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Shall We Re-Arm Germany?, 1951.

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shall we Re-~~turn~~ ^{firmly} ?

Address delivered by
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
at the Temple.



March 4, 1957.

Cleveland, Ohio.

~~SHALL WE RE-ARM GERMANY?~~

~~March 4, 1951~~

At Potsdam in August 1945 an agreement was reached between ~~President~~ Truman, Churchill and Stalin for the complete demilitarization of Germany. They agreed that all war potentials ^{of} Germany should be destroyed, all war plants, warships, aircraft and arms, so that Germany would never again be able to make war.

Why was this decision reached by the heads of the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. ^{These countries} ~~They~~ had just emerged from the horrors and ~~the~~ ^{had} devastations of the Second World War which Germany inflicted on mankind - the second world war in a single generation. They recalled that Germany had been defeated in the First World War, but that subsequently it had been permitted to re-arm, only to hurl her military might a second time against the allied nations with even greater fury and ruthlessness ~~and violence~~. Under Hitler, as under the Kaiser, the military clique of Germany, backed by its powerful industrial cartels, had made a second attempt at conquest and world domination. Germany ~~was~~ ^{has} not ~~at all~~ ^{been} reticent about its intentions. It had proudly announced it to the German people and to the whole world, ~~and the~~ German people had enthusiastically approved of these intentions, and had ~~glacfully~~ hailed each successive ~~step~~ and victory on the road on which they believed themselves to be marching, the ~~road~~ to world mastery. They failed a second time, ^{but} ~~not~~, however, before they had drenched Europe with blood and slaughtered millions of people ~~and exterminated whole peoples~~, and left countless cities in ruins and nations in bottomless misery.

And so this time, ^{at} ~~as~~ the close of the Second World War, the allied nations were ~~determined not to be fooled again~~ ^{make the same mistake} ~~They would take no more chances with this war-~~ ^{resolved to} idolizing, power-hungry, ^{and} obsessed people which had time and time again destroyed the peace of Europe. They were determined to pull ~~out~~ ^{out} its fangs once and for all. They would render it incapable of ever again launching a war, ~~upon mankind~~ ^{descendants}. ~~And so solemnly~~ ^{do} ~~ly did these~~ heads of the three great countries which had paid such a fearful price

for German belligerency, ^{solely} resolved ^{permanently} to demilitarize Germany. They also resolved to democratize its schools so that the youth of Germany in the future ^{would} ~~would~~ not be subjected to militarist ^{ic} training. They also ^{agreed} ~~resolved~~ to decentralize its government so that no future dictator would be able to use ~~and~~ wield a powerfully coordinated Germany as ^{an offensive} ~~a weapon of attack~~ against the world.

That was ^{five and a half} ~~15~~ years ago. Today the United States is leading the world in a determined effort to re-arm Germany. ^{TP} And ironically enough, the ^{explanations which is} ~~reasons~~ given ~~are exactly~~ ^{for} ~~this charge of fraud is exactly~~ the same as Hitler gave when he persuaded the allies to help him re-arm - namely, the ^{over-riding need} ~~necessity~~ to resist Communist aggression. ^{TP} The Potsdam allies have fallen out. They ^{now} ~~was~~ fought the war side by side against a common enemy ^{but now this} ~~are now~~ mobilizing against each other, and are courting the favor of ^{then} ~~the~~ erstwhile common enemy.

~~You may remember that~~ ^{disagreements} among the allies following the first World War made possible the reconstruction of Germany's military might, ~~made possible~~ the emergence of Hitler, ~~made possible~~ his early, ~~astounding~~ diplomatic and annexationist victories. Germany knew after the first World War how to play off one of the allies ~~ally~~ against the other and how to gain advantages from each. Hitler knew how to make his brown dictatorship tolerable and palatable to the allies by harping upon the evils and the dangers of the red dictatorship. So did Mussolini. ^{as a result} ~~And that is how~~ Europe was turned over, ^{as an} ~~you will recall~~, a helpless victim to the bestialities of Nazi and Fascist madmen while the democracies were ~~paralyzed~~ into inaction by a propaganda which said that all these things ~~had to happen~~ ~~they~~ were necessary - in order to save Europe from a worse fate - ~~that is to say~~, from Communist domination. But when the unbearable tensions and the expansionist ^{greed} ~~avarice~~ of the Nazi-Fascist adventurers finally brought on the Second World War, it was found, ~~strange to say~~ ~~mirabile dictu~~ ~~it was found~~ that the allied democratic nations were at war, not with Communist Russia, but ^{against} ~~with~~ the Nazi and Fascist states, and ~~it was found that~~ Communist Russia ^{for} ~~was actually fighting not~~ against the democracies, ^{was actually fighting on their side} ~~but on the side of the democracies.~~

History has often a strange and tragic way of repeating itself. As if ^{doomed} by some ~~act of inescapable fate~~, as if under the ~~inevitable~~ compulsion of some spell or incantation, the allied nations are today retracing the same road which they took after the First World War, step by step. Spurred ^{on} by the fear of ^{couraged} Russia ~~the same Russia~~ which existed after the First World War ~~spurred by a fear of Russia~~ real, ~~or~~ inflated or imaginary, ^{are} the democratic nations are rushing to re-arm Germany even before the Germans have asked for it, even though most ~~of the~~ Germans are still opposed to ~~it~~ ^{it}. We ~~had actually~~ determined to thrust rearmament upon Germany.

The United States, even more than Great Britain - certainly more than France - is resolved to bring Western Germany within the Western European defense system ~~which is being built up in order to strengthen allied defenses against the Soviet, even at the cost of scrapping all the provisions of the Potsdam agreement made 5 1/2 years ago.~~ It is prepared to re-arm Germany in the same manner as it is re-arming the member nations of the North Atlantic Pact, ^{Since all} and ~~inasmuch as~~ the German plants which before the war produced arms and munitions ^{have} ~~had been destroyed by the allies, it means that~~ the United States will now ^{equip} provide Germany with arms and munitions, and the American tax-payer will pay for the ~~re-arming~~ ^{the cost of German rearmament.} of Germany. And in return it is expected that Western Germany will supply the allied nations with ~~ground troops of which they have not enough of their own, that Western Germany will provide many divisions of ground troops to stand off a possible Russian invasion of the West.~~

~~And~~ In order to persuade the German people to fall in line with our plans, we ^{we have been} have been assiduously wooing them, ^{in order} granting them one concession after another, to win their favor. Within a day or two Germany will be permitted to set up its own Foreign ~~Ministry and~~ ^{its own} Office and set up ^{again} embassies and ~~ministries~~ all over the world. ~~We are letting the~~ ^{we have been set free to} Nazi convicted criminals ~~go free to please and placate the German people.~~ High Commissioner McCloy a few weeks ago issued a blanket commutation of the sentences of ~~some~~ 78 of the remaining 89 convicted ^{Nazi} criminals ^{who were severely sentenced.} in the prisons of Germany. 31 were promptly set at liberty; ^{the} others had their sentences reduced. Among those who were

promptly set at liberty was Mr. Alfred Krupp, and all eight of his fellow convicts from the Krupp management. All ¹⁰³¹ of these criminals had been tried and sentenced and ^{fairly} those sentences had been ^{efficiently} reviewed once before by General Clay. ^{These Nazis} They were ^{brutal} administrators of concentration camps, they were ^{on found} either guilty of racial atrocities, of deportation of masses of people, of mass murder, of slave labor, of the abduction of children, of ^{almost} every crime in the calendar. ^{have had} And they have now been pardoned or their sentences ^{have been reduced}, and ^{intended} this act of clemency on the part of the United States Government was to make the German people grateful ^{and indebted} to the United States and indebted to the United States. It was intended to impress the German people ^{with} our fairness. ^{inspired} On the contrary, this act has aroused a storm of protest and indignation in Germany. ^{because} It confirmed the German people in ^{their} the belief, which they held right along, that the trials of these ^{German} people and their sentences were unjust ^{as the first place} originally and motivated by vengeance, ^{they} and they ^{were} are bitter about the remaining few ^{Nazi criminals} who have not been ^{pardoned} at liberty. And they are so bitter about it that a day or two ago the Chancellor, Conrad Adenauer, had to defend the United States' High Commissioner McCloy against venomous personal attacks ^{which followed his act of clemency} so that even the newspapers from the Germans who believed McCloy should have extended clemency to the last seven Nazi war criminals whose execution at Landsburg is still delayed. Both Mr. and Mrs. McCloy have received anonymous threatening letters since the final Landsburg decisions were announced, and one said that if the execution should take place, revenge would be sought against the McCloy's two children.

The freeing of Alfred Krupp is a most revealing and ominous act. Decartelization, ^{that is, the de-concentration of heavy industry in Germany}, the break-up of the ^{vast} whole cartel network ^{of German heavy industry} was one of the great ^{objectives} slogans of the allies ^{at the close of the war} during the war and against Germany when the war was won. These cartels had kept Hitler in power, ^{hoping} that ^{had helped to} through Hitler they would achieve two things: ^{first}, the crushing of the power of organized labor; and ^{secondly}, the extension of their economic tentacles over all the countries which Hitler would conquer for them. And these powerful trusts financed

"The revision of war crimes sentences, which United States authorities said they had hoped would end once and for all the West German agitation in this field has not resulted in the desired effect", reports the New York Times ~~under date~~ correspondent from Frankfurt Germany under date 7 Feb. 6.
"A messy German public opinion disclosed the widespread belief that the decisions, which refused war criminals from the gallows and modified prison terms for many others, was dictated by political expediency. From many German sources commenting on decisions came the under-
ground view that 'the times had changed' because the Western Nations' need German good will."



Hitler, and during the war Hitler rewarded them with huge ^{war} contracts and profits and with nigh-limitless sources of slave labor, ~~so that~~ After the war the allies resolved to break up these cartels and a de-cartelization law was enacted. ^{But to quite} ~~And this is what~~

^{happened} ~~Mr. Robert S. Allen, who presided in the New York Post, however~~
^{26, 1950 extracts from a report of an official American observer, this is what}
~~One of the members of the United States Anti-Trust team which had been sent over~~
~~to Germany last year reports as follows:~~

We have been fighting our own battle here ever since the Korean affair broke, but it looks as though ours will have a far less happy ending. Decartelization, dispersal of the I.G. Farben combine and break-up of the banking monopolies are about to be swept away in the panicky rush to give the Germans whatever they want in order to get them to accept the arms we are trying to thrust upon them. It is a truly tragic and despairing situation.

All prospect of any acceptance by the Germans of any part of our economic reform program has virtually disappeared in the scramble to get them back into uniform. . . . Instead of advancing, as we were doing for a while, we are now having to fight very hard to hold on to anything at all. It now appears that our decartelization program is out the window. . . . The British were always against it and so were a lot of other people in our own occupation establishment. Between them and the rush to re-arm Germany, our deconcentration program appears about finished.

Now, only a few months later, there is a beautifully organized drive, encouraged by the British and led by the old Farben gang, to scrap the law and let the Germans, meaning the Farben crowd, handle the problem.

. . . The lack of resolve by the Allies, and their susceptibility to blackmail, has now been graphically demonstrated. The Germans have tasted blood and they are on the prowl once more. Once again, it is the old cry, "Deutschland Uber Alles."

Only recently the Minister of Justice at Bonn made a public speech in which he denounced the three High Commissioners, demanded that they get out of Germany, and excoriated the occupation statute as a scrap of paper which had no authority in Germany. That's where we came in. Adolph Hitler rides again.

~~And of course, the freeing of Mr. Alfred Krupp, the head of the vast Krupp industries of the Ruhr, is the culmination and the climax of this process which has~~

^{and his associates} ~~been going on. Even such a mild person as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt finds herself compelled to raise a protest against what has been taking place. She wrote in one of~~

~~her daily columns:~~

I also find it difficult to understand the freeing of Alfred Krupp and the return of his properties. The fact that we have freed so many Nazis must be puzzling the German people. If we actually have a moral belief that Nazism was bad and that people who were Nazis should not be encouraged, and if we think that cartels helped to bring on wars and should not be allowed, the Germans at least will respect the fact that we have moral standards and stick to them.

But if I am bewildered by what has been going on in the last few weeks, what must it do to the Germans and our European allies? Are we trying to build an economic empire? I thought we were trying to rehabilitate the Germans and the economy of Europe, as a whole, along the lines that would make it more difficult for war to recur.

TP So
~~And as far as the re-education in democracy of the German youth is concerned, it, too, has been a colossal failure, a fiasco of the worst sort.~~

Dr. Worth McClure, the Executive Secretary of the American Association of School Administrators, speaking before a Washington audience some weeks ago declared:

German schools in the American zone are bringing up another generation to be blind followers. . . . Unless a major operation is performed in the German school system, we shall prepare for another generation that will welcome a dictator. . . . Ironically we are doing it with American taxpayers' money expended for the express purpose of making another dictator unacceptable.

TP
system 7
Thousands of former Nazis ~~are back in their school teaching jobs~~ *school workers* in the school in Western Germany, *teaching German youth - what?*

And an editorial in the New York Times a few days ago wrote:

Five years of German efforts of reorientation (in education, that is) have not succeeded in filling the vacuum left by the collapse of the Reich with an understanding of the workings and meanings of democracy.

It is there
when we are determined to
Here ~~we~~ *they* are, the same Germans, unreformed, unrepentant, and we are about to rearm.

It is
who, we hardly hope, will help us help
They These Germans are not thinking of making the world safe for democracy. . . . They *They* ~~are not~~ *are not* thinking in our terms at all. They have their own calculations. They don't want another war with Russia - at least not for some time to come. They have

not forgotten Stalingrad! They know now what Hitler did not know, that the Russian armies cannot be disposed of in six weeks or so. They know that ~~3~~ *thick* divisions of them are at the ~~very~~ *very* moment in Eastern Germany and that many, many more are close behind them.

As in the days following the first world war.

They realize that their first and rush to
save the world from communism which is the
world enemy with communism to destroy
them...

The Germans of Western Germany are not unaware that in case of war between the
East and the West, Germany will be in the middle, the logical battlefield, the
first to be invaded. They know themselves to be vulnerable. They are not eager to
make their country, still shattered and unrecovered from the Hitler war, again a
battlefield. They are also not unaware that in the event of such a war, the Germans

of the West will be fighting Germans in the East. They are not eager for such a
civil war, and so from the mouth of most Germans you hear today the slogan, "Ohne
mich," - "without me", "count me out."

Logic and self-interest will dictate to them, of course, to capitalize as much
as possible on their bargaining position at the moment as between the Soviet and the
allied nations, to demand of the Western allies and particularly of the United States,
prior to making any commitments, full independence, removal of all political, econ-
omic and military restrictions, and full equality. And if they are to provide an
army and it has to be a large army because if it is a small army, it is of no value
to the allied nations - if they are to provide an army, they will insist that it
will have to be an independent army, under its own generals, and that this army will
be organized only behind adequate allied divisions posted on Germany's Eastern bor-
ders and on the Elbe River in order to shield the German army during the period of
its rearmament, and of course, without cost to the German taxpayer.

And they will also exact commitments from the allies, that in case there is a
Third World War and it is won by the allied nations, all the territories taken from
Germany in 1945, such as Sudetenland and the areas taken by Poland and Russia, shall
be restored to them.

All this, of course, means the rebuilding of the German military might, the re-
storation to power of the German military clique of the German military staff, the
rebuilding of the German Wehrmacht and when that is done and Germany is strong
again, it will decide for itself when it wants to fight and whom it wants to fight.

R Quite conceivably it may find it advantageous to ~~make an alliance~~ ^{come to an understanding} with Soviet Russia as Hitler did with Stalin in 1939, as the Weimar Republic did ~~with Bolshevik Russia~~ at Rapallo in 1922. Bismarck had always counseled the German people to make friendship with Russia ^a ~~as~~ central ^{part} ~~in~~ their foreign policy.

~~This is what~~ France is deathly afraid of ^{the French} ~~of~~ (afraid of a resurgent, powerful German Reich. ^{Three} ~~Three times~~ in the last century France has been invaded by Germany. Under pressure of the United States, France is willing to agree that small units of Germans, not larger than a regiment, be permitted to organize and to be incorporated within the armies of the North Atlantic Pact nations, ^{but} The Germans must have no armor, ~~and~~ no air or naval ^{forces} ~~support~~, and must never come under German command. ^{It is} ~~And~~ of course, ~~it is~~ naive to expect that Germany will ever agree to such a humiliating arrangement. The German people are thinking of quite other things - not of altruistically serving the cause of the allies, or of remaining loyal to any arrangement which will not ultimately give Germany the coveted position of hegemony on the continent of Europe.

~~So that~~ The rearming of Germany means putting ~~geese-stepping~~ militarism in the saddle again in Germany and aggressive ~~German~~ nationalism. It means weakening still further whatever democratic forces and sentiment there still remain in that country. It means the blossoming anew of a neo-Naziism. It means the prelude to a third World War.

~~In my humble judgment~~ The decision at Potsdam taken by Truman ~~and~~ Churchill and Stalin was a wise decision, ^{It was} ~~the only decision~~ dictated by ^{the need} ~~legal~~ statesmanship. Germany

^{It should be} ~~should~~ never be rearmed. It should be permanently demilitarized, ^{such as} ~~such as~~ Switzerland ^{is} ~~is~~ neutralized. ^{The North Atlantic Pact Nations and the Soviet Union should} ~~Agreement~~ should be reached to neutralize Germany. The armies

~~both~~ of the allies and of the Soviet Union should be withdrawn from Germany, ~~from~~ the whole of Germany. East and West Germany should be permitted to reunite. The

^{present} division is unnatural, like the 38th parallel in Korea, ~~and~~ if it is permitted to ^{remain} ~~stay~~, it will be a source of never-ending conflict ~~and disorder~~ and political disturbance in the heart of Europe. A united and militarized Germany will be a menace

there is that possibility that the ~~reference~~ ^{power} factor then as now will be the power, the North Atlantic Pact countries and the ~~United States~~ ^{United States} with the power, the armed forces, the United States

to the world. A united and demilitarized Germany may be the way of pacifying the whole of Europe. The German people will have the opportunity to rebuild ~~its~~ ^{their} life, if it so desires, on democratic lines and in peaceful ways.

~~I am afraid that the thought exists in the minds of many people that as soon as~~ ^{then one} ~~the allied armies are withdrawn from Western Europe by agreement with the Soviet Union and the Russian armies are withdrawn from Eastern Europe, at some moment or other Soviet Russia will pounce again on Germany, take over all of it, and communize it.~~ ^{who are apprehensive}

~~There will always remain on the Western border of Germany the North Atlantic Pact nations who have agreed among themselves that an attack on any one of them is~~ ^{as well as and from Eastern Germany} ~~an attack on all of them, and who will announce clearly to the world that the invasion of Germany will be a signal of war.~~ ^{at some later date} ~~The armies of the North Atlantic Pact nations are not inconsiderable and may be strengthened and built up into greater force, and behind them is the United States of America linked by treaty with these North Atlantic Pact peoples, which can bring the power and might of its armed forces, and they are not inconsiderable - and particularly its powerful air force, of the 11 or 12 members of Western Europe to such a degree as to make any invasion of Germany terribly costly and almost prohibitive, should the Soviet Union think of~~ ^{to these Soviet aggressors and} ~~invading it.~~ ^{will be}

~~And if such a combination of forces is inadequate to stop Russia, then the attempt to rely upon Western Germany as the power to save the Western allied nations is a fantastic one, a groundless one leaning on a broken reed.~~ ^{and backed by treaty obligations with these} ~~The best, indeed the only, military course effectively open to us in Germany and Japan is in fact the counterpart of the political course which most Germans and, I imagine, most Japanese believe in. That is a policy of neutrality like that of Sweden and Switzerland, which rests not on pacifism and disarmament, but on the realization that any other course is suicidal.~~ ^{to the invader} ^{naval and} ^{This will make} ^{an attack upon}

~~The Russians must understand beyond doubt that we shall be certain to retaliate if they attempt to conquer Western Europe, and that we shall destroy the material assets which they might seek to gain by conquest.~~ ^{to the invader} ^{The leaders of} ^{will} ^{not fail to take this into consideration should they consider such an adventure.}

Walter Lippmann, writing recently, gave expression to this thought:

The best, indeed the only, military course effectively open to us in Germany and Japan is in fact the counterpart of the political course which most Germans and, I imagine, most Japanese believe in. That is a policy of neutrality like that of Sweden and Switzerland, which rests not on pacifism and disarmament, but on the realization that any other course is suicidal.

The Russians must understand beyond doubt that we shall be certain to retaliate if they attempt to conquer Western Europe, and that we shall destroy the material assets which they might seek to gain by conquest.

~~Allied air power can destroy the Ruhr industries again, as it did in the Second World War.~~

I believe myself (writes Mr. Lippmann) that we should revise our present policy - which is a corollary of the Truman Doctrine and is designed to make Germany and Japan our military allies. We should espouse the policy which corresponds to our own military capacity, and to our own military necessities, and to the real will of the German and the Japanese nations - which is to guarantee their independence, and to deny them to the Soviets.

~~My dear friends,~~ There is soon to be held in Paris the preliminary meeting of the Big Four ~~tomorrow~~ to formulate the agenda for the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, ~~which is to discuss first and foremost~~ *its original purpose was* "the demilitarization of Germany." The United States properly stated that Germany is not a problem which can be isolated from the context of similar areas of tension elsewhere. It wanted to broaden the agenda and ~~has succeeded in doing so.~~ *present international importance.* We wanted the agenda extended to include other issues which are at the root of the War of Nerves now going on. Dean Acheson stated early in November, "We are eager to have all causes for fear removed. We welcome an opportunity to lessen fear." He expressed genuine desire to reach agreements with the Soviet Union which will remove or alleviate the threats to world security. This is most commendable. *But* behind the scenes, I am afraid, there are other forces at work. They are forces which are afraid lest Russia might make proposals at ~~this~~ *the* Council of Foreign Ministers for the unity, ~~and the neutralization and the demilitarization of Germany,~~ which would ease ~~the~~ tensions all around, but which would also scuttle our *present* plan for the remilitarization of Germany and *would* also disrupt ~~our~~ plans both at home and abroad for intensified military preparedness. They don't want it.

I quote from ~~the~~ *a* column of Mr. Stewart Alsop, *which appeared in the press* ~~written~~ a few days ago.

A nightmare is beginning to haunt those responsible for American foreign policy. It is about as certain as can be that the Kremlin will propose a settlement based on a "neutralized" Germany after the withdrawal of occupation troops. Possibly it will ostensibly accept a free, secret, unsupervised vote to elect a single all-German government.

This has raised an agonized debate in the State Department and Pentagon. For the objective would be to end western rearmament, split the Western alliance and knock the props from under American foreign policy.....

For these reasons and others, it is believed that any Soviet proposal for a German settlement will be essentially a fake, a tempting trap for the unwary West. Yet even a fake proposal cleverly camouflaged, could have disastrous consequences. American policy is squarely based on the assumption that a true balance of power can only be achieved, and peace maintained if western Europe is rendered defensible.

The Pentagon believes western Europe can never be defended without German participation. Withdrawal of all occupation troops and permanent demilitarization of Germany would, it is feared, cause the western European defense effort, just starting under Eisenhower, to crumble into nothingness. If the Kremlin only seemed ready to offer a settlement involving the withdrawal of the Red Army to the Russian frontiers, it would be almost unbearably tempting to Germans, French, British, and even to many Americans. It might throw the whole western alliance into an uproar of bitter mutual recriminations causing the alliance to fall apart.

This is why this internal debate is vitally important. One school of thought, particularly in the Pentagon, believes any German settlement at this time, on any terms, disastrous. This school would attempt to forestall the Kremlin with a prior American proposal for a German settlement with conditions the Soviets would not conceivably accept. Yet any ~~simple~~ diplomatic device so obvious might split the allies by convincing the Europeans that the United States was interested only in war.

There it is! I said some time ago that there are forces at work in our country who do not want peace with Russia - regardless! ^{They} ~~we~~ do not believe that the two systems can co-exist in the same world. They would therefore dragoon every possible ally - Tito, Franco, Nazis, Fascists - they would send our youth all over the world, militarize our life, drain our resources - just so there is no agreement with Russia.

I do not believe that the American people will accept ^{this} position ^{once they have} ~~after it has~~ fully realized what is involved. American statesmanship will have another ~~chance~~, ~~another~~ historic opportunity at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of the Big Four. American statesmanship failed in Korea; it failed in China. It might succeed ^{if it make an earnest effort, a bold frank and unambiguous effort} ~~if it wishes - it might succeed magnificently, historically - start mankind on a new road away from war to peace -~~ at ^{the} ~~this~~ critical and decisive meeting, long overdue, of the Great Powers who have the destiny of the world in the palms of their hands. ^{It might not succeed. The Soviet Union may not wish it to succeed. It may be playing for continuing (war)}

intended ^{political} turnings and changes to serve its
aggressive, imperialistic purposes as its enemies
assent. ^{They planned this by the loss, & the world war will be inevitable} At least ~~we~~ our country will have
made its position indubitably clear, ^{to the entire world} thereby ~~strengthening~~
~~the~~ ^{we will have allowed} ~~alleging~~ ⁱⁿ ~~referring~~ ⁱⁿ ~~is~~ ⁱⁿ ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~friendly~~
nature as ^{regards} ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~real~~ ^{real} ~~intent~~ ^{intent} ~~we will have~~
their resolution ^{to stand united in a common defense} ~~and~~ ^{we will have} ~~raised~~ ^{raised} their morale and
their spirit of resistance.



PRESS RELEASE DICTATED BY PHONE TO CLEVELAND NEWS, 3/5/51, RE. SERMON OF 3/4/51

In Potsdam in August 1945 an agreement was reached between Truman, Churchill and Stalin for the complete demilitarization of Germany and the destruction of all of its war potentials. These countries had just emerged from the horrors of the Second World War which Germany inflicted on mankind, and they were resolved not to permit Germany to repeat what it had done after the First World War - re-arm and try a second round. They would pull its fangs out once and for all. That was 5½ years ago.

Today the United States is leading the world in a determined effort to re-arm Germany. Ironically enough, the reason given is the same as Hitler gave when he persuaded the Allies to re-arm Germany - namely, to resist Communist aggression. History has often a strange and tragic way of repeating itself. As if under some spell or incantation, the Allied Nations are retracing today the same road step by step. Spurred by a fear of Russia - real, inflated or imaginary - they are rushing to re-arm Germany even before the Germans have asked for it, even when most Germans are still opposed to it. In order to persuade Germany to fall in with our plans, we have assiduously wooed it, granting one concession after another. A few weeks ago our government granted a blanket commutation of the sentences of nearly all the remaining convicted Nazi criminals, including Alfred Krupp and his co-managers of the Krupp empire which finances Hitler.

The Germans have no intention to fight to make the world safe for democracy. Logic and self-interest will dictate to them not to be used as the spear-head in a war between the East and the West. To re-arm Germany means the restoration to power of the German military clique and the German military staff. When that is done and Germany is strong enough, it will decide for itself when it wants to fight and whom it wants to fight. Quite conceivably, it might find it advantageous to make an alliance with Soviet Russia, as Hitler did with Stalin in 1939.

Re-arming Germany means putting goose-stepping militarism in control again in Germany as well as aggressive German nationalism. It means weakening still further whatever democratic forces there are still left in that country. It means the encouragement of a neo-Naziism. It means the prelude to a Third World War.

Germany should be permanently demilitarized and permitted to become a neutral state like Switzerland. The armies of the Allies and the Soviet Union should be withdrawn. Eastern and Western Germany should be allowed to reunite. The present division is as unnatural as the 38th parallel in Korea. A united and militarized Germany would be a menace to Europe. A united and demilitarized Germany may be the way of pacifying the whole continent of Europe.



Almon 766

SHALL WE RE-ARM GERMANY?

March 4, 1951

At Potsdam in August 1945 an agreement was reached between President Truman, Churchill and Stalin for the complete demilitarization of Germany. They agreed that all war potentials in Germany should be destroyed, all war plants, warships, aircraft and arms, so that Germany would never again be able to make war.

Why was this decision reached by the heads of the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. They had just emerged from the horrors and the devastations of the Second World War which Germany inflicted on mankind - the second world war in a single generation. They recalled that Germany had been defeated in the First World War, but that subsequently it had been permitted to re-arm, only to hurl her military might a second time against the allied nations with even greater fury and ruthlessness and violence. Under Hitler, as under the Kaiser, the military clique of Germany, backed by its powerful industrial cartels, had made a second attempt at conquest and world domination. Germany was not at all reticent about its intentions. It had proudly announced it to the German people and to the whole world, and the German people had enthusiastically approved of these intentions, and had gleefully hailed each successive step and victory on the road on which they believed themselves to be marching, the road to world mastery. They failed a second time, not, however, before they had drenched Europe with blood and slaughtered millions of people and exterminated whole peoples, and left countless cities in ruins and nations in bottomless misery.

And so this time, as the close of the Second World War, the allied nations were determined not to be fooled again. They would take no more chances with this war-idolizing, power-hungry, obsessed people which had time and time again destroyed the peace of Europe. They were determined to pull out its fangs once and for all. They would render it incapable of ever again launching a war upon mankind. And so solemnly did these heads of the three great countries which had paid such a fearful price

for German belligerency, resolved permanently to demilitarize Germany. They also resolved to democratize its schools so that the youth of Germany in the future would not be subjected to militarist training. They also resolved to decentralize its government so that no future dictator would be able to use and wield a powerfully coordinated Germany as a weapon of attack against the world.

That was 5½ years ago. Today the United States is leading the world in a determined effort to re-arm Germany. And ironically enough, the reasons given are exactly the same as Hitler gave when he persuaded the allies to help him re-arm - namely, the necessity to resist Communist aggression. The Potsdam allies have fallen out. They who fought the war side by side against a common enemy are now mobilizing against each other, and are courting the favor of the erstwhile common enemy.

You may remember that disagreement among the allies following the first World War made possible the reconstruction of Germany's military might, made possible the emergence of Hitler, made possible his early, astounding diplomatic and annexationist victories. Germany knew after the first World War how to play off one of the allies against the other and how to gain advantages from each. Hitler knew how to make his brown dictatorship tolerable and palatable to the allies by harping upon the evils and the dangers of the red dictatorship. So did Mussolini! And that is how Europe was turned over, you will recall, a helpless victim to the bestialities of Nazi and Fascist madmen while the democracies were paralyzed into inaction by a propaganda which said that all these things had to happen - they were necessary - in order to save Europe from a worse fate - that is to say, from Communist domination. But when the unbearable tensions and the expansionist avarice of the Nazi-Fascist adventurers finally brought on the Second World War, it was found, strange to say - mirabile dictu - it was found that the allied democratic nations were at war, not with Communist Russia, but with the Nazi and Fascist states, and it was found that Communist Russia was actually fighting not against the democracies, but on the side of the democracies.

History has often a strange and tragic way of repeating itself. As if by some act of inescapable fate, as if under the inevitable compulsion of some spell or incantation, the allied nations are today retracing the same road which they took after the First World War, step by step. Spurred by the fear of Russia - the same Russia which existed after the First World War - spurred by a fear of Russia - real or inflated or imaginary - the democratic nations are rushing to re-arm Germany even before the Germans have asked for it, even though most of the Germans are still opposed to rearmament. We had actually determined to thrust rearmament upon Germany.

The United States, even more than Great Britain - certainly more than France - is resolved to bring Western Germany within the Western European defense system which is being built up in order to strengthen allied defenses against the Soviet, even at the cost of scrapping all the provisions of the Potsdam agreement made 5½ years ago. It is prepared to re-arm Germany in the same manner as it is re-arming the member nations of the North Atlantic Pact, and inasmuch as the German plants which before the war produced arms and munitions had been destroyed by the allies, it means that the United States will now provide Germany with arms and munitions, and the American tax-payer will pay for the re-arming of Germany. And in return it is expected that Western Germany will supply the allied nations with ground troops of which they have not enough of their own, that Western Germany will provide many divisions of ground troops to stand off a possible Russian invasion of the West.

And in order to persuade the German people to fall in line with our plans, we have been assiduously wooing them, granting them one concession after another, to win their favor. Within a day or two Germany will be permitted to set up its own Foreign Office and set up Embassies and Ministries all over the world. We are letting the Nazi convicted criminals go free to please and placate the German people. High Commissioner McCloy a few weeks ago issued a blanket commutation of the sentences of some 78 of the remaining 89 convicted criminals in the prisons of Germany. 31 were promptly set at liberty; others had their sentences reduced. Among those who were

promptly set at liberty was Mr. Alfred Krupp, and all eight of his fellow convicts from the Krupp management. All of these criminals had been tried and sentenced and ^{either} those sentences had been reviewed once before by General Clay. They were ~~some~~ administrators of concentration camps, they were either guilty of racial atrocities, of deportation of masses of people, of mass murder, of slave labor, of the abduction of children, of every crime in the calendar. And they have now been pardoned or their sentences have been reduced, and this act of clemency on the part of the United States Government was to make the German people grateful to the United States and indebted to the United States. It was intended to impress the German people of our fairness. On the contrary, this act has aroused a storm of protest and indignation in Germany because it confirmed the German people in the belief, which they held right along, that the trials of these people and their sentences were unjust originally and motivated by vengeance, and they are bitter about the remaining few who have not been set at liberty. And they are so bitter about it that a day or two ago the Chancellor, Conrad Adenauer, had to defend the United States' High Commissioner McCloy against venomous personal attacks so that even the newspapers from the Germans who believed McCloy should have extended clemency to the last seven Nazi war criminals whose execution at Landsburg is still delayed. Both Mr. and Mrs. McCloy have received anonymous threatening letters since the final Landsburg decisions were announced, and one said that if the execution should take place, revenge would be sought against the McCloy's two children.

The freeing of Alfred Krupp is a most revealing and ominous act. Decartelization - that is, the de-concentration of heavy industry in Germany, the break-up of the whole cartel network - was one of the great slogans of the allies during the war and against Germany when the war was won. These cartels had kept Hitler in power, hoping that through Hitler they would achieve two things; first, the crushing of the power of organized labor; and secondly, the extension of their economic tentacles over all the countries which Hitler would conquer for them. And these powerful trusts financed

Hitler, and during the war Hitler rewarded them with huge contracts and profits and with nigh-limitless sources of slave labor, so that after the war the allies resolved to break up these cartels and a de-cartelization law was enacted. And this is what happened.

One of the members of the United States' Anti-Trust team which had been sent over to Germany last year reports as follows:

We have been fighting our own battle here ever since the Korean affair broke, but it looks as though ours will have a far less happy ending. Decartelization, dispersal of the I.G. Farben combine and break-up of the banking monopolies are about to be swept away in the panicky rush to give the Germans whatever they want in order to get them to accept the arms we are trying to thrust upon them. It is a truly tragic and despairing situation.

All prospect of any acceptance by the Germans of any part of our economic reform program has virtually disappeared in the scramble to get them back into uniform. . . . Instead of advancing, as we were doing for a while, we are now having to fight very hard to hold on to anything at all. It now appears that our decartelization program is out the window. . . . The British were always against it and so were a lot of other people in our own occupation establishment. Between them and the rush to re-arm Germany, our deconcentration program appears about finished.

Now, only a few months later, there is a beautifully organized drive, encouraged by the British and led by the old Farben gang, to scrap the law and let the Germans, meaning the Farben crowd, handle the problem.

. . . The lack of resolve by the Allies, and their susceptibility to blackmail, has now been graphically demonstrated. The Germans have tasted blood and they are on the prowl once more. Once again, it is the old cry, "Deutschland Uber Alles."

Only recently the Minister of Justice at Bonn made a public speech in which he denounced the three High Commissioners, demanded that they get out of Germany, and excoriated the occupation statute as a scrap of paper which had no authority in Germany. That's where we came in. Adolph Hitler rides again.

And of course, the freeing of Mr. Alfred Krupp, the head of the vast Krupp industries of the Ruhr, is the culmination and the climax of this process which has been going on. Even such a mild person as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt finds herself compelled to raise a protest against what has been taking place. She wrote in one of her daily columns:

I also find it difficult to understand the freeing of Alfred Krupp and the return of his properties. The fact that we have freed so many Nazis must be puzzling the German people. If we actually have a moral belief that Nazism was bad and that people who were Nazis should not be encouraged, and if we think that cartels helped to bring on wars and should not be allowed, the Germans at least will respect the fact that we have moral standards and stick to them.

But if I am bewildered by what has been going on in the last few weeks, what must it do to the Germans and our European allies? Are we trying to build an economic empire? I thought we were trying to rehabilitate the Germans and the economy of Europe, as a whole, along the lines that would make it more difficult for war to recur.

And as far as the re-education in democracy of the German youth is concerned, it, too, has been a colossal failure, a fiasco of the worst sort.

Dr. Worth McClure, the Executive Secretary of the American Association of School Administrators, speaking before a Washington audience some weeks ago declared:

German schools in the American zone are bringing up another generation to be blind followers. . . . Unless a major operation is performed in the German school system, we shall prepare for another generation that will welcome a dictator. . . . Ironically we are doing it with American taxpayers' money expended for the express purpose of making another dictator unacceptable.

Thousands of former Nazis are back in their school teaching jobs in Western Germany.

And an editorial in the New York Times a few days ago wrote:

Five years of German efforts of reorientation (in education, that is) have not succeeded in filling the vacuum left by the collapse of the Reich with an understanding of the workings and meanings of democracy.

they

Here ~~we~~ are, the same Germans, unreformed, unrepentant, and we are about to rearm them. These Germans are not thinking of making the world safe for democracy. They don't want another war with Russia - at least not for some time to come. They have not forgotten Stalingrad. They know now what Hitler did not know, that the Russian armies cannot be disposed of in six weeks or so. They know that 30 divisions of them are at the moment in Eastern Germany and that many, many more are close behind them.

The ^u Germans of Western Germany are not unaware that in case of war between the East and the West, Germany will be in the middle, the logical battlefield, the first to be invaded - they know themselves to be vulnerable. They are not eager to make their country, still shattered and unrecovered from the Hitler war, again a battlefield. They are also not unaware that in the event of such a war, the Germans of the West would be fighting Germans in the East. They are not eager for such a civil war, and so from the mouth of most Germans you hear today the slogan, "Ohne mich," - "without me", "count me out."

Logic and self-interest will dictate to them, of course, to capitalize as much as possible on their bargaining position at the moment as between the Soviet and the allied nations, to demand of the Western allies and particularly of the United States, prior to making any commitments, full independence, removal of all political, economic and military restrictions, and full equality, and if they are to provide an army and it has to be a large army because if it is a small army, it is of no value to the allied nations - if they ~~are~~ to provide an army, they will insist that it will have to be an independent/^{German} army, under its own generals, and that this army will be organized only behind adequate allied divisions posted on Germany's Eastern borders and on the Elbe River in order to shield the German army during the period of its rearmament, and of course, without cost to the German taxpayer.

And they will also exact commitments from the allies, that in case there is a Third World War and it is won by the allied nations, all the territories taken from Germany in 1945, such as Sudetenland and the areas taken by Poland and Russia, shall be restored to them.

All this, of course, means the rebuilding of the German military might, the restoration to power of the German military clique of the German military staff, the rebuilding of the German Wehrmacht - and when that is done and Germany is strong again, it will decide for itself when it wants to fight and whom it wants to fight.

Quite conceivably it may find it advantageous to make an alliance with Soviet Russia as Hitler did with Stalin in 1939, as the Weimar Republic did with Bolshevik Russia at Rapallo in 1922. Bismarck had always counseled the German people to make friendship with Russia as central in their foreign policy.

This is what France is deathly afraid of, afraid of a resurgent, powerful German Reich. Three times in the last century France has been invaded by Germany. Under pressure of the United States, France is willing to agree that small units of Germans, not larger than a regiment, be permitted to organize and to be incorporated within the armies of the North Atlantic Pact nations. The Germans must have no armor and no air or naval support, and must never come under German command. And, of course, it is naive to expect that Germany will ever agree to such a humiliating arrangement. The German people are thinking of quite other things - not of altruistically serving the cause of the allies, or of remaining loyal to any arrangement which will not ultimately give Germany the coveted position of hegemony on the continent of Europe.

So that the rearming of Germany means putting goose-stepping militarism in the saddle again in Germany and aggressive German nationalism. It means weakening still further whatever democratic forces and sentiment there still remain in that country. It means the blossoming anew of a neo-Nazism. It means the prelude to a third World War.

In my humble judgment the decision at Potsdam taken by Truman and Churchill and Stalin was a wise decision, the only decision dictated by real statesmanship. Germany should never be rearmed. It should be permanently demilitarized, such as Switzerland is - neutralized. Agreement should be reached to neutralize Germany. The armies both of the allies and of the Soviet Union should be withdrawn from Germany, from the whole of Germany. East and West Germany should be permitted to reunite. The division is unnatural, like the 28th parallel in Korea, and if it is permitted to stay, it will be a source of never-ending conflict and disorder and political disturbance in the heart of Europe. A united and militarized Germany will be a menace

to the world. A united and demilitarized Germany may be the way of pacifying the whole of Europe. The German people will have the opportunity to rebuild its life, if it so desires, on democratic lines and in peaceful ways.

I am afraid that the thought exists in the minds of many people that as soon as the allied armies are withdrawn from Western Europe by agreement with the Soviet Union and the Russian armies are withdrawn from Eastern Europe, at some moment or other Soviet Russia will pounce again on Germany, take over all of it, and communize it. There will always remain on the Western border of Germany the North Atlantic Pact nations who have agreed among themselves that an attack on any one of them is an attack on all of them, and who will announce clearly to the world that the invasion of Germany will be a signal of war. The armies of the North Atlantic Pact nations are not inconsiderable and may be strengthened and built up into greater force, and behind them is the United States of America linked by treaty with these North Atlantic Pact peoples, which can bring the power and might of its armed forces, and they are not inconsiderable - and particularly its powerful air force - to the aid of the 11 or 12 members of Western Europe to such a degree as to make any invasion of Germany terribly costly and almost prohibitive, should the Soviet Union think of invasion. And if such a combination of forces is inadequate to stop Russia, then the attempt to rely upon Western Germany as the power to save the Western allied nations is a fantastic one, a groundless one leaning on a broken reed.

Walter Lippmann, writing recently, gave expression to this thought:

The best, indeed the only, military course effectively open to us in Germany and Japan is in fact the counterpart of the political course which most Germans and, I imagine, most Japanese believe in. That is a policy of neutrality like that of Sweden and Switzerland, which rests not on pacifism and disarmament, but on the realization that any other course is suicidal.

The Russians must understand beyond doubt that we shall be certain to retaliate if they attempt to conquer Western Europe, and that we shall destroy the material assets which they might seek to gain by conquest.

Allied air power can destroy the Ruhr industries again, as it did in the Second World War.

I believe myself (writes Mr. Lippmann) that we should revise our present policy - which is a corollary of the Truman Doctrine and is designed to make Germany and Japan our military allies. We should espouse the policy which corresponds to our own military capacity, and to our own military necessities, and to the real will of the German and the Japanese nations - which is to guarantee their independence, and to deny them to the Soviets.

My dear friends, there is soon to be held in Paris the preliminary meeting of the Big Four - tomorrow - to formulate the agenda for the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers which is to discuss first and foremost "the demilitarization of Germany." The United States properly stated that Germany is not a problem which can be isolated from the context of similar areas of tension elsewhere. It wanted to broaden the agenda and has succeeded in doing so. We wanted the agenda extended to include other issues which are at the root of the War of Nerves now going on. Dean Acheson stated early in November, "We are eager to have all causes for fear removed. We welcome an opportunity to lessen fear." He expressed genuine desire to reach agreements with the Soviet Union which will remove or alleviate the threats to world security. This is most commendable. But behind the scenes, I am afraid, there are other forces at work. They are forces which are afraid lest Russia might make proposals at this Council of Foreign Ministers for the unity and the neutralization and the demilitarization of Germany, which would ease the tensions all around, but which would also scuttle our plan for the remilitarization of Germany and also disrupt our plans both at home and abroad for intensified military preparedness. They don't want it.

I quote from the column of Mr. Stewart Alsop written a few days ago.

A nightmare is beginning to haunt those responsible for American foreign policy. It is about as certain as can be that the Kremlin will propose a settlement based on a "neutralized" Germany after the withdrawal of occupation troops. Possibly it will ostensibly accept a free, secret, unsupervised vote to elect a single all-German government.

This has raised an agonized debate in the State Department and Pentagon. For the objective would be to end western rearmament, split the Western alliance and knock the props from under American foreign policy.

For these reasons and others, it is believed that any Soviet proposal for a German settlement will be essentially a fake, a tempting trap for the unwary West. Yet even a fake proposal cleverly camouflaged, could have disastrous consequences. American policy is squarely based on the assumption that a true balance of power can only be achieved, and peace maintained if western Europe is rendered defensible.

The Pentagon believes western Europe can never be defended without German participation. Withdrawal of all occupation troops and permanent demilitarization of Germany would, it is feared, cause the western European defense effort, just starting under Eisenhower, to crumble into nothingness. If the Kremlin only seemed ready to offer a settlement involving the withdrawal of the Red Army to the Russian frontiers, it would be almost unbearably tempting to Germans, French, British, and even to many Americans. It might throw the whole western alliance into an uproar of bitter mutual recriminations causing the alliance to fall apart.

This is why this internal debate is vitally important. One school of thought, particularly in the Pentagon, believes any German settlement at this time, on any terms, disastrous. This school would attempt to forestall the Kremlin with a prior American proposal for a German settlement with conditions the Soviets would not conceivably accept. Yet any ~~diplomatic~~ diplomatic device so obvious might split the allies by convincing the Europeans that the United States was interested only in war.

There it is! I said some time ago that there are forces at work in our country who do not want peace with Russia - regardless! Who do not believe that the two systems can co-exist in the same world! They would therefore dragoon every possible ally - Tito, Franco, Nazi, Fascist - they would send our youth all over the world, militarize our life, drain our resources - just so there is no agreement with Russia.

I do not believe that the American people will accept that position after it has fully realized what is involved. American statesmanship will have another chance, another historic opportunity at these forthcoming meetings of the Council of the Big Four. American statesmanship failed in Korea; it failed in China. It might succeed if so it wishes - it might succeed magnificently, historically - start mankind on a new road away from war to peace - at this critical and decisive meeting, long overdue of the Great Powers who have the destiny of the world in the palms of their hands.

Shall We Re-Arm Germany?

Address delivered by

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
at The Temple

MARCH 4, 1951 • CLEVELAND, OHIO

AT POTSDAM IN AUGUST 1945 AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED BETWEEN Truman, Churchill and Stalin for the complete demilitarization of Germany. They agreed that all war potentials of Germany should be destroyed—war plants, warships, aircraft and arms—so that Germany would never again be able to make war.

Why was this decision reached by the heads of the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union? These countries had just emerged from the horrors and devastations of the Second World War which Germany had inflicted on mankind—a second world war in a single generation. They recalled that Germany had been defeated in the First World War, but that subsequently it had been permitted to re-arm, only to hurl her military might a second time against the allied nations with even greater fury and ruthlessness. Under Hitler, as under the Kaiser, the military clique of Germany, backed by its powerful industrial cartels, had made a second attempt at conquest and world domination. Germany had not been reticent about its intentions. It had proudly announced them to the German people and to the whole world. The German people had enthusiastically approved of these intentions, and had hailed each successive victory on the road on which they believed themselves to be marching, the road to world mastery. They failed a second time, but not, however, before they had drenched Europe with blood and slaughtered millions of people and left countless cities in ruins and nations in bottomless misery.

At the close of the Second World War, the allied nations were determined not to make the same mistake again. They resolved to take no more chances with this war-idolizing, power-hungry, and obsessed people which had time and time again destroyed the peace of Europe. They were determined to pull its fangs out once for all. They would render it incapable of ever again launching a war. Accordingly, the heads of the three great countries which

had paid such a fearful price for German belligerency, solemnly resolved to demilitarize Germany permanently. They also resolved to democratize its schools so that the youth of Germany would in the future not be subjected again to militaristic training. They also agreed to decentralize its government so that no future dictator would be able to wield a powerfully coordinated Germany as an offensive weapon against the world.

That was five and a half years ago. Today the United States is leading the world in a determined effort to re-arm Germany!

Ironically enough, the explanation which is given for this change of front is exactly the same as Hitler gave when he persuaded the allies to help him re-arm — namely, the over-riding need to resist Communist aggression.

The Potsdam allies have now fallen out. They fought the war side by side against a common enemy, but now they are mobilizing against each other, and are courting the favor of their erstwhile common enemy.

Disagreements among the allies following the first World War made possible the reconstruction of Germany's military might, the emergence of Hitler, and his early diplomatic and annexationist victories. Germany knew how to play off one ally against the other and how to gain advantages from each. Hitler knew how to make his brown dictatorship tolerable and palatable to the allies by harping upon the evils and the dangers of the red dictatorship. So did Mussolini. As a result Europe was turned over as a helpless victim to the bestialities of Nazi and Fascist madmen while the democracies were paralyzed into inaction by a propaganda which said that all these things were necessary — in order to save Europe from a worse fate — from Communist domination. But strange to say, when the unbearable tensions and the expansionist greed of the Nazi-Fascist adventurers finally brought on the Second World War, it was found that the allied democratic nations were at war, not with Communist Russia, but with the Nazi and Fascist states, and Communist Russia, far from fighting against the democracies, was actually fighting on their side.

History has often a strange and tragic way of repeating itself. As if doomed by some inescapable fate, as if under the compulsion of some spell or incantation, the allied nations are today retracing the same road which they took after the First World War, step by step. Spurred on by the fear of Communist Russia, real, inflated

or imaginary, the democratic nations are rushing to re-arm Germany even before the Germans have asked for it, even though most Germans are still opposed to it. We are determined to thrust rearmament upon Germany.

The United States, even more than Great Britain — certainly more than France — is resolved to bring Western Germany within the Western European defense system against the Soviet. It is prepared to re-arm Germany in the same manner as it is re-arming the member nations of the North Atlantic Pact. Since all German plants which before the war produced arms and munitions have been destroyed by the allies, the United States will now equip Germany with arms and munitions, and the American taxpayer will pay for the cost of German rearmament. In return it is expected that Western Germany will supply the allied nations with many divisions of ground troops to stand off a possible Russian invasion of the West.

In order to persuade the German people to fall in line with our plans, we have been assiduously wooing them. We have been granting them one concession after another in order to win their favor. Within a day or two Germany will be permitted to set up its own Foreign Ministry and its own embassies and ministries again all over the world. Nazi convicted criminals have been set free to placate the German people. High Commissioner McCloy a few weeks ago issued a blanket commutation of the sentences of 78 of the remaining 89 convicted Nazi criminals who were serving sentences. 31 were promptly set at liberty; the others had their sentences reduced. Among those who were promptly set at liberty was Alfred Krupp, and all eight of his fellow convicts from the Krupp management. All these Nazi criminals had been fairly tried and sentenced, and their sentences had been officially reviewed. These Nazis had been either brutal administrators of concentration camps, or guilty of racial atrocities, of deportation of masses of people, of mass murder, of slave labor, of the abduction of children, of almost every crime in the calendar. They have now been pardoned or have had their sentences reduced. This act of clemency on the part of the United States Government was intended to make the German people grateful and indebted to the United States. It was intended to impress the German people with our fairness. Instead, this act has aroused a storm of protest and indignation in Germany. It confirmed the German people in their belief, which they held

right along, that the trials of these Germans and their sentences were unjust in the first place, and motivated solely by vengeance. They were bitter about the remaining few Nazi criminals who have not been pardoned. A day or two ago Chancellor Conrad Adenauer found it necessary to defend the United States' High Commissioner McCloy against venomous personal attacks which followed his act of clemency. "The revision of war crimes sentences which United States authorities said they had hoped would end once and for all the West German agitations in this field has not resulted in the desired effect," reports the New York Times correspondent from Frankfurt, Germany, under date of February 6th. "A survey of German public opinion disclosed the widespread belief that the decisions which reprieved war criminals from the gallows and modified prison terms for many others, *was dictated by political expediency*. From many German sources commenting on decisions came the underscored view that 'the times had changed' because the Western nations 'need German good will'."

The freeing of Alfred Krupp is a most revealing and ominous act. Decartelization, the break-up of the vast cartel network of German heavy industry, was one of the great objectives of the allies at the close of the war. These cartels had kept Hitler in power. Through Hitler they had hoped to achieve two things: the crushing of the power of organized labor, and the extension of their economic tentacles over all the countries which Hitler would conquer for them. These powerful trusts financed Hitler, and during the war Hitler rewarded them with huge war contracts and profits and with nigh-limitless sources of slave labor. After the war the allies resolved to break up these cartels and a decartelization law was enacted. But to quote Mr. Robert S. Allen, who published in the New York Post of November 26, 1950, excerpts from a report of an official American observer, this is what actually happened:

We have been fighting our own battle here ever since the Korean affair broke, but it looks as though ours will have a far less happy ending. Decartelization, dispersal of the I. G. Farben combine and break-up of the banking monopolies are about to be swept away in the panicky rush to give the Germans whatever they want in order to get them to accept the arms we are trying to thrust upon them. It is a truly tragic and despairing situation.

All prospect of any acceptance by the Germans of any part of our economic reform program has virtually disappeared in the scramble to get them back into uniform

. . . Instead of advancing, as we were doing for a while, we are now having to fight very hard to hold on to anything at all. It now appears that our decartelization program is out the window . . . The British were always against it and so were a lot of other people in our own occupation establishment. Between them and the rush to re-arm Germany, our deconcentration program appears about finished.

. . . The lack of resolve by the Allies, and their susceptibility to blackmail, has now been graphically demonstrated. The Germans have tasted blood and they are on the prowl once more. Once again, it is the old cry, "Deutschland Uber Alles."

The freeing of Alfred Krupp, the head of the vast Krupp industries, and his associates is the culmination of a process which has been going on for some time. Even such a mild person as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt finds herself compelled to raise her voice in protest against this disastrous trend:

I also find it difficult to understand the freeing of Alfred Krupp and the return of his properties. The fact that we have freed so many Nazis must be puzzling the German people. If we actually have a moral belief that Naziism was bad and that people who were Nazis should not be encouraged, and if we think that cartels helped to bring on wars and should not be allowed, the Germans at least will respect the fact that we have moral standards and stick to them.

But if I am bewildered by what has been going on in the last few weeks, what must it do to the Germans and our European allies? Are we trying to build an economic empire? I thought we were trying to rehabilitate the Germans and the economy of Europe, as a whole, along the lines that would make it more difficult for war to recur.

So far as the re-education of the German youth is concerned, it, too, has been a colossal failure.

Dr. Worth McClure, the Executive Secretary of the American Association of School Administrators, speaking before a Washington audience some weeks ago, declared:

German schools in the American zone are bringing up another generation to be blind followers . . . Unless a major operation is performed in the German school system, we shall prepare for another generation that will welcome a dictator . . . Ironically, we are doing it with American taxpayers' money expended for the express purpose of making another dictator unacceptable.

Thousands of former Nazi school-masters are back in the school system of Western Germany, teaching German youth — what?

It is these Germans, as unreformed and unrepentant as in the days following the first World War, whom we are now determined to re-arm. It is this high-born Herrenvolk of the gas chambers who, we fondly hope, will help us keep the world safe for democracy . . . These Germans are not thinking in our terms at all. They have their own calculations. They do not want another war with Russia — at least not for some time to come. They have not forgotten Stalingrad! They know now what Hitler did not know, that the Russian armies cannot be disposed of in six weeks or so. The Germans of Western Germany are not unaware that in case of war between the East and the West, Germany will be in the middle, the logical battleground, the first to be invaded. They know themselves to be vulnerable. They are not eager to make their country, still shattered and unrecovered from the Hitler war, a battlefield again. They recall that their first mad rush to save the world from Communism ended in the world uniting with Communism to destroy them . . . They are also not unaware of the fact that in the event of such a war, Germans of the West will be fighting Germans of the East. They are not eager for a civil war. Is it any wonder then that the most frequent reactions of Germans today, when war is discussed, is: "Please, count me out . . ."

Logic and self-interest will dictate to the Germans, of course, to capitalize as much as possible on their bargaining position at the moment as between the Soviet and the allied nations, to demand of the Western allies and particularly of the United States, prior to making any commitments, full independence, the removal of all political, economic and military restrictions, and full equality. If they are to provide an army — and it has to be a large army because a small army will be of little value to the Atlantic Pact nations — they will insist that it will have to be an independent German army, under its own generals, and that it should be organized behind adequate allied divisions posted on Germany's Eastern borders to shield Germany during the period of its rearmament. They will also exact commitments from the allies, that in case of a third World War, all the territories which Germany claimed before the second World War, such as Sudetenland, and all the areas which were taken by Poland and Russia after the war, shall be restored to it.

All this, of course, means the rebuilding of German military might and the restoration to power of the German military clique and of the German military staff. When this is accomplished and Germany is strong again, it will decide for itself *when* it wants to fight and *whom* it wants to fight!

Quite conceivably it may find it advantageous to come to an understanding with Soviet Russia, as Hitler did with Stalin in 1939, as the Weimar Republic did at Rapallo in 1922. Bismarck had always counseled the German people to make friendship with Russia a central feature of their foreign policy.

France is afraid of this. France is afraid of a resurgent, powerful German Reich. Thrice in the last century France has been invaded by Germany. Under pressure of the United States, France is willing to agree that small units of Germans, not larger than a regiment, be permitted to organize and to be incorporated within the armies of the North Atlantic Pact Nations, but the Germans must have no armor, no air or naval forces, and must never come under German command. It is, of course, naive to expect that Germans will ever agree to such a humiliating arrangement. The German people are thinking of quite other things — not of altruistically serving the cause of the allies, or of remaining loyal to any arrangement which will not ultimately give Germany the coveted position of hegemony on the continent of Europe.

The re-arming of Germany means putting militarism in the saddle again in Germany and aggressive nationalism. It means weakening still further whatever democratic forces and sentiment there still remain in that country. It means the blossoming anew of a neo-Naziism. It means the prelude to a third World War.

The decision at Potsdam taken by Truman, Churchill and Stalin was a wise decision. It was dictated by real statesmanship. Germany should never be rearmed. It should be permanently demilitarized. Like Switzerland, it should be neutralized. The North Atlantic Pact nations and the Soviet bloc of nations should agree to neutralize Germany. The armies of the allies and of the Soviet Union should be withdrawn from Germany. East and West Germany should be permitted to reunite. The present division is unnatural, like the 38th parallel in Korea. If it is permitted to remain, it will be a source of never-ending conflict and political disturbance in the heart of Europe. A united and militarized Germany will be a menace to the world. A united and demilitarized Germany may be the

way of pacifying the whole continent of Europe. The German people will then have the opportunity to rebuild their life, if they so desire, on truly democratic lines and in peaceful ways.

There are many people who are apprehensive that soon after the allied armies are withdrawn from Western Germany by agreement with the Soviet Union, and the Russian armies from Eastern Germany, Soviet Russia will at some opportune moment pounce upon Germany, take it over, and proceed to communize it all. There is that possibility. But the deterrent fact, then as now, will be the power of the North Atlantic Pact countries, coupled with the power of the armed forces of the United States. There will always remain on the Western border of Germany the North Atlantic Pact nations who have agreed among themselves to oppose Soviet aggression. Clearly an invasion of Germany by the Soviet Union will be a signal for war. The armies of the North Atlantic Pact nations are not inconsiderable. They may be strengthened and built up into a still greater force. Behind them and linked by treaty obligations with them is the United States of America, which can likewise bring the power and might of its armed forces, and they, too, are not inconsiderable — particularly its naval and air force. This will make an attack upon Germany terribly costly to the invader, almost prohibitive. The leaders of the Soviet Union will not fail to take this into consideration should they consider such an adventure. If, on the other hand, such a combination of forces is inadequate to stop Russia, then nothing can save the Western nations. The hope that Western German ground troops will save the day for them is fantastically unreal. It is to lean on a broken reed.

Walter Lippmann, writing recently, gave expression to a similar thought:

The best, indeed the only, military course effectively open to us in Germany and Japan is in fact the counterpart of the political course which most Germans and, I imagine, most Japanese believe in. That is a policy of neutrality like that of Sweden and Switzerland, which rests not on pacifism and disarmament, but on the realization that any other course is suicidal.

The Russians must understand beyond doubt that we shall be certain to retaliate if they attempt to conquer Western Europe, and that we shall destroy the material assets which they might seek to gain by conquest.

I believe myself that we should revise our present policy

— which is a corollary of the Truman Doctrine and is designed to make Germany and Japan our military allies. We should espouse the policy which corresponds to our own military capacity, and to our own military necessities, and to the real will of the German and the Japanese nations — which is to guarantee their independence, and to deny them to the Soviets.

There is soon to be held in Paris the preliminary meeting of the Big Four to formulate the agenda for the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Its original purpose was to discuss "the demilitarization of Germany." The United States properly held that Germany is not a problem which can be isolated from the context of similar areas of tension elsewhere. It wanted to broaden the agency and include other issues which are at the root of the present international impasse. Dean Acheson stated early in November, "We are eager to have all causes for fear removed. We welcome an opportunity to lessen fear." He expressed genuine desire to reach agreements with the Soviet Union which will remove or alleviate the threats to world security. This is most commendable.

But behind the scenes, I am afraid, there are other forces at work. They are forces which are afraid lest Russia might make proposals at the Council of Foreign Ministers for the unity, neutralization and demilitarization of Germany, which would ease tensions all around, but which would also scuttle our present plan for the remilitarization of Germany and would also disrupt plans both at home and abroad for intensified military preparedness. They don't want it.

I quote from a column of Mr. Stewart Alsop, which appeared in the press a few days ago:

A nightmare is beginning to haunt those responsible for American foreign policy. It is about as certain as can be that the Kremlin will propose a settlement based on a "neutralized" Germany after the withdrawal of occupation troops. Possibly it will ostensibly accept a free, secret, unsupervised vote to elect a single all-German government. This has raised an agonized debate in the State Department and Pentagon. For the objective would be to end western rearmament, split the Western alliance and knock the props from under American foreign policy . . .

American policy is squarely based on the assumption that a true balance of power can only be achieved and peace maintained if western Europe is rendered defensible.

The Pentagon believes western Europe can never be defended without German participation. Withdrawal of all

occupation troops and permanent demilitarization of Germany would, it is feared, cause the western European defense effort, just starting under Eisenhower, to crumble into nothingness. If the Kremlin only seemed ready to offer a settlement involving the withdrawal of the Red Army to the Russian frontiers, it would be almost unbearably tempting to Germans, French, British, and even to many Americans. It might throw the whole western alliance into an uproar of bitter mutual recriminations causing the alliance to fall apart.

This is why this internal debate is vitally important. *One school of thought, particularly in the Pentagon, believes any German settlement at this time, on any terms, disastrous. This school would attempt to forestall the Kremlin with a prior American proposal for a German settlement with conditions the Soviets would not conceivably accept.* Yet any diplomatic device so obvious might split the allies by convincing the Europeans that the United States was interested only in war.

There it is! I said some time ago that there are forces at work in our country who do not want peace with Russia — regardless! They do not believe that the two systems can co-exist in the same world. They would therefore, dragoon every possible ally to our side — Tito, Franco, Nazis, Facists — they would send our youth all over the world, militarize our life, drain our resources — just so there is no agreement with Russia.

I do not believe that the American people will accept this position once they have fully realized what is involved. American statesmanship will have another historic opportunity at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of the Big Four. American statesmanship failed in Korea; it failed in China. It might succeed now if it makes an earnest effort — a bold, frank and unambiguous effort at the critical meeting, long overdue, of the Great Powers who have the destiny of the world in the palm of their hands. It might not succeed. The Soviet Union may not wish it to succeed. It may be playing for continuing and intensified, political tensions and chaos, to serve its own aggressive, imperialistic purposes, as its enemies assert. Should this be the case, a third world war will be inevitable. At least, our country will then have made its position indubitably clear to the entire world. We will have allayed suspicions among friendly nations as regards our real intent. We will have strengthened their resolution to stand united in a common defense. We will have raised their morale and their spirit of resistance.

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766

BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Shall We Rearm Germany?

IN THE MAGAZINE

By LEON EDEL

Lake Su

April 6 - In an

to the war scare statements

Washington, Secretary General Trygve Lie today told a press conference that he believed there will be no third world war. At the same time the Secretary General indicated that he believes the

"in the military com-
mitment" of the United
Nations at the 38th Parallel
in Korea and that problems
north of that belong in the
negotiable spheres of "politi-
cal and economic objectives to
be achieved by conciliation and
economic assistance."

Reflecting widespread dissatis-
faction in the United States
and Europe over the heat-
ing of the Korean situation,
Lie replied only to a question
asked by a newsman on the "con-
flicting opinions" on war and
peace.

"I know there are conflicting
opinions," Lie said, "but I do not
think there will be any third world
war."

"I still think the difficulties will
be settled."

Britain, U. S. Split

(John M. Hightower, A.P.'s dip-
lomatic correspondent, wrote from
Washington Friday that Britain
and the U. S. are reported split
sharply over a proposed statement
of Korean war aims and peace
hopes. It was to have been issued
by President Truman.

(While responsible informants
said the way was still open for
talks to continue, the project has
been virtually abandoned, High-
tower said.

(Differences between Washing-
ton and London have
come over now.
to induce the Chinese to open
peace talks now.

(According to diplomatic in-

News of the World

Korea

Troops

Leave Off Con-

Tokyo, April 7 (Sat)—
Chinese troops broke off
advancing Allied forces on the
west-central Korean front and
retreated Friday under a hail of
artillery and mortar fire. The re-
treat was made on a 17-mile sector
north of Uijongbu, but how far it
had gone was not disclosed.

Other Chinese on the 40-mile
broad western and central fronts
put up stiff resistance at some points
and negligible resistance at others.

The sudden disappearance of the
Chinese north of Uijongbu sur-
prised front line troops who had
spent the preceding two days dog-
gedly digging them out of defen-
sive positions only four miles north
of the 38th Parallel.

Officials agreed the withdraw-
al may have been ordered for one
of two reasons:

1. The Chinese may be badly
hurt and forced to regroup," or
2. They might be baiting a trap,
to touch off a mighty spring
counter-drive.

280,000 in Area

A force of 280,000 Chinese still

Jailed Stepinac Urges Compromise

To Heal Church-Yugoslav Rift

By ALEX H. SINGLETON

Associated Press Correspondent

Lepoglava, Yugoslavia, April 6—Archbishop
Alojzije Stepinac, imprisoned spiritual leader of
Yugoslavia's 7,000,000 Roman Catholics, says a
compromise solution of differences between the
church and this country's government could and
should be worked out "in the interest of both."

The 52-year-old prelate ex-
pressed his conviction in an interview this week with
the Associated Press. The reporter saw Archbishop Stepinac in
his prison cell, which he entered nearly 4½ years
ago after conviction of wartime collaboration
with the Germans. He was sentenced to 16 years.

In firm tones he emphasized there could be
no compromise with one basic point—a clearcut
division between church authority over spiritual
matters and state control over temporal affairs.

"The Catholic Church is not
enslaved by
any state," he said.

The Archbishop listed five principles upon which
he believed the Catholic Church should and would
insist they were:

- (1) The right of Catholic parents to educate
their children in their own faith; (2) The Catho-
lic Church will never accept obligatory civil
marriage ceremonies; (3) It will accept civil rites
guaranteed by the state provided that a religious
ceremony has been performed; (4) Freedom of
the Catholic press; (5) Freedom for church work.

The Archbishop said he is in good health.

He spends most of his days, he said, studying
the history of the Catholic Church. He said the
prison fare is good and he is allowed to receive
books and newspapers.

The Press

Flags Lowered In Honor of 'La Prensa'

Flags were flown at half staff all
across the U. S. Friday in homage
to the independent Buenos Aires
newspaper, La Prensa, shut down

procurators," Ben-Gurion said.

For most of the dispute is the
Huleh swamp area north of the
Sea of Galilee. Israel is draining
the swamps for farm land. The
new clash was in an area south-
east of the sea. Both sides have ac-
cused each other of violating the
Syrian-Israeli Armistice.

A dispatch from Tiberias, on the
west shore of the Sea of Galilee,

headed a list of seven.
Others included Dr. H. Johnson,
Dean of Britain's Canterbury
Cathedral, and the Rev. Arthur W.
Moulton, retired Protestant Epis-
copal Bishop of Utah.

Vatican City, April 6 (AP)—Pope
Pius today urged the creation of a
world political organization to put
an end to an arms race that

Shall We Rearm Germany?

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

At Potsdam in August, 1945, an agreement was reached between Truman, Churchill and Stalin for the complete demilitarization of Germany. They agreed that all war potentials of Germany should be destroyed—war plants, warships, aircraft and arms—so that Germany would never again be able to make war. Why was this decision reached by the heads of the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union?

These countries had just emerged from the horrors and devastations of the Second World War which Germany had inflicted on mankind—a second world war in a single generation. They recalled that Germany had been defeated in the First World War, but that subsequently it had been permitted to re-arm, only to hurl its military might a second time against the allied nations with even greater fury and ruthlessness.

Under Hitler, as under the Kaiser, the military clique of Germany, backed by its powerful industrial cartels, had made a second attempt at conquest and world domination.

Germany had not been reticent about its intentions. It had proudly announced them to the German people and to the whole world. The German people had enthusiastically approved of these intentions, and had hailed each successive victory on the road on which they believed themselves to be marching, the road to world mastery. They failed a second time, but not, however, before they had drenched Europe with blood and slaughtered millions of people and left countless cities in ruins and nations in bottomless misery.

At the close of the Second World War, the allied nations were determined not to make the same mistake again. They resolved to



RABBI SILVER

take no more chances with this war-idolizing, power-hungry, and obsessed people which had time and time again destroyed the peace of Europe. They were determined to pull its fangs out once and for all. They would render it incapable of ever again launching a war.

Accordingly, the heads of the three great countries which had paid such a fearful price for German belligerency, solemnly resolved to demilitarize Germany permanently.

They also resolved to democratize its schools so that the youth of Germany would in the future

not be subjected again to militaristic training.

They also agreed to decentralize its government so that no future dictator would be able to wield a powerfully coordinated Germany as an offensive weapon against the world.

That was five and a half years ago. Today the United States is leading the world in a determined effort to re-arm Germany!

Ironically enough, the explanation which is given for this change of front is exactly the same as Hitler gave when he persuaded the allies to help him re-arm—namely, the over-riding need to resist Communist aggression.

Germany Plays The Old Game

The Potsdam allies have now fallen out. They fought the war side by side against a common enemy, but now they are mobilizing against each other, and are courting the favor of their erstwhile common enemy.

Disagreements among the allies following the First World War made possible the reconstruction of Germany's military might, the emergence of Hitler, and his early diplomatic and annexationist victories. Germany knew how to play off one ally against the other and how to gain advantages from each. Hitler knew how to make his brown dictatorship tolerable and palatable to the allies by harping upon the evils and the dangers of the red dictatorship. So did Mussolini.

As a result Europe was turned over as a helpless victim to the bestialities of Nazi and Fascist madmen while the democracies were paralyzed into inaction by a propaganda which said that all these things were necessary—in order to save Europe from a worse fate—from Communist domination.

But strange to say, when the unbearable tensions and the ex-

Shall We Rearm Germany? ^{I p. 2}

(Continued from Page 11—Mag. 3)

though most Germans are still opposed to it. We are determined to thrust rearmament upon Germany.

The United States, even more than Great Britain — certainly more than France — is resolved to bring Western Germany within the Western European defense system against the Soviet. It is prepared to re-arm Germany in the same manner as it is re-arming the member nations of the North Atlantic Pact.

Since all German plants which before the war produced arms and munitions have been destroyed by the allies, the United States will now equip Germany with arms and munitions, and the American taxpayer will pay for the cost of German rearmament.

In return it is expected that Western Germany will supply the allied nations with many divisions of ground troops to stand off a possible Russian invasion of the West.

One Concession After Another

In order to persuade the German people to fall in line with our plans, we have been assiduously wooing them. We have been granting them one concession after another in order to win their favor. Germany is being permitted to set up its own Foreign Ministry and its own embassies and ministries again all over the world. Nazi convicted criminals have been set free to placate the German people. High Commissioner McCloy a few weeks ago issued a blanket commutation of the sentences of 78 of the remaining 89 convicted Nazi criminals who were serving sentences. 31 were promptly set at liberty; the others had their sentences reduced.

Among those who were promptly set at liberty was Alfred Krupp, and all eight of his fellow convicts from the Krupp management. All these Nazi criminals had been fairly tried and sentenced, and their sentences had been officially reviewed. These Nazis had been either brutal administrators of concentration camps, or guilty of

racial atrocities, of deportation of masses of people, of mass murder, of slave labor, of the abduction of children, of almost every crime in the calendar. They have now been pardoned or have had their sentences reduced.

This act of clemency on the part of the United States Government was intended to make the German people grateful and indebted to the United States. It was intended to impress the German people with our fairness. Instead, this act has aroused a storm of protest and indignation in Germany. It confirmed the German people in their belief, which they held right along, that the trials of these Germans and their sentences were unjust in the first place, and motivated solely by vengeance. They were bitter about the remaining few Nazi criminals who have not been pardoned.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer found it necessary to defend United States High Commissioner McCloy against venomous personal attack which followed his act of clemency.

"The revision of war crimes sentences which United States authorities said they had hoped would end once and for all the West German agitations in this field has not resulted in the desired effect," reports the New York Times correspondent from Frankfurt, Germany. "A survey of German public opinion disclosed the widespread belief that the decision which relieved war criminals from the gallows and modified prison terms for many others, was dictated by political expediency. From many German sources commenting on decisions came the underscored view that 'the times had changed' because the Western nations 'need German good will'."

The freeing of Alfred Krupp is a most revealing and ominous act. Decartelization, the break-up of the vast cartel network of German heavy industry, was one of the great objectives of the allies at the close of the war. These cartels had kept Hitler in power. Through Hitler they had hoped to achieve two things: the crushing of the power of organized

labor, and the extension of their economic tentacles over all the countries which Hitler would conquer for them.

These powerful trusts financed Hitler, and during the war Hitler rewarded them with huge war contracts and profits and with limitless sources of slave labor. After the war the allies resolved to break up these cartels and a decartelization law was enacted.

But to quote Mr. Robert S. Allen, who published in the New York Post of November 26, 1950, excerpts from a report of an official American observer, this is what actually happened:

"We have been fighting our own battle here ever since the Korean affair broke, but it looks as though ours will have a far less happy ending. Decartelization, dispersal of the I. G. Farben combine and break-up of the banking monopolies are about to be swept away in the panicky rush to give the Germans whatever they want in order to get them to accept the arms we are trying to thrust upon them. It is a truly tragic and despairing situation.

"All prospect of any acceptance by the Germans of any part of our economic reform program has virtually disappeared in the scramble to get them back into uniform. . . . Instead of advancing, as we were doing for a while, we are now having to fight very hard to hold on to anything at all. It now appears that our decartelization program is out the window. . . . The British were always against it and so were a lot of other people in our own occupation establishment. Between them and the rush to re-arm Germany, our deconcentration program appears about finished.

"... The lack of resolve by the Allies, and their susceptibility to blackmail, has now been graphically demonstrated. The Germans have tasted blood and they are on the prowl once more. Once again, it is the old cry, 'Deutschland Uber Alles'."

(Continued Monday)

4/9/51

New Generation Being Prepared For a New Hitler

This is the second part of an article by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of The Temple, Cleveland, on "Shall We Rearm Germany?" The first part appeared in THE SUNDAY COMPASS.

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The freeing of Alfred Krupp, the head of the vast Krupp industries, and his associates is the culmination of a process which has been going on for some time. Even such a mild person as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt finds herself compelled to raise her voice in protest against this disastrous trend:

"I also find it difficult to understand the freeing of Alfred Krupp and the return of his properties. The fact that we have freed so many Nazis must be puzzling the German people. If we actually have a moral belief that Nazism was bad and that people who were Nazis should not be encouraged, and if we think that cartels helped to bring on wars and should not be allowed, the Germans at least will respect the fact that we have moral standards and stick to them."

"But if I am bewildered by what has been going on in the last few weeks, what must it do to the Germans and our European allies? Are we trying to build an economic empire? I thought we were trying to rehabilitate the Germans and the economy of Europe, as a whole, along the lines that would make it more difficult for war to recur."

Education a Failure

So far as the re-education of the German youth is concerned, it, too, has been a colossal failure.

Dr. Worth McClure, the Executive Secretary of the American Association of School Administrators, speaking before a Washington audience some weeks ago, declared:

"German schools in the American zone are bringing up another generation to be blind followers . . . Unless a major operation is performed in the German school system, we shall prepare for another generation that will welcome a dictator . . . Ironically, we are doing it with American taxpayers' money expended for the express purpose of making another dictator unacceptable."

Thousands of former Nazi school-masters are back in the school system of Western Germany, teaching German youth—what?

It is these Germans, as unreformed and unrepentant as in the days following the first World War, whom we are now determined to re-arm. It is this high-born Herrenvolk of the gas chambers who, we fondly hope, will help us keep the world safe for democracy.

The Germans are not thinking in our terms at all. They have their own calculations. They do not want another war with Russia—at least not for some time to come. They have not forgotten Stalingrad! They know now what Hitler did not know, that the Russian armies cannot be disposed of in six weeks or so.

See Land a Battlefield

The Germans of Western Germany are not unaware that in case of war between the East and the West, Germany will be in the middle, the logical battleground, the first to be invaded. They know themselves to be vulnerable. They are not eager to make their country, still shattered and unrecovered from the Hitler war, a battlefield again. They recall that their first mad rush to save the world from Communism ended in the world uniting with communism to destroy them.

They are also not unaware of the fact that in the event of such a war, Germans of the West will be fighting Germans of the East. They are not eager for a civil war. Is it any wonder then that the most frequent reactions of Germans today, when war is dis-

cussed is: "Please, count me out . . ."

Logic and self-interest will dictate to the Germans, of course, to capitalize as much as possible on their bargaining position at the moment as between the Soviet and the allied nations, to demand of the Western allies and particularly of the United States, prior to making any commitments, full independence, the removal of all political, economic and military restrictions, and full equality.

If they are to provide an army—and it has to be a large army because a small army will be of little value to the Atlantic Pact nations—they will insist that it will have to be an independent German army, under its own generals, and that it should be organized behind adequate allied divisions posted on Germany's Eastern borders to shield Germany during the period of its rearmament.

Will Exact Commitments

They will also exact commitments from the allies, that in case of a third World War, all the territories which Germany claimed before the second World War, such as Sudetenland, and all the areas which were taken by Poland and Russia after the war, shall be restored to it.

All this, of course, means the rebuilding of German military might and the restoration to power of the German military clique and of the Germany military staff. When this is accomplished and Germany is strong again, it will decide for itself when it wants to fight and whom it wants to fight!

Quite conceivably it may find it advantageous to come to an understanding with Soviet Russia, as Hitler did with Stalin in 1939, as the Weimar Republic did at Rapallo in 1922. Bismarck had always counseled the German people to make friendship with Russia a central feature of their foreign policy.

France is afraid of this. France is afraid of a resurgent, powerful German Reich. Thrice in the last century France has been invaded by Germany. Under pressure of the United States, France is willing to agree that small units of Germans, not larger than a regiment, be permitted to organize and to be incorporated within the armies of the North Atlantic Pact Nations, but the Germans must have no armor, no air or naval forces, and must never come under German command. It is, of course, naive to expect that Germans will ever agree to such a humiliating arrangement. The German people are thinking of quite other things—not of altruistically serving the cause of the allies or of remaining loyal to any arrangement which will not ultimately give Germany the coveted position of hegemony on the continent of Europe.

(Continued Tomorrow)

A Prelude to War?

This is the third part of an article by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of The Temple, Cleveland, on "Shall We Rearm Germany?"

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The re-arming of Germany means putting militarism in the saddle again in Germany and aggressive nationalism. It means weakening still further whatever democratic forces and sentiment there still remain in that country. It means the blossoming anew of a neo-Nazism. It means the prelude to a third World War.

The decision at Potsdam taken by Truman, Churchill and Stalin was a wise decision. It was dictated by real statesmanship. Germany should never be rearmed. It should be permanently demilitarized. Like Switzerland, it should be neutral-

ized. The North Atlantic Pact nations and the Soviet bloc of nations should agree to neutralize Germany.

The armies of the Allies and of the Soviet Union should be with-

drawn from Germany. East and West Germany should be permitted to reunite. The present division is unnatural, like the 38th Parallel in Korea. If it is permitted to remain, it will be a source of never-ending conflict and political disturbance in the heart of Europe.

A united and militarized Germany will be a menace to the world. A united and demilitarized Germany may be the way of pacifying the whole continent of Europe. The German people will then have the opportunity to rebuild their life, if they so desire, on truly democratic lines and in peaceful ways.

Fears of Soviet Union

There are many people who are apprehensive that soon after the Allied armies are withdrawn from Western Germany by agreement with the Soviet Union, and the Russian armies from Eastern Germany, Soviet Russia will at some opportune moment pounce upon Germany, take it over, and proceed to communize it all. There is that possibility.

But the deterrent fact, then as now, will be the power of the North Atlantic Pact countries, coupled with the power of the armed forces of the United States. There will always remain on the Western border of Germany the North Atlantic Pact nations who have agreed among themselves to oppose Soviet aggression.

Clearly an invasion of Germany by the Soviet Union will be a signal for war.

The armies of the North Atlantic Pact nations are not inconsiderable. They may be strengthened and built up into a still greater force. Behind them and linked by treaty obligations with them is the United States of America, which can likewise bring the power and might of its armed forces, and they, too, are not inconsiderable—particularly its naval and air force. This will make an attack upon Germany terribly costly to the invader, almost prohibitive.

'A Broken Reed'

The leaders of the Soviet Union will not fail to take this into consideration should they consider such an adventure. If, on the other hand, such a combination of forces is inadequate to stop Russia, then nothing can save the Western nations. The hope that Western German ground troops will save the day for them is fantastically unreal. It is to lean on a broken reed.

Walter Lippmann, writing recently, gave expression to a similar thought:

"The best, indeed the only, military course effectively open to us in Germany and Japan is in fact the counterpart of the political course which most German and, I imagine, most Japanese believe in. That is a policy of neutrality like that of Sweden and Switzerland, which rests not on pacifism and disarmament, but on the realization that any other course is suicidal.

"The Russians must understand beyond doubt that we shall be certain to retaliate if they attempt to conquer Western Europe, and that we shall destroy the material assets which they might seek to gain by conquest.

"I believe myself that we should revise our present policy—which is a corollary of the Truman Doctrine and is designed to make Germany and Japan our military allies. We should espouse the policy which corresponds to our own military capacity, and to our own military necessities, and to the real will of the German and the Japanese nations—which is to guarantee their independence, and to deny them to the Soviets."

(Continued tomorrow)

SHALL WE REARM GERMANY?—IV

Some Forces In U. S. Don't Want Peace

This is the fourth and last part of an article by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of The Temple, Cleveland, on "Shall We Rearm Germany?"

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

There is being held in Paris the preliminary meeting of the Big Four to formulate the agenda for the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Its original purpose was to discuss "the demilitarization of Germany." The United

States properly held that Germany is not a problem which can be isolated from the context of similar areas of tension elsewhere. It wanted to broaden the agency and include other "scars" which are at the root of the present interna-

tional impasse.

Dean Acheson stated early in November, "We are eager to have all causes for fear removed. We welcome an opportunity to lessen fear." He expressed genuine desire to reach agreements with the Soviet Union which will remove or alleviate the threats to world security. This is most commendable.

But behind the scenes, I am afraid, there are other forces at work. They are forces which are afraid lest Russia might make proposals at the Council of Foreign Ministers for the unity, neutralization and demilitarization of Germany, which would ease tensions all around, but which would also scuttle our present plan for the remilitarization of Germany.

and would also disrupt plans both at home and abroad for intensified military preparedness. They don't want it.

I quote from a column of Mr. Stewart Alsop, which appeared in the press recently:

"A nightmare is beginning to haunt those responsible for American foreign policy. It is about as certain as can be that the Kremlin will propose a settlement based on a 'neutralized' Germany after the withdrawal of occupation troops. Possibly it will ostensibly accept a free, secret, unsupervised vote to elect a single all-German government."

"This has raised an agonized debate in the State Department and Pentagon. For the objective would be to end western rearmament, split the Western alliance and knock the props from under American foreign policy."

"American policy is squarely based on the assumption that a true balance of power can only be achieved and peace maintained if western Europe is rendered defensible."

"The Pentagon believes western Europe can never be defended without German participation. Withdrawal of all occupation troops and permanent demilitarization of Germany would, it is feared, cause the western European defense effort, just starting under Eisenhower, to crumble into nothingness. If the Kremlin only seemed ready to offer a settlement involving the withdrawal of the Red Army to the Russian frontiers, it would be almost unbearably tempting to Germans, French, British, and even to many Americans. It might throw the whole western alliance into an uproar of bitter mutual recriminations as the alliance to fall apart."

"This is why this internal debate is vitally important. One school of thought, particularly in the Pentagon, believes any German settlement at this time, on any terms, disastrous. This school would attempt to forestall the Kremlin with a prior American proposal for a German settlement with conditions the Soviets would not conceivably accept. Yet any diplomatic device so obvious might split the Allies by convincing the Europeans that the United States was interested only in war."

There is! I said some time ago that there are forces at work in our country who do not want peace with Russia—regardless! They do not believe that the two systems can co-exist in the same world. They would therefore, drag every possible ally to our side—Tito, Franco, Nazis, Fascists—they would send our youth all over the world, militarize our life, drain our resources—just so there is no agreement with Russia.

American statesmanship failed in Korea; it failed in China. It might succeed now if it makes an earnest effort—a bold, frank and unambiguous effort at the critical meeting, long overdue, of the Great Powers who have the destiny of the world in the palm of their hands. It might not succeed.

The Soviet Union may not wish it to succeed. It may be playing for continuing and intensified, political tensions and chaos, to serve its own aggressive, imperialistic purposes, as its enemies assert.

Should this be the case, a third world war will be inevitable. At least, our country will then have its position indubitably clear to the entire world. We will have allayed suspicions among friendly nations as regards our real intent. We will have strengthened their resolution to stand united in a common defense. We will have raised their morale and their spirit of resistance.

agreed of the Nazi-Fascist adventurers finally brought on the Second World War, it was found that the allied democratic nations were at war, not with Communist Russia, but with the Nazi and Fascist states, and Communist Russia, far from fighting against the democracies, was actually fighting on their side.

The Same Road, Step by Step

History has often a strange and tragic way of repeating itself. As if doomed by some inescapable fate, as if under the compulsion of some spell or incantation, the allied nations are today retracing the same road which they took after the First World War, step by step. Spurred on by the fear of Communist Russia, real, inflated or imaginary, the democratic nations are rushing to rearm Germany even before the Germans have asked for it, even

(Continued on Page 17—Mag. 3)

Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi of the Temple, Cleveland, is a former president of the Zionist Organization of America and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. This is the first article of a series. The second will be published in Monday's COMPASS.

