succeeded by the firm establishment of equal rights and opportunities for all.

We approach the coming year knowing that we are in a position to make a valuable contribution, as a Jewish organization, toward the establishment of a more perfect democracy.

THIS IS BEING written as the annual conference of the Joint Defense Appeal meets in Detroit to plan for the 1950 budget of ADL and the American Jewish Committee. By the time you read these lines the conference will be over but the success of the 1950 campaign will depend very much upon an appreciation of the effectiveness of our programs, an appreciation which can come only with an understanding of what has been achieved thus far.

How can we judge achievement in so intangible an area of human endeavor? Part of the answer lies in the disappearance of overt anti-Semitism as a major factor in the picture. But there are other more positive indicators. Judge achievement by a meeting in Chicago just a few days ago of 100 of the nation's leading educators who came together for the first time to say to themselves: what can we do about

cleaning our own house so that racial and religious barriers to higher education shall be removed? The holding of this conference is no accident. It is part and parcel of a continuing program we began four years ago and which we must be prepared to continue if our labors are to be rewarded.

JUDGE ACHIEVEMENT By the fact that the President's civil rights program has been made one of the hottest issues in American public life; that eight states have adopted fair employment practices acts; that three states have established fair educational practices acts; that the Supreme Court, sensing the climate of opinion, agreed to hear civil rights issues, one of which resulted in the declaration that restrictive covenants were unenforceable by law. Two years of direct action on the part of our agencies went into these efforts.

Judge achievements by the fact that 125 Southern cities and the State of Alabama have passed laws prohibiting the use of masks or hoods in public demonstrations and declaring the violation a criminal offense. Such legislation was first suggested by our agencies. It was supported by forward-looking citizens of the South.

Judge achievement by the fact that 10 years ago we had the vision to foresee that intercultural education could affect the thinking and lives of millions, and that today intercultural education is an accepted and broad program supported not only by us, but by the universities, colleges and public school systems of our nation.

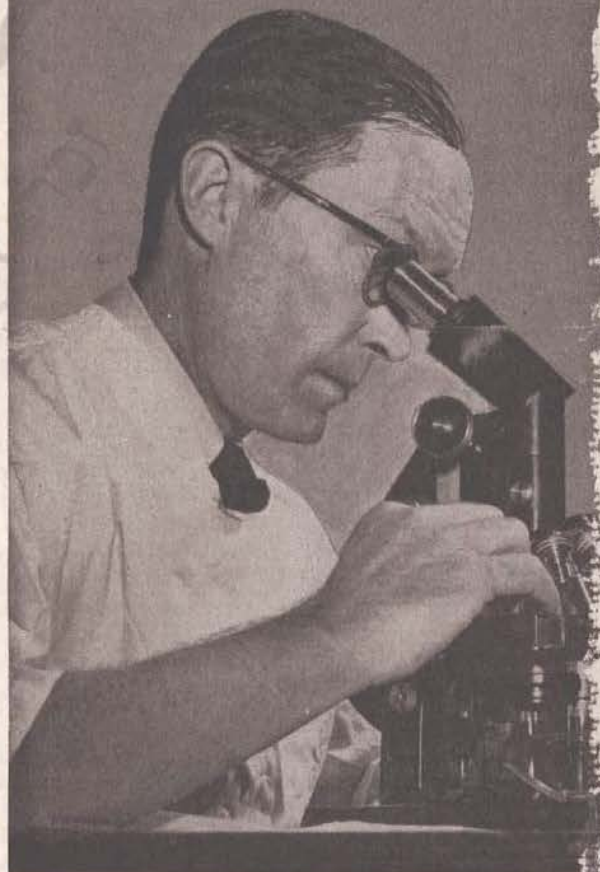
Judge achievement by the fact that within recent years both ADL and AJC established fellowships and conducted research into human relations problems, and that today these small beginnings have blossomed forth into major projects of study and scientific research on the great campuses of America. One foundation has recently

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# SCIENCE

Looks At

## Human Relations



the **ADL** bulletin

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By LEO SROLE

ADL Director of Research

EVERYBODY knows what a scientist is. But if asked what *science* is, we often fall back on the definition that it's what scientists do. Still, we have a general appreciation of our personal indebtedness to science—that it has remade the physical conditions of man's round-the-clock living—what we use for food, clothing and shelter, how we travel, work, relax, guard our health, stretch our span of years.

With such enormous life-shaking powers, and a gobbledygook language of its own, science to the layman takes on an awesome character.

Actually, it is as commonplace, at core, as the child's act of stripping down his toy to see what makes it work—except, of course, that science is rigorously systematic in the methods of innards-probing which have come to be known as *research*.

If misconceptions prevail—and they do—about physical science, whose fruits we live by, popular understanding of *social science* is confusion compounded. You can carry pitchblend into a laboratory and break it down into progressively smaller parts. It requires a battery of marvelously precise instruments to do it—instruments which took centuries to develop. But a group of humans obviously can't be carted into a laboratory. And to learn what makes a human group tick, the need is for special observational and analytical instruments of rather different complexity than the machines of the physics laboratory.

SOCIAL SCIENCE HAS had only decades, not centuries, to fashion such instruments. But this Johnny-come-lately made measurable progress and is on the threshold of great achievements. The Harvard Graduate School of Business

## What A Famous Physical Scientist Thinks

*"Methods have already been developed to a point where studies of society by competent scholars can provide basic information to assist all those practical men who struggle with human relations . . . Few people realize how much progress has been made in the last decade and what techniques are now at hand . . . It is the future which is exciting . . ."*

JAMES B. CONANT

President, Harvard University

Administration, with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, has for two decades been engaged in intensive investigations of the human relations aspects of industrial organizations. The results have brought new understandings of the way a man is affected by, and responds to, the complicated web of conditions revolving around his job. As a direct consequence, management in countless industries, big and small, have drastically overhauled both the underlying philosophy and the whole structure of their personnel policies and practices.

A parallel program of human relations research was undertaken by the U. S. Army in the most critical period of its history—World War II. Here the findings served as the impetus for drastic changes by the highest Army "brass" in policies affecting millions of men in uniform.

IN BOTH CASES we have hard-headed, incorrigibly practical generals and industrial executives, both standing firmly on time-honored traditions of more or less authoritarian management of men in the mass. Yet under the impact of facts uncovered by social research, they were moved, and in relatively quick order, toward greater democratization of their respective institutions, and toward permanent incorporation of social scientists as aides in policy evaluation.

We accept democracy as a system of moral values, not as a means to anything, but as a good in itself. Social science has now added proof that in the business of getting the community's work done, whether in huge institutions or in small groups, anything less than democratic team-work entails waste of human energy, productivity, personality resources and plain dollars-and-cents.

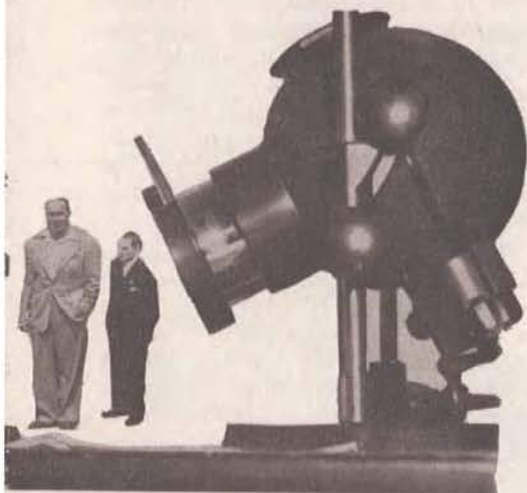
In the field of human relations there are problems of far larger magnitude. In an industrial plant final controls are in the hands of top administrators who have freedom to initiate change by the rational lessons of scientific fact. Prejudice and discrimination toward minor-

ity groups, on the other hand, are matters of immediate and ultimate individual responsibility involving dispositions that often are not rational. Add to this difficulty the fact that research in this tortuously complicated area is still a relatively new development in a very young science.

WE HAVE BEGUN to locate those segments of the social structure in which prejudiced attitudes are most acute. We know something as to the beginnings of prejudice in early childhood and their social causes. We understand more clearly than before the source of extreme forms of prejudice in defective personality development. In the remedial direction, evidence is accumulating that discriminative barriers to social intercourse themselves produce prejudice, and conversely the elimination of social barriers can significantly reduce such prejudice. We have painfully learned that the battle against prejudice and discrimination cannot rest upon any single programmatic technique. Rather it must proceed by the sustained application of many different techniques on many different fronts simultaneously—through legislation on national and state levels, through the new and powerful educative instruments of mass entertainment and information, through activation of national institutions and their counterparts, through concerted action by collaborating groups and organizations on the community level, and even through individual action when expressions of discrimination and prejudice are confronted.

All these represent only eye-openers. We have far to go yet in the scientific job of untangling the many twisted roots of prejudice and discrimination. We have far to go in testing and refining current techniques being applied in the effort to uproot prejudice and discrimination.

The tasks are large and urgent. But given time and the necessary resources, social science can help men of good-will and will-to-action to forge the necessary arsenal of weapons and strategies for the job that has to be done.





"In most American Communities  
it is illegal to be a child."

gression? Patterns of respectable aggression change from generation to generation. I can be arrested for pounding my neighbor's boy; I am applauded as a good father when I pound my own! In song and story we have extolled the virtues of the old, Germanic-type family and school in which the master was clearly recognized and passively obeyed. Of the inactive, insensitive child, we'd say, "Isn't he a good child?" But reared in the frustrating culture of these virtues, Germans committed international aggression seven times in a century and have been suckers for several dictators.

I have never encountered a delinquent child who had even one strong, decent, grown-up friend. Most delinquents have in their lives

cities they have no place else to be; modern housing projects are constructed as if their residents were to be sterile.

AMONG THE FIRST ideas a child learns to express is "I will do it myself." One of his first words is "No." Press firmly the sole of an infant's foot; he presses back. Turn his head, ever so gently, to the right; he turns it to the left. We are born with a natural resistance to the imposition of outside force. Homes, schools, neighborhoods, must be so managed that a child can exercise his natural disposition to freedom. Dictatorship is no more tolerable to a child in his home and school than to the citizen in his community and nation.

Infants don't give a yap how mother's breasts hurt, nor how sleepy Daddy may be at four in the morning. We are born completely selfish, self-seeking. Living with people who genuinely care how others feel, we learn to sense feelings and take them into account.

Children have to do things. Where, in your town? Mud pies are as essential to growth as milk. The arts, instead of being fads and boon-doggling frills, are most fundamental in the lives of our children. Genuinely artistic—that is, creative—experience is attained only in the pursuit of one's own purposes or in cooperative pursuits with others. But prescribed lessons, commanded practices, are never artistic experiences.

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## Washington dateline

AT 8:10 p.m. on Oct. 19 the first session of the 81st Congress came to a halt. It had labored for nine-and-one-half months, an almost unprecedented peacetime session. But, if the mountain had labored long, it had not produced in the way of civil rights even the proverbial mouse.

Right or wrong, the 80th Congress will never quite escape President Truman's charge of being "the worst"—and surely its record on civil rights was lamentable. But it must be reported that at this date the 81st Congress is scarcely further ahead on civil rights than its predecessor.

For the fifth time in 10 years, the House has passed a bill to abolish poll taxes—but the companion bill in the Senate is still in committee. FEPC is now on the calendar of both Houses, having been reported favorably by the House Labor Committee, but without recommendation by the Senate Committee. The Ferguson anti-lynching bill has been reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but it is a toothless bill denounced by the NAACP as a "blueprint for legalized lynching."

The record of a Congress is, of course, not closed, until the last day of the last session—but it would be naive to ignore the bungling record of disappointments in the first session, and its portent for the second.

President Truman isn't yielding or compromising. Recently, Senator Russell, tactical leader of the Southern bloc, broached a compromise to him. Truman curtly said "No." Russell persisted—he asked if the compromise might at least be used as a basis for discussion. Again Truman said "No." The President's determination and the valiant efforts of individual congressmen and party leaders provide the hope for victory in the second session.

But, hanging like the sword of Damocles over the whole civil rights program is the ineffective compromise agreement on curbing filibusters adopted last March by a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans.

WITH President Truman calling signals, the Senate Judiciary Committee finally got the DP Bill out on the floor. There a new quarterback took over by trans-Atlantic telephone. Judiciary Committee Chairman, Pat McCarran, sojourning in Europe, directed the strategy of shabby obstructionism. A work-weary Senate, handicapped by absenteeism, watched Senator Cain of Washington hold the floor for six hours, and Senator Langer of North Dakota continue the low-grade filibuster while sitting in his chair—a performance unprecedented in senatorial history.

The obstructionists' tactic was to send the DP Bill back to committee until next January. They won by a vote of 36-30, with thirty senators absent.

THE Department of Justice brief filed in the Henderson case is a magnificent statement of the democratic creed. The department, a nominal defendant in the case, has asked the Court to strike down segregation laws. Said Solicitor-General Phillip Perlman: "Separate but equal is a constitutional anachronism which no longer deserves a place in our law . . . it puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens, our equals before the law."

Congressman Rankin was quick to answer: "Every judge who votes for that proposition ought to be impeached." Rankin, incidentally, contributed his inimitable bit in the closing minutes of the congressional session. Last page of the report of the House proceedings records that Rankin introduced HR 6519, a bill making membership in or association with ADL a federal offense, punishable by \$500 fine and five years in jail. I count four violations of the Constitution by Rankin's bill—Philadelphia lawyers can probably cite more.

—HERMAN EDELSBERG

# Shall Children, Too, Be Free?

By HOWARD A. LANE

AGE is not mentioned in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms. Mankind has now fought almost constantly for two centuries to establish the freedom of the common man. As yet, the adult world seems loath to grant liberty and freedom to children. Freedom, say grown-ups, is something *they* possess and may therefore *give* to children.

Aside from war, the most glaring fault of our age is the neglect of little children. After the basic qualities of a child's personality are well established—then, we force his attendance at school. What's more, we appear to regard elementary school to be of slight importance. Finally, we seek to alleviate the effects of earlier neglects with tremendous high schools, guidance workers, clinics, sanitariums and reformatories.

Man lives not by bread alone. Thus, the personality, as well as the body, of the young child must be nourished, lest he succumb to spiritual rickets. Lacking the nutriment he needs, a child grows crookedly. He becomes a dull personality, or a neurotic personality, or an aggressive personality.

And the world is already tilted recklessly by neurotic thinking. We speak of *the* Negro, although American Negroes come from more than 100 ethnic groups. We commonly attribute—without support of scientific fact—inborn qualities to nationality groups. I once saw an

examination question: "List six queer things about the Chinese people."

THE NEUROSIS of racism—so obvious in the Ku Kluxer and the Nisei hater—is also evident in that competitive spirit which is hell bent on the quest for excellence, for being best. The urge to be best is not a natural urge; it appears to be readily learned. Yet most families and nearly all schools set their children against each other to see who can be first, who can get the most, rather than who can do a good job. Adults are most confusing to children. We carefully teach our children not to take the biggest piece of cake, not to interrupt, not to push ahead in line; at the same time we urge each child to be the best reader, to work the most problems, and above all to get better school marks than his cousins!

A first step in the re-education of mankind should be the elimination of all appeals to selfishness in the education of our children. Man does not need prizes, nor distinctions, to make him work hard and behave well. It is increasingly clear that the basic ill of mankind is the quest for privilege, for undue advantage. In some high places the Golden Rule remains the most offensive of doctrines.

SHOULD CHILDREN be free? Or must they remain the victims of parental ag-

many persons who have sought to do them good; none who displayed genuine friendliness. Modern life makes the exercise of simple friendship difficult for children. Fault-finding remains a common activity of parents and teachers. Older children find their friendships in gangs; modern life provides for few facilities for respectable ganging. To many children it appears that neighborhoods care more about blue spruces, picture-book yards, the house beautiful, than about them.

In fact, in most American communities it is illegal to be a child. Ball playing in the streets is unlawful. A boy can't throw anything with all his might unless he is old enough to have a businessman's name printed on his back, or can make the team at school. Yet, if we oldsters had a more mature morality we would be better able to distinguish between the spurious and genuine in conduct. The words "adults only" in the for-rent ads reveal most eloquently the stunting of our moral growth.

The current adult anger at children and their parents, the renewed demands for more discipline in school and home, are the cries of frustration of a people wounded and shocked by war, and ill with anxiety of the future. Wounded, shocked creatures strike out, not back. The children are ever at hand, underfoot, ready objects of attack. In modern

## A Few DON'TS . . .

### From Free Children to Elders

1. Don't be a dictator. They make us angry, afraid, and dumb.
2. Never hit us. We might get the idea that it's all right for big nations to rule little ones by hitting. Hitting is a confession of your failure. (When you have been a "stinker" say "I'm sorry." We will respect you much more when you let us know that you were cruel only because you were tired, or sick, or worried.)
3. Don't embarrass us by finding fault with us before our friends, or yours.
4. Don't treat us as cute pets, or dress-up dolls or puppets. We are people.
5. Don't laugh at us, ever. Laugh with us, often.
6. Don't be afraid to talk to us. We see through you easily. But don't talk down to us.
7. Don't be afraid to let us make mistakes. How else will we, or you, know that our way isn't better than yours?
8. Don't be unjust. Take some time to judge. Use very sparingly powers that you have and that we lack. We will respect you the more for it.





EARLY this month more than 100 educators—presidents, deans and registrars of leading universities and representatives of national educational associations and public school systems—attended a Conference on Discrimination in College Admissions, sponsored in Chicago by the American Council on Education in cooperation with ADL. It's all part of ADL's "Crack the Quota" campaign and we'll tell you the results of this first-of-its-kind meeting in an important article next month . . . New York preview of *Prejudice*, full-length motion picture drama produced by ADL and Protestant Film Commission, attracted 1,000 first-nighters. Movie critics applaud the film. It's worth having booked in your local theater . . . Tri-State regional office in Denver, which put over successful "human relations" art contest among Colorado students, now planning similar venture with playwrighting. Contest will be nationwide and co-sponsored by Denver University School of the Theater and National Children's Theater Conference . . . Independent Voters of Illinois have presented Merit Award to Illinois State Senator Abraham Lincoln Marovitz as year's outstanding state legislator for "his courageous stand in the cause of civil rights." He's a Ben Brither. Similar award given to Milburn P. Akers, associate editor of Chicago Sun-Times . . . Dalton (Ga.) American Legion Post No. 112 presented 5,000 IAD book jackets with "Immortal Chaplains" theme to local schools.

Effect of anti-mask laws on Southern landscape was evident during unmasked Klan parade in Augusta, Ga. last month. "To keep from being recognized," an observer reports, "many Klansmen wore dark glasses and false handlebar mustaches. Others painted their faces with lipstick and rouge to hide their identity. They traveled in trucks and cars with out-of-state license plates. They were a ludicrous sight, jibed at and heckled by spectators." . . . Note from Hotel Jerome in Aspen, Col.: "The Hotel Jerome never has been and is not now restricted as to clientele on the basis of race, religion or creed. Any prospective guest . . . will always be more than welcome." Hotel was listed in *ADL Bulletin* article (May-June) among resorts which bar Jews. Mix-up resulted from unfortunate use of language in an advertising letter sent by hotel's manager . . .



Sugarman & Kaufman

Among four New Yorkers nominated by President Truman to federal bench are Sidney Sugarman, active Ben Brither and ADL worker and Irving R. Kaufman, member ADL's Eastern board of directors . . . Melvin H. Schlesinger, ADL national commissioner from Denver, elected chairman of Community Service Division; Edward Goldberger of New York, vice-chairman . . . We're pleased to report that *ADL Bulletin* subscriptions have been rolling in at a fast pace, many of them full lodge and chapter memberships. Caught us with our presses down last month—which we pass on as our apology to the 3,000 new subscribers who missed last month's issue.

## The Spectre of Hitler: II

Continued from page 1

The costly occupation has made little impact on the German political spirit. The formal structures of democracy we have prodded to completion—the Bonn constitution, the republic, free elections—stand shakily, without foundation, dangerous monuments to the short-sightedness of the Allied occupation program.

THE POLITICAL APATHY of postwar Germany was no secret to the American Military Government. Its own opinion analysts conducted surveys in the American zone and came up with disturbing knowledge that six out of 10 Germans have little interest in political issues. They much prefer to play the sheep, let a "leader" do their thinking for them.

Almost half are sincerely convinced that Germany today is not prepared to govern itself democratically. And in Bavaria, incubator of a renaissance nazism, the Bonn constitution is condemned as "too democratic!"

Of what purpose is this headlong rush to formalize a German state? The answer can be found in the "cold war." Germany as a bastion against Soviet aggression has become the rallying theory among the occupation officials.

For a commentary on the peculiar naivete of this policy we need look no further than to the German political campaigns of last summer. Leaders of the dominant Social Democrat and the Christian Democrat parties found it exceedingly difficult to flicker the interest of the German voter. That is, until they took a leaf from the political notebook of the splinter fascist parties and shifted their campaigns from serious issues to bitter emotional attacks upon the Americans, British and French. The tempo was stepped up in the final weeks of the campaign, with great stress on Germany's "nationalist rights." What began with prospects for a dismal election ended with a record vote.

Western Germany has forcefully rejected communism. But that we should accept this fact as evidence of a democratic spirit, or of friendship for the United States—as our home grown fascists would have us believe—is

reasoning more dangerous than stupid. Just as they have rejected the Soviets, so have the Germans rejected democracy, western-style. They've accepted our bubble gum and motion pictures; not our



Jews carry banners, march in protest demonstration in Munich.

social philosophy. They still cling to their own, one that has carried them into war seven times in the last century.

YOUTH LEADERS in western Germany are quick to declare that communism is a lost cause for its sponsors among the young men and women of the country. In the same breath they candidly report that German youth would fall into step behind a dramatic leader—"a new strong man." During a youth discussion in Frankfurt, a communist organizer reported: "Last week I examined 10 applications for membership in my group. Six of them withdrew when I told them that Stalin was not a dictator like Hitler." Said the leader of the Bavarian Student Committee: "He who is not a German nationalist is a swine."

The resurgence of militant nationalism in Germany has its deepest roots in the tendency of "justification, sometimes sly and sometimes brazen, of the events of the Nazi era," to quote General Telford Taylor. This nationalism has its roots in the megalomaniac feeling which the Germans have about the importance of their role in the East-West conflict. The growing neo-Nazism finds its expression in the continuing decline of anti-Nazi elements, in the development of new pro-Nazi political organizations, in increased resistance to occupation authority, and in a growing spirit of arrogance. As General Taylor reported earlier this year, "Many Germans prefer to have it known that they were Nazis."

And—in spirit—still are.



# The Defeat of Armstrong's \$50,000,000

Continued from page 1

pensive political advertisements that were heavily larded with anti-Semitism. But the Southern candidates wouldn't support Armstrong. "I have no option but categorically to repudiate the attempt . . . to appeal to religious and racial prejudice," was the blunt rebuff of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Dixiecrat candidate for the presidency. Armstrong may have stuck with the party, but his allegiance probably faltered a trifle. At any rate, he willingly contributed funds to another presidential candidate—Gerald L. K. Smith.

Smith came out of the election with an unofficial nationwide total of 47 votes. Armstrong made the same devastating impression as a pamphleteer. No Tom Paine, he, even for the cause of white supremacy, the Judge cast about for greener fields in which a multi-millionaire might publicize his bigotry. He became—to use the word loosely—a philanthropist.

WHEREUPON THE JUDGE turned to Jefferson Military College, a tiny institution near Natchez, Mississippi, to which he had already contributed \$6,500. The school dates back to 1802; Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, studied there. But lean years had deprived it of its collegiate status and it had reverted to a prep school with an enrollment of 47 and debts which threatened to close its doors. In fact, the school had remained open for the present term only in anticipation of a promised endowment by Armstrong, and for that purpose the Judge's son, A. J. Armstrong, had been elected to the board of trustees.

When finally outlined the proposition could only be described as "fabulous." Armstrong promised an outright grant of 26,000 acres of Mississippi land and five-sixths of the mineral rights of 42,000 additional oil-bearing acres which experts predicted would yield the value of \$50,000,000. Jefferson Military College was to become a new "West Point of the South."

There were, of course, certain qualifications. The school board was to be reduced from 12 to five members, the elder Armstrong to name three of them. He selected his son, Joseph E. Brown, U. S. district attorney of Natchez, and a former army general named Moseley. The retiring trustees chose from among their number Gerard Brandon and Stanley Murphy of Natchez.

ARMSTRONG ALSO INSISTED that the charter of the school be amended to exclude matriculation of "any person of African or Asiatic origin." The trustees,

perhaps anxious to get the deal settled, saw no harm in the stipulation since the segregation pattern is long-entrenched in that part of the Deep South. The exclusion was not stated in the original charter; 147 years ago it was understandably impossible for a Negro to matriculate at a Southern college.

The younger Armstrong, without authorization from the school board, made haste to publicize his father's benefaction. He also told reporters something he had failed to tell the board: that a condition of the gift was that the school pledge itself to "teach and disseminate through every medium possible the true principles of Jeffersonian democracy and the Constitution, Christianity and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American races." That remarkable non-sequitur—Jeffersonian democracy and race superiority to be taught as one and the same!—and the grandiose mention of \$50,000,000 broke the front pages of the nation. And with it a heap of editorial and public scorn upon the tiny school.

BRANT COOPERSMITH, ADL regional director in New Orleans, traveling to Natchez to investigate, made several interesting disclosures. Trustee Stanley Murphy was completely unaware of the newspaper story until several angry town-folk brought it to his attention. Murphy was astonished and more than a little disturbed when Coopersmith brought out the fact that the new trustee, Moseley, was General Van Horn Moseley, who, in the pre-war Christian Front days, was selected as "the man on horseback" who would lead the fascist movement in America. U. S. Attorney Brown was equally non-plussed. Although appointed a trustee by Armstrong he wanted no part of the conditions set forth and hastened to send a complete report to Attorney General in Washington. Meanwhile, Coopersmith found other allies among the organized Catholic community in Natchez which promptly condemned the terms of the endowment.

The flustered board of trustees, still concerned with the financial plight of the school, tried to get a statement from Armstrong, Sr. It took several days for the Judge to answer. When he did he restated the terms his son had publicized. The school board unhesitatingly turned down the \$50,000,000 offer. Said Murphy: "There are some things money can't buy."

THE BOARD ALSO refused a no-strings-attached offer of \$5,000 from Armstrong. Their unequivocal stand rebounded to the school's benefit. A Jewish merchant in Houston responded with a \$5,000 gift and several B'nai B'rith lodges and other organizations made small contributions to start off a fund-raising drive.

The rejected Armstrong has since declared that the endowment money will be given to the Judge Armstrong Foundation, an organization he incorporated in Texas in 1945, "for the support of charitable, religious and educational undertakings" including, according to the charter, Alcoholics Anonymous. The record shows, however, that the Foundation's assistance has been largely to Gerald Smith and other professional anti-Semites. In 1947, the House Committee on Un-American Activities included the Foundation in reporting on fascist activities in the United States. The Foundation was supposedly heavily endowed, but according to a House Subcommittee which checked into its activities the Foundation operated with \$14,000 funds, expended \$12,000 of that for publication of Armstrong's prejudice-freighted pamphlets.

There's a moral in the story of Jefferson College's rejection of \$50,000,000. But does Armstrong see it?



ADL's Ben Epstein, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta (extreme left), featured speakers at an intergroup tea in Milwaukee, enjoy informal talk with three of city's women leaders, (left to right) Mrs. Eugene J. Cullen of the Ladies of the Knights of Columbus, Mrs. Walter Rilling of the Milwaukee County of Church Women, and Mrs. Morey W. Kasch of the Milwaukee Council of B'nai B'rith Women.





STANLEY KRAMER, 36-year-old independent Hollywood producer who started in the movie business as an \$18-a-week back lot laborer, is awarded ADL citation for his production of *Home of the Brave*, war-time story of anti-Negro prejudice. Juvenile film star Peggy Ann Garner (photo, left) accepts award for Mr. Kramer from Justice Meier Steinbrink, ADL national chairman. Looking on is James Edwards, talented young actor who played feature role in film. At right: Four high school students display one of many posters exhibited during official Massachusetts celebration of Civil Rights Week, Oct. 23-29, marking second anniversary of historic Report of President's Committee on Civil Rights. ADL's New England regional office participated in week-long patriotic program held throughout the state by official proclamation of the governor.

## COMMENT:

Continued from page 2

given \$100,000 to conduct one single experiment in this field at Cornell University. Our expenditure was certainly "seed money" which has brought in a bumper crop.

**JUDGE ACHIEVEMENT** By the fact that 10 years ago our agencies were among the very few concerning themselves with intergroup relations. Today there are over 700 agencies, national and local, civic groups, Mayor's Committees, groups representing many minorities, all contributing to the total picture. I wish we could compare the total budgets of all of these agencies with the amount of money which our agencies originally invested in promoting a program for local community activity. I think the JDA contributor would find a very good return on his invested dollar.

These are the indicators of achievement, a mere sampling of the manifold activities in which the two Joint Defense Appeal agencies are engaged. They are part of a continuing long-range responsibility. How well that responsibility can be met depends largely on the fund-raising enthusiasm of the Jewish community and its willingness to participate in the efforts of the Joint Defense Appeal. It is no small job.

**the ADL bulletin**

212 5th Ave., New York 10.  
Entered as 2nd class matter.

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman,  
Temple Emanuel,  
16th & Pearl St.,  
Denver, Colo.

## Shall Children, Too, Be Free?

Continued from page 5

The world is mortally ill of the sophomore complex—disposition to strike those who cannot or dare not strike back. Are you a sophomore with your children? To prate of freedom is blasphemy in any community that neglects its children; that denies to any child the things he needs to grow straight; that imposes upon any child indignity, lack of opportunity because of the color, creed, weakness, economic fortunes of his parents. Segregated recreation areas and segregated schools reveal a callous disregard of the moral and physical welfare of those children who are forced into the rigid mold of adult prejudices.

More than 2,400 years ago Socrates climbed to a high place in Athens and proclaimed, "Citizens

of Athens. Why is it that you turn and scrape every stone to gather wealth and neglect your children to whom, one day, you must relinquish it all?" He was, of course, investigated and executed by the un-Athenian committee of his time.

His question persists.

*This article is condensed from Shall Children, Too, Be Free?, tenth in the series of Freedom Pamphlets published by the Anti-Defamation League. This latest pamphlet in the series was prepared by the American Education Fellowship. The author, Dr. Howard A. Lane, is professor of early childhood and elementary education, New York University's School of Education.*

## Petition FCC on Radio Bigot

Pending before the Federal Communications Commission is the petition of Judge Emanuel Lewis of Savannah, chairman of ADL's Southern Regional board, which asks that Mordecai F. Ham, radio evangelist, be prevented from abusing the facilities "created in the public interest by stirring up religious hatred of citizens and residents of the United States."

Ham, 72, who makes his home in Louisville, broadcasts his sermons over 32 stations. In his

petition, Judge Lewis set forth 12 specific examples of alleged anti-Semitic utterances or writings ascribed to the elderly evangelist.

Samples of Ham's preachings: "Germany is not to blame . . . the Hebrews started it." . . . "Not all Jews are Israelites, many are still Jacobs. Jacob was the name of the 'trickster, bargain-driver, the trafficker.'"

Religious leaders of three faiths unanimously agreed that Ham's broadcasts preach bigotry.





# Synagogue Council of America

3785 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 32, N. Y. WAdsworth 6-8930

RABBI HIRSCH E. L. FREUND  
Executive Director

May 23, 1949

## Officers

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CHARLES P. KRAMER  
Honorary Secretary

Dear Colleague:

One of the most potentially dangerous developments in the post-war situation of the world, from which our attention is being studiously averted, is the virtual breakdown of the denazification program in Germany.

The Synagogue Council of America feels that the issue is of sufficient moment to us as Americans, as Jews and as human beings to justify calling the attention of our Congregations to the problem.

We are accordingly calling upon the American rabbinate to dedicate a discourse, within the next few weeks, to the problems of denazification in Germany and the implications of the present situation. We hope that you will participate in this important enterprise.

As source material, we are enclosing documents and other reports prepared by the American Jewish Congress, to whom our thanks are due, as well as excerpts from a report by Rabbi Simon G. Kramer who has recently returned from a mission for the Synagogue Council as Jewish religious liaison between the American Military Government and the German Jewish community.

I shall appreciate hearing from you on the enclosed post card that you are planning to discuss this important theme within the next few weeks.

With cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Robert Gordis*

Dr. Robert Gordis,  
President

RG:bf

## Constituent Organizations

RABBINICAL COUNCIL  
OF AMERICA

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY  
OF AMERICA

CENTRAL CONFERENCE  
OF AMERICAN RABBIS

UNION OF ORTHODOX  
JEWISH CONGREGATIONS

UNITED SYNAGOGUE  
OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN  
HEBREW CONGREGATIONS



## Germany today

# War criminals need no whitewash in U. S. Zone

By Emil Carlebach

FRANKFURT

OVER 55% of the people in the U. S. Zone of Germany now believe Nazism was "a good idea badly carried out," according to a U. S. Military Government poll. If the people are confused, it is not surprising in view of Western policies. Under the name of "denazification," re-nazification proceeds rapidly.

A typical case is Karl Lorberg, Hessian minister for agriculture and nutrition. A big landowner and old member of the reactionary Steel Helmets, Lorberg was cleared without trial by a denazification court. Hitherto undisclosed evidence in his file showed that he acted as his own Gestapo, violently and indiscriminately beating Polish slave laborers on his estate. Once he so mistreated a Polish woman that she threw herself out of a window in fear of further punishment.

The authorities, admitting Lorberg had beaten prisoners, said he was no Nazi and "recommended" to public prosecutor Hess that the case be dropped.

**FOR A GOOD NAZI:** Hess, who promptly dropped it, was himself "supreme war administration councillor" under the Nazis at 24,000 marks a year. He had found it advisable to seek refuge in the Western zone when the Red Army approached his home town. For his tactful handling of the Lorberg case he was rewarded with a post in the Hessian Interior Ministry, in the department dealing with restitution to the Nazis' racial, religious and political victims.

To a recitation of these facts the Hessian Diet listened silently. Social Democrat Prime Minister Stock, when re-

## "... never forgotten"

"Never before in history has a nation waged so unforgivably pitiless and cowardly a war against civilians. . . . The mass slaughter of innocents—by electrocution, machine gun, gas chamber—inhuman torture of human beings, enforced slavery of men and women, compulsory prostitution of decent girls, starvation of entire provinces, these are crimes which can never be explained away. Lidice, and the many other cities desolated by the insane murder of every inhabitant, will never be forgotten."

War Dept. Pamphlet No. 19-2, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, Nov. 20, 1944.

proached for having in his administration a man guilty of crimes against humanity, remained silent. Only one Christian Democrat deputy, Stieler, defended his party comrade Lorberg. Stieler was publicly praised in German newspapers in 1933 for his success in betraying a resistance group to the Nazis.

**HAPPY HJALMAR:** Maj. Gen. George P. Hays, U. S. Deputy Military Governor, announced last week there was no reason why Hitler's financial "wizard" Hjalmar Schacht should not now become an official in the West German government. Schacht, who is living happily in the British Zone, was finally "cleared" when a U. S. Zone denazification court decided it had no jurisdiction. While the British had refused to turn over Schacht from their zone, the Americans were not reluctant to turn over to the British the Communist leader Max Rei-

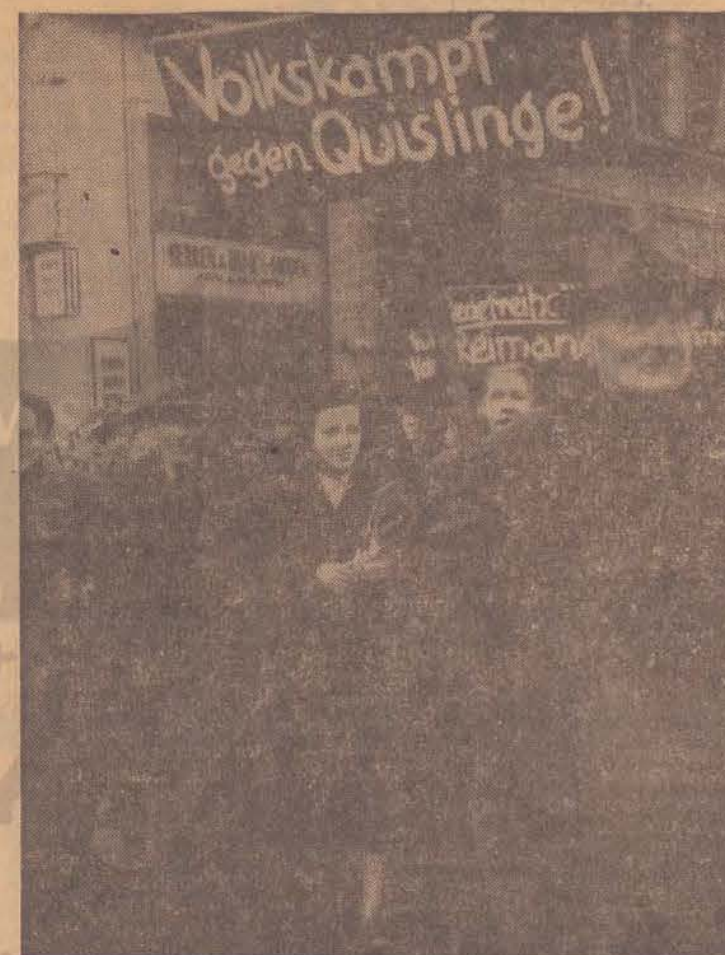
mann, who was sentenced to jail for "maliciously" German politicians cooperating with the West.

**MERRY MATHILDE:** Mrs. Mathilde Ludendorff, widow of the World War I field marshal who co-founded the Nazi movement, has been allowed to hold unlicensed meetings all over the U. S. Zone of her Tannenberg Bund. U. S. authorities say the meetings are of a "purely religious nature"; they are devoted to spreading German chauvinism and anti-Semitism. History professor Ulrich Noack has been refused a license by the same government to hold a meeting to discuss peace.

Eight days after permitting the first military parade of the newly-created Defense Corps, British authorities broke up a legal and authorized meeting of east and west zone politicians discussing ways of overcoming zonal barriers.

**WRONG SIDE WON:** Among high Nazi officials released from internment are the Gauleiter of Hamburg, the last leader of the Hitler Youth, the chief of the Reich's labor service, and such SS and SA generals as Hauser, founder of the extermination squads; Keppler, chief of V-weapons; Hitler's, Goering's and Himmler's adjutants; and Reinecke, highest judge of the SS.

Col. Gen. Halder, Hitler's chief of staff, is writing books on tactics with approval of the U. S. authorities. His booklet, *Hitler as Military Commander*, constantly reproaches the Fuehrer for interfering with the General Staff; otherwise, it maintains, Germany would have won the war. The Munich publishing house which put out the book pointed out "em-



This is another kind of German: Supporters of Max Reimann, German Communist leader (shown with his wife, 2nd and 3rd from left), escort Reimann to the British Military Court in Duesseldorf where he was sentenced to three months. The first banner reads: "People's Fight Against the Quislings."

phatically" that it "did not appear without previous reference to the U. S. Military Government."

**DANGER — RED!** Corruption keeps pace with re-nazification. Fritz Dietz, president of the Hessian nutrition council, granted himself in 1945 as head of the import corporation IHG a monopoly on importation of foodstuffs from the U. S. German officials have answered all attacks on this arrangement by saying that the U. S. Military Government desired it.

The decartelization branch finally started an investiga-

tion at the end of 1948 while district Military Governor James R. Newman was in the U. S. The investigations ended by involving almost the whole government.

In May, 1949, Charles H. Collisson, who was handling the case for the decartelization branch, was relieved of his post "for reasons of economy," and the Hessian government fired the German officials who had appeared as witnesses against Dietz. The attorney for the cartel interests exposed decartelization as "a communist maneuver."



## REPORT OF RABBI SIMON G. KRAMER

### SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA LIAISON REPRESENTATIVE BETWEEN AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE GERMAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

Upon invitation of the U. S. War Department, the Synagogue Council of America appointed me to proceed to Germany to assume the task of Jewish (religious) Liaison Representative to Military Government. The appointment was made in March 1948, and I arrived in Berlin on April 13 of that year. I was thus one of four such representatives (the number has increased since then), each one appointed by his respective church group in the United States - viz: the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jewish, and the National Council of Christians and Jews for Interfaith Relations. Like my colleagues, I too was attached to the Religious Affairs Branch of the E & CR Division of OMGUS - given the highest rating that a civilian is entitled to in Military Government - furnished with office facilities and living quarters - and then I was put pretty much on my own.

With the encouragement and helpful advice of Dr. Olsen, Chief of Religious Affairs, Dr. Sterling Brown, in charge of Interfaith Relations, Dr. Riedl, in charge of Catholic affairs, and Dr. Hoeberg, in charge of Evangelical and Free Church affairs, I soon learned my way around. Later on, meeting with the heads of the Division, with General Gailey, Ambassador Murphy, and General Clay served to make me feel more at home and made life more endurable.

I conceived my task to be to visit Jewish settlements and communities all over the U.S. Zone, to ascertain their needs, the possibilities of their growth, and to give them the guidance and the advice necessary to reestablish their religious life upon more solid foundations.

After the liberation of Jews from the concentration camps and from whatever hiding places they came out of at the end of the war, the Jewish community in Germany - small, scattered, leaderless, without synagogues - (they were burnt out during the Hitler days) - without any substantial form of organized religious or cultural activity - had to start all over again. What has been achieved in this field since 1945 is very admirable, but is nevertheless still a far cry from the exemplary Jewish life in all of its phases, which the German Jewish community was able to boast of in the pre-Hitler days. The temples and synagogues, the schools and seminaries, the libraries and museums, the art, the literature and the cultural output of the German Jewish community of only 600,000 before the Hitler period, were the pride and glory of European Jewry. It will take a long time - if ever - for Jewry to recover from the blow which Hitler struck with such fury and barbarism.

Since 1945 some synagogues have been opened in various communities - a few rabbis have been engaged - some teachers have been hired to train the young - some cantors, to chant during the services during public worship, and so on. At this writing, the largest Jewish communities in Germany are the following: Berlin with some 8000 members in the Gemeinde; Munich with some 3000 members in the Gemeinde; Frankfurt with some 2000 members (its number is rapidly increasing



because of the influx of Jews hitherto unaffiliated); Stuttgart, including all of Wurttemberg, with some 1700 members; Furth with some 350 members; Wiesbaden with some 250 members; and a large number of smaller communities ranging from a bare Minyan to 150 and 200 in the organized community. All told the number of Jews settled in the cities and towns of the U. S. Zone of Germany will certainly not exceed 20,000. Only a fifth to a third of this number can be spoken of as German Jews in the sense that they were born in Germany or had been citizens of the German Reich before the Hitler period. The rest are Jews of East European origin who, since the liberation, have given up their residence in DP camps and have settled in the cities and towns and succeeded in adjusting somehow to life within the German economy.

It is difficult to ascertain at this time how many of these Jews - German or East European in origin - will remain in Germany. Many will no doubt emigrate - either to Palestine or to the U. S. or to some other country - others may come to take their place. There is quite a movement now from Poland, Hungary and Roumania, of Jews attempting to cross the border from these countries, to make their way into Austria and Germany in the hope of eventually reaching Israel or some place of security in the western world. Detailed statistics are not known, but that large numbers are involved there can be no doubt. Some people think that in the course of a year or two, when the DP camps will have been completely liquidated, the Jewish populations in the towns will grow to 30,000 in number or more. This will largely depend upon the attitude of the general population - what opportunities will be made available to the Jews to rebuild their lives in dignity and in freedom, and to what degree the spirit of democracy will prevail in the land.

Whatever the numbers and however scattered, their religious needs must be met. This is not a small matter: special foods for the holidays, prayer books, bibles, prayer shawls, phylacteries, candles for ritual purposes, and other such religious material are needed. The very job of "digging out from under" the ruins of synagogues and to repair some of them for use is a tremendous tax upon the energies of the community leaders. It should be said in this connection that the community leaders, harassed though they are by their personal problems, have shown remarkable initiative and have accomplished wonders with the limited means at their disposal.

The American Military Government - both the Army and Military Government - has been most understanding and most cooperative in the great effort to aid in the reestablishment of Jewish religious life in Germany. These efforts will long be remembered by the survivors of Nazi persecution, who not only look upon the Americans as their liberators, but in their terror and bewilderment since liberation have learned to look upon them as dear friends who sincerely believe that Jewish rehabilitation must be part of the general rehabilitation of the country upon foundations of democracy and equality. In the meantime, the dire need of Rabbis and spiritual leaders in the communities, teachers, shochtim, cantors for the synagogues and the like, is still the worry of the community leaders and of all the agencies, including the American Military Government, that are trying to help them.

In the matter of Jewish property - individual or community property - now heirless, the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization has been set up and is supported by American Military Government for the handling of this problem. In view of the world wide significance of this situation and because of the great tragedy which has befallen our people in Europe as a result of the Nazi



persecutions, I thought that the question was more than a mere statement which will decide a technical point in Jewish law; whether synagogue or other religious properties may or may not be disposed of and under what conditions such disposal should be made. I felt that "the eyes of all Israel" were upon this particular situation and that there was no precedent in Jewish history for anything like what was facing our people today. I therefore advised that a Commission of Rabbis composed of scholars and halachic experts in various parts of the world should be the consultative body which would legislate upon these matters.

A project with which the Synagogue Council will be directly dealing within the next few months is the one that has to do with the visits of the German experts to the United States. As is well known, American Military Government has committed itself to the idea of sending several hundred German experts to America for a period of two or three months each. The purpose of these visits will be to give them the opportunity of learning American techniques and methods pertaining to the work of their own special fields, and what is more, of learning the general democratic background of American living so that when they return to Germany they will be able to bring the ideals of democracy and the practices of American democratic life into the various fields of their interest in Germany. Among these German experts, Religious Affairs of OMGUS was to send some 40 representatives of the Catholic church in Germany, some 40 representatives of the Protestant churches in Germany, some to represent the inter-faith movement and five representatives of the Jewish faith in Germany. The Synagogue Council has undertaken to be the state-wide sponsor of these Jewish visitors, to work out their visits to Jewish institutions, their itineraries in the various communities and to be responsible for facilitating the study of American Jewish life to these German representatives upon their stay here.

It is interesting to note that the Jewish Kultus Gemeinden have already succeeded in building the framework of country-wide organizations. Every land (province) in the U. S. Zone has a Landes Verband (state organization) of Gemeinden for mutual aid and cooperation. There is also a nationwide Interessen Gemeinschaft of all Landes Verbände in Western Germany which brings together Jewish representatives to periodic conferences for mutual understanding and discussion of problems that are common to all of them. German Jewish leaders, lay and rabbinic, have shown unusual devotion to the cause of Judaism and their efforts have been noted by Military Government.

If given the sympathy and the understanding which they so richly deserve, and if given the opportunity to live in freedom and in a democratic environment free from the fear of anti-semitism and hatred, it may well be that the German Jewish communities will grow and reach a status which will enable them proudly to take their place among the Jewish communities of the world. Everything depends upon the German people and the kind of government and institutions they will build in the future.

In my stay in Europe and in conversations with Jewish leaders in France, Switzerland and Holland (I was unfortunately unable to get to England), I suggested to them the need of a world Synagogue movement which would deal with problems that face world religious Jewry on a universal level, particularly the problem of missionizing among Jews in Europe today. The Churches in Europe are definitely committed, through their local, national and international organizations to a renewed and strengthened program of missionary work among Jews. They feel that the Jews have been weakened morally and religiously. A good deal of the interfaith movement in Europe is concerned, certainly motivated,



by the possibility of missionizing among Jews. This is a problem which single Jewish communities cannot handle. It seems to me that this is one of the basic problems with which a World Council of Synagogues could deal. European Jewish communities need advice. Everywhere in Europe Jews need the stimulus of contact with the large and powerful and wealthy Jewish community in America, not only through relief agencies and political organizations, but also through the Synagogue. The Synagogue Council is the agency which can give them, through a world Council, such religious and moral support.

These are the things which I can outline in this brief space of time. I would like to say that it was a grand experience. I am grateful to the Synagogue Council of America for giving me the opportunity of going to Europe and dealing with some of these problems. I am grateful to the JDC for the friendly cooperation which Joint gave to me in the work that I tried to do in Europe. The work of AJDC is recognized by everyone as being basic to Jewish life in Europe. Their cooperation with me was a source of great satisfaction to me. Also, the relationships between the Jewish Liaison Representative of the Synagogue Council and the office of the Jewish Advisor to the Commander in Chief have been cordial and friendly. They came to realize that matters of a religious character could be handled better by the religious representative. Dr. William Haber, Jewish Advisor, during my year's stay in Europe, has been most friendly and cooperative, as will no doubt his successor, Mr. Harry Greenstein, be to my successor, Rabbi Klein.

I shall be glad to use this experience which I have gathered for whatever service I can render, both to the Synagogue Council and to the Jewish community.





# In fact

*An Antidote for Falsehood  
In the Daily Press*

GEORGE SELDES, Editor  
Victor Weingarten, Associate

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(No. 550) Vol. XIX, No. 8  
May 23, 1949

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## Lobby Apathy

ALMOST half of the nation's voters don't know what a lobbyist is, and of those who are familiar with the term, twice as many are aware of labor lobbyists than know of pressure boys for big business. These startling findings were disclosed by the Gallup Poll May 11, and show an amazing lack of knowledge and indifference toward one of the most important groups in the country. According to Gallup, 45% didn't know what a lobbyist is and another 18% couldn't recall ever hearing of any. Fifteen percent knew that labor unions used lobbyists while only 8 percent heard of lobbyists for big business or industry in general. Only 3 percent knew that the NAM engages in lobbying. Despite President Truman's recent blast against the real estate lobby, only 7 percent of the voters ever heard about that group, but 9 percent knew the farmers had a lobby.

### Business Outstrips Labor 16-1

The day before the Gallup results appeared, the authoritative Congressional Quarterly reported that business lobbying outstrips labor's more than 16 to 1, and quoted from the official reports filed with the Congress to prove it. Assorted business groups spent \$952,421 to influence legislation in the first three months of this year, compared to \$58,288 spent by unions and unaffiliated employee groups. One company, General Electric, spent almost twice as much for pressure activity as all the unions put together. The company listed a \$91,075 lobby expenditure, of which \$61,309 was spent for one loaded questionnaire (In Fact Feb 28) purporting to show the public's attitude toward the Taft-Hartley law.

## Franco Lobby

A Catholic priest lobbying for full recognition of Spain was removed from the speaker's lobby of the House chamber May 12, United Press reported from Washington. The item was carried by the NYWorld-Telegram, was suppressed by every other NYC paper. The Rev Dr Joseph Thornington, associate editor of the Americas and World Affairs, walked into the speaker's lobby, went on the House floor, and then back to the speaker's lobby urging mem-

W11 4-10-50  
RABBI H A FRIEDMAN  
3001 FOREST ST  
DENVER 7 COLO

IF YOUR NAME IS ADDRESSED  
IN RED SEE PAGE THREE

## UN--Inside Story:

# FASCIST ARAB, LATIN-AMERICAN BLOCS IN DEAL TO FIGHT ISRAEL, GET FRANCO INTO ATLANTIC PACT

## Reactionary Nations of the World Unite; Fail on Palestine; Work for Spain

**L**AKE SUCCESS—Here are some of the main facts, and a large part of the "inside story" of what is happening at the United Nations, as revealed to In Fact's editor by diplomats whom he met in Europe last summer and who are now their country's delegates here.

All agree that although it is no secret that there is bloc voting in the UN, the American papers make no mention of any coalition other than the Eastern European countries. Actually, this group is outvoted repeatedly by a bigger bloc consisting of extreme-Right totalitarian countries whose deals are ignored by American papers and whose fascist tendencies are also ignored, mainly because in most instances they line up with the U S in the voting. Such news however, is reported in the European press.

### Arabs, Latins, in Anti-Israel, Pro-Franco Deal

1. The Arab League, organized by Great Britain, has been a party to all sorts of secret deals for the purpose of fighting the Israel state. The majority of Arab League nations are as purely despotic dictatorships as Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini.

2. The Arab League is still sponsored by the British Govt despite the fact Britain is now socialist and laborite. Ernest Bevin, foreign minister, known as "No 1 anti-Semite" in Europe, still collaborates with the Arabs.

3. The main deal the Arabs made was with the Latin-American bloc of 21 nations, which includes fascist Argentina, and other countries which have been seized by military cliques and reactionaries. This group is working for Franco.

4. The Latin bloc is directed by two forces: the U S State Dept which brought Argentina into the UN at the organizational meeting in San Francisco in 1945, and the Vatican State, which although not represented in the UN has not only the majority of the 21 Central and South American countries following its line, but also Belgium and other European countries.

5. In addition to following the main lines of the Arab-Latin deal against Israel and for Franco, the same fascist-dominated bloc is also the spearhead for an attack on those Eastern nations which have separated Church from State and held trials of persons, including clerics, guilty of treason and other civilian crimes.

### Arab-Latin Bloc Got 31-18 Vote Against Israel

The Arab-Latin-American deal became known to everyone at Lake Success—although the U S press did not report it—on April 13 when the application for membership of the new Israel state was debated. The vote against admission, in the form of a roll-call to refer the application to the Political Committee, was 31 to 18.

The Arab bloc vote consisted of Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. Turkey, another Mohammedan anti-Jewish nation, also voted in this bloc.

The Latin-American vote consisted of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, El Salvador, Peru and Venezuela. These are the chief nations in the Vatican bloc in the UN.

Great Britain voted against Israel, as did Belgium, one of the leading European nations in the Vatican bloc; also Greece which is at least semi-fascist, and the Union of South Africa, which is totalitarian and anti-Semitic under its new regime.

Although few newspapers have revealed the present lineup at UN, a year ago the NYTimes ran this reference: "A revived Arab-Latin-American coali-



(Continued from wide column, page 1)

tion, supported by the U S and Great Britain, elected Dr Jose Arce of Argentina president of the special session" (NYTimes Apr 17 1948).

The most direct charge of Vatican influence at UN was made by former Spanish foreign minister and contributor to The Nation, Alvarez Del Vayo, last Apr 23, as follows: "Only Russia and Australia spoke in favor of Israel. The British cleverly utilized Catholic and Protestant sentiment about Jerusalem to gain for the Arab-British position the support of certain Latin American Catholic countries and of Protestant Scandinavia . . . Israel was not the only issue in which religion and politics were mixed at Lake Success last week. Although some Western delegations felt it was no time to aggravate anti-Russian feeling, after the signing of the Atlantic Pact, the U S insisted on putting the Mindszenty case on the agenda."

### Quotes Churchman Asking Delegates Bar Israel State

Following the victory of the Arab-Latin-American-Vatican bloc April 13, according to In Fact's diplomatic informants, all sorts of deals were tried, and great pressure brought on not only Latin America but on Britain (which still controls the Arab League) to change the situation before adjournment this month. The new deal was to admit both Israel, the anti-fascist nation, and Spain, the fascist nation. As a result, the vote May 7 to limit debate (and speed action on Israel) was 25 in favor, with 8 against and 10 nations refusing to go on record with a vote.

In the debate on May 9 another clue to the UN coalition was given (but suppressed in most papers) when Charles Malik of Lebanon read a document he attributed to "a very high Christian churchman" in the U S, which called on all delegates to bar the entry of Israel. As reported in the NYPost:

"Asked to identify the author of the document, Malik said it would be a 'violation of confidence' to do so. Asked if the writer was known to Cardinal Spellman, he again pleaded he 'couldn't say'. The Cardinal's office disclaimed knowledge of the letter and its author."

The morning newspapers, with the exception of the Daily Mirror, ignored all reference to this matter, as they usually do to anything affecting the Vatican line in UN or American politics. Neither the Herald Tribune nor the Times made any reference to this subject although they quoted Malik quite fully on other matters.

Another most significant statement was made during this debate when a South American delegate who wanted time before deciding on the vote on Palestine, said: "We have to consult the Holy See about this first." No delegate challenged this statement; no newspaper published it.

The behind-the-scenes manoeuvres of the various blocs, also the pressure of the U S and Britain continued and on May 9 resulted in a vote of 33 to 11 in favor of a resolution for the admission of Israel.

### Many Senators Urge Franco Ban Be Lifted in Deal

The Arab fascist league voted solidly against, as did India, Pakistan and Afghanistan, while among those which abstained, although previously voting in the Arab-Latin-American-Vatican bloc, were Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil and the Union of South Africa. Great Britain did not vote with its Arab satellites; it abstained this time.

May 11 the vote was only slightly different. Israel became the 59th UN member. Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen delegates walked out of the hall after the vote was announced. Among the abstainers were Belgium, Brazil, El Salvador, Greece, Turkey and Britain.

The second part of the secret deal was for the admission of Franco at the May session, but this deal was jeopardized by the anti-Franco intervention of Secy of State Acheson at a time many of the reactionaries in the Senate, notably Senators Vandenberg, Connally, Taft, Brewster, McCarran, Wherry, Bridges and Gurney came out in favor of Spain. Gurney is one of the four South Dakota members of Congress elected with NAM money.

The UN 1946 resolution calling for the severance of diplomatic relations with Spain branded Franco and his regime a fascist tyranny, and charged Spain with aiding the Nazis during the war. Nevertheless, the following UN members refused to break with Franco:

Argentina, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela, another combination of fascist and near-fascist nations.

On May 7, when the political committee of the UN General Assembly voted to ease the ban, the NYTimes noted that "the Arab bloc voted solidly for the resolution, a fact that was attributed by several Arab delegates to gratitude for the Spanish Govt's attitude on the Palestine question." The facts not reported by the Times were that this was part of the Arab-Franco deal. Voting for Franco were:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Columbia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Greece, Honduras, Iraq, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, U of So Africa and Yemen, another combination of all fascist and near-fascist nations; the Arab, Latin-American, and Vatican-line countries.

bers to make speeches for recognition of Spain. When he approached Rep Wright Patman (D, Texas), Patman called the doorkeeper and the priest was ordered to leave. Patman said that House rules permit only members and accredited news correspondents in the speaker's lobby. Before being ejected, Thorning had succeeded in getting several Congressmen to make pro-Franco talks.

### FEPC Hearings

NOT reported in the news accounts of the Congressional hearings on proposed Fair Employment Practices legislation May 10 were these three items:

Rep Clare Hoffman (R, Mich), an Axis apologist during the war, opposing the measure even though he stated he himself opposes all discrimination, declaimed, apropos of nothing: "There's no discrimination against the Jews in this country. They are on top. They have the world by the tail!"

Rep Charles Bennett (D, Fla), claiming he had the best interests of the Negro at heart, attempted to bring into his testimony such topics as rape, drinking fountains and venereal diseases. Later he turned to the press tables and appealed to reporters not to mention his testimony on these subjects "in the interests of the colored people." Except for Federated Press, which reported both incidents, the other papers and wire services complied.

A freshman Representative, Tom Burke (D, Ohio), supporting the measure, told an opposition witness that his own grandfather had been faced with employment bars upon leaving the Union Army after the Civil War. "No Irish Need Apply," was the sign on factory doors in those days, Burke said.

### Atlantic Pact Cost

THE real price tag on military aid to the Atlantic Pact nations will be far more than the \$1,130,000,000 Secy of State Acheson has estimated. This admission was made by U S Army Chief of Staff, Gen Omar Bradley, during questioning by Sen Forrest Donnell at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Comm. The actual cost will run between \$4 to \$8-billion, Donnell said, and Bradley didn't disagree.

The only real probing at the important hearings had been done by Donnell and by Sen Arthur V Watkins, neither of whom are members of the group, but who were allowed to sit in and ask questions after they expressed concern about the attitude of Sen Tom Connally, the chairman, who was refusing to bring out any information which might jeopardize the Pact's chances for ratification. After a few days, Donnell was left alone because Watkins refused to stand for any more of Connally's brusque treatment and walked out of the hearings, stating he'll ask further questions from the Senate floor.

### Hearst Hoax

AS the nation's principal practitioner of yellow journalism, Wm Randolph Hearst has no peer, but except for the NYPost-Home News, no paper exposed his latest stunt—the use of both the House Comm on Un-American Activities and a Federal Grand Jury as props for a publicity stunt to sell his latest lurid spy scare series.

In addition to the government agencies, the newspapers also were taken in by the hoax which centered about the sensational charge by an ex-Communist, Paul Crouch,



concerning the 12-year old disappearance of Julia Stuart Poyntz. Two days after the papers gave huge headlines to the story, it developed the whole thing was a buildup for a Hearst-owned King Features Syndicate series; that Crouch's version of the incident is based on gossip and is but one of several versions available; that the hoax developed on the Miami Daily News, where Crouch is employed and where a staff member acted as ghost-writer to dress up the story; and that even the Un-American Comm, which has a reputation for gullibility, doesn't believe a word of the Crouch version and is miffed about being used to sell the warmed-over hash.

### Pelley Parole

THE Federal Parole Board is now considering releasing former Silver Shirt leader Wm Dudley Pelley from the Federal prison where he is serving a 15-year sentence for sedition. Pelley was sentenced Aug 12 1942 and first became eligible for parole two years ago. His application was rejected at that time, and NYDaily News columnist John O'Donnell promptly began attacking parole authorities in his column. A new petition for parole was filed this month.

### German War Potential

CARTEL-busting in Germany has been a complete failure, with top U S military officials refusing to smash a single one of Germany's giant monopolies, a special three-man investigating committee has revealed. Confirming charges made many months ago by this weekly and other liberal publications, the extraordinary report blamed Gen Wm H Draper, who came from the Wall St firm of Dillon-Read; his son-in-law, Phillips Hawkins, and Lawrence Wilkinson, another banker in uniform, as the three men mainly responsible for scuttling the program of cartel-busting ordered by both Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

The probers consisted of Garland S Ferguson, Republican member of the Federal Trade Commission; Samuel S Isseks, Justice Dept attorney, and A T Kearney, a Chicago business man. Their report said the banker-generals ignored the Presidential directives, using as an excuse the claim that smashing the former Nazi trusts would impede German recovery. These trusts, the investigators contended, facilitated Hitler's war career. They wrote that busting the cartels would help safeguard the future peace and would establish a democratic economy in the Reich.

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**Send Your Local Zone Number**

In this instance both Britain and the U S played into the hands of the fascist bloc by refusing to vote against Franco. They abstained. (The final vote on admission of Franco was slated to be taken a few hours after this issue went to press.)

### One Reporter Cites Religious Issue on Spain

Only one Washington correspondent had the courage to throw some light on the hidden forces using pressure in Washington for and against the entry of the third partner of the fascist internationale into the UN. NYHerald-Tribune's Homer Bigart, who once spilled the truth about the U S mission in Greece, Greek corruption and Greek monarchism and reaction, in reporting Secy Acheson's position, stated:

"Tied with the emotional issue was the pressure from religious bodies. Militant Roman Catholic groups were exerting strong pressure in favor of Spain; militant Protestant groups were just as vigorously opposing Spain . . .

"Secy Acheson strongly denied that religious or economic motives swayed the State Dept . . . Secy Acheson also denied that the U S was trying to line up the Latin-American and Arab states in order to assure a favorable vote on Spain even though the American delegation abstained."

The religious issue was brought up by Sen Brewster who said: "The subtle word is constantly passed that the alternative to communism is Catholicism. We know that word is uttered constantly in the lobbies, although Senators do not care to bring it out upon the floor. We are even told that some very distinguished members of the American delegation are those who are most earnest in their opposition to the recognition of Spain because, forsooth, Spain is a Catholic country."

The facts are that organizations such as the Knights of Columbus as well as other Catholic organizations use pressure for fascist Spain, whereas the CIO, which is about 66% Catholic, and its head, Philip Murray, who speaks for more than 6,000,000 American union men, used its pressure by appealing to the State Dept not to recognize Franco — the murderer of tens of thousands of Catholic union men. Anti-fascist Catholics throughout the world are also against recognition of Franco, as is labor, notably the CIO and AFL in America, and the British, French and Italian unions, several with a Catholic majority.

### Big U S Press Propagandizes For Franco

The two most powerful newspaper chains in the U S are now for Franco. The Hearst press has always been for him. Roy Howard's Scripps-Howard chain (19 papers in 18 cities) came out for Franco only the other day. In their May 9 editorial the Scripps-Howard papers, bellwethered by the NYWorld-Telegram, said:

"Our govt initiated the original boycott resolution against Spain. That mistake should be acknowledged by joining in the movement for repeal.

"Franco's govt isn't our kind of govt, but that is not the test. . . Franco's particular crime is that he gained control of Spain with the assistance of Hitler and Mussolini. But that was a case of dog eat dog. Stalin's international brigades were fighting on the other side . . .

[This is a typical newspaper falsehood: Hitler and Mussolini conspired with Franco, sent airplanes before the fascist revolt, infantry troops immediately. Republican Spain got volunteer infantry later from more than 30 countries, none from Stalin.]

"Franco," concludes Scripps-Howard editorial, "has shown every evidence that he desires to live at peace with the rest of the world. His country is one of the bastions against communism and occupies a strategic area vital to us and the other members of the North Atlantic group. Our govt should vote to lift this foolish boycott."

The most surprising shift in favor of fascist Spain comes from the NYTimes which on May 10 said editorially "that no great issue is involved in the question of restoring full diplomatic relations."

On May 3 the Times published in its letter columns a protest from leading Spanish writer Salvador Madariaga pointing out that the Franco regime "is tottering for lack of dollars and any American help now will imply a definite backing of what Franco stands for." If the U S, Britain and other countries which claim they are aligning only democracies against totalitarian regimes had used economic pressure they would have gotten rid of fascist Spain years ago, and can change the regime even now.

Madariaga writes: "The policy of the Western powers toward Spain is the very worst that could be imagined both for Spain and for the Western powers," and concludes: "If the cold war remains cold, the communists all over the world will benefit from the fact that they will be able to show up the United States as the ally of the ally of Hitler and of the oppressor of the Spanish people. The socialists of Western Europe will be compromised as accepting dollars from the ally of the ally of Hitler; the communists of France and Italy will rub their hands with pleasure."



## Columnists Raise Pro-Franco Cry As UN Vote Nears

Among the largely circulated columnists propagandizing for Franco are John O'Donnell of the McCormick-Patterson axis and Wm Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard foreign editor. Simms April 25 argued that acceptance of Spain "would put an end to a paradoxical and one of the most hypocritical situations in present-day international relations." He then makes the usual misstatements about the Franco uprising, as follows: "The Spanish civil war did not result from Gen Francisco Franco's intervention against the republic . . . That republic had already been liquidated. What Gen Franco did was to intervene against the Red regime which Moscow had caused to be set up in Madrid." There was no red regime in 1936 and very few communists—about 25,000; the regime was a republican democracy. Simms does not tell the truth.

Columnist O'Donnell on May 6 attacked "every U S red, above ground and under ground, every pinko, all the softheaded fellow wanderers, global do-gooders, wellmeaning busybodies and professional anti-Catholics" all of whom were protesting against friendship with fascism.

The fact is that the liberals of America, including important Catholic liberals, have always been and are now actively fighting recognition of fascism in Spain. Murray of the CIO is one of the group of 49 which on April 29 telegraphed Pres Truman to denounce the Spanish dictatorship and instruct the U S UN delegation to vote against it. Another leading Catholic layman on the list is James B Carey, secy-treas of the CIO.

(In reporting this news, however, Gazette & Daily of York Pa pointed out that on the same day liberal Catholics protested on Spain, the Penna Catholic War Veterans "proposed an alliance with Fascist Spain by passing a resolution urging that Spain be included in the Atlantic Pact and the ERP").

Among the persons signing the anti-Franco telegram to Truman — the NYTimes did not print the full list — are Thomas Mann, Zechariah Chafee Jr of Harvard Law School, Marc Connelly the playwright, Prof Coolidge of Harvard, Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, Leon Henderson, Bishop Oldman, Walter Reuther, Carl Van Doren, Marc Van Doren, FPA, Van Wyck Brooks, Prof Allan Nevins of Columbia, and others, all non-communists and a few of them wellknown red baiters.

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A PROGRAM FOR DENAZIFYING GERMANY

By Robert S. Marcus

The following article by Dr. Robert S. Marcus, Political Director, World Jewish Congress, is reprinted from the Letters to the Editor column of the NY Times, and distributed by the Office of Jewish Information of the American and World Jewish Congresses.

EDITOR'S NOTE

The lifting of the Soviet blockade of Berlin and the recision of the counter-measures invoked by the Western Allies which are to be followed by a Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris on May 23 should gladden the hearts of all men interest in world peace. It is hoped that the meetings of the representatives of the four great Powers will ultimately lead to an agreement which will settle the very difficult and dangerous problem of Germany.

It would appear in place at this time to draw attention to the fact that the present international situation which has split the world into two hostile camps has resulted in the re-establishment of German economic and political power in a manner calculated to endanger the peace of the world. It is a sad fact that the Allied plans with respect to Germany, as expressed at Yalta and Potsdam, have never been effectively implemented.

Resurgence of Nazi Influences

The world is now witnessing a resurgence of National Socialist and other undemocratic influences in Germany; a revival and open manifestations of militarism and a pattern of political and economic development, closely identified with those who dragged the world into the last global war. In northern Germany parades of jack-booted Nationalists are held and groups of former SS men and Nazi party members are again being organized all over the country. These developments have been accompanied by, and are to a certain extent the result of, the mass return to key positions in the political, judicial, economic, educational and cultural life of Germany of persons who were not only loyal adherents of the Nazi regime and party, but who also held high office under Hitler's rule. New German parties and groups which have made their appearance offer concrete and substantial evidence of the existence of a strong trend among the Germans to foster militarism, narrow nationalism and racialism.



The courts, general administration, police, the schools and the press are again in the hands of those who on the basis of Allied agreement were to be excluded from such posts. Thus, for example, in Bavaria 83 per cent of the judges, 81 per cent of the public prosecutors, as well as 11,000 teachers--who previously had been dismissed--are former members of the Nazi party. In Schleswig-Holstein, which has a Social Democratic majority and a purely Social Democratic Government, 91 per cent of all judges, prosecutors and court officials are also former party members.

At the same time, the German economy is being rebuilt in such manner that its industrial potential may, in the future, be turned against the Allies and exploited in such manner as to destroy international peace and security. Cartels and monopolies, such as those that helped to prepare the Nazi war of aggression, have been revived.

The results of denazification are likewise very revealing. Out of almost 13 million people who registered under the Denazification Law,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  million were not considered suspect, nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million more were amnestied without trial, while 33.5 per cent of those brought to justice were also amnestied. Only one-tenth of 1 per cent were considered "major offenders."

#### Steps Outlined

It seems to me that a constructive program to safeguard the world from the threat of a renazified Germany would require the following:

The revival of military organizations and the spirit of militarism must be prevented, all military and para-military organizations must remain outlawed. The teaching and preaching of nationalist ideologies should be outlawed and the use of the media of press and information be limited to the purposes of democracy;

Reconstruction of industries capable of being used or converted to war purposes must be restricted and carefully supervised;

Nazis and their followers must be excluded from positions of importance in the political, economic, financial, cultural, propaganda and other branches of German life. Political parties must function on truly democratic principles and be led by truly democratic elements only; denazification must be continued with the utmost vigilance; war criminals and perpetrators of crimes against humanity must be brought to justice;

Truly democratic movements and their representatives should be encouraged in every possible way to participate fully in all spheres of public life, including but not restricted to, positions of responsibility in the fields of economy, education and culture, administration, the judiciary and public security; a long-range program of re-education of the German people toward the ideals of democracy must be established and implemented.

Until there has been sufficient evidence of a change in the German mentality, occupation of the territory of Germany as well as closest control of all phases of German public life should be continued.



## US to Disregard Nazi Property Seizure Laws

As a result of arguments advanced by AJC counsel, the State and Justice Departments have advised the Committee that it is against Government policy to accord "any validity to German confiscatory and discriminatory laws, decrees and acts insofar as they may be concerned in the consideration of claims filed against vested German interests."

The policy ruling affects suits for recovery of bank accounts and other property seized by the Nazi government of Germany and subsequently vested with the US Custodian of Alien Property or blocked in banks by Government order.

Affected by the current ruling is a 1947 decision of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, in the case of *Arnold Bernstein vs. Van Heyghens Freres Societe Anonyme*. In this case the court ruled that since no American executive policy against Nazi acts of confiscation or transfer had been sufficiently established, former owners of bank deposits in the US were barred from obtaining payment of claims when such accounts had been transferred or confiscated under discriminatory German rulings.

In a letter to Seymour J. Rubin, counsel for the AJC, Assistant Attorney General David L. Bazelon declared that "the Department of State has advised this Office (of Alien Property) that the Government of the United States has consistently opposed the recognition of German confiscatory and discriminatory laws, decrees and acts."



Above is an illustration from "You Have Your Rights," a popular pamphlet on New York State laws curbing discrimination. The civil rights program committee of the NY chapter of the AJC and the Eastern Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League assisted in the preparation of the pamphlet.

## NCRAC Plenary Session Hears Slawson on Israel

Delegates from national and local Jewish agencies throughout the US attended the seventh plenary session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council at Atlantic City, April 28-May 1.

Dr. John Slawson, AJC executive vice-president, was one of the principal speakers at the session on the state of Israel and its implications for American Jewry. Other major problems discussed were interfaith relations, American policy in Germany, and the coordinating role of the NCRAC in community relations.

Among the AJC delegates were Irving M. Engel, chairman of the executive committee; David Sher, vice-president; Gustave M. Berne, associate treasurer; Ben Herzberg, chairman of the legal and civic affairs committee, and Joseph Willen, chairman of the labor advisory committee.

## Open Hearing Supported In Bias Case at CCNY

An open public hearing of charges of anti-Semitism levelled against Prof. William E. Knickerbocker, chairman of the Romance Language Department of the College of the City of New York, was scheduled in Albany as this issue went to press.

The hearing came on the heels of a student strike at the College and a request for a public investigation of the charges by Harold Riegelman, chairman of the NY chapter. Mr. Riegelman made public a letter sent by him to State Education Commissioner Francis T. Spaulding, dated last December, in which he urged such a hearing. His letter declared that "a charge that anti-Semitism is prevalent in our public education system requires particularly prompt and complete action by the proper authority. Failure to eliminate such a condition would be to permit the spread of crippling doctrines into our population."

The letter stated that the chapter had reviewed all the evidence in the Knickerbocker controversy, and pointed out that the charges were serious and previous hearings inconclusive. It urged that "the interested parties should have the right to cross-examine, to compel the attendance of witnesses, and to be represented by counsel of their own choosing."

## Urge Screening Nazis From German Industry

"Rehabilitation of the German economy — but only on a democratic basis — will contribute to world peace and security," the American Jewish Committee and other organizations associated with the National Community Relations Advisory Council, declared in a statement issued in connection with the German Industries Fair held in New York last month.

Commenting on the previously reported "screening out" of known Nazis and Nazi-sympathizers from the German industry representatives to the Fair by the American Military Government, the organizations pointed out that this "means merely that they cannot personally come here to see products manufactured by the industries which they represent."

"It is not enough," the statement declared, "to screen Nazis out of the German Industries Fair — we must screen Nazis out of German industry."

The organizations urged that "German economy and industry be brought under the control and direction of the liberal, pro-democratic and trade-union elements of the country, who are both anti-Nazi and anti-Communist."

## WEST GERMAN CONSTITUTION GETS RESTITUTION CLAUSE

From the European Office of the AJC — PARIS —

Restitution to original owners of property in Germany looted during the Nazi regime will be furthered by a clause introduced by the Social Democratic Party for inclusion in the preamble of the proposed constitution for Western Germany drafted by a German parliamentary group at Bonn recently.

The proposed constitution will serve as the basic law for the projected West German state, which will embrace the British, French and US occupation zones in Germany. At present, a workable restitution law exists in the US zone, a weaker law in the French zone, and a restitution statute is under preparation for the British zone of occupation.

The projected clause in the constitution, which has been accepted by sub-committees of the major political parties in Western Germany and was passed in the first of three parliamentary group readings, proposes "to make good the injustice done" to victims of Nazi persecution divested of individual and communal property.



LET US HAVE THE FACTS

The American Jewish Congress is once more taking action on a vital problem. We are urging that the Senate undertake an investigation of the situation in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany with respect to: the prosecution and punishment of war criminals, the elimination of Nazis from positions of power and influence, and the new rise of anti-Semitic and anti-democratic forces there.

Why are we concerned?

BACKGROUND

In the Inter-Allied Declaration of December 17, 1942, the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943; and the Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union jointly declared that war criminals would be punished and that it was their objective to democratize Germany.

Since VE Day, the United States has captured and brought to trial many war criminals. However, recent events suggest that a dangerous trend may be developing.

Of 1,416 sentences imposed in War Crimes cases, 23% or 324 were changed or nullified by the U.S. reviewing authority.

In one month in 1948, as the result of an administrative decision, the number of Germans subject to trial as "major offenders" or "offenders" under Nazi rule



was reduced from 403,000 to 28,000.

As of February, 1948, of 11,357 persons charged with being Nazi major offenders all but 968 were acquitted. Of 163,797 charged with being "lesser offenders," all but 16,782 were acquitted.

In January and February of 1949 alone items like the following were reported:

- January 1. Death sentences of 8 German war criminals commuted to life imprisonment by General Clay.
- January 5. The Stuttgarter Zeitung, a U.S.-licensed German publication, defends Ilse Koch.
- January 7. A three-man Army investigation commission urges the commutation of the death sentences of 29 Nazis, 12 of whom were charged with machine-gunning U. S. prisoners at Malmedy.
- January 11. General Clay reports that nationalist groups, including the infamous Black Front, "are again beginning to lift their heads in West Germany."
- January 14. Dr. Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl, Hitler's former press chief and one-time intimate, is freed of all charges of having been a Nazi.
- January 19. AMG removes editorial staff men of two newspapers for featuring militaristic and anti-Semitic material.
- January 20. Bavarian Ministry of Education reports that 11,000 teachers dismissed because of association with the Nazi party have now been reinstated.
- January 21. Heinrich Mueller, responsible for the deportation of 900 Jews, of whom 881 were killed, is sentenced to one year in jail.
- January 26. Franz Von Papen freed by a German court.
- February 13. Dr. Wilhelm Grossman and his wife, Dr. Mathilda Weber, who had been sentenced to death by an American military court for having killed Jewish children, have their sentences reduced to 3 and 4 years imprisonment, respectively, by a German court.
- February 16. General Clay denounces members of Military Government staff who have shown anti-Semitic inclinations.



LET US HAVE THE FACTS

page 3

February 17. American, British and French officials order denazification boards to wind up their business by June 1.

February 23. Fritz Kuhn freed.

February 25. Soviet-licensed German news agency, ADN, announces that the denazification of East Berliners will end March 1.

February 26. Dr. A. G. Grace, director of the educational and cultural relations of Office of Military Government, U.S., reports that former Nazis are being appointed to the teaching staffs of schools and universities.

February 27. General Gross, director of Office of Military Government for Wuerttemberg-Baden, declares that a friendly and sympathetic attitude toward the German people is necessary.

Such items could be multiplied almost endlessly.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? DO THESE REPORTS REVEAL A PATTERN? HAS U.S., AND ALLIED POLICY ON GERMANY BEEN CHANGED? HAVE AMERICAN MINOR OFFICIALS TAKEN IT UPON THEMSELVES TO IGNORE OFFICIAL POLICY? WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN NEXT?

The American Jewish Congress, alarmed by these symptoms, recalling that the nationalist and anti-Semitic trends in Germany preceded the death of 6,000,000 Jews and a war whose toll in lives and destruction has still not been calculated, feels that all the facts should be made known. It is calling for a Senatorial investigation of American policy in Germany. It seeks an opportunity for interested organizations to present publicly the evidence they have accumulated. It asks that trends in Germany be exposed to the vision of the public.

The time for doubt and worry is past. Let us have the facts.



We recommend that congregations and communities adopt the following resolution calling upon the United States Senate to conduct an investigation of the whole question of denazification:

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR SENATE INVESTIGATION OF  
DENAZIFICATION

The world is now witnessing a resurgence of National Socialism and its undemocratic influence in Germany; the revival and open manifestation of militarism and the pattern of political and economic developments closely identified with those who dragged the world into the last global war.

Under the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Declaration the United States and other peace-loving democracies engaged in a war for survival against Nazi and Fascist aggression, and solemnly undertook to "bring the criminals to just and swift punishment, to wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, and remove all Nazi and militarist influence from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people."

In accordance with these mandates the Allied military governments promulgated regulations for the removal and exclusion from office and other positions of responsibility of Nazis and persons hostile to peace and democracy.

Unfortunately, there are widespread and apparently well-founded reports that the denazification program has been completely undermined, if not destroyed, and that the purposes of the United Nations are being defeated and frustrated. There is clear evidence of a mass return to key positions in the political, judicial, economic, educational and cultural life of Germany of persons who are not only loyal adherents of the Nazi regime and Party, but who also held high office under Hitler's rule. At the same time German economy is being rebuilt in such a manner that its industrial potential presents a grave threat to international peace and security. The cartels and monopolies which helped to prepare the Nazi war of aggression have been revived under new names but under the same basic management. The resurgence of Nazi influence unless drastically checked may well lead to a third global war and another attempt by Nazi totalitarianism to destroy democratic liberty and ideals.

We therefore call upon the Senate of the United States by a committee duly appointed to make a full, complete and public investigation of the extent to which the denazification program has been defeated and abandoned, and the extent to which Nazi leaders and sympathizers have regained or retained control of the economic, political and cultural life of Germany, and to make such recommendations as it shall deem advisable to meet this menace to world peace and democracy.



## SAIBATH SERVICES

Friday Evening, November 25, 8:15 P.M.

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN  
will speak on

"THE POPE and JERUSALEM"

Next Tuesday will mark the second anniversary of the historic decision of the United Nations, which established the State of Israel. During these two years, a war has been fought and 300,000 homeless Jews have been taken in.

The most serious problem today is the status of the City of Jerusalem. The Catholic Church has taken a definite stand. Why is the Pope opposed to Jerusalem's being included in the State of Israel? What influence has the Vatican exerted in the shaping of UN policy on this question?

### KADDISH LIST

Rosa Weiner	William Weil
Saidee H. Sands	Joseph Lehmann
Henrietta Friedenthal	Samuel Barets
Monette Hene Cohen	Isidor Friedenthal
Jessie R. Morris	Carlos Cowen
Nancy Kentor	William C. Kramer

Special Supper Club Meeting  
Sunday Evening, November 27, 8 P.M.

P.T.A. CHANUKAH DEMONSTRATION  
Tuesday, November 29, 1:30 P.M.

SISTERHOOD - P.T.A. QUOTA PARTY  
Monday, December 5, 12:30

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DIAMOND JUBILEE

1949



1. Reount history of Jerusalem situation.
2. Give details of Church's stand
  - a. Dec 48 - attacks on Israeli for alleged desecration of church property.
  - b. Rev. Raphael Quinn, secy of R.C. Custodian of Holy Places, spoke in Montreal Sept 26, 49
  - c. Mgr. Antonini, Papal Nuncio & Apostolic Rep. to Canada, called for intl in name of 400 million Catholics.
  - d. Vatican advised pilgrims planning to visit Jerusalem in Holy Year of 1950 to avoid entering through Israel.
  - e. Pope called for Crusade of Prayers
  - f. Cardinals, Bishops, archbishops met in Washington last week. - called for internationalization.



3. Why is Vatican taking this stand vs. Jews? One of two reasons: political (a) & religious (b)

a. This may be entirely wedge to get official Vatican representative into U.N. E.g. - They say the "Jerusalem matter" affects the interests of the whole Catholic church. ; ∴ The Vatican wants to be heard on it.

b. This may be part of old campaign to weaken the Jewish people. The degraded state of the Jews is proof of the triumph of Christianity. Cannot take away their state of Israel now, but can prevent their getting Jerusalem.



# ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Tri-State Regional Office • 220 Empire Building, Denver 2, Colorado • MAin 6209

December 8, 1948

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Dear Herb:

I am enclosing the full memorandum received from New York concerning the serious situation which has developed with the Catholic Church as a result of alleged desecration of Holy Places in Israel. You will note that I am also including the memorandum from our National Director, Mr. Benjamin Epstein, which I would appreciate your removing from the memorandum before you send it along to Archbishop Vehr, as per our telephone conversation.

I would like to bring to your attention that two articles appeared in the December 12 issue of the "Register", which is published in Denver, and which carried a vicious story that will undoubtedly cause a great deal of ill feeling among Catholics towards Jews.

I am enclosing a copy of one of these articles which will indicate how serious the situation has become.

Inasmuch as you have had a previous conversation with Archbishop Vehr on this matter, it seems perfectly logical for us to bring this to his attention for whatever action he may deem necessary. Certainly, it will be well to orient the Archbishop to the other side of the question — even if the "Register" does not print this side of the story.

Please let me know what develops on this situation.

Most cordially,

*Lou*

Louis E. Sidman  
Executive Director

LES:cf  
Encl.

cc: MHS  
DHS



Jerusalem—If the UN deliberations in Paris end in declaring that only the old walled inner city of Jerusalem is to be placed under international jurisdiction, then "Christians have every reason to fear for their welfare and the safety of the Holy Places."

A ranking Catholic ecclesiastic said such a decision would leave "about 50 Christian churches and religious institutions in so-called New Jerusalem at the mercy of those who have so heartlessly and mercilessly profaned Christian churches in Jerusalem and elsewhere during recent months."

"This fear," he added, "is based upon the established desecrations which have been admitted and deprecated by Israeli officialdom. Perpetuating this situation would be a travesty upon the very principle for which the United Nations came into existence, not the least among which is freedom of religion."

Two reports have become available from ecclesiastical sources, whose identity cannot be revealed, about the attitude of some Jewish forces toward the Christians and their shrines. The reports were released in the present uneasy "truce" between Jewish and Arab forces.

The first report tells of Israeli forces entering the locality of Rameh in Northern Galilee on Oct. 20. The Christians, including women and children, the aged and sick, were forced to leave town immediately. They were threatened with a massacre if they failed to obey the order.

The second report tells of the desecration and looting of the Benedictine Church and Monastery of the Dormition on Mount Sion, built on the site, where, tradition says, the Blessed Virgin lived in her latter years, and where she died and was taken up into heaven.

The Arabs, who had first occupied the area, did not use the buildings or the

COPY



high tower, but the Israeli forces broke into the church May 18 and used the building as military headquarters.

"Before evening the church became a base of operations and the priests were forced into a few underground rooms. The Arabs answered the military operation by a shower of bombs, which caused extensive damage to the church," the report said.

Israeli forces also were accused of looting the church, seizing its valuables, destroying statues and crosses, and then the church "was converted into a dance hall." — (NCWC Radio and Wire)

COPY



# ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

212 Fifth Avenue — Suite 601

New York 10, N. Y.

## MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Directors, CRC Regional Directors and ADL Community  
Representatives

From: Benjamin R. Epstein

Date: December 3, 1948

Subject: State of Israel Release to Catholic Press re Alleged Desecration  
of Holy Places in Israel.

## AMERICAN JEWISH

We are sending you herewith copy of a release to be issued for immediate publication tomorrow by the mission of the State of Israel in Washington to the Catholic press of the nation. We have been asked by Mr. Harry Zinder, press representative of the Israel mission in Washington, to inform all friends of this step.

Undoubtedly, the welfare of the Jewish community in America has been seriously affected by recent press reports of alleged desecration of Holy Places by Jews in Israel. In all likelihood, too, good relations between the Catholic and Jewish communities in this country have been impaired by some newspaper accounts published in some sections of the religious press. In view of our interest and concern in maintaining good relations among all American groups, this problem requires our immediate attention. May we, therefore, suggest the following:

It would be well if you would undertake a friendly and personal visit with the editor of your local Catholic paper in order to indicate to him your concern, as an American Jew, with the effect of this problem upon local community intergroup relations. It may be that you prefer to have your local rabbi or some other well-regarded community leader make the visit; use your own discretion.

Not every religious paper carried the original reports. However, many which did not, undoubtedly, have the dispatch on file. As we indicated, they are receiving a copy of the release directly. In such case there would be no need for a special visit.

The Israel mission has been kind enough to furnish us with a list of the Catholic papers to whom the release was sent; attached is a copy.

Because of our deep interest in the impact of this problem upon the American scene, we would appreciate your sending us two copies of any news reports or editorials that result from this release.

BRE:gs  
Encls.

B.R.E.



CATHOLIC WEEKLIES

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
America	New York City (America Press)
The Ave Maria	Notre Dame, Indiana
Catholic Action of the South	New Orleans, La.
Catholic Bulletin	St. Paul, Minn.
Catholic Chronicle	Toledo, Ohio
Catholic Courier Journal	Rochester, N.Y.
Catholic Exponent	Youngstown, Ohio
Catholic Herald	St. Louis, Mo.
The Catholic Herald Citizen	Milwaukee, Wisc.
Catholic Information	Catholic Information, Inc. New York, New York
The Catholic Light	Scranton, Pa.
Catholic Messenger	Davenport, Iowa
The Catholic News	Catholic News Publishing Co. New York, New York
The Catholic Northwest Progress	Seattle, Washington
Catholic Observer	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Catholic Review	The Cathedral Foundation, Inc. Baltimore, Md.
The Catholic Sentinel	Portland, Ore.
The Catholic Standard and Times	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
The Catholic Sun	Syracuse, N. Y.
The Catholic Transcript	Hartford, Conn.
The Catholic Universe Bulletin	Cleveland, Ohio
The Catholic Virginian	Richmond, Va.
The Catholic Week	Birmingham, Ala.
The Catholic Weekly	Saginaw, Mich.



<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
The Church World	Portland, Me.
The Columbian	Columbian Publishing Co. Chicago, Illinois
The Commonweal	Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. New York, New York
Corriere della Domenica	M. A. Reymond New York, New York
Il Crociato	Italian Clergy of Brooklyn Brooklyn, New York
La Esperanza	Claretian Missionary Fathers Los Angeles, Calif.
The Evangelist	Albany, New York
The Florida Catholic	St. Augustine, Fla.
The Guardian	Little Rock, Ark.
The Indiana Catholic and Record	Indianapolis, Ind.
The Messenger	E. St. Louis, Illinois
The Michigan Catholic	Detroit, Michigan
The Monitor	San Francisco, Calif.
The New World	Chicago, Illinois
The North Carolina Catholic	Nazareth, N. C.
The Observer	Freeport, Illinois
The Pilot	Boston, Massachusetts
The Pittsburgh Catholic	Pittsburgh, Pa.
The Providence Visitor	Providence, R. I.
The Record	Louisville, Ky.
The Register	Denver, Colorado
The Advance Register	Wichita, Kansas
The Alamo Register	San Antonio, Texas
The Altoona Register	Altoona, Pa.



<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
The Arizona Register	Tucson, Ariz.
The Catholic Telegraph Register	Cincinnati, Ohio
The Columbus Register	Columbus, Ohio
The Duluth Register	Duluth, Minn.
Lake Shore Register	Peoria, Ill.
The Santa Fe Register	Santa Fe, New Mexico
St. Louis Register	St. Louis, Mo.
The Superior Calif. Register	Sacramento, Calif.
The Tennessee Register	Nashville, Tenn.
Revista Catolica	El Paso, Texas
Slovensky Svet	Pittsburgh, Pa.
The Southern Cross	San Diego, Calif.
The Southern Messenger	San Antonio, Texas
The Southwest Courier	Oklahoma City, Okla.
The Tablet	Brooklyn, New York
The Tidings	Los Angeles, Calif.
The Union and Echo	Buffalo, New York
L'Unione	San Francisco, Calif.
La Voce del Popolo	Detroit, Mich.
La Voz	San Antonio, Texas
The Way	Philadelphia, Pa.
The Witness	Dubuque, Iowa

FORTNIGHTLIES

Boys' Town Times	Boys Town, Nebraska
Labor Leader	Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, New York, New York
The St. Louis Catholic	St. Louis, Mo.



NAME

ADDRESS

Today

Chicago, Illinois

MONTHLIES

Today

Chicago, Illinois

The Caller

Grand Rapids, Michigan

The Catholic Home Journal

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Catholic Journalist

San Francisco, Calif.

The Catholic Mirror

Springfield, Mass.

The Catholic War Veteran

New York, New York

The Catholic Worker

New York, New York

The Catholic World

New York, New York

Christian Farmer News Letter

Des Moines, Iowa

Christian Social Action

Detroit, Michigan

Church Bulletin

Jerome J. Cavanaugh  
New York, New York

The Classical Bulletin

St. Louis, Missouri

Columbian Squires Herald

New Haven, Conn.

Interracial Review

New York, New York

Jesuit Mission

New York, New York

Monthly Message

Washington, D. C.

Our Northland Diocese

Crookston, Minn.

Pax

Newton, N. J.

Social Justice Review

St. Louis, Mo.

Social Order

St. Louis, Mo.



AMERICAN RABBINICAL BODIES OPPOSE MOVE TO CUT OFF JERUSALEM FROM JEWISH STATE

NEW YORK, Sept. 26. (JTA) -- The American Zionist Council disclosed last night that the leading rabbinical bodies in the United States are united in the determination to resist all attempt to cut off Jerusalem from the state of Israel.

The Council simultaneously reported that the following rabbinical organizations were taking a leading part in the campaign to keep Jerusalem within the framework of Israel: Rabbinical Council of America and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada--representing the Orthodox religious wing; the Rabbinical Assembly of America, representing the Conservative wing; the Central Conference of American Rabbis, representing the Reform movement; and the Synagogue Council of America, which represents all branches of the Jewish religion.

In connection with the rabbinate's stand on Jerusalem, Louis Lipsky, chairman of the American Zionist Council, pointed out that several rabbinical bodies had sent him personal appeals, urging the Council to bring American Jewry's strong opposition to Jerusalem's internationalization to the attention of the American public.

CARDINAL SPELLMAN MUM ON REPORT HE ASKED TRUMAN FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM

NEW YORK, Sept. 26. (JTA) -- A spokesman for Francis Cardinal Spellman today refused to comment on a report that the Cardinal had interceded with President Truman to have the city of Jerusalem internationalized.

The report, which emanated from Montreal, quoted the Rev. Raphael Quinn, secretary of the Roman Catholic Custodian of Holy Places, as the authority for the fact that Cardinal Spellman had interceded with President Truman. Father Quinn was also quoted as having charged that elements of the Israel forces were "wholly responsible for the defamation, bombing and destruction of many Holy Places" within Jerusalem.

He added that the Israel Ministry of Religion has disclaimed responsibility for these acts and "we are still without compensation or future assurance of safety." Father Quinn said the Arabs have always respected the Holy Places and called King Abdullah of Transjordan a "great and good friend of the Franciscan Order."

A report from Rome yesterday said that the Catholic Church would not be satisfied with any solution less than internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places in Palestine. The report emanated from *Quotidiano*, organ of the Catholic Action Party in Italy, and one of the publications through which the Vatican releases semi-official material.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM ASKED BY APOSTOLIC REPRESENTATIVE IN CANADA

MONTREAL, Sept. 26. (JTA) -- Demand for the internationalization of Jerusalem "in the name of four hundred million Catholics" was voiced here by the Apostolic Representative to Canada, Monseigneur Antoniuti who came from Ottawa to address a Montreal gathering.

The Papal Nuncio said that Christians must not remain indifferent to such a "scandalous situation" where soldiers are again making merry at the "foot of the Crucifix" and added that "four hundred million Catholics and millions of other Christians demand from all interested powers that justice be done in Palestine to the rights of the Christian world and that in the birthplace of Christ be guaranteed the peace which He sought to bring to this world."

An attempt to create pro-Arab sentiment in this province is seen in the exhibition of the Cross of Jerusalem in various churches. The Cross was also carried on foot 25 miles to the Shrine of St. Anne de Beaupre. Thousands of pilgrims participated in the long procession.



# JTA *Daily News Bulletin*

## JEWISH AGENCY CALLS UPON ZIONIST GROUPS IN U.S. TO GIVE "ABSOLUTE PRIORITY" TO U.J.A.

JERUSALEM, Sept. 28. (JTA) -- All Zionist organizations and groups in the United States were called upon today by the Jewish Agency executive here "to give to the United Jewish Appeal absolute priority, cooperation and assistance in its campaign in behalf of Israel."

The call was issued by Berl Locker, chairman of the Agency executive, who emphasized that the statement was being issued "in order to clarify some misunderstandings which have arisen in connection with the conference on multiple campaigns" which took place in Israel last July.

"The United Jewish Appeal is the principal instrument for fund-raising efforts for Israel in the United States," Mr. Locker said, "and is entitled to receive maximum cooperation and assistance from every Zionist organization and must have preference before any other campaign both in terms of timing and techniques used."

In citing the Hadassah and Gewerkschaften campaigns, Mr. Locker stated that these campaigns have received the approval of the World Zionist Congress. "For many years they have done, and are doing, important work in their respective fields. They have decided to continue their campaigns, recognizing the priority of the United Jewish Appeal with regard to timing and techniques," the statement emphasized.

"All other campaigns claiming to assist in the work of development and expansion in Israel are subject to such rules and regulations as will from time to time be promulgated by the special committee on control and authorization of campaigns," Mr. Locker declared. Details of the establishment of this special committee will be announced shortly.

## CATHOLIC LEADER CHARGED WITH POISONING RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

TEL AVIV, Sept. 28. (JTA) -- A sweeping denial that Israel troops bore any responsibility for the destruction of shrines in Jerusalem was issued last night by a Foreign Ministry spokesman. The statement was in answer to charges last week attributed to the Rev. Brother Raphael Quinn of Montreal, secretary to the Roman Catholic Custodian of Holy Places.

Pointing out that 80 percent of church property requisitioned by the Jewish army during the hostilities has already been restored to the churches and 20 percent will be released soon, the Israel official said: "The statement by Brother Raphael Quinn from Montreal is fully in line with the defamation campaign emanating the past year from Arab and Catholic sources in the Old City for purposes of poisoning the good relations between the Israel Government and the Catholic community in this country."

"The government and the people of Israel have repeatedly condemned those isolated acts of desecration of church property as committed by small groups of irresponsible persons in the early period following the establishment of the state, and mostly committed in the heat of fighting and prior to effective control over those institutions in the war-ridden areas."

"Monsignor Thomas MacMahon in March wrote to the Secretary-General of the United Nations expressing satisfaction with the Israel Government's genuine desire to

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repair any damage done and to maintain proper relations with the religious institutions and their boundaries. After his second visit here two months ago, Monsignor MacMahon reiterated his satisfaction with the progressive stabilization of those relations."

Declaring that Israel consistently advocated that the Holy Places be safeguarded by an international authority and pledged the fullest cooperation in the implementation of such an agreement, the spokesman said: "After one year of independence, Israel's record of treatment of its Christian communities will stand comparison with the 30 years of independence of the Arab states."

#### ARAB STATES PREVENTED ISRAEL FROM ATTENDING CONFERENCES OF U.N. BODIES, DELEGATE SAYS

LAKE SUCCESS, Sept. 28. (JTA) -- The Israel delegation indicated here today that it might enter a formal proposal requiring a member state of the U.N. acting as host to a U.N. conference to give "unconditional assurances that it will admit on equal terms all representatives and observers entitled to attend," or failing such assurances to have the conference transferred to another scene.

This indication came in a statement by Dr. Abraham Katznelson of the Israel delegation, before the Social and Humanitarian Committee during a discussion on freedom of access for the press. Dr. Katznelson charged that in two recent conferences of U.N. specialized bodies member states, by discriminatory action, prevented Israel from attending. This occurred, he said, last month in connection with the Middle Eastern regional conference of the World Health Organization in Alexandria, and in recent weeks with regard to the Food and Agriculture Organization conference to be held at Beirut.

Pointing up the violations of the rights of member states, Dr. Katznelson told the committee that it "should not find it difficult to conclude that these practices are totally out of accord with the principles and purposes of the United Nations." Declaring that the U.N. would be greatly in danger if host countries were entitled to veto the presence of any representatives at U.N. conferences, he asserted: "My delegation will reserve the right to make a formal proposition to this effect at an appropriate time."

The Israel delegate went on to say: "Israel's role in the promotion of public health services is a matter of public knowledge. The successful fight of our medical pioneers against tropical diseases which ravaged so many areas in the Near East cannot fail to be of benefit to our neighbors. Disease knows no national barriers. With respect to the F.A.O. conference, I might point out that the habit of cultivating and consuming food is not a monopoly of any single race or culture in the Near East."

#### EXPERIMENTS IN ISRAEL LABORATORY MAY RESULT IN PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIAL FOR PLASTICS

TEL AVIV, Sept. 28. (JTA) -- The newspaper Davar disclosed today that considerable interest has been aroused in chemistry circles in Israel over experiments now progressing in a laboratory recently attached to the "Huliot" factory in Sde Nechemiah, in the Huleh Valley.

The laboratory, containing the latest equipment, has completed experiments for the production of methyl methacrylate with the aid of a recently-arrived immigrant chemist from the Netherlands. It is believed that the laboratory may soon enable the factory in the colony to produce raw material used in the manufacture of plastics, which was previously imported in large quantities from Britain and the U.S.



## CATHOLIC CIRCLES REPORTED PREPARING "MINIMUM PLAN" FOR SETTLEMENT OF JERUSALEM PROBLEM

JERUSALEM, Sept. 29. (JTA) -- Catholic Church circles are preparing a "minimum plan" for a solution of the Jerusalem problem which would be acceptable to the Vatican, it was learned here today. Although details of the plan are not available, the following broad outlines are laid down in the proposal:

1. A permanent United Nations committee should be appointed to deal with the Holy Places. Both Israel and Transjordan would be subject to direct orders from the committee on all matters concerning the Holy Places.
2. Both governments would sign concordats with the Vatican and other denominations to protect the religious groups' extraterritorial rights in Jerusalem.
3. The Holy Places will not be subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of either government.
4. An inter-consular committee would be appointed to supervise the Holy Places. The Catholics would have a majority on such a body.
5. Two Christian representatives would be appointed to both the Jewish and Arab municipalities established in Jerusalem, regardless of the number of Christians living in the area of the respective municipalities.
6. Free access to the Holy Places would be guaranteed.

It is not yet known whether this plan will be submitted to the U.N., but what is evident is the line of reasoning which seeks to establish a system of extraterritoriality in effect in this city under Turkish administration until 1911.

Meanwhile, it was learned that the Russians have shown increased interest in Jerusalem affairs. It is recalled here that a number of the Holy Places belong to the Russian Orthodox Church.

### Israel Denies Sending Delegate to Vatican for Conference

TEL AVIV, Sept. 29. (JTA) -- A spokesman for the Foreign Office today denied press reports published abroad that an Israel delegate called at the Vatican for a conference. The spokesman said neither a representative of the Foreign Ministry nor of the Ministry of Religion visited the Vatican recently.

(King Abdullah of Transjordan told Gordon R. Clapp, chairman of the U.N. Palestine Conciliation Commission's economic survey group now visiting the Middle East, that a solution of the Arab refugee problem should be expedited by converting the present form of international relief extended to Arab displaced persons into feasible work projects, Reuters reported today from Amman.)

Dr. Pablo Azcarate, high ranking member of the secretariat of the U.N. staff in Palestine, today visited the Foreign Office and discussed routine matters with Dr. Leo Kohn, counsel, and Reuven Shiloah.



September 30, 1949

Volume 1, No. 34

## ISRAEL

**HEADLINES:** JERUSALEM, ISRAEL NOT MENTIONED IN BEVIN'S SPEECH TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY... HE WILL OUTLINE BRITISH POSITION ON PALESTINE IN SPEECH TO POLITICAL COMMITTEE... VATICAN REPRESENTATIVES IN CANADA LAUNCH CAMPAIGN AGAINST ISRAEL; TEL AVIV REPLIES...

**BACKGROUND & COMMENTS:** Newsmen quick to draw conclusions from the unsaid as well as from the said, attached significance last week to British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's failure to refer to Palestine, and specifically to the Arab refugees and Jerusalem issues, in his address to the General Assembly. They believed this was an indication of a reversal of, or departure from, Britain's past hostility towards Israel and that Britain might go along with the Israeli proposal that only the Holy Places be placed under international rule. Anonymous spokesmen of the British delegation unofficially endorsed this view. Several days later, The Day, a Yiddish daily, reported that a British delegation spokesman, also anonymous, said that no significance should be attached to Bevin's failure to refer to Palestine, that the Foreign Secretary would make a statement when the question came up in the Political Committee, and that Britain backs the U.N. Conciliation Commission's recommendations for the internationalization of all Jerusalem.

The contradictory press reports and unofficial statements by the British spokesman indicate that --

(a) The original unofficial interpretation that Bevin's failure to mention Palestine was a departure from past policy was largely intended to create goodwill towards Britain at a time when, due to the devaluation of the pound, the Labor government's domestic difficulties must be counterbalanced by an American public opinion that will back the commitments, requiring Congressional support, made by U.S. conferees at the recent Tri-Partite monetary talks in Washington. Unofficially, the Israeli delegation felt encouraged by Bevin's non-referral to Palestine. Delegation circles recalled recent conversations between Israeli and British representatives which revealed a more cooperative British spirit, although no flat commitments had been made, and little, if anything, was said with regard to Jerusalem. However, notwithstanding Mr. Bevin's own consistently intransigent hostile attitude toward Israel, a partitioning of the city placing Old Jerusalem under Jordanese rule, would undoubtedly be of greater value to Britain than international rule of the whole city. Brief references to Palestine in General Assembly speeches by the French and Dutch delegation chiefs, which, consistent with diplomatic tradition, left a wide margin for speculation, led some observers to the prescient, perhaps, but nevertheless hasty conclusion that both these States would support the Israeli proposals. The Palestine problem will come up for discussion very likely in mid-November. All delegations last week were too preoccupied with atomic energy, China and Greece to respond at this early stage to Israeli approaches.

(b) Israeli circles gave little credence to the report in The Day. The British, some felt, may be weighing their policy, pending the outcome of talks reportedly still proceeding between Washington and London with regard to the overall Middle East picture. As pointed out in the past few issues of OJI Newsnotes, pending an overall agreement with the U.S., Britain may be contemplating a more amenable attitude with regard to the Arab refugees. As a consequence of the assassination of Syrian dictator Zayim, Britain also controls Syria now, and is working towards a customs union and a joint chiefs of staff as a first step towards a federation of Syria, Iraq and Jordan. These plans require an acquiescent, friendly Israel, as well as an immediate solution of the Arab DP problem, which unsolved, might imperil the pro-British governments in these three Arab countries. Rather than wait for Israel to yield (which may never happen) to Washington pressure for



the repatriation of 250,000 Arab refugees, Britain would be satisfied with a compromise between the Israeli offer to repatriate 100,000 and the American figure, provided it meant the rapid and expeditious solution of the problem.

(c) International American oil interests, as frankly stated by Eugene Hallman, president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, are concerned with British oil rivalry in the Middle East. These interests have inspired elements in the State Department to toy with the idea that America should offset British control in the Levant by means of an attitude on Palestine more intransigent than Britain's might be. These elements would like to see some portions of the Negeb ceded to Egypt, which is ready and only too willing to seek American support in the face of a British Hashemite federation. Their attitude reflects confusion rather than State Department policy.

President Truman is reported to have avoided setting an appointment to meet a rabbinical delegation which wished to appeal to him to support the Israeli plan for Jerusalem. The Jerusalem problem is an important factor in the forthcoming U.S. Senatorial elections in New York State because of the sharp division on the issue between Jews and Catholics.

The Catholics have again launched a global campaign with the imprimatur of the Vatican. In Canada, last week, two persons high in Vatican hierarchy, lashed out against Israel. The Rev. Raphael Quinn of Montreal, secretary to the Roman Catholic Custodian of Holy Places, praised Abdullah's "respect" for the sacred sites which, he alleged, the Israelis had desecrated. A strong appeal for internationalization of Jerusalem was made by Monsignor Antoniuti, Apostolic representative in Canada. Quick to reply to Rev. Quinn, the Israeli Foreign Office pointed out that 80% of Church property requisitioned by Israel during the war has already been released, and the remaining 20% will soon be restored to Catholic authorities. The Israeli Foreign Office said that the Quinn allegations were "in line with the defamation campaign emanating during the past year from Arab and Catholic sources in the Old City." The editor of GJI Newsnotes learned during his visit to Israel, several weeks ago, that the Israeli Government is in possession of evidence that the Arab Catholic clergy in the Old City has been active in exacerbating political tension against Israel and has shockingly abused the permission given occasionally to Catholic clergymen to cross the lines between the Old City and Jerusalem.

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#### GERMANY, SOUTH AFRICA, ARGENTINA

**HEADLINES:** RECENTLY DENAZIFIED GERMAN ARRESTED FOR DESECRATING SYNAGOGUE... U.S. ARMY WITHHOLDS ARMY-PRODUCED ANTI-NAZI FILM FROM EXHIBITION IN THEATERS IN THE U.S.... STATE DEPARTMENT BLOCKS INVESTIGATION OF AMERICAN POLICY IN GERMANY... SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER INCLUDES JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN A REFERENCE TO "SECRET" GROUPS... ARGENTINE NEWSPAPER SCORES JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS... PERON'S DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION WARNS SUBORDINATES AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS...

**BACKGROUND** Hans Rief, recently denazified, has been arrested for desecrating a synagogue at Marktredwitz, Germany. This is one of innumerable incidents in recent weeks involving the desecration of Jewish cemeteries and other Jewish property in Germany. A high point in vandalism was achieved several weeks ago when the remains of thousands of Jewish victims were exhumed from a grave in Dachau, with the approval of German authorities. In a series of subsequent, contradictory statements, the German authorities denied the corpses were of Jewish victims, claimed that the remains were those of S.S. officers, of Napoleonic soldiers, etc.

Washington persists, nonetheless, in its policy of coddling the Germans. American High Commissioner McCloy, last week, fought against his French counterpart on the Allied High Commission, who insisted on measures that would prevent the dumping of German coal on the world market in a repetition of the trade pattern of dumping pursued by the Nazi regime. A compromise agreement was finally reached, vehemently rejected by the Adenauer Cabinet as still too rigid and unfavorable to the German economy. Washington is exerting pressure on the British to have them desist from the dismantling of German factories.

A U.S. Army spokesman has formally announced that the Army will not release for exhibition in American theaters the Army-produced film "Nuremberg -- Its Lesson For Today," a documentary film on the Nazi atrocities against the Jews. A public showing of the film would be "inconsistent" with the Army's policy, according to Undersecretary of the Army Tracy Voorhies. The film's suppression fits into a pattern of American governmental policy which seeks to reduce strong feeling in the United States in favor of continued vigilance against the resuscitation of Nazi attitudes and patterns. It will be recalled that AMG sought assurances last



Summer that Jewish organizations would not oppose the German Trade Fair in New York. Leading exposé of the German trusts, Howard Watson Ambruster, revealed in an article in the Compass that Harry Lankhuff, acting chief of the Division of German Affairs, told him that the State Department "does not believe a Congressional investigation (of American policy in Germany) is necessary." This statement was made in reply to Mr. Ambruster's query as to the truth of reports that the State Department was blocking passage of bi-partisan Senate Resolution S.125 for an investigation of the collapse of denazification, which was introduced on June 7th, at the request of the American Jewish Congress. A preliminary report, made some three years ago, by George Meader, investigator for the Senate War Investigating Committee, was similarly suppressed at the instigation of the executive branch of the government. Those who suppressed that report, are now blocking the resolution calling for an investigation, Mr. Ambruster charges, and President Truman has been won over by them.

South African Jews were disturbed last week by a statement made by Prime Minister Daniel Malan. In reply to criticism by former Premier Marshall General Smuts that the "Broedersbond," a pro-Malan group, was a secret organization, he said: "If we are to institute an inquiry into secret organizations, the Broedersbond, the Sons of England, the Free Masons, and Jewish organizations must all be included in such an inquiry." There are no secret Jewish organizations in South Africa.

Malan's behavior towards Israel has been consistently friendly, and there has been nothing patently anti-Jewish in his government's behavior. However, his Nationalist government seeks more rigid segregation for the Negro, and in the past the Nationalist Party has been anti-Semitic and well-disposed towards Hitler.

A somewhat similar situation prevails in Peron's Argentina. The past record of his Party on Nazism and anti-Semitism is well-known. In the last two years, he has taken a new line. He is ebullient in his professions of friendship for Israel and the Jews, but has been issuing most of his pro-Jewish statements through a pro-Peronista Jewish organization, OIA, thus building up that organization into a favored spokesman for Jewry which is officially recognized and endorsed by the government, although its membership is exceedingly small. In recent weeks, one of the leading Buenos Aires newspapers listed JDC, the Jewish Agency and DAIA, the Central Organization of Argentine Jewry, affiliated with the World Jewish Congress, among "subversive" groups. The Argentine press is rigidly censored by the government. The publication of this report is regarded, therefore, as more than an inadvertence, and it is likely to have been inspired by the Jews of OIA. The director of immigration in Argentina warned his subordinates last week not to discriminate against Jews. OIA, the pro-Peronista organization, has been recognized by the government as the agency through which Jews seeking immigration visas are to clear their applications. Visas granted to Jews bear the stamp "Jew."

In its first issues, nearly a year ago, OJI Newsnotes predicted the emerging importance of OIA as a government instrument for the political gleichschaltung of Jewish organized life.

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**MISCELLANEOUS:** Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Acting President of the World Jewish Congress, declared in a message issued on the eve of Yom Kippur: "A World Jewish Congress survey, based on reports from affiliates in 66 countries, discloses a mixed pattern of hopes and fears in regard to the survival of the Jewish people and Jewish culture. Among the positive elements are the establishment of the State of Israel, the resettlement of virtually all DP camp inhabitants, a possible lessening of tension on the world political scene and the United Nations actions on the Human Rights Declaration and the Genocide issue. The disturbing side of the picture includes a revival of Nazism in Germany and Austria, the continued perilous situation of 500,000 of the Jews in Moslem lands, socio-economic practices affecting many of the 600,000 Jews in Latin America and the growing barriers to contact between Western Jews and the more than 2,500,000 Jews in the Soviet Union and the Soviet orbit countries."

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The World Jewish Congress will present a two-fold claim to the United Nations with regard to the Jews in Libya -- the recognition of their right to emigrate with transfers of property, and the international safeguarding of human rights of all those who elect to stay, Dr. Maurice L. Perlzweig, special representative in international affairs of the WJC, announced on his return from a mission to Libyan Jewry.

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The World Jewish Congress called on the United Nations to provide full international protection for refugees and displaced persons, after the termination of the I.R.O., by appointing a High Commissioner for the purpose. The request was made in a letter sent to Trygve Lie, United Nations Secretary General, by Dr. Robert S. Marcus, Political Director of the World Jewish Congress.

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## GERMANY

**HEADLINES:** U.S., BRITAIN, FRANCE MOVE TO ADMIT WEST GERMANY GOVERNMENT INTO U.N. AGENCIES... 44 SENATORS REQUEST STATE DEPARTMENT TO HALT DISMANTLING ... ADENAUER SAYS CHARGES OF ANTI-SEMITISM "GROSSLY EXAGGERATED"...

## BACKGROUND & COMMENTS:

The NY Times reported last week that Foreign Ministers Schumann of France, Foreign Secretary Bevin of Britain, and Secretary of State Acheson of the U.S. have agreed in principle to the admission of Western Germany into various U.N. agencies such as the International Labor Office, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund. Because the charters of some of these agencies refer to their members as States, the three governments have ordered a study made to determine whether Western Germany's admission would invalidate the powers over Germany retained by the Allied High Commission under the Occupation Statute. Should such a danger exist, they will withhold their endorsement of Germany's admission into the U.N. agencies. All indications are that the U.S. is the leading proponent of admitting West Germany. France opposes the admission of Germany into the International Civil Aviation Agency and other such bodies involving militarily adoptable aspects.

Although the State Department has turned down requests by Economic Cooperation Administration representatives in Germany and by High Commissioner John J. McCloy that plants no longer useful to the German economy should be dismantled to pay reparations to the Allies, the U.S. is known, however, to be more lenient on this issue than the other Allies, and to have had conflicts with France and Britain, who insist on a rigid implementation of the dismantling policies originally decided upon by the Allies. Domestic pressure on the State Department to step all dismantling has been stepped up. Following a communication two weeks ago from John J. McCloy, U.S. High Commissioner in Germany, advising our Government to pressure British Foreign Secretary Bevin to limit dismantling, 44 Senators, Republicans and Democrats, filed a request with the State Department requesting that dismantling be halted in the U.S. zone at least. The State Department has made no commitments with regard to the request of the Senators beyond ensuring them that their request would receive "careful and thoughtful consideration."

Arch-conservative Senator Kenneth S. Wherry was joined in this request by Liberals Frank P. Graham of North Carolina, and Paul H. Douglas of Illinois. The latter has a large German constituency and is now preparing amendments to the DP Bill, which, while liberalizing the bill includes, nonetheless, provisions for the admission of volkesdeutsche. Apart from the pressure on Senator Douglas, the position of Liberals in this case, in the opinion of some observers, parallels the tragic position taken by Liberals with regards to Germany at the end of World War I. Wilson's German settlement, which Frenchmen Clemenceau and Tardieu had warned at the time would facilitate another German war, was regarded by some Liberals as too hard on Germany.

News pouring in from Germany substantiates accusations that Nazism is reemerging under many disguises. Indicative is a recent statement by Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the non-Nazi Federal Chancellor of the West German State. Commenting on a resolution about anti-Semitism in Germany adopted by the recent Paris session of the World Jewish Congress Executive, he said: "I must say my impression is that allegations are being made abroad out of malevolence. The danger of nationalism is also being grossly exaggerated. The same applies to anti-Semitism. Apart from the clashes in Bavaria, I have noticed nothing of anti-Semitism." A Jewish German-language newspaper, Allgemeine Wochenzeitung, of Dusseldorf, commented ironically: "We have assumed that he (Adenauer) has had information on the desecration of Jew-



METHODIST CLERGYMAN DENIES ISRAEL PREVENTS OPENING OF CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN TEL AVIV

LONDON, Oct. 5. (JTA) -- Emphatic denial of a report that Israel authorities had refused permission for opening a Christian church in Tel Aviv, or were showing any intolerance, is contained in a letter from Tel Aviv to the current Methodist Recorder, written by the Rev. B. Burgoyne Chapman.

The Rev. Mr. Chapman wrote that he searched on the spot for any trace of "this strange thing." He emphasized that messages of thanks for religious freedom and for generous provision for the needs of different religious communities had been received and published by the Israel Ministry of Religions, from many ecclesiastics, both Christian and Moslem. "No other government is providing for minority religions as Israel is doing," he added.



ish cemeteries and the many major and minor anti-Jewish incidents, which should have made it clear to him that anti-Semitism is by no means as dead as he assumes. We can only hope that Dr. Adenauer will establish a department which will keep him briefed on the theoretical and practical anti-Semitism in Germany more effectively than his Party secretaries have done hitherto."

The German Government's continued adamant opposition to the Allie's policy against reviving Germany's prewar economic dumping policies, seems to have caused anxiety to High Commissioner McCloy, who in his early weeks in Germany was optimistic that the relations of Germany with U.S. personnel had reached a new and amicable stage. Quoting new instructions by McCloy to American personnel to do their utmost to halt "a renewal of Nazism and anti-Semitism," which McCloy earlier had declared dead, NY Times correspondent Drew Middleton observed that the High Commissioner seems to have been influenced recently "by his first contacts with the new German Government, which, Left, Right and Center is regarded as containing the seeds of totalitarianism."

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#### ISRAEL

HEADLINES: POPE TO CONVENE ADVISORS TO DISCUSS JERUSALEM ISSUE; AMERICA TENDS TOWARDS COMPROMISE... OPPOSITION IN ISRAEL CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT ON JERUSALEM AND ECONOMIC ISSUES...

#### BACKGROUND & COMMENTS:

Conflicting newspaper reports emanated last week from Washington, Lake Success and Rome with regard to the policy of America and the Vatican towards the U.N. Conciliation Commission's recommendations for the internationalization of Jerusalem. According to an unconfirmed report, the Vatican has called a meeting of high Church dignitaries next week to discuss Jerusalem, presided over by the Pope. The same report says America's views to the meeting will be presented by James G. McDonald, U.S. envoy to Israel. A meeting of Catholic dignitaries seems likely; the appearance of McDonald before such a meeting seems far-fetched, however. The U.S. Government is not likely to make such a direct dramatic appeal to the Vatican on an issue in the hands of the U.N., and the Vatican is not likely to invite the American envoy to address an ecclesiastical body on an issue which the Vatican argues is primarily religious. It is highly possible, however, that Mr. McDonald may stop off in Rome for informal talks with high Church dignitaries.

Two unconfirmed reports of Jerusalem compromise proposals by the Vatican and the State Department, respectively, were carried by some newspapers last week. According to this report the Vatican compromise "calls for the exemption of the Holy Places and their personnel from the jurisdiction of local courts, interconsular committees majorized by Catholic members to supervise the Holy Places, and the addition of two Christians to both the Jewish and Arab municipalities, irrespective of the percentage of Christians residing in the two municipalities." The original U.N. Conciliation Commission recommendations proposed U.N. rule of Jerusalem; the "compromise" proposal calling for "an interconsular committee" virtually proposes direct meddling in Jerusalem's municipal secular affairs by representatives of foreign governments. The proposals that "Christians" be appointed to the Jewish and Arab municipalities would further extend this intervention, and convert Jerusalem into another Shanghai.

As best as OJI Newsnotes could ascertain, the newspaper report regarding an American compromise was based on a casual statement by President Truman that a "common sense solution" can and must be found. This merely indicates, as noted in previous OJI Newsnotes, that the State Department has from the start been willing to accept an internationalization formula somewhat less rigid than that proposed by the Conciliation Commission. The Americans propose greater autonomy for the Arab and Jewish municipalities, without at all abandoning an internationalized Jerusalem. The Truman administration does not want to be placed in the position of completely endorsing Vatican demands, and, according to some opinion, this "compromise" on internationalization, although perhaps nearer the Israeli view that it be restricted to the Holy Places, may be proposed in trade for Israeli agreements to cede some Negeb territory.

The Israeli Government, meantime, was under strong pressure from opposition groups on two issues -- Jerusalem and economic issues. The conservative general Zionists, through their spokesman Dr. Fritz Bernstein, called for "a clear unequivocal statement by the Foreign Office," and the Herut Party, formerly Irgun, and The Fighter's Party, formerly the Stern group, threatened to war against foreign rule in Jerusalem. Dr. Bernstein also launched an attack on import, export and taxation policies. Dr. Bernstein represents one of the weaker parties in Israel. His criticism came at a time when the new State faces new difficulties. The Jewish Agency announced a 16 million dollar deficit. The Finance Committee of the Knesset was called into an emergency session. Reports from Argentina told of an 80% drop in



UJA contributions as against 1948. In America, at least one local Federation announced a new phenomenal quota for defensible local needs, thus seriously jeopardizing the UJA campaign for overseas and Israel, which has been having rough sledding.

Israel continued to admit large numbers of new immigrants, despite the crisis. 20,000 have entered Israel in the month of September, further aggravating the Government's economic difficulties.

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IN THE UNITED NATIONS --

At a UNESCO session in Paris, Israel joined with Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia in voting for a resolution to bar Western Germany from UNESCO activities. The Israeli delegate announced beforehand that Israel would vote against admitting Germany into UNESCO because there are no "elements in Germany who could be entrusted with the task of re-education.".... At Lake Success, the Israeli delegate endorsed independence for Libya, but seemed nearer the Anglo-American position than the Soviet position, which demanded immediate independence. Accepting the view presented early last week in a press statement by the World Jewish Congress, the Israeli delegate asked for a guarantee of rights and cultural autonomy for minority groups in an independent Libya, and for the right of Jews to take their property with them on leaving the country. While supporting independence, Egypt was silent on the early evacuation of British troops from Libya. This was interpreted as Egypt's compensation to Britain for the latter's proposal that parts of Eritrea be attached to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Israeli delegate asked that the Eritrean population be polled as to its wishes in this matter.

AMERICAN JEWISH

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MARGINAL REPORTS --

Reports from Bucharest said that Rumanian Jews were harangued against Zionism during Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashonah services in the synagogues, and reports from Warsaw said that the Central Committee of Poland attacked the World Jewish Congress and "reactionary, Trotskyite-Zionist bundist forces".... Disturbing reports came from South Africa, where the second issue of The Nation, a quarterly devoted to "the divine mission of Adolf Hitler," published by J.L. Battersby, had just appeared. Etienne Malan, an opponent of the Nationalist South African Prime Minister by the same name, charged that "this Fascist movement (of Battersby) appears much more dangerous than originally suspected. The links with the Prime Minister are apparently closer than they appear to be on the surface, despite denials..." Mr. Battersby announced that he planned to build a memorial institute to Hitler in South Africa. The Daily Mirror of London, in its September 28th issue, claimed that Battersby had interviewed Dr. Malan and that one of the Battersby sheets in England, The Kingdom Herald, contains the following message from Dr. Malan: "I am glad to have such good friends in England." Malan's Nationalist Party was pro-Nazi during World War II; his government is working on legislation for more rigid segregation of Negroes, but has been silent regarding South Africa's Jews, and has been supporting Israel at the U.N. (See last week's OJI Newsnotes.)

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MISCELLANEOUS:

The Jewish Community of Tripolitania has informed the United Nations that Dr. Maurice L. Perlzweig, U.N. Consultant of the World Jewish Congress, has been reappointed their official representative and will speak on their behalf at the present U.N. discussions on the Italian colonies.

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10/10/49

ISRAEL GOVERNMENT REPORTED ADVANCING PLAN TO GRANT TERRITORIAL STATUS TO HOLY PLACES

JERUSALEM, Oct. 9. (JTA) -- The Israel Government is advancing a plan for solution of the problem of Jerusalem on the basis of proposals expounded earlier calling for the granting of territorial status to the Holy Places in the city and for the extension to the clergy of the same rights they enjoyed under the former British Mandate, it was reported here today.

Meanwhile, Christian church authorities were reported to have altered somewhat their attitude toward internationalization of Jerusalem. Now, the reports say, they are prepared to accept a compromise promising them a modus operandi with only the "inter-religiously recognized Holy Places internationalized." The rest of the city would thus be put under respective Israel and Transjordan control.

At the same time, reports received here indicate that the Vatican is also taking a more cautious and moderate view on the question of internationalization of the Holy Places.



CANADIAN ZIONIST LEADER TAKES ISSUE WITH PRIEST ON PROTECTION OF HOLY PLACES

MONTREAL, Oct. 11. (JTA) -- Rabbi S.M. Zambrowsky, executive vice-president of the Mizrachi Organization of Canada who recently returned from Israel where he attended a religious conference, took sharp issue here with statements made in Montreal by Rev. Brother Raphael Quinn, O.F.M. secretary to the Roman Catholic custodian of Holy Places.

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In a formal statement replying to allegations made by Brother Raphael, Rabbi Zambrowsky termed the former's comments "contrary to fact" and challenged him to produce evidence that elements of Israel forces were responsible for either the bombing or destruction of Holy Places in Jerusalem. "There was no bombing of religious places in Jerusalem, nor was there any defamation or deliberate destruction done to such places by the Israel forces," Rabbi Zambrowsky said.

Denying Rev. Quinn's allegation that the damage to Holy Places was Israel's responsibility, Rabbi Zambrowsky recalled that Israel accepted the United Nations proposal to internationalize Jerusalem at the time of the U.N. partition decision of Nov. 29, 1947, but that "it was then that the Arabs invaded Israel, plundering and fighting without consideration to Holy Places in Jerusalem."



TEL AVIV SPOKESMAN HITS VATICAN WARNING TO PILGRIMS TO AVOID AREAS UNDER ISRAEL RULE

TEL AVIV, Nov. 1. (JTA) -- An Israel Government spokesman today termed "malicious and unwarranted" a statement issued yesterday in Rome by the Sacred Congregation for Propagation of the Faith advising pilgrims planning to visit the Palestine area during the Vatican-proclaimed Holy Year of 1950 to avoid sectors under Israel control because they "might be denied permission to enter the Arab zone."

The official spokesman asserted that Israel was the only country which has as yet "adopted adequate measures for facilitating to every possible extent" the forthcoming pilgrimage to the Holy Places. He pointed out that 95 percent of the Holy Places were in Arab-held territory and emphasized that the Jewish state has made it clear that "pilgrims would be allowed to cross to the Arab lines from Israel territory and would also be allowed to cross into Israel from the Arab countries."

(The statement issued in Rome, as reported in a dispatch to the New York Times, said that the Israel Government looks upon the influx of 100,000 "pilgrims as a possible source of revenue." Although there are "protestations of friendship and accord with the Arabs on the part of the Jews," the Congregation's statement continued, "the pillaging of Arab possessions in the Jewish zone continues and the life of most of the Arabs in the Jewish zone is a hard one.")

The spokesman, noting that the Israel Government recently appointed an inter-Ministerial committee on its own initiative to make all necessary arrangements to ease the stay of pilgrims, said the "gravest view is now taken by official circles at the maligning attitude adopted by Vatican bodies."



## ISRAEL AND THE VATICAN

HEADLINES: POPE ASKS PRAYERS ON JERUSALEM ISSUE... CATHOLICS DENY CHANGE OF POLICY ON JERUSALEM...

BACKGROUND & COMMENTS: When the Pope last week called upon Catholics to undertake a "crusade of prayers" for a just settlement of the Holy places issue, some Israeli and Zionist circles were heartened by the obliqueness and relatively moderate couching of his references to Jerusalem. They thought it indicated a retreat. However, "Catholic circles" in Jerusalem (obviously the Franciscan Fathers, who since the 14th Century have been recognized by the Church as the custodians of the Holy places), quickly denied that any revision of Vatican policy for the internationalization of Jerusalem had taken place.

The NY Times had earlier carried a long dispatch from Rome which contained a four point interpretation of the Pope's call for a "prayers crusade". The interpretation, attributed to "Vatican circles" was entirely in quotation marks, indicating that it was carefully prepared by someone high in the Vatican hierarchy, possibly its Secretary of State. Point two dealt with Jerusalem and stated: "In regard to the City of Jerusalem and its environs, the Holy See wishes and advocates a special inter-



national statute for the protection of the rights of Catholics, Mohammedans and Jews alike..." The phrase "international statute," might mean anything, from an agreement between the Israeli government and the U.N., as proposed by Israel, to a complete international regime. That an international regime is intended was implicit in a later paragraph which said: "Protection of other Holy places outside of Jerusalem and its immediate environs should be governed by international agreement..." Note that Jerusalem is excepted in this paragraph, so that the paragraph dealing with Jerusalem refers to an international regime and not merely an international agreement.

Some of the passages quoted in the NY Times seemed to indicate that the Jerusalem issue was being used by the Holy See to set a precedent for all future Vatican intervention in issues before the U.N. Said the NY Times: "The Vatican maintained that its right to be heard in a problem that affects the interests of the whole Catholic Church of which it is the representative, is so firm that the (Jerusalem) question should not be settled 'without first either directly or indirectly learning the Vatican's desire' and that not to do so 'would be tantamount to a flagrant injustice on the part of the U.N.'"

Stating that the international guarantee on Jerusalem "should be backed not only by those nations that are members of the U.N., but also by nations that do not at present belong to it," the "Vatican sources" named Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland specifically, and stated that "a grave insult would be perpetrated against these countries if they were deprived of the great honor of sharing with other nations the responsibility of assisting in the international protection of the Holy places."



### U.S. Catholic Leaders Urge Territorial Internationalization of Jerusalem

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20. (JTA) -- The text of a statement issued here over the week-end by the Cardinals, Bishops and Archbishops of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the U.S., criticizing the U.N. Palestine Conciliation Commission's proposals for Jerusalem now before the United Nations and calling for real and effective internationalization of the Holy City, emphasized that the "only effective guarantee for the safety of Jerusalem" and the Holy Places is a "territorial internationalization of Jerusalem and its area under the sovereignty and effective control of the family of nations."

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Noting that Pope Pius XII "time and time again made it clear that the only effective guarantee" for the safety of Jerusalem and its Holy Places was a territorial internationalization of the city, the statement said: "There can be no question as to the meaning of internationalization in the Papal letters. It is the concept originally expressed by the General Assembly itself in Nov. 1947. It is a truly international regime and not a mere control or curatorship. Therefore, only such a real internationalization can establish peace in the area and effectively safeguard the Holy Places for future generations."

### ISRAEL RABBINATE ORDERS THREE DAYS OF PRAYER TO SAVE JERUSALEM FROM INTERNATIONALIZATION

JERUSALEM, Nov. 20. (JTA) -- The Israel Chief Rabbinate today decreed three days devoted to special prayers to "save Jerusalem from internationalization" on the eve of United Nations discussions on the future status of the Holy City. The prayers listed for recitation include Psalm 148.



What this actually means is that the Vatican, unable to break through the barriers that have kept Spain and some other Catholic states from joining the U.N., would like to set up special commissions, with these states represented on them, that would take over functions that are exclusively the province of the U.N. Jerusalem and the Holy places are only the beginning. The Vatican may find tomorrow that it has the right to be heard on any other problem "that affects the interests of the whole Catholic Church." The Vatican may even demand some official representation in the U.N. for itself. The Vatican is extremely unhappy over the presence of a Soviet bloc in the U.N. If it could gradually, through commissions on which non-U.N. members are represented, remove from the U.N. some of its powers, the Vatican could claim a major diplomatic coup.

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CATHOLIC BISHOPS AND CARDINALS IN U.S. URGE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18. (JTA) — The National Catholic Welfare Conference today urged territorial internationalization of Jerusalem under U.N. control. Catholic Bishops, Archbishops and Cardinals from all parts of the U.S. participated in the Conference here, one of whose purposes was to decide the view of U.S. Catholics on the Jerusalem internationalization issue.



# The Reconstructionist

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## Editorials

### THE PROPOSED PILGRIM BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL

THE emotions aroused in all who are concerned with the problem of Jerusalem render difficult complete objectivity on their part. Yet it has been gratifying to read the editorials appearing in the *Boston Pilot* and other diocesan publications in this country and abroad urging their Catholic readers to bear in mind the force of the Jewish and Arab arguments against the internationalization of Jerusalem. Not that these editorials urge acceptance of the Israeli plan for Jerusalem; on the contrary, for the most part they support the Vatican's position, which calls for internationalization. Whatever the position taken, however, the editorials are entitled to the respectful attention of all Catholic and non-Catholic readers, for they are couched in a tone of reasonableness.

So much greater, therefore, is our dismay at the recent bulletin circulated throughout the world by an official Vatican agency, "The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith." The bulletin urges all Catholic pilgrims expecting to visit the holy places in Palestine during the coming Holy Year not to traverse Israel, but rather to enter the Arab zone. The reason cited is that most

of the holy places are in Arab hands. The message proceeds to proclaim that pilgrims will find it difficult to enter the Arab zone from Israel. If so, it is because Transjordan has publicly refused to grant entrance to its territory to anyone bearing an Israeli visa. Israel, on the other hand, has stated that it will offer its full cooperation to all pilgrims. Therefore, it would be far more logical for the Vatican to direct this charge to Transjordan.

With a subtle insinuation of anti-Semitism, the bulletin declares: "The Israeli Government estimates that about 100,000 pilgrims will come to the Holy Land during the Holy Year and it looks upon this influx of visitors as a possible source of revenue." This statement must be coupled with another remark in the bulletin to the effect that hotel and travel costs in Israel "are about two and one-half times more costly than in the Arab zone." Implied in all this is the idea that prices in Israel for travel and hotel are examples of profiteering, rather than the result of higher wages and superior facilities. Such statements deserve a vociferous protest from all people who care for the truth. We hope that the Catholic editors who have previously demonstrated their fairness will protest against these unfair statements.

Furthermore, according to a New York Times report on October 31st, "Vatican circles said that they expected the warning to have some influence on tourist



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traffic to Palestine and possibly to deter many pilgrims from visiting the Israeli zone." Why is the Vatican interested in preventing Catholics from visiting Israel? Can it be that such visitors would discover that Vatican charges of Israeli abuse of Church property are false? Can it be that the Vatican wants to employ an economic boycott to force Israel to agree to internationalization? If so, why is not such a boycott set up against Transjordan, which has also refused to accept the internationalization of Jerusalem?

Can one of the motives of the Vatican's campaign for internationalization be to weaken the Jewish people? The Church has never repudiated its ancient view that the suffering of the Jewish people is a punishment for its rejection of Jesus. In this perspective, the establishment of the State of Israel is hard to reconcile with that doctrine. It is too late now to undo the independence of Israel. But there is still a possibility of preventing Jerusalem, the symbol of Israel's former religious preeminence, from again reflecting glory on the Jewish people. If this interpretation is in error, how else can one explain this persistent campaign by the Church?

### WE ARE NOT REASSURED

WE have been hearing persistent and disquieting reports from Israel about the persecution of Jews in Iraq. These have been officially denied by the Iraqi Government, and its denial has been corroborated by our own State Department. Yet we are not reassured. Rarely have reports of anti-Semitic excesses proved unfounded, and rarely have interested governments failed to deny them. Even more democratic governments than that of Iraq have not shown that they can be trusted to deal

justly with ethnic minorities with whose kin they are at war. Even our own government has a bad stain on its record for its treatment of Japanese Americans during the war.

A letter addressed to the New York Times by Robert S. Marcus, Political Director of the World Jewish Congress, and published in that paper on November third, refutes the Iraqi contention. We quote some of its salient passages:

"Last week a Times correspondent cabled your newspaper: 'Oppression of Jews in Iraq is widespread. There are no public uprisings; all is done quietly and subtly by government pressure. . . . Jews are afraid to complain.' . . .

"May I point out that the World Jewish Congress called the attention of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to anti-Jewish persecution in Iraq as far back as January, 1948 and since that time has submitted a number of additional memoranda on the subject to that body. As a matter of fact . . . the Secretary General transmitted the complaints of the World Jewish Congress to the President of the Security Council on March 16, 1949. . . .

"The memorandum which the World Jewish Congress submitted to the United Nations on October 22, 1949, contains numerous instances of discrimination which completely vitiate Mr. Bakr's" (the Iraqi Minister's) "categorical denial of such practices—viz., dismissal of almost every Jewish government official, restrictions of freedom of movement, bar on the sale of property without special permit, refusal to grant export and import licenses to Jews, barring of Jews from the publishing field, and refusal to admit them into hospitals, schools and similar institutions. . . .

"Incidentally, it is rather strange indeed that the Iraqi representative denies the widespread arrests of Jews when the