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Prevent World War III

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No. 49

Winter-Spring, 1957

Danger and Opportunity

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The spirit of freedom beckons the satellite nations of Eastern Europe. The death-like silence of the past 11 years has been smashed. The historic upheavals in Poland and Hungary show clearly that the peoples of these lands were never reconciled to the ruthless overlordship of the Kremlin. By their dauntless opposition they have unmasked the Soviet despotism and have given new hope to others who have shared their tragic plight.

However, candor compels us to state that we have watched the intrepid struggle of the Poles and the Hungarians with mixed emotion. We have been troubled by the thought that the sacrifices of these peoples may be in vain. Yet, we cannot help but feel that developments in Eastern Europe hold great promise, if only the U. S. and her Allies discard stereotype approaches to the problem of European freedom.

Current Allied propaganda seems to be characterized by an almost conceited belief that the only barrier standing between the Soviet satellites and their desire to seek friendship with the West are the Russian tanks. It has been made to appear as though a gigantic propaganda campaign, developed by our best advertising and public relations experts, is sufficient to "win over" the peoples of Eastern Europe and to relieve them of the intolerable Russian occupation. No matter how well conceived this propaganda may be in terms of techniques, it is at best a palliative and at worst may turn out to be a source of disillusionment which could strangle the cause of freedom.

The peoples of Eastern Europe need less of "moral support" and more of a realistic long-term policy by the Allied powers and in particular the USA. The struggle for freedom in Eastern Europe is not an abstract concept. Those who give their

blood for this mighty cause must have a perspective, for in this fight the burning question inevitably arises: After freedom—what? It is to this question that our policy makers must devote their energies. They must be able to answer in terms that make sense to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Not so long ago these brave nations were languishing under the jackboot heel of German militarism and Nazism. Their lands were laid waste, their farms and factories wrecked, and millions of their kin incinerated in the hells of Auschwitz, Buchenwald, etc. History tells us how the "inferior" nations of the East were enslaved by the Prussian warlords. On other occasions The Russian Czars, operating under the guise of Pan-Slavism, tried to absorb them in their Empire. There were other times when the power of the German eagle and the Russian bear more or less balanced each other. In such instances the Kaiser and the Czar would join hands and carve up neighboring peoples in the name of "mutual interests." The Hitler-Stalin marriage de convenience was but the continuation of this latter policy.

What shall it be this time? Will the bright vista of freedom from Russian hegemony turn out to be the cloak for a new master, the Germans? Or will this "freedom" be "guaranteed" by the combined power and mutual understanding of the Russian bear and the German eagle. Whichever the case, it is obvious that the peoples of Eastern Europe would find themselves in chains again.

These tragic alternatives are by no means inevitable if the West, in the words of Walter Lippmann, discard the "old stale shibboleths about Germany and the satellite countries." The Society has frequently stated that the rebuilding of Germany's war potential and military might "strengthens the Soviet

grip over her Eastern satellites whose peoples dread the resurgence of the German power which devastated their lands." ("German Realities," No. 42, Summer Issue 1953 of PREVENT WORLD WAR III, inserted in the Congressional Record by Senator Wayne Morse, 8-3-53.) It is precisely this contradiction—the desire to see freedom in Eastern Europe and rehabilitating the German powerhouse, which threatens to negate the sacrifices of the Hungarians, Poles, and the other peoples oppressed by the Soviet tyranny. The net effect of this dualism in US policy is to obstruct the growth of friendship and understanding between ourselves and the satellite nations. "To believe that the peoples of Europe will move closer to the US when they behold the rhythmic marching of a new Wehrmacht, is to expect a miracle." ("The Failure of Diplomacy," No. 45, Winter Issue 1954-1955 of PREVENT WORLD WAR III.)

Those who are under Russian subjugation today do not want a German master tomorrow. That is why freedom in Eastern Europe is in reality part and parcel of the general problem of European security.

Unfortunately, US policy under Secretary Dulles fails to see this truism. In October 1956 the State Department addressed a note to the Bonn Government which said in part that "a sound system of European security... can be achieved only if Germany is reunited." The facts of life do not support this contention. The unity of Germany is but one aspect of the problem of European security. We did not fight World War II for the unification of Germany but rather for the security and peace of Europe and our own country. That security and peace, above all, must first be assured. Secretary Dulles' position is precisely one of the shibboleths about Germany.

There is another shibboleth, namely, that a powerful Germany is the most reliable bulwark against Russian totalitarianism. History proves the reverse. When both, Germany and Russia, were relatively equal in strength, mutual agreements were reached always at the expense of the small nations of Europe.

The peoples of Eastern Europe earnestly want the friendship of the West, but let no one be mistaken that this desire will per se bear fruit. "If the United States appears in Europe as the sponsor of Western Germany, it will never achieve a new relationship with Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia..." (Prof. Geoffrey Barraclough, professor of international affairs at the Royal Institute of International Affairs; *The Nation*, 12-1-56.)

Walter Lippmann had this in mind when he wrote: "A European policy is urgently needed to provide a framework of guarantees within which the occupied European countries can be made safe

against their neighbors and safe for their neighbors. It is impossible to imagine the end of the military occupation, which remains from the World War, except within a European system of security" (*New York Herald Tribune*, 12-11-56). Toward the establishment of such a system of European security the Society proposed in the No. 46 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III the following steps to be taken with regard to Germany:

(a) That both East and West Germany be permanently demilitarized under United Nations control.

(b) That the territorial integrity of East and West Germany becomes the responsibility of the United Nations.

(c) That the United Nations shall establish armed force contingents to be located in the states bordering Germany for purposes of implementing that responsibility.

(d) That both East and West Germany shall pay in cash to the United Nations a sum in an amount roughly equivalent to the cost of any occupation forces, or any other forces, which would have to be sited on German territory for the protection of peace and the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. Such funds shall be employed to support the armed forces established by the United Nations for the protection of Germany's territorial integrity.

It is our considered judgment that an agreement on Germany along these lines would give concrete assurances to the peoples in Eastern Europe that the winning of their freedom would not wind up in the blind alley of a new tyranny. Indeed, it would rally them still further at this time to oppose the Soviet occupation.

The freedom, security and peace of all Europe was a fundamental aim in the fight against the German aggressors during World War II. We are convinced that the magnificent resistance of the Hungarians and the other peoples of Eastern Europe show that this goal can be reached by dynamic policies.

* * *

Through the years the Society has devoted much of its attention to European problems and their impact on peace and security. However, we have not for one moment discounted the other burning questions which confront the West. One of these is the Middle East which only a few months ago threatened to convulse the world in a new holocaust. Because of the gravity of the situation there, the Society made known its views to the United Nations, to the Government and to the press (see page 24, "The Middle East Crisis and the United Nations").

The Society's purpose in making this statement were designed primarily to stimulate action through

the United Nations for a peaceful solution. In our opinion, the genesis of the Arab-Israeli conflict involves many complicated factors. Efforts to achieve a settlement will be seriously impeded if either side prefers to indulge in recriminations and accusations against the other. The Society's main concern has been to get both sides to sit down at the conference table and work out an agreement based on the civilized principle of "to live and let live." We mean this in the very literal sense of the word because millions of innocent lives are at stake.

The Middle East is an area where great things have happened in the past. It has also been a region where backwardness, disease and poverty have plagued the inhabitants. Friendship and cooperation between the Arab states and Israel would cause "the deserts to bloom again" and bring a measure of prosperity to these populations who are entitled to their God-given right to enjoy life, free from fear and from want.

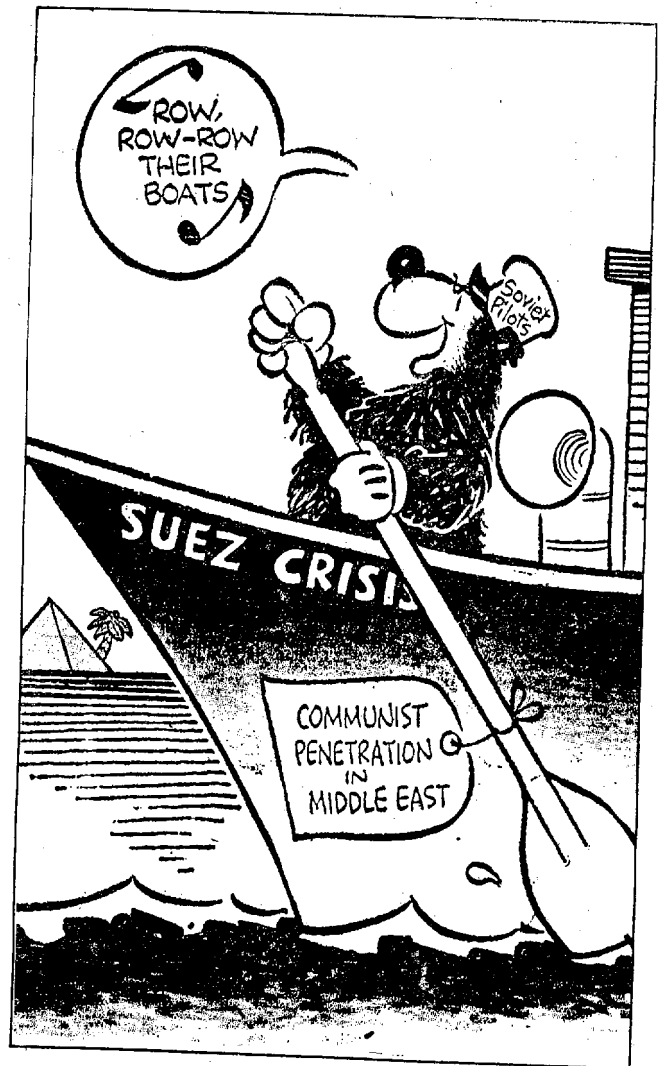
This is why we have supported the United Nations' efforts toward bringing about a peaceful solution. This objective can be reached more speedily by the renunciation of propaganda which enflames the emotions, maintains prejudices, and creates blind hatred. The atmosphere for negotiations becomes clouded when responsible leaders speak in a war-like vein. For example, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, Burhanuddin Bashayan, recently declared in a broadcast: "Israel as a state was built on aggression and cannot live but on aggression. Therefore, its removal from the Middle East is essential. . . . The time is ripe for regaining Palestine in a manner outlined in Iraq's note (of Nov. 13 to UN members). The Iraqi government insisted on the uprooting and removal of Israel from the Middle East and forcing the usurpers to return to where they came from" (Reuters, 12-5-56).

Such outbursts cannot contribute toward a solution of the present crisis. A leadership indulging in this type of abuse does not lend dignity or respect to a country which presumably seeks the good will and approbation of the civilized community. Indeed, it displays a deplorable irresponsibility in the conduct of foreign relations that can only lead to further aggravation of the existing dangers.

Those leaders who purvey poisonous propaganda help to create a climate of blind hatred which may prove to be uncontrollable among peoples who are kept ignorant as to the real state of affairs. As a result a change from a policy of hostility to one of peace and mutual accommodation becomes virtually impossible, even when the long term interests of the country concerned require it. When a people are infected by artificially whipped up hatred, those who are responsible for this state of mind become

prisoners of it. They are no longer able to act in a statesmenlike manner which is imperative if the country's welfare is to be safeguarded.

World public opinion will never reconcile itself to perpetual hostility between the Arabs and the Israelis. Those who persist in encouraging tension and hatred in the Middle East are working against the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. That is why it is of the greatest urgency that responsible Government leaders the world over, as well as leaders of the major religious faiths, join together in the demand that Israel and her Arab neighbors settle their mutual problems by negotiations. We must all bear in mind the wise words of the noted Norwegian statesman, Halvard M. Lange, "Real world peace is inconceivable without peace in the Middle East. Peace in the Middle East is equally inconceivable without peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors."



"GETTING HIS OAR IN"

(Graham in The Arkansas Gazette)

Editorials

THE SOVIET GAMBIT

In November 1940 Berlin was the scene of intense negotiations between the Russians and the Germans. The Hitler-Stalin Pact of the previous year had set the stage for these conversations whose main participants were former Foreign Minister Molotov, Hitler and his Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. Both, Molotov and von Ribbentrop regarded the Hitler-Stalin Pact as "good business" for initiating future cooperation on the basis of agreed spheres of influence.

In this connection von Ribbentrop spoke about Russia's opportunities in the "new order of things." He referred to the advantages Russia could gain "in the direction of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea." Ribbentrop assured Stalin's representative that other "aspirations" of Russia in this part of the world were also recognized by Germany. The delimitation of spheres of influence formed an important part of the conversations between Molotov and Hitler. The Fuehrer told Molotov that Russia's adherence to the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis Treaty would help to define the "special interests" of the powers concerned. Needless to say, Molotov liked the idea but he insisted that in such a pact the Russians be treated as an equal partner. Furthermore, he expressed the need for a more precise delimitation of these spheres of influence.

Following his return to Moscow, Molotov outlined to the German Ambassador Russia's "aspirations" in more concrete terms. He said that Russia was prepared to accept the Four Power Pact provided, among other things, that it stipulated "that the area south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf is recognized as the center of the aspirations of the Soviet Union."

It turned out, however, that the negotiations on this Pact became stalled in the growing climate of mutual suspicions between Hitler and Stalin. By the spring of 1941, the strains between the erstwhile partners increased and in June Hitler gave his signal for the invasion of Russia.

Recent events in the area of the Middle East show that the abortive partnership between Germany and Russia may come to life. For 200 years the Russians have dreamed of dominating the Middle East. Sixteen years ago they suffered great disappointment when their German partners turned against them. Today, the situation has changed with bewildering speed. The Russians are in the Middle East with both feet, so to speak and their influence is felt from Cairo to Damascus.

Russia's avenue for penetrating the Middle East was Egypt, where the Nasser Government, surrounded by Nazi advisors and well versed in dictatorial rule, wel-

comed the Soviets with open arms. In September 1955 Egypt announced to the world that it had completed an arms deal with the Soviet satellite state, Czechoslovakia. Nasser later revealed that the deal was, in reality, with Soviet Russia—Egyptian cotton for Soviet arms and tanks. Recent estimates place the figure of this deal in the neighborhood of \$250 million.

While the Nasser Government hailed this agreement as a stepping stone toward Egyptian independence, it turned out that the Egyptian economy was virtually mortgaged to the Kremlin. What this has meant in terms of the welfare of the Egyptian people is seen by the fact that her national gold reserves have dropped by one-half billion dollars, while the average per capita income is about \$5.60 per month by Nasser's own evaluation.

A report in the New York Times (8-26-56) stated that by reason of her barter arrangements with the Soviet bloc, Egypt has now placed her economy "in a critical state of dislocation." Nevertheless, Nasser continued to tell his people and the world that the deal with the Soviets was a triumph over "imperialism."

While the Egyptian people required economic help, Nasser gave them Soviet guns and spurred them on with anti-Western slogans. This was all to the liking of Soviet agents in Egypt. As far as the Russians were concerned their chance to convert the Middle East into a satrapy of the Communist empire was the main thing regardless of how this would be achieved.

With regard to Soviet policy Senator George H. Bender noted: "The Russians have everything to gain and nothing to lose by dealing with the Arab states. They would like to make Egypt a Russian Mediterranean base. Wars between nations are the Communists' meat. Whatever happens, no matter who wins or loses, communism is always waiting to claim the spoils" (Congressional Record, 6-4-56). The Senator warned that a war between Egypt and Israel would be the greatest calamity in that area of the world and urged that the United States exert its influence to prevent the realization of Russian intrigue.

Communist penetration in the Middle East involving arms investments supplemented by so-called cultural missions and the exchange of political leaders has made alarming headway. Communist China has become Egypt's largest customer. Egypt has concluded trade deals with most of the members of the Communist bloc. Russian economic aid pledged to Egypt includes the building of a nuclear laboratory in Cairo. The Soviet bloc has sent trade missions to various Arab countries, including Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen. Soviet technicians, politicians, trade, art, sport and religious leaders are being exchanged with the Arab countries.

Syria together with Egypt seem to be the major points of Russian concentration. The Syrians, following the example of Egypt, consummated a \$80 million barter deal with the Russians for tanks, planes and guns. On March 6, 1956, the first issue of a Communist French-

language paper appeared in Damascus. Shortly thereafter a Soviet "cultural" mission arrived in Damascus to present the Stalin Peace Award to the Syrian religious leader Sheikh Mohammed Al-Ashmar.

On July 25, 1956, the Syrian Prime Minister was quoted to the effect that Russian technicians were expected to arrive in Syria to advise on elevators and other installations in connection with the export of cereals.

One of Europe's best-informed correspondents, Sefton Delmer, wrote recently in the London Daily Express: "In my many visits since the war to Syria and to its Arab neighbors in Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan, I have been forcibly impressed by the progress made by the Soviets in Syria since the war as compared with the other Middle Eastern states." Mr. Delmer described Syria "as the most important secret satellite of Moscow in the Middle East" besides "the advent of Nasser in Egypt." Even the Greek Orthodox Church of Syria, according to Mr. Delmer, is receiving "subsidies from the Church in Moscow."

The intense preoccupation of the Russians with the Middle East is indicated by the fact that the Middle East Department of the Soviet Foreign Office is headed by the former Ambassador to the Nasser Government, Daniel Solod, a specialist in political warfare. The mutual attraction between the Soviet dictatorship and the Pan-Arabic leaders was recently described in an editorial by the well-known French newspaper Figaro: "Birds of a feather flock together—the old proverb is still true—Marxist totalitarianism is attracted, as by a magnet, by the apparently opposite totalitarianism. Nobody in the world can deny that the Egyptian dictator has imperialistic ambitions. He has proclaimed them himself in his Philosophy of Revolution, the Bible of Pan-Arabism.

"Hitler invoked the 'living space' necessary, so he said, to the Great Reich. He saw it, in part, in the most prosperous regions of Soviet Russia. But it does not seem that the projects openly exposed in Mein Kampf disturbed the master of all the Russias.

"Nasser has in his turn intrigued the successors of Stalin, even though he does not hesitate to claim for his own the Moslems living under Soviet law. They think, in fact, that for the moment this is only a side issue, and that the essential thing is to dissociate the Western alliance as much as possible by favoring Pan-Arab and Pan-Islam imperialism. If the poker playing of Farouk's successor succeeds, a wound which will perhaps prove fatal will have been dealt to the free world. . . . Two enormous continents, Asia and Africa, will have become the proteges of Moscow."

The Soviet penetration in the Middle East has had a devastating effect on the economic and political position of our main Western allies, Britain and France. The Russians are striving, according to Joseph and Stuart Alsop (12-5-56) to do "everything in their power to eliminate British interests in the Middle East, thus reducing Britain to a third class power and destroying the

Western alliance." They warn that Bulganin and Khrushchev are banking on America's vacillating attitudes to undermine the strength of our allies—and if this is achieved, then the United States will find herself isolated and bereft of strong allies.

It has been said in defense of present policy that we must maintain the friendship of the Arab peoples as if such friendship is in contradiction to our historic bonds with France and England. Nothing could be further from the truth. We hold that peace in the Middle East, friendship between the Arabs and the United States, and the strengthening of our ties with Britain and France are essential to each other. One of the major factors militating against the realization of these objectives is the rapidly growing influence of the Soviets in the Middle East, thanks to those Arab leaders who hope to employ this influence as a leverage in their blackmailing tactics against the West, while not realizing that they themselves may become victims of their own game. Only joint Allied policies which are designed to defend the integrity of all of the nations in the Middle East and to uphold the basic principles of international law in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations will protect the national interests of our country.



JUST A GOOD NATURED HUG!

(Courtesy N. Y. Daily Mirror)

NAZIS IN WONDERLAND I

On October 1, 1956, a black limousine roared out of the Spandau prison gate, careened left and sped away down a side street. Newsmen who endeavored to cover the event, were surrounded by scores of menacing armed guards. German police threw a road block of trucks across the street to prevent reporters from pursuing.

The elaborate measures to assure the privacy and comfort of Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz were executed with clockwork precision. The entire military-like operation must have impressed the Admiral who had been chosen by Hitler as his successor to lead Nazi Germany. Perhaps Doenitz recalled another day when his movements and those of his Nazi associates were closely guarded by the armed retainers of the Third Reich. Whatever went through his mind as he relaxed in his limousine, this much was reality: he was a free man after having served ten years for war crimes and crimes against the peace.

Doenitz continued to avoid the searching questions of reporters after he had reached his destination in Düsseldorf. "My task," he said, "is to remain silent and to feel my way back to life." In other times Doenitz did not show a reluctance to speak out forcefully and with conviction. Thus, when he directed U-boat warfare resulting in the sinking of 15 million tons of World War II shipping, costing the lives of thousands of Allied personnel, he sharply commanded his officers to "kill and keep killing. Remember, no survivors. Humanity is weakness." At Düsseldorf he preferred silence.

Yet, in other times, Doenitz spoke up with authority and confidence. On the day when he was chosen by Hitler as the new Fuehrer of the Thousand Year Reich, he issued a declaration to the Nazi Wehrmacht: "German armed forces, my comrades. The Fuehrer is dead. Faithful to his great idea to save the people of Europe from Bolshevism, he had devoted his life and has died the death of a hero. With him one of the greatest heroes of German history has gone. With proud respect and sorrow we lower the flags for him."

It was precisely at this time when the Nazi regime was on the verge of collapse, that Doenitz together with General Keitel, hanged as a war criminal, initialed a top secret memorandum entitled "The Overcoming of the Catastrophe." In this document Doenitz calls for a post-war tie-up with Bolshevik Russia. Such a collaboration, the Doenitz memorandum stated, would have the following perspectives: "A colossal bloc of world-dominating greatness, economic power, energy and numbers of population would be created from ocean to ocean. Not only would the danger of future wars for generations be eliminated from Europe but also from the double continent of Eurasia. The two great peoples, the Russians and the Germans, have extraordinary possibilities for development without collision of their interests. The chief emphasis in this bloc will shift more and more to the racially superior,

intellectually more active, and more energetic (people), that means to Europe. Thus would be formed an alliance between the young Socialist forces against the old rotten entrenched powers of the West."

Thus, Herr Doenitz who publicly posed as the new savior against Communism, secretly advocated an alliance with Soviet Russia at the expense of the West!

Doenitz' crimes were thoroughly catalogued at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. He was described by the U. S. Prosecutor, the late Justice Robert Jackson, as "Hitler's legatee of defeat. He promoted the success of the Nazi aggressions by instructing his pack of submarine killers to conduct warfare at sea with the illegal ferocity of the jungle."

Though Doenitz prefers the privacy of silence for the time being, his supporters—and there are many—hail him as the legitimate chief of the German nation.*

The Bonn Government has not dealt with this question but it has recognized Doenitz' claim for a pension. This pension will be granted to the Admiral, according to the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of his "rank and length of service." If the Ministry of Finance regards service to Hitler as legitimate grounds for receiving an annual pension that may run as high as \$6,000, will the day come when his claim to speak for all of Germany will also be recognized?

One week following Doenitz' release, the German Defense Ministry announced that over 13,000 former officers in Hitler's Waffen SS had applied for posts in the new

**Indeed, the Grand Admiral seems to have some enthusiastic adherents in the U. S. A. For instance, H. Keith Thompson and George Sylvester Viereck, whose pro-Nazi activities could fill many pages, sent a wire "to the legitimate President of Germany, Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz." They called his release "the day of the triumph of your steeled will over the plans of your vengeful persecutors..." While they hailed Doenitz, they denounced his trial as having been "brought about by the criminal co-guilt of the USA and world Jewry..."*

The men who are running the anti-Adenauer campaign are sure of several things. The Russians will allow him to make no progress whatever toward reunification. The slowdown in economic expansion will continue and will become more noticeable as young men are drafted into the armed forces. German youth, already averse to military service and indulging in outbreaks of mild hooliganism, will tend ever more to look for political change.

The next year will be remarkable for the fact that there is a campaign to unseat Dr. Adenauer but no clear plan to put anything in his place. There is an unhappy suspicion that there is not a new generation on the march but a new gang on the move.

(The Washington Post, 10-14-56)

German army. The month before, the Defense Ministry announced that all members of this criminal organization would be welcomed back to the fold after "screening." Several months prior to this declaration, the Defense Ministry stated that former Field Marshal Erich von Manstein had been given access to NATO military secrets. Von Manstein has been found guilty and imprisoned for war crimes committed in Italy during World War II. Now he was awarded an office in the German Defense Ministry and was asked by the Parliamentary Defense Committee of the Bundestag to serve as an advisor on the future organization of German armed forces.

The release of Doenitz, the reactivation of the Waffen SS, and the appointment of von Manstein mark a significant stage in the setting up of the "new" Wehrmacht. These events are not disconnected. They are part of the pattern of things to come as the German General Staff develops plans for the future. It is therefore surprising that the German Defense Ministry refused to recommend for use in army libraries the book "The Third Reich and the Jews"? This volume contains official German docu-

ments on Nazi war crimes and, apparently, this is regarded as bad for the morale of the "new" German army. On the other hand, German book shops are doing profitable business on the sale of such books as W. V. Assenbach's book, "Adolf Hitler: His Fight Against the Inferior Being."

In the face of these sinister developments the Chancelleries of the Western Democracies remained silent. Replying to the Society's protest over the appointment of von Manstein, the State Department declared, "*These matters lie within the competence of the German Federal Republic, which has been a sovereign government since May 5, 1955.*"

But what about the responsibility which our State Department owes to the hundreds of thousands of GIs who gave their lives for the cause of freedom and human dignity? And what of the generations of youth to come? Will they, too, be called upon to make the supreme sacrifice because we allow "these matters" to lie "within the competence" of the West German Government?

MALMEDY KILLER PAROLED

The American Legion today blasted American officials who had anything to do with releasing Nazi Col. Joachim Peiper, triggerman of the 1944 Malmedy massacres.

National Commander W. C. Daniel singled out Spencer Phenix, Chocorua, N. H., the American member of the board. In an open letter to families of the victims, Mr. Daniel said:

"I pledge to you—in what must be a moment of heartsick disgust and despair—that the American Legion will not rest until Spencer Phenix and all other government officials responsible for the release of the Malmedy murderers are removed from office and replaced by Americans who believe that the lives of your loved ones and of every American fighting man cannot be traded for a few years in jail."

Peiper, with his boss, Col. Gen. Sepp Dietrich, first was sentenced to die for machine-gunning 160 disarmed Americans at Malmedy, Belgium, during the Battle of the Bulge. Dietrich's parole last year aroused a storm of protest.

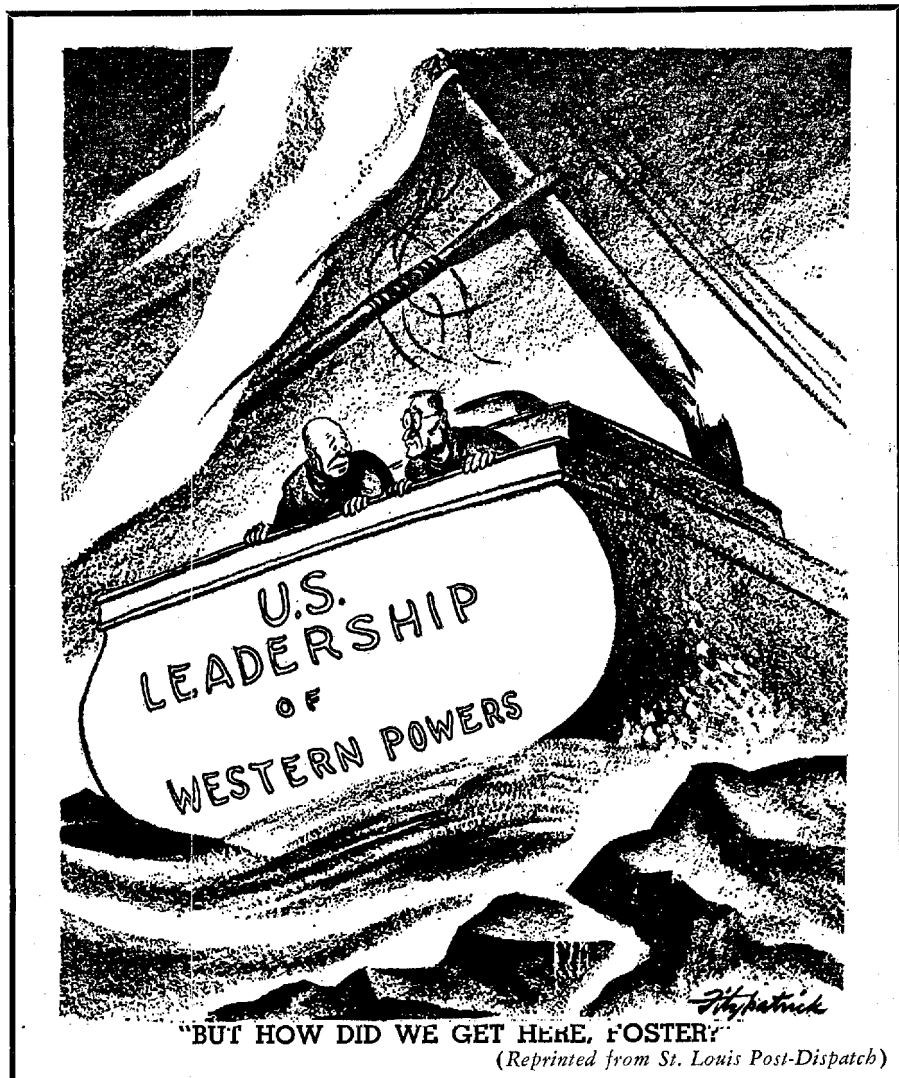
Peiper's release over the holidays apparently caught veterans' groups by surprise.

In his letter, Mr. Daniel called Peiper's release "the most sordid travesty on justice in the history of international law."

One of the few Malmedy survivors, former Lt. Virgil P. Lary, Columbus, Ohio, last year warned that Peiper's release would "dishonor" the nation's war dead.

"The screams of my men . . . still ring in my ears," said Mr. Lary.

(Jim G. Lucas, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 12-29-56)



The Strategy of Stalling

The maneuverings and motives surrounding West Germany's decision to renege on her NATO commitments shed new light on her value as an ally to Western powers.

Financial Veto

In the beginning of 1956 the Bonn Government declared that it would refuse to continue financial support for U. S. and Allied forces in Germany after May 1956. This decision was made known through the German press before word of it was sent to the Allied authorities. Through this unusual diplomacy the Bonn Government was able to trigger a campaign of slander and incitation against her NATO partners. The Western Allies including the U. S. were accused of looting the German Treasury and employing underhanded tactics at the expense of the well-being of the German people. This press barrage served as a preparatory assault for the official announcement that the Germans would refuse to pay for the support of the Allied forces.

The Bonn Government based its position on the Contractual Agreement which made no provision for German financial support of the Allied forces subsequent to May 1956. Though the Germans stuck to the letter of this agreement, it was patently obvious that they had violated its spirit.

The Contractual Agreement assumed that the Germans would cease financial support when they had sufficient armed forces of their own to take over the responsibilities which the Allies had shouldered for defending German soil. However, the German army was still in the blueprint stages in early 1956 and therefore the Allies were being asked to continue to protect West Germany without any costs to the Germans themselves.

The Society called this crucial issue to the attention of the Congress of the United States. We declared that the German decision threatened to undermine the NATO defense system. We charged that Germany's refusal to make a contribution and the dishonest and insolent attacks levied against the Western Allies was "not indicative of a government professing friendship with the West." We also

raised the question as to whether this was a maneuver on West Germany's part "to force U. S. and Allied forces out of Germany with the view towards making a deal with the Russians on that basis."

Unfortunately, the Western Allies beat a retreat before the Bonn Government's brazen challenge. They agreed to a 55 per cent slash in the funds which were originally requested from the Bonn Government to support the Allied forces. As far as we know, the Allied authorities continue to accept the Bonn Government's professions of good faith. We, on the other hand, interpreted this episode as but a prelude to further efforts by West Germany to go back on her pledges.

Watering Down Conscription

Our suspicions were justified for by September 1956 Chancellor Adenauer announced that the period of military service for German conscripts would be fixed at one year instead of eighteen months. This decision, too, was made public in an unusual way. The Information Office of the German Federal Government issued a statement that Chancellor Adenauer had scrapped the eighteen months conscription plan when he had learned from American newspapers that American forces in Europe would be reduced under the so-called Radford Plan. This alibi was so fantastic that even the Social Democrats who opposed the idea of conscription described it as the "most grotesque explanation any federal government ever made to the public" (Christian Science Monitor, 9-28-56).

Diplomatic protocol was ignored by Herr Adenauer since the decision was made public through the German press before the Allies were officially notified of it. Needless to say, the Western Allies were taken aback by Adenauer's bluntness. The decision was viewed by them as a gross violation of his pledges to supply necessary armed forces, as provided in the agreements between West Germany and NATO. The NATO Council stated flatly that "the NATO military authorities have made clear the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of accomplishing this objective with a service period of only twelve months." In this

connection it is noteworthy that all of the members of NATO with the exception of tiny Luxembourg, have a much longer conscription service than that proposed by the Germans for themselves.

The "New" Army

However, this is only one aspect of the issue. It is now freely admitted by Allied military authorities that Bonn's decision will make inevitable the development of a professional army, the kind which always was the bulwark of German militarism. It is also of significance that together with the abolishment of the eighteen months plan for conscription Chancellor Adenauer approved the admission of former members of Hitler's Waffen SS into the new German army. It is a matter of record that the Waffen SS was one of Hitler's most notorious organizations. Its crimes helped to turn Europe into a vast graveyard. For its barbarous deeds it was condemned and outlawed by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Yet, it is precisely these professional cutthroats who will "be the backbone" of the new German army (Christian Science Monitor, 9-28-56).

As for the so-called Radford Plan, Adenauer admitted that he assumed its existence on the basis of reports in U. S. papers. The U. S. Government has officially denied that there ever was such a plan, but Adenauer, in desperation to justify his unilateral action, endeavored to give the impression that the unauthenticated press reports were tantamount to the official policy of the U. S. Government. In the face of Allied reaction to his alibi, Adenauer was compelled to speak with more candor. Thus, he told his party leaders that his government was determined to make it clear to the NATO Council that West Germany had "overcommitted herself with regard to the number of troops" (New York Times, 10-17-56). No longer was Adenauer able to hide behind the alleged Radford Plan. Now he had to admit that Germany had its own ideas about contributing to NATO. Of course, candor is not one of the characteristics of West German diplomacy, and that is why many of our policy makers seem confused over Germany's attitude. When

German rearmament policy is guided by a number of considerations which are masked by the plethora of platitudes which are found in Adenauer's speeches before Western audiences. Among these factors we cite the following:

(1) *Profitability*: Today Germany is enjoying an unprecedented economic boom. In no small degree this is due to the fact that the Germans are able to apply virtually all of their resources and energies to peacetime production while a substantial portion of the resources of the Western Allies is tied up in armament production. The New York Times (1-18-56) reported that the Ruhr barons find it more advantageous "for West Germany to continue to expand its civilian economy and use its surpluses for the purchases of armaments abroad." The views of this group are shared by top government officials and members of the German Parliament who believe that West Germany should "pay the barest minimum for armament compatible with its commitments to NATO." The Times notes that this position is based on the doctrine that armament "must not interfere with the normal development of the civilian economy and if it does, it is not worth having."

Some months ago the Minister of Finance Fritz Schaeffer delivered a speech

in Bavaria in which he said that Germany was not anxious to build an armaments industry. He contended that it would be more profitable to purchase arms from abroad while "the Ruhr remains the workshop of peaceful industries" (London Financial Times, 8-27-56). In a moment of frankness Herr Schaeffer admitted that the Western Allies might not take to the idea that they shall devote money and plant space "for arms production while we (the Germans) utilize ours for export goods" (Time Magazine, 9-10-56).

While recognizing this difficulty Herr Schaeffer and the leaders of the German economy insist that the rearmament policy must be guided by the single standard of profit and loss. At times they will try to rationalize this position by the rather comical argument that Germany's most effective contribution to NATO would be to strengthen her peacetime economy and to widen her export markets.

(2) *An up-to-date Wehrmacht*: After World War I German rearmament proceeded at a slow pace because of the Versailles Treaty. Yet, Germany was able to turn the prohibitive clauses in the Versailles Treaty to her own advantage. While other countries were still employing relatively obsolete weapons and shaping their strategy accordingly, the Ger-

man General Staff was able to proceed with deliberation and without overcommitting itself until "all of the returns were in." In short, Germany began to rearm in a big way only when the latest weapons of war were available. Many of these weapons had been created by other countries but Germany was in the position to exploit their possibilities to the fullest without going through the enormous expense of experimenting over a long period of time. This approach to rearmament was of decisive importance in producing the most modern war machine under Hitler.

After the defeat of Germany in World War II the decks were clean again. As in the past Germany had the opportunity to start afresh in developing the most modern weapons of war. This is the way the Germans have reconstructed important branches of their economy. For example, some months ago Franz Josef Strauss, former Federal Minister for Atomic Questions, declared that West Germany was faced with the task of "catching up with the progress made by other nations during the last ten or fifteen years" in the field of atomic energy.

In reply to those in West Germany who voiced concern over West Germany's backwardness in atomic energy,

WHO IS FOOLING WHOM?

Defense Minister Theodor Blank said West Germany would have 96,000 men under arms by the end of this year. He denied there was any lag in the armament program. . . .

"At the risk of being called a liar later, I can assure you that we shall carry out our NATO obligations this year to the fullest extent," Herr Blank told a group of visiting United States editors and commentators.

The West German armament program calls for the creation of a twelve-division, 500,000-man armed force as the Bonn Government's contribution to the Western defense forces.

(U. P., 3-27-56)

A West German spokesman today said the goal of a 96,000-man army by the end of this year will have to be abandoned. . . .

As a result, the new Defense Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, will have to inform the North Atlantic Treaty Organization council in Paris later this fall that "certain delays" have arisen.

Mr. Strauss was named to succeed Theodor Blank yesterday in a move which suggests eventual abandonment of the goal of a 500,000-man "citizen-soldier" army. The former Minister for Atomic Affairs has favored a 300,000-man professional force armed with atomic weapons. . . . (Gaston Coblenz, N. Y. Her. Trib.)



KINDA GUN SHY

(Courtesy Chicago Tribune)

Herr Strauss stated: "We shall build on the experience of other nations and turn to research and training in the field of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. We shall not, however, construct large-scale atomic power stations, which by the time they are completed in five or six years will become unprofitable and outmoded because of technical progress. It is not a matter of doing something fast but of doing what is necessary in the right way" (The Bulletin, 6-7-56). A similar line of thought has been expressed by the leaders of the German aircraft industry. The steel industry, too, has boasted that the destruction of plants has enabled the industry to reconstruct on the most modern basis available.

There is no doubt that this is the general position taken by German strategists in mapping Germany's plans for the future. Herr Strauss who has now been appointed Defense Minister, has made this crystal clear. According to the New York Times (9-23-56) Strauss warned "against the hasty building up of an army that might become obsolescent before it was fully formed." He was reported to have said that the army blueprinted five years ago for Germany "might produce only a second rate army today." Consequently, he urged that the Bonn Government "go slow now" so as to make sure that the new German army would be the most modern war machine possible. Time Magazine (9-10-56) in discussing Germany's reluctance to rearm as originally pledged, also referred to this factor: "Weapons are in a transitional state and Germans do not want to commit themselves to large scale production until the weapons of the future have taken clear shape."

The Chairman of the German Bundestag Defense Committee, Richard Jaeger, criticized what he alleged was the Allied attempt to load West Germany with outdated arms. "We do not want to pay for a false investment with the bones of German panzer (tank) troops," he said (New York Herald Tribune, 10-3-56). To repeat, the Germans prefer that the Western Allies devote huge resources to the development of new weapons so that Germany can ultimately reap the rewards.

(3) *Concessions from the U. S. A.:* The Germans are still hoping that they can extract additional bounties from the U. S. Treasury as their price for rearming. Chancellor Adenauer's Minister for Eco-

nomics Affairs, Ludwig Erhard, assured the Bonn Parliament that defense expenditures would not exceed \$2 billion annually. When he was asked what he would do if costs would be greater than this figure, Herr Erhard retorted, "then let the Americans pay!" (New York Times, 2-27-55). Finance Minister Schaeffer has also expressed the same view.

A New York Times dispatch (2-5-56) reported a statement by Schaeffer to the effect that "West Germany could not meet its commitments to NATO unless the U. S. were to meet the deficit." From time to time Chancellor Adenauer has also expressed this view, namely, that the major cost for German rearmament must be underwritten by the American taxpayers. The New York Times (1-25-56) reported that the views of the German political leaders were shared by all important groups in West Germany.

Besides the notion that Uncle Sam must foot the bill for German rearmament, the Germans are beginning to sound out our Government on a program that would, in effect, subsidize Germany's export drive. Indeed, this is the very heart of the so-called "Point 4½ Program" sponsored by the Krupp interests. While publicizing this plan as a move to help underdeveloped countries, Krupp hopes to be able to secure a dominating position in these markets. The Point 4½ Program is still in the preliminary stages of discussion and it remains to be seen whether the United States will grease the way for the Krupp venture via the U. S. Treasury. Unquestionably the Germans will show more sympathy to "rearmament" when and if they can milk Uncle Sam for additional billions. (See No. 48, p. 19.)

(4) *War Guilt and War Criminals:* The Society has frequently pointed out that Germany's top leaders including Chancellor Adenauer have resented the implications of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. They are bitter about the punishment meted out to those who deny that they were war criminals in spite of all of the evidence to the contrary. In the past German leaders and militarists have railed against the United States for keeping in prison those who were "honorable" soldiers and politicians. The Allies have been warned and threatened that so long as one of these "heroes" remains in prison the German people will not show enthusiasm for military cooperation. At the rate that the Allies are freeing these criminals, one would expect that

this factor would lose its importance. But one should not underestimate the other side of this question of war criminality, i.e., the role of the Allies in World War II.

There are powerful voices in Germany today who say that the Allies must admit that they were in wrong when they opposed Hitler who, after all, was only trying to save Europe from Bolshevism. If the past is any guide to the future, then we can anticipate that in due time "public opinion" in Germany will demand that the Allies must admit their "guilt" before the Germans will wholeheartedly cooperate with the Allied powers.

(5) *A German-Soviet Deal:* Of decisive importance in West Germany's calculations with regard to rearmament are her relations with the Soviet Union. There are many important leaders and groups who insist that West Germany go slow on rearmament for the sake of cementing her relations with the Russians. This position is held by two of Germany's most important parties, the Social Democrats and the Free Democratic Party. It is a view that is shared widely in West Germany. This is confirmed by the Christian Science Monitor's well-known correspondent in Germany, J. Emyln Williams, who reported, "Most West Germans see remilitarization tied too closely to the Western powers as a hindrance (to German unification) because of Soviet objections" (9-21-56).

To the German military no less than to the big industrialists of the Ruhr whose mouths water when they think of the markets in the East, and to the growing number of politicians, the idea of a Russo-German deal is a worthwhile goal. If they could prove to the Russians that their military cooperation with the West is of a pro forma character, then the way could be paved for an understanding. This vision of an embrace with the Russians unquestionably enters into the disarmament picture.

(6) *German Assets:* From Chancellor Adenauer down, the Germans have been working overtime to regain the assets of I. G. Farben which were vested by the U. S. Government. Adenauer has publicly declared that the return of these assets was of the greatest importance in strengthening friendship between the U. S. and West Germany. On March 8, 1954, he said, "Any just solution of this question will strengthen the confidence

of the German people in the principles of the free world, will make fast the friendship between the American and German peoples and will relieve the German Government of a great worry." The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (3-6-55) was more to the point about the "great worry" when it asked why German property should not be returned since the Germans and the United States have undertaken "military pledges of alliance to one another..."

A more blunt comment on the relationship between the return of the assets and Germany's military cooperation with NATO was made by *Der Tag* (3-5-55) when it stated, "The situation is more serious here in Germany than people in America realize. If Mr. Abs (Hitler's paymaster and leading German banker) does not win a satisfactory solution (for the return of the Farben interests) on his trip to Washington, General Gruenther loses a battle." To our knowledge, no paper in the United States reported this interesting comment. The voice of Farben, just as under Hitler, has special influence on Bonn policy and Herr Adenauer will hardly move quickly to fulfill his pledges to NATO so long as Farben is not paid off.

"Anti-Militarism"

In assessing West Germany's attitude toward rearming at the present time one cannot ignore the factors mentioned above. Unfortunately, most commentators have evaluated the general slowdown in German rearmament as an indication of the growing anti-militaristic spirit in Germany. We do not deny the fact that there are many people in West Germany, particularly among the youth, who have no enthusiasm for a new German Wehrmacht. We do not even doubt their sincerity and we are even willing to concede for argument's sake that they are in the majority. However, a similar situation occurred after World War I. Then as now, most Germans were caught in the wave of disillusionment and embitterment toward the futility of war and militarism. This general feeling was symbolized by the great novel "All Quiet on the Western Front" by Erich Maria Remarque. Yet, there was a radical change of feeling at the beginning of the 1930s and those who shouted "nie wieder" in the 1920s began to echo the cries of the Nazis for revenge and for regaining the glories of

the Fatherland.

As for today, we say that all encouragement should be given to these anti-militaristic sentiments but, let us not confuse the immediate mood with the long-range factors and plans that are operating on the German scene. Even Krupp has publicly declared his disgust with war, but who would dare to say that Krupp has turned pacifist? The confusion on the so-called anti-militaristic spirit in Germany became even more pronounced when Adenauer fired Herr Blank and appointed Franz-Josef Strauss to the defense post. The *New York Post* writer, Theodore Kaghan, who is thoroughly familiar with the German problem, hailed the Strauss appointment as "a concession to the rising resentment toward rearmament throughout the country..." (*New York Post* (10-18-56). If it were only true!

The New Defense Minister

Who is Herr Strauss? According to published records Strauss is a Bavarian who, in his youth, distributed Nazi propaganda in Munich, the birthplace of Hitlerism (*Time Magazine*, 10-29-56), and during World War II served in Hitler's Wehrmacht as an artillery lieutenant. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* Herr Strauss "inclines much more toward the old military tradition" (10-16-56). In our lexicon this can only mean that he is an admirer of "the good old days" when the German General Staff reigned supreme.

Thus, *Time Magazine* reports that Strauss is determined to reestablish "a military planning group, tantamount to a German General Staff." Strauss has insisted that the German army must be equipped "with the most modern weapons available including atomic arms..." (*New York Times*, 10-18-56). Parenthetically, it should be noted that when Strauss visited the United States in the spring of 1956, he gave public assurances that Germany would strictly adhere to her pledges that the Germans would not employ the atom in her military setup (*Washington Post*, 5-17-56). *Time Magazine* (l. c.) reports that Strauss demands "a national German army of professional soldiers." Moreover, he insists that the new German army must "be as independent as possible, because he felt that the NATO strategy was not in Germany's best interests."

In the face of these facts it is difficult to agree with the interpretation that Strauss' appointment represents a victory for anti-militarism. It is true that Strauss' army will not be large quantitatively. However, if it is organized along the lines envisaged by him, equipped with atomic weapons, its quality will make up for the shortage of numbers. The professional character of this army is indicated by the fact that it will be dominated by career soldiers, one out of every three being an officer or a non-commissioned officer.

The Atom

Strauss' insistence on putting atomic bombs in the hands of his professional army has been fully endorsed by Adenauer. The story goes that, when Adenauer visited Belgium in September 1956 he asked the Western statesmen to support his request that Germany be equipped with atomic bombs. Adenauer's position "startled Belgium's Paul Henri Spaak" (*Time Magazine*, 10-8-56).

Certainly these plans of Adenauer and Strauss can hardly be regarded as furthering the cause of anti-militarism. Yet, the German bigwigs are pleased that there is an anti-militaristic feeling in Germany for this sentiment serves a twofold purpose: (1) to delay rearmament on the basis of the factors outlined above, (2) to carefully plan the new German army so that it will be even mightier than that which fought for Hitler.

Therefore, while we are pleased to see that there is a wave of anti-militarism in Germany and believe it should be supported, we must beware of the fickleness of German sentiment as we must beware of the Krupps, the Kesselrings and the Doenitzes.

Some of our readers have interpreted our strictures against West Germany's failure to abide by her armament commitments as an indication that the Society favors German rearmament. Nothing can be further from the truth. As in the past we remain unalterably opposed to the remilitarization of West Germany and East Germany since we believe that the rearming of the former enemy will turn out to be a long step toward World War III. By exposing Germany's failures in meeting her NATO commitments we have tried to re-emphasize the fact that Germany's pledges to the Allies are not worth the paper they are written on, be it in military or other matters.

On U. S. Foreign Policy

by
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*(Excerpts from an address by Senator Humphrey at the
Overseas Press Club in New York City)*

We are almost at the end of the most momentous year since World War II. It has been a paradoxical year—one in which both the United States and the Soviet Union have suffered severe diplomatic defeats. The United States saw the North Atlantic alliance shaken to its roots when war broke out in the Middle East. And the Soviet Union lost its grip on the captive countries of Eastern Europe.

It is too soon to attempt to strike a balance as to who lost more. It is not too soon, however—indeed, we have waited too long already—to begin an urgent reappraisal, however agonizing it may be, of the world situation and of our own posture toward it.

Quite obviously, fundamental changes of enormous consequence have taken place. No man can foresee where they will end. The old, static condition has ended; conditions are more fluid than at any time since 1945. The cold war has changed from one of fixed positions to one of maneuver. This increases somewhat the dangers; but it also greatly increases the opportunities for statesmanship that is both wise and bold, imaginative and judicious.

Our first task is to assess the nature and implications of these changes that are taking place.

The first thing we must realize is that in today's world there can be no effective foreign policy without risks. There is no risk-proof insurance policy that will guarantee freedom and security in today's world.

One of the basic facts of our time is the spirit of nationalism which dominates the thinking of most of the underdeveloped areas of the world. We are all familiar with the manifestations of this force—the anti-Westernism throughout much of Asia and Africa and the irresponsible fashion in which the Soviet Union has tried to take advantage of this feeling and use it for its own ends. What we are now seeing is the re-emergence of this same spirit of nationalism in the Soviet countries of Eastern Europe.

Nationalism is challenging international communism on its home grounds, and the end is not yet. This points up, as clearly as anything possibly could, the truth of what many Americans have been saying for years—namely, that international communism is fundamentally inconsistent with nationalism and that it presents the most serious threat of all to the hard-won independence of the new states of Asia and Africa. . . .

One reason we need the U. N. is to provide a constructive focus for this tremendous force of nationalism which otherwise would be running wild. The U. N. does not control nationalism, but it does provide a framework in which nationalism can find its proper and responsible place in a world society that is becoming increasingly interdependent. The U. N. can likewise protect and encourage nationalism.

The problems we now face in Eastern Europe and the Middle East have little in common, but it can be said, I think, that the roots of the problems in both instances are nationalist in origin. The challenge, both before the U. N. and before our own government, is how we deal with these problems in a responsible manner calculated to promote the principles of the United Nations Charter, to advance the national interests of the United States, and to bring some greater measure of peace and freedom to the people of the areas concerned. . . .

The ferment in Eastern Europe obviously presents opportunities; but it also places a great obligation on us to act in a sober, responsible manner.

We should be prepared to discuss sympathetically economic aid with the independent governments of Eastern Europe, as, for example, Poland. . . .

Much can be done through other policies if we but have the wit to think of them. And we had better think of some pretty fast, because the manifestations of nationalism in Eastern Europe increase the urgency of finding some sort of security system that Europe can live with. In some respects, the obvious weaknesses of communism in the captive countries may well give the Soviets pause. But in other respects, this situation could trigger World War III—either as a Soviet tactic to re-establish control or as a consequence of some as yet more violent explosion in one of the satellites. . . .

We should continue, of course, to use every avenue available to put increasing pressure on the Soviets through the United Nations in regard to the Hungarian situation. By their arrogant defiance of the UN, they are increasingly isolating themselves from the rest of humanity.

The UN actions in regard to Hungary have not been as vigorous as I would have liked and the situation has dragged on longer than I would have liked, but by proceeding one step at a time we have been able to resolve some of the doubts that troubled many of the Asian-African states at the beginning.

It is my personal view, however, that the UN should go further in regard to Hungary. In commenting upon the UN action in regard to the Middle East, Vice President Nixon recently said that it upheld the rule of law—"the same law for the powerful and the strong as for the weak and the defenseless." What the UN must now do in regard to Hungary is to apply the same law to the scoundrels and aggressors as to the decent and honorable. . . .

Certainly the UN cannot content itself with condemnatory resolutions, no matter how strongly worded. We should not only take steps to insure against the return of the spurious Hungarian representatives who walked out of the UN last week; we should also give consideration to economic and

diplomatic sanctions against the Kadar regime in Hungary and against the Soviet Union itself.

As of now, the Soviet Union and her puppet regime in Budapest have refused to let U. N. observers come into Hungary. We must continue to press hard to demand that these observers be admitted.

Even without observers, the world has learned several things from these recent horrors in Hungary.

First, these uprisings show that there still exists in satellite lands the same love of freedom which is the natural heritage of man everywhere.

Second, we have learned how totally unrealistic it is to assume that the people of the satellite countries will automatically support Moscow. That is a very important lesson.

Third, we have learned that you cannot easily crush the spirit of liberty. It keeps glowing in spite of years of totalitarian repression and in spite of foreign armies.

Fourth, we have learned that even the youth brought up during such periods of repression still desire liberty and are willing to fight for it. . . .

We have also learned that food is tremendously important as a weapon—both in a cold and in a hot war, and this has become something of a hot war.

Our policy with regard to food assistance has not been clear. It is disgraceful that we should receive dispatches about food shortages, even in Austria, when we have adequate supplies, including supplies of milk, that we could easily have sent. We should dramatize the airlift which we're using to bring in refugees, by sending every plane back on the return trip loaded to capacity with powdered milk and other food supplies, so that our response could be immediately seen and our aid would be dramatic, and inspiring to those who are fighting for freedom.

We should also extend the use of American food to any country that takes refugees and needs such aid, besides Austria. . . .

Revelation of the Soviet oppression in Hungary has had the most damaging effect on the Communist party of anything since the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939. It has increased the chances of the breakdown of the Soviet empire and has contributed to the unrest of students and intellectuals in Russia itself. Now is the time when America should speak not only in terms of good-will, but in terms of definite actions—actions which may involve risks, but as I said before, there is no risk-proof insurance policy covering such things as freedom and security.

* * *

Turning now to the Middle East, we find an area where the problems are so many and so complex that one hardly knows where to start. It is now truly a power vacuum. Although Soviet influence has greatly increased, American prestige is also at a new high. As the Soviet threat makes solutions to the area's problems more urgent, so does the new American position, coupled with the new solidarity which has developed in the UN, offer hope of finding solutions.

The UN has an especially important role to play. It is dangerous for either the United States or the Soviet Union to try to be the dominant power in the Middle East; this is an area ready-made for the kind of international ministrations that the UN is peculiarly equipped to undertake.

As Germany is the key in Europe, so I think the Arab-Israeli conflict is the key in the Middle East. It is idle to expect peace ever to come to that unhappy area until some settlement of this conflict is reached.

It has been amply demonstrated that the UN will not tolerate aggression in the Middle East. It is also, I think becoming increasingly clear to the states of that area that it is not in their own interests to rely on the Soviet Union. What we must now do is to make it still more clear to the Arabs and Israelis alike that it is in their own interests to reach a settlement, that they hurt themselves more than anyone else by stubbornly insisting that the world has not moved since 1947. In the last analysis, this dispute can be settled only by the parties concerned, and we cannot expect them to do that until they realize that they will be better off with it settled than with it unsettled.

The United States and also the United Nations must be firm and just with both sides. As we acted to halt the invasion of Egypt, so we should now take steps to halt persecutions of Jews in Egypt. We can certainly not stand idly by in the face of increasing reports of anti-Semitism as an official policy of the Nasser government.

In the best of circumstances, it will take at least a generation for the hatreds of the Middle East to entirely abate. The more each side retaliates against the other, the longer it will take.

It is unrealistic to expect an Arab-Israeli settlement to spring fullblown from any single set of negotiations. A settlement in the Middle East must be pursued one step at a time.

The first step is obviously to bring about a complete with-



"WHAT'S IN YOUR BAG?"

(Justus in The Minneapolis Star)

drawal of foreign forces from the area, in prompt compliance with U. N. resolutions.

The second step is a settlement of the Suez Canal problem over and above the physical work of clearance. Here the six principles unanimously agreed to by the UN Security Council offer a good starting point for reaching an agreement on the Canal's operation.

With these immediate issues out of the way and with a groundwork of quiet, careful diplomatic preparation, we can approach negotiations for a general settlement. There are other things, however, that we can also be doing in the meantime. What the Middle East desperately needs is economic development—not simply for its own sake but as a constructive endeavor to occupy the minds and energies of the people and their leaders. We have furnished a considerable amount of economic and technical assistance to the area; yet, with a few exceptions, it has not been particularly effective. We have tried very hard, and have failed, to get agreements on regional projects, such as the Jordan River plan.

The time may now be more propitious for such undertakings, and we should vigorously renew our efforts, not only to get the Jordan River and similar projects underway but also to get some action on the refugee problem.

It might be useful, in this connection, to consider establishing, under United Nations auspices, a Middle East Development Authority. Most of the economic, as well as the other, problems of the area are international in their scope. Most of them also require outside assistance, either in the form of capital, of technical aid, or of good offices. Why not, then, have an international agency to deal with them? The kind of Middle East Development Authority that I have in mind would have, on its board of directors, representatives of all the states of the area as well as representatives of the states furnishing capital and technical assistance. Ample provision could be made to protect national sovereignties.

In any event, it appears obvious that we are going to have to extend more aid to the Middle East—and do it more effectively.

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the whole Suez affair is that innocent bystanders, both in Europe and in the Middle East, are getting hurt. All of Western Europe is suffering from oil shortages along with Britain and France, though none of the other countries in Western Europe can be charged with any responsibility for their present troubles. And in the Middle East, the oil-producing states are suffering from lack of markets, though two of the states—Iraq and Iran—had nothing to do with the events which brought this situation about. . . .

To sum up:

In the Middle East we must insist that the Canal be opened and cleared. We must insist upon the use of British and French and any other available equipment in helping achieve a purpose that is vital to all of us.

We must keep U. N. forces in the Middle East large enough to cope with any danger in the area, and as long as is necessary, until a permanent settlement has been worked out.

That settlement must be one which opens the Suez Canal and guarantees that it will remain open, free and unfettered, for the safe conduct of the shipping of all the world, including Israeli ships. The question of national ownership is sec-

ondary—but the effectiveness and enforceability of these guarantees must be absolute.

In the end, an Arab-Israeli settlement must be brought about in Palestine. While the Arabs refuse to recognize the existence of Israel such a settlement is impossible. We must use every device available to American diplomacy, operating through the United Nations and otherwise, to overcome this intransigence, to make it clear that we expect to see a settlement reached, and that we insist upon an ending of the interminable border raids from either direction. Meanwhile we must move forward with a bold regional plan for economic aid, such as I have already outlined.

Political factors must not be allowed to prevent settlement of the refugee problem. Wherever these refugees came from—and there are Jewish refugees from Arab countries as well as Arab refugees from Palestine—they are all of them people, and our first concern must be to get these human beings settled and re-integrated as part of the permanent economy of an area in the world that is easily able to support them, given some sensible economic plan and reasonable assistance.

Now to conclude, the year 1957, which is almost upon us, is likely to be even more crucial than 1956. We have got to be both steadfast in principle and flexible in tactics. Today I have had time only to scratch the surface of some of the problems we face. I have raised more questions than I have answered.

I think we can find the answers, but it will take more imagination and courage, fewer platitudes and less blinking at facts, than we have shown heretofore.

People who have experienced the rise and fall of Hitler and the growth of the Muscovite Empire, know that in President Nasser's Cairo, Soviet and Nazi technicians are once more cooperating with all the intimacy inspired by their dead leaders' 1939 pact. Hence few men and women of the Old World can grasp the Administration's masochistic solicitude for Egypt's ruler. Nor can they understand the heartlessness with which Washington has been trying to use oil-hungry Europe's dire need as a means of diplomatic pressure, and showing not the slightest concern for NATO members who have been hurt at least as hard as the so-called "aggressors" in London and Paris. Mr. Dulles, or his successor, will somehow have to restore an Allied unity that, cordial words notwithstanding, U. S. deeds have denied. If the Secretary of State has succeeded in temporarily buying the friendship of Messrs. Nasser, Nehru, Sokarno and Tito—rulers of nations that lack the rudiments of democracy—his job now is to regain friends who are far more essential to the U. S. and whom he has insulted, humiliated and harmed economically.

(Barron's, 12-3-56)

The Soviet Menace in the Middle East

by
IRVING MILLER

We have reached a dangerous turning point in the Middle East, and a sweeping reevaluation of United States policy in that area has become essential. The future of the Middle East cannot be left to leisurely diplomatic maneuver in and out of the United Nations. It is now a matter of extreme urgency what that future is to be, because the survival of the free world hinges upon it. What is required at present is an objective reappraisal of the current economic and political forces at work in the Arab world and a determined effort to deal with them courageously.

Although some perennial optimists in the State Department try to gloss over the fact, it is absolutely correct to say that Gamal Abdel Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal on July 26 marked a crucial turning point, not only in relations between East and West, but also among the partners of the Western Alliance. Perhaps, as Britain's Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd put it with diplomatic tact, the rift between the U. S. and its British and French allies has as yet "developed no irreparable damage."

The tragic fact, however, remains that while the Western alliance is fraying apart, Soviet Russia is becoming the dominant power in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and other parts of the Arab world. Lenin, Stalin, and their uneasy successors in the Kremlin were never able to achieve this on their own, through revolutionary intrigue, cold war strategy, or the smiling face of "peaceful coexistence." The Egyptian dictator has accomplished it for them through his policy aimed at the destruction of Israel and his seizure of the Canal.

At the most critical juncture in the development of the Middle East in modern times, Washington has found itself with no policy at all, or rather a "policy" based on wishful thinking about and complete ignorance of Soviet intentions in the Middle East. The Washington experts were so used to viewing world events from their own end of the spectrum that they completely failed to grasp the fact that in Nasser's wake Soviet penetration of the Middle East was increasing by leaps and bounds.

Washington hoped as usual to muddle through by ignoring the storm signals and refusing to see the Soviet menace. The State Department still naively believed that economic and technical assistance, increasingly resented by xenophobic Arab governments, accompanied by pious sermons about the virtues of democracy, would win corrupt and reactionary Arab politicians to our side and dispel the lure of demagogic Communism for disgruntled Arab intellectuals in search of a place in the sun.

While the U. S. was offering technical aid and Point Four loans, the Kremlin oligarchs, working through Nasser and his imitators in Syria and Jordan, tightened their stranglehold on the Middle East by lavish supplies of heavy arms. While we were offering them bread, the Soviet Union was presenting them with a sword and inflaming them with dreams of a Pan-Arab empire.

The present situation in the Middle East cannot be realistically appraised without some knowledge of Russia's past and present aims in the Middle East. Russian policy-makers, Tsarist or Communist, have long been convinced that the road to world domination runs through the Middle East into the heart of Asia. Once the Middle East and the rest of Southern Asia had been brought under Russian control, they reasoned, Europe would surely follow. Historical parallels are sometimes misleading, but there is a strikingly similarity between present-day Soviet policy and the aims that shaped Tsarist policy in the Middle East during the 19th and early



(London Daily Express)

20th centuries.

In 1900, Tsarist General Kuropatkin described Russia's long-range plans in the Middle East as follows:

"When we gain control over the Bosphorus (Turkey) and the entrance to the Mediterranean, we shall be able to tackle the Egyptian question with energy and make the Suez Canal our thoroughfare. When we have won this entry into the Indian Ocean, we can constantly threaten India. Russian competition on the world market will intimidate the highly developed countries of Europe and America . . . and we shall extend our tentacles towards the Atlantic."

Kuropatkin's ambitions were echoed by the Tsarist politician, Skobelev, who declared: "The stronger Russia is in the Middle East, the weaker England becomes in Asia and the more conciliatory she will be in Europe."

Contemporary Soviet interests match those of the Tsars. Forty years after Kuropatkin's blueprint for world conquest, Stalin and Molotov, in secret negotiations with Hitler in November 1940, made it clear that Soviet "territorial aspirations center in the direction of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf." Moscow's current policy in the Middle East presents an amalgam of "new" revolutionary slogans and tactics combined with century-old aims.

At the beginning of this century, Russian ambitions in the Middle East were held in check by the rivalry of Germany, Austro-Hungary, France, Italy, and Britain. However, at the conclusion of the second World War, Britain remained virtually alone as guardian of Western strategic and economic interests in the area and the sole bulwark of military power against Soviet incroachment. One of the basic assumptions of U. S. foreign policy—insofar as we had a clearcut foreign policy—was the preservation of British power in the Middle East.

We have now, through our cooperation on the Suez Canal question at the United Nations with Moscow and its Euro-

pean and Arab satellites, inflicted possibly irreparable damage on Britain's position, not only in the Middle East but in the world at large. With Britain no longer of military and political significance in the Middle East, and the United States maintaining, at least for the present, a policy of benevolent neutrality, the region has become a vacuum, irresistibly attractive to Soviet power, the influence of which is already felt.

Partisans of current Washington policies contend that the U. S. refusal to support Britain, France and Israel will disarm Communism's ideological weapons and weaken Soviet influence among the hungry and disease-ridden Arab masses. They ignore the fact that it was U. S. indecision and failure to take seriously Nasser's plans to wipe out Israel and the necessity of preserving the international character of the Suez waterway that brought about the rift in the Western alliance, and prompted Britain, France, and Israel to undertake military action against Egypt.

Until the crisis in the Middle East is resolved, one thing remains abundantly clear: the East-West conflict continues, the cold war is renewed, and the threat of Soviet domination of the free world is still a burning issue. This conflict cannot be ended by the temporary palliative of a UN police force, but only through the maintenance of the political unity and military preparedness of the Western alliance and by unstinting support—military, economic, and diplomatic—for the State of Israel.

Moscow is fully aware—even if the State Department is unconvinced—that today Israel is the main bastion of the free world in the Middle East and the sole barrier to Soviet domination of Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and probably of oil-rich Saudi Arabia. It is just because of this that the Soviet Union continues its vicious and unbridled attacks against Israel's right to exist.

(Courtesy, Congress Weekly)

BUNDLES FOR GERMANY?

I read with some dismay of the efforts of the Germans, with the apparent sympathy of the United States Administration, to recover some, if not all, of the German property seized in the United States.

By the Paris Act of 1946, the Allies undertook not to return the German property they seized. By the Bonn Convention the validity of the seizure was recognized by the West German Federal Republic, which undertook to compensate its nationals accordingly.

It is hard to understand why the United States should apparently be willing by a unilateral act to disregard such treaty obligations.

Moreover, what will be the effect on our European Allies? . . .

The Germans occupied these countries and subjected them to economic pillage and, as you reported in an earlier issue, the claims of Holland for the restitution of securities looted during the occupation are as yet denied by the Germans. . . .

(Roger W. Sewill, Director-General, Alms of Industry, The London Economist, 9-15-56)

West Germans are rounding out their most prosperous year since the war. . . .

The return of the Saarland on Jan. 1 will open a rich new market for German products. This border area has been controlled by the French since World War II. With its coal and steel production, the Saar will further entrench Germany's position as the leading economic force of West Europe.

The Middle East crisis may actually help Germany by opening markets long dominated by Britain and France. And the West Germans are clearly better off than most other West European nations in the current oil shortage resulting from the blocking of the Suez Canal. . . .

(AP, 12-22-56)

NEVER AGAIN!

Alfried Krupp today reiterated that he will never produce arms again.

The former munitions producer said through a spokesman that the firm would "not compete" for any orders connected with German rearmament. . . .

(AP, 3-23-56)

* * *

The United States awarded Krupp its first military jet-plane license.

(Look, 10-2-56)

The Great Danger

by

PETER MISKA

Once again we have more than two dozen garrisons, as well as tanks, armored infantry, navy and airforce schools and two officers academies. The great danger is not that recruits are being rigidly trained again. It lies elsewhere: At one of the new airforce training schools an instructor officer delivered a so-called lecture on civics before the future young pilots. The topic of the talk: "The Lost Homeland between Vistula and Memel." An officer of the Bundeswehr with the rank of battalion commander recently remarked to a civilian visitor: "Your apprehensions are all good and well but for me only one fact exists: the Russians have killed my father—I will never forget that."

Approximately 50 percent of the Bundeswehr officer corps originally come from East Germany. Of course, they do not talk all day about what was taken from them; but the concept of the lost homeland has already become part of the official schedule. The slogan "national injustice" is making the rounds amongst the troops. Intentionally or not, officers stir up resentments; knowingly or unknowingly, they do awaken thoughts of revenge. And therein lies the danger.

This danger is especially great because this time it does not apply to Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig and the Polish Corridor; rather, it concerns itself with half of Germany, with the "lost homeland" east of the Elbe and, because not only displaced persons but nearly every one of us is close to someone or something behind the iron curtain, even if it be a mother's grave. Though the attempt to liberate it is senseless, it is a holy cause. He who opposes it, is automatically branded.

The danger is great for, after all, there is a difference if the civilian Karl Schulze from Koenigsberg and his dear little spouse are still raving about beautiful East Prussia or if the Major of the Bundeswehr Karl Schulze indoctrinates his men with the thesis of the "lost homeland" and the "injustice wreaked upon us." The danger here is especially great because the thesis does hold some truth and because the men who are indoctrinated are just learning how and for what purposes arms are to be used.

Hardly do we have soldiers, and already we have again something for which—and against which—they could march. "Start marching to any place? Out of the question. That is technically impossible," say authoritative Bundeswehr strategists.

The objection betrays in which direction the military think. It is correct—that within this limitation *for the present* it is technically still impossible for us "to march." The Bundeswehr is still in its infancy, American and (a few) British soldiers are still stationed in West Germany and Soviet soldiers in East Germany. Some day, however, the Bundeswehr will stand in force, perhaps even—as per the Chancellor's order—in strength of 500,000 men; some day, the last companies of

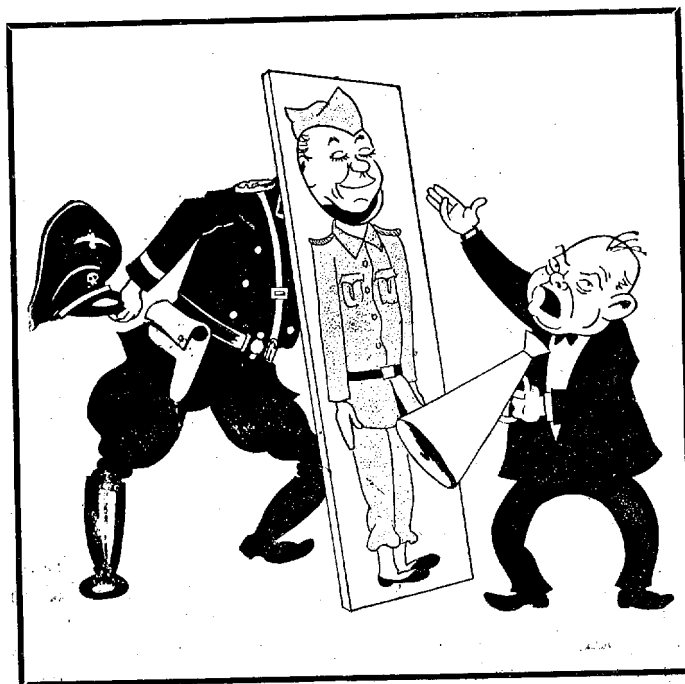
Americans here and Russians there will have left. It is unlikely that the West German officers who today speak already of the "lost homeland" and the "inability to ever forgetting" will then become more reticent. Whether the politicians will then be able to, or even want to, check the military is a question which, in view of some of our present political personalities, cannot readily be answered in the affirmative.

The people will not exactly rejoice if matters ever become earnest. But, rejoicing or not, as usual they will not be consulted but will just be called to the colors. Not all the regiments are in possession of their flags as yet but already the commandants and instructors are busily engaged in embroidering the battle cries upon them.

These are age-old battle cries, but they retain their appeal and will ever continue to do so. The most telling slogan will again be the "the fight against the injustice done to us and our people." This is enough to touch off warlike impulses even in the most pacifist German.

Of course: it has not come to this yet. But, "the future has started already." To express it in military terms, danger is in the offing.

(Courtesy, Frankfurter Rundschau)



"JUST LOOK HOW HARMLESS HE ISI"

(Deutsche Volkszeitung)

Egypt's Nazi Propagandist

by

MALKAH RAYMIST

A few months ago a Canadian journalist, William Stevenson of the *Toronto Star*, and a British journalist, Ann Sharp-ley of the London *Evening Standard*, were expelled from Egypt for getting around too much and too fast, but not before they managed to get some glimpse of the truth about the Nasser regime. The official reason given for their expulsion was that they had attempted to interview Egypt's ex-President Naguib who is held incommunicado under house arrest. But, in fact, they were ousted from Egypt for another reason, for having attempted—and succeeded—in interviewing almost as inaccessible, if free and even privileged, a personage, Professor Johann van Leers, a former top Nazi propagandist, who was and is probably still masterminding Egypt's anti-Jewish and anti-Israel propaganda campaign as head of a corps of Nazis reputedly numbering 200 in the service of President Nasser.

Professor von Leers was first smoked out by Ann Sharp-ley. She walked into his office and addressed him by name and then refused to swallow his attempts to conceal his identity. She confronted him with irrefutable facts and data about his past. When he realized that further denials about his identity were futile, the professor sought to dismiss his importance by asserting that his function was limited to translating for President Nasser articles in the world papers hostile to Egypt or the president himself.

What is the background of this shadowy figure who acts as adviser to Egypt's Minister of National Guidance and who occupies with his staff an entire floor in that ministry? Recently a Dutch newspaper *Trouw* published an incident in which Professor von Leers figured and which of itself is revelatory.

The story goes back to 1933. In that year, according to the newspaper, an attempt was made to revive the International Students' Organization by bringing together students from Germany, Britain, and France in order to influence them to help maintain peace in the world. The Dutch university city of Leyden was chosen as the meeting place. The Dutch delegation, acting as host, participated in the mainly Anglo-Franco-German students' conference.

Since the efforts of Britain, France and Holland were directed at influencing the German students to help maintain peace, the German delegation was naturally the focal point of attention. Its president became therefore the central figure of the conference. His arrival was deliberately shrouded in mystery by the Germans; his name was not disclosed until he appeared; and he arrived only after all the other members of the conference had already gathered in Holland. He turned out to be a jovial and affable young man with several university degrees attached to his name. The name was: Dr. Johann von Leers.

The conference proceeded fairly smoothly for several days. But then Dr. Huizinga, the Rector of Leyden University, urgently summoned the chairman of the Dutch delegation and requested him to find out whether the Dr. von Leers presiding over the German delegation was the author of a recently published virulent anti-Semitic pamphlet. It was titled *Die Juden Sehen Dich An* (Jews Are Looking at You). Among the many slanders contained in the pamphlet was the ritual murder libel, presented as an established fact.

Young Dr. von Leers was summoned and questioned by the Dutch hosts. He readily admitted that he was the author of the pamphlet. When asked whether he himself believed in the ritual murder accusation, he fidgeted and laughed nervously, "You see, that was written more than a year ago. It was before the general elections. The National Socialist party wanted something with a catchy slogan, something to get hold of the masses. . . . So they asked me to write a booklet with a strongly anti-Semitic angle. But really, between ourselves, there is no need to take it so seriously."

But the Dutch professors, not easily put off, insisted that he state whether or not he believed in what he had written. After this preliminary interview, von Leers was requested to appear next morning before the University Senate which was obviously determined to inquire into his views and activities. Dr. von Leers tried to avoid the issue, going off on a tangent and attempting to involve his interrogators in a lengthy argu-

HAILING HITLER

Bashir al-Auf, the editor of a leading Syrian daily, Al Manar, wrote recently:

"One should not forget that, in contrast to Europe, Hitler occupied an honored place in the Arab world. His name awakened in Arab hearts feelings of love and enthusiasm. . . .

"The Arab world should be congratulated on producing in its midst this Hitler who has shaken the world from end to end. . . . English and French journalists are mistaken if they think that by calling Nasser Hitler they are hurting us. On the contrary, his name makes us proud. Long live Hitler, the Nazi who struck at the heart of our enemies! Long live the Hitler of the Arab world who has opened the gates of victory and eternity for his people!"

ment. But they pressed him hard for an unequivocal yes or no, and finally he admitted that he did not believe in what he wrote. "No, of course not," he mumbled.

As soon as they heard this admission, the Dutch professors asked him point-blank whether he was prepared to correct his error publicly and in writing. He replied that it would be impossible since this would mean the end of his scientific career, and of his career altogether. On hearing this, Dr. Huizinga pointed to the door and exclaimed: "Out with you! such an individual does not deserve to breathe the air of Leyden!" (This was not forgotten. Dr. Huizinga became one of the first hostages immediately after the establishment of the Nazi regime in Holland.)

Johann von Leers, who is now 54 years old, was in his youth a member of the Freikorps Viking, one of the precursors of the Nazi movement. He grew with the movement and with the party and, as early as 1929, he was an official of the German Foreign Office and a member of the Nazi party. In 1932 he joined the S.A. Brownshirts and in 1936 became a member of the German General Staff with the rank of major. He became an important figure in the racial research

department, headed the department of foreign policy in the Nazi Political College, and was the chief editor of the Nazi journal *Wille und Weg* (The Will and the Way) published by the German propaganda Ministry.

But in 1941 his star dimmed. He fell afoul of his chief, Alfred Rosenberg, the ideologist of the Nazi Party, and was sent in disgrace to Vienna, to fill the place of a professor who had been murdered by the Nazis. There he fell deeper into disgrace and was charged with plagiarism and tried by a court of teachers. But he survived all this and managed to emerge unscathed from the war and even from disgrace within the Nazi party. After World War II he returned to Germany and lived for some time in Bonn, but later emigrated to Argentina. It was there that he was discovered by agents of Nasser.

Von Leers is a prolific writer specializing chiefly in pseudo-scientific pamphlets. He tries sedulously to imitate Goebbels but lacks the latter's brittle brilliance and shrewdness. He plods along in heavy fashion, and his pedestrian efforts at propaganda are joined to the bombast and violence that mark the Arab fulminations against Israel and Jews.

(Courtesy, Congress Weekly)



EGYPTIAN BEST-SELLER

Israeli forces found stacks of Hitler's "Mein Kampf," in Arabic, in Egyptian army camps in Sinai.

Now They March Again!

"The true Germany must still remain silent, but some day it will act." These words, rendered with screaming pathos, come from the mouth of former SS Gruppen and HJ Bannerfuehrer Kosche. He talked thus at the party convention of the German Reichs Party in Wiesbaden. For the time being the party is still desperately looking for some sort of democratic guise; however, the above quoted sentence is not the only indication that the German Reichs Party is nothing but the heir to the Socialist Reichs Party which, a few years ago, was characterized and prohibited by the Federal Constitutional Court as a subversive organization.

Also, some details in the make-up of the party convention point to the great "spiritual" pattern of the Nazi party of the Third Reich. For example, on the main wall of the largest auditorium in the casino there was a white eagle on a black backdrop. In its claws it held a black, white and red banner, above this the motto: "The Springs Will Flow Forever." Actually, this is the motto of Wiesbaden, the spa city and thus has nothing to do with politics. But the gentlemen of the German Reichs Party are not shareholders of the spa administration. For them other springs are more significant: warmer ones, much more potent and invigorating ones. They are the well-springs of the Third Reich, such as Hitler's "Mein Kampf," or Alfred Rosenberg's "Myth of the Twentieth Century," the theory of "Blood and Soil" by Reichsbannerfuehrer Walter Darré and, finally, the racist theory, a folly which developed into something more than just a plague for mankind. These are the "ever-flowing springs" of the German Reichs Party.

To continue with the outer signs, there was the so-called Saalschutz (bodyguard in the hall), admittedly also known

to other parties and employed against "disturbers of the peace" (these are chiefly people of diverging views), but the Saalschutz of the German Reichs Party possesses distinctive earmarks. These are the riding boots, black shirts and field-grey riding breeches. . . .

But now we must introduce the Chairman of the German Reichs Party. He is Wilhelm Meinberg, formerly a Councilor of State under Goering, SS Gruppenfuehrer, Deputy of the Nazi Party to the Reichstag, Chief Reichs official for Food, and owner of the Golden Medal of the Nazi Party. However, the actual manager is the very young former Member of the Bundestag and now Member of the State Diet of Lower Saxony, von Thadden, who looks somewhat like a young gigolo but is possessed of immense shrewdness for, in spite of seeming so naive, he is an apt wirepuller and an effective speaker.

Is this German Reichs Party to be taken seriously? In any event, it proves through its party convention that these political circles are no longer confined to meeting in backrooms (a fact which was proudly pointed out at the convention by von Thadden). In our opinion, the situation is more serious. A seasoned politician of the Christian Democratic Union who recently returned from Lower Saxony, closed his remarks on the political situation in that state as follows: "The appeal of the German Reichs Party in the forthcoming Federal election should not be underestimated. It is very possible that the party will obtain five direct mandates and enter the Bonn Parliament with 10 or more deputies."

No: Neo-Nazism in Germany, as a "spiritual" manifestation, and viewed as a political fact, is definitely not dead.

(Courtesy, Luxemburger Wort)

Germany is the only place in the world where the armed forces of the two main antagonists are in close contact. . . .

In such circumstances, there would be no way on earth to isolate the explosion, as in Hungary. . . . The two Germanies would meld together, and somehow, somewhere—most probably in Berlin—the fatal first shots of the third world war should be exchanged between the American and Soviet forces.

There are responsible officials who believe—or perhaps hope is a better word—that this nightmare prospect is now as vivid to the Kremlin as to the American government, and that the Kremlin may really be searching for a way out. There are other equally responsible officials who contend that the Soviets will never, under any circumstances, withdraw the Red Army from East Germany, just because they know that the Communist Pankow government could not survive without it. . . .

(Joseph and Stuart Alsop, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12-6-56)

Those with keen memories, especially our GIs who helped liberate Buchenwald and whose nostrils captured the stench of the crematoria, must have recoiled as they read of the Nov. 1 night arrests of Jews in Egypt.

In the meticulous records kept by the Nazis, and especially in the minds of those who were the tortured victims, the nights of early September, 1935, when compared with contemporary events, the memories seem sadly reminiscent.

But what must stir the conscience is the apathy displayed today, just as it was when the world was warned that boxcars of human beings were being shipped from German cities to concentration camps. There were no special sessions called in the League of Nations just as there were no special sessions called in the UN as Israeli outposts were attacked by Arab marauders.

(Barry Gray, The N. Y. Post, 11-28-56)

Notes on a German Journey

by
HANS J. MORGENTHAU

In Bonn, contrast strikes the observer: the difference between the prestige Adenauer and his policies enjoy in the United States and the support they command in West Germany. While American editorial opinion greeted Adenauer with paeans of praise during his June visit to Washington, there was nothing but reserve, skepticism and outright opposition in Bonn. This negative attitude is by no means limited to the opposition; it is shared by members of the Cabinet, civil servants and members of the Chancellor's own party. The reasons for these contrasting attitudes are both personal and political.

For Washington, Adenauer is first of all "our boy," the Western statesman who is most completely and reliably identified with United States policies. Other statesmen have recognized Communist China; more still would like to. Others want to trade with the Communist bloc or like to make neutralist noises; Adenauer is virtually the only statesman in the world who has done nothing to embarrass the State Department and who is most anxious not to. Thus we have taken him to our hearts as in the inter-war period we did "little Finland who pays her debts," the only decent, trustworthy fellow among so many doubtful customers.

Bonn sees in Adenauer primarily an old autocrat who is losing his grip and whose political days are numbered. There is something in the political air of Bonn which reminds one of Washington in the last year of a President who does not stand for re-election. There is impatience on all sides. The politicians and civil servants prepare for new alignments and mend their political fences in anticipation of a new distribution of power; they chafe at the reins which have kept them in place so long. The old Chancellor, feeling the pull and seeing the disorder, tries in vain to restore his authority. His public squabbles with the most prominent members of his cabinet, ending typically in an abject public apology on his part, have become notorious. Thus everybody in Bonn who can afford it tries to move toward the outer confines of the old man's orbit lest the new masters might find him too closely identified with the *ancien regime*. The press is encouraged to treat the old Chancellor with a lack of respect which, in view both of his exalted office and his obvious personal merits and political achievements, comes as a shock to the foreign observer.

But the malaise of Bonn and the disenchantment of West Germany have deeper roots than Adenauer's waning authority. They lie in the fiasco of Adenauer's approach to the overriding issue of German foreign policy: unification. The Adenauer policy has come up against a stone wall which forces it either to stand still without the slightest chance for advance or else to retrace its steps completely without any assurance of advance even then. The professed goal of Adenauer's foreign policy has been to negotiate with the Soviet Union from strength. The element of strength was to be provided by the German military contribution to the Western

alliance. In actuality, however, Adenauer, or in any event his principal advisors, intended to use this military contribution in a bargain with the Russians. They figured that the Soviet Union would grant unification in exchange for the elimination, or perhaps the mere limitation, of the German military commitment to the West.

While Adenauer's professed policy was contingent upon the unconditional surrender of the Soviet Union, and hence doomed to failure from the outset, the recent radical changes in the technology of war have doomed the actual policy of bargaining as well. The Soviet Union has made it perfectly obvious that it is not West German rearmament that worries her but the Western orientation of a united Germany.

Adenauer and the main opposition parties are, of course, at one in refusing to have anything to do with the East German Government. Yet this cannot be the last word in the matter. For if it were, it would seal the division of Germany for the foreseeable future after the model of Korea and Indo-China. The Social Democrats try to convince themselves that there must be a loophole somewhere in the Russian insistence upon negotiations between East and West Germany and that only Adenauer's intransigence stands in the way of



"Go Back and Tell 'em You're a Sovereign State"

a deal with the Russians. The leaders of other parties want to offer the Soviet Union economic and other concessions in return for unification. Some government officials play with the idea of offering the Soviet Union German renunciation of military ties with the West in order to test their intentions. One party has openly come out in favor of negotiations with the East German regime, provided two of its most notorious members be eliminated from public life.

All these proposals are borne by an undercurrent of fear, bordering on despair, which flows through all parties and groups, notably the Foreign Office. All recognize that Adenauer's policy has failed and unless West Germany takes the initiative for a new approach, Germany may again remain divided for generations to come. Yet what can be done? Is the core of the problem perhaps the elemental fact that the Soviet Union is more afraid of the power of a Germany united in freedom than of a divided Germany, diminished in power and limited in her freedom of action? How is one to reconcile the power of a united Germany with the security of her neighbors and of the world?

To that question the world has sought an answer for almost a century and has not found it. The men of Bonn, with the apparent exception of the Chancellor's office, earnestly grope for it today.

Nowhere in the world is there a more hardworking, conscientious, competent and uninspiring group of men than the parliamentarians and civil servants of West Germany. In their general intellectual and moral attitude to things political they are seemingly quite representative of the German people. But derision for them, either good-humored or spiteful, is well-nigh universal. Private conversations, even with chance acquaintances, the daily and weekly press, the political cabarets are full of it, I have still to find a German not connected with the government who would speak with enthusiasm, affection, or even decent respect of the Bonn regime. The Germans regard it as something to which at present there is no alternative, but which they would not have chosen if they had had a choice. No German knows what he would have chosen instead, nor does anybody worry much about it. For the German scene today is dominated by a fact which is not political but economic: unprecedented prosperity.

All the vital energy, passion and singlemindedness which in former times were absorbed by politics now go into work. To produce, to make money, to own and to travel—such seems to be at present the compass of Germany's national purpose. The main issue between the German unions and management is not shorter hours of work, higher wages or fringe benefits, but the opportunity to work overtime! However, that concern with the production and enjoyment of material things is not likely to be permanent. It is rather like an unexpected and surprisingly ample feast after a long period of scarcity. Furthermore, business curves have a way of going down as well as up. And the direction the German national purpose will take when it can no longer find full satisfaction in the production and enjoyment of material things worries the more thoughtful leaders of German opinion. I shall not soon forget the tone of urgency in the voice of one of the ablest and most genuinely liberal German leaders when he asked me to tell America to come to the aid of German democracy at the first sign of a business downturn. Such a downturn would be the first real test for German

democracy, and he doubted that it would pass it.

But this is certainly the opinion of a small and submerged minority. Hardly anybody in Germany is willing to admit the determining fact of recent German history: that Nazism was not a philosophy, political system, and way of life imposed from above upon an unwilling or, at worst, passive German people, but the fulfillment of their intensely held aspirations, a true mandator of the national will, enthusiastically supported in success and still maintained with stoic faith in the face of disaster. For most Germans, Nazism has become a disembodied thing, an instrument of fate, not to be associated with living human beings. However, that association, not as an historic recollection but as the actual experience of the present, stares one in the face at every turn. Proven anti-Nazis, people who risked their lives for their convictions, suddenly use a phrase or make an observation whose underlying values bear, without their being aware of it, the marks of the intellectual and moral revolution which Nazism has wrought upon Germans, friend and foe alike. An American student who studies Romance Languages at a German uni-

A BRITISH OPINION

Russia believes that her ultimatum decided the issue, and hopes the Arabs will be duly grateful. America thinks her action decided it, and that, afraid of Russia, the Arabs will gratefully lean towards America. We shall see who is right.

Both America and Russia think Anglo-French influence has been destroyed in the Middle East, and, for quite different reasons, both think that to be desirable.

Eisenhower's point of view is that his action was entirely justified because the rule of law has been violated. He also thinks that it is still possible to do business with the Soviets, and that if he is allowed to cultivate the Peace Party, which he is convinced exists and includes Malenkov, Bulganin, and Khrushchev, he can organise a lasting world peace as a result of America's having proved herself to be a disinterested upholder of law—even against old friends.

Britain says that Egypt was the true aggressor and that Israel merely retaliated to a whole series of aggressive acts which U.N.O., and its supervising commission under General Burns, had been incapable of stopping.

Britain says that Egypt, armed by Russia, was soon going to strike still more strongly and in wider spheres. The result would have been the loss of the whole area from Casablanca to Kabul. If France and Britain did nothing it would be too late, unless, after long discussions at U.N.O., America then intervened with all her forces. By that time, however, Russia would be fully committed and the result would be world war. France and Britain were fully convinced that if American wishes had been followed nothing—repeat nothing—would have stopped events from leading to a general war within a short time. They think that if they have been allowed to finish the job without American opposition, if not with support, the danger of a world war over the Middle East would have been greatly reduced.

It seems impossible to reconcile those sharply opposing views. America thinks France and Britain broke the law and were aggressors worthy of punishment. Britain and France think they did not break the law but that America, voting with Russia, and threatening punitive action, has come very near to wrecking all hope of peace.

The Hungarian situation has made Britain still more angry. Russia is clearly an unprovoked aggressor in Hungary and America admits that to be true. Britain asks why America has not threatened Russia with punitive action over Hungary, whereas she did threaten France and Britain over Egypt? Bitterly angry people in London ask whether it is because America is afraid of Russia but was not afraid of Britain and France? If so, is that the rule of law? These angry questions are widely asked.

The overall British reaction is that America will find out that Eden was not either so foolish or so bad as he was painted and that, in consequence of American policy, a far graver situation will shortly arise in the Middle East.

(Courtesy, Weekly Review, London)

versity told me that his professor distinguishes between Aryan and non-Aryan French writers as a matter of course, the distinction being accepted by the students as a matter of course.

I had myself an experience which illuminated with the sudden impact of a great and lasting shock the presently hidden abysses of the German mind, which are no less real for the reluctance of most to recognize their reality. One evening, I sat in the Cafe Kranzler, the most elegant cafe of Frankfort, when my attention was drawn away from Verdi's music toward an animated conversation, carried on by the two men at the next table. The man who did most of the listening was an elderly, distinguished-looking gentleman who, as the conversation revealed, was a retired businessman from a neighboring town who had just made the acquaintance of the other man by sitting down at his table. This man, who did most of the talking, must have been in his middle forties; he was of striking appearance and impressive bearing, elegantly dressed, obviously intelligent and well educated. This man told a story from his student days. One evening, he and five of his fellow students had gone to a neighboring town to drink wine. When they boarded the train for the return trip, they found one compartment holding six people half occupied while in the next one they found two passengers who happened to be Jews. They decided to ask the Jews to leave. When the latter refused and one of them rose with a threatening gesture, the students opened the two windows of the compartment and threw the Jews out. "We threw them out, luggage and all, mind you, out of a speeding express train, and in a matter of seconds it was all over. Of course, anybody else but Jews would have left without a fuss."

What is remarkable in this story is not only its content and the fact that it was told at all, but also and in particular the way it was told and received. It was told with animation,

care for picturesque detail, and unemotional detachment. To call the narrator an anti-Semite is to miss the point completely. For the narrator, a Jew was no more the possible object of hate or, for that matter, any other human emotion than a mosquito. The foreordained destiny of the Jew, as of the mosquito, was to be killed. Only at one point was there a trace of emotion in the narrator's voice: when he pointed with a sense of pride to the speed and technical neatness of the operation. Even the criticism of the Jews' refusal to move was added in a matter-of-fact way as an afterthought, which really had no bearing upon the issue.

It would indeed be most hazardous to draw any general conclusions from such an incident. However, the fact that it occurred at all and the circumstances under which it occurred give one pause. I shall not tell a total stranger whom I just met, say in a parlor car, a story about myself which is likely to evoke his moral indignation. To the contrary, I shall tell him a story which will put me in a good light. Most certainly our narrator would not have told his chance acquaintance that he had cracked safes as a student or run a disorderly house. But he did not expect moral disapproval for his participation in the killing of two Jews, and the listener did not disappoint him.

There are men in all walks of German public life—government, universities, press, and literature—who are aware of the moral chasm which Nazism has opened between Germany and the rest of the world. My two neighbors in Frankfort were not aware of it. How many more like them are there? On which side does the weight of opinion lie? In which direction is opinion likely to move? Answers to these questions, more than to questions more concrete and seemingly more urgent, if we but had them, would tell us much of the story of Germany's future.

(Condensed, Courtesy, The New Republic)

A disturbing example of the Eisenhower Administrations' failure, in the field of foreign relations, is revealed in the handling of landing rights awarded to international air carriers. Our State Department awarded the rights to Germany's Lufthansa Airlines in New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles. This gives them precious leave to land, sell tickets, and originate flights in those metropolitan areas. The Japanese Airlines, and Iberian (Spanish), have landing rights on both coasts.

In contrast, the Holland air carrier, KLM, world's largest purchasers of American-made aircraft, was turned down when they made a simple request, namely, the privilege of landing and refueling in Los Angeles and Houston.

Holland, a member of NATO, our former ally, and the first and only country to tell the U. S., "thank you for World War II help—but now we wish to finish without charity—and stand on our own feet." This is the nation shut out by the U. S. while we hand \$1,000,000 privileges to German, Japanese, and Swedish airlines. I have no wish to see the latter suffer. But I hope the Dutch get their delayed "good conduct" award.

(Barry Gray, The N. Y. Post, 9-24-56)

Twice in our time, America's youth has been killed and mutilated by the instruments of war produced by an extremely knowledgeable and efficient outfit called Krupp Industries of Essen, Germany. Krupp has now come to the United States with an elaborate idea for getting taxpayers' money to finance this huge, rich company in its expansion in underdeveloped countries.

The plan—which has an attractive surface gloss—will be presented to three branches of government, including a Presidential Committee on Foreign Aid headed by Benjamin Fairless, former president of United States Steel, and the Foreign Affairs Committees of both the Senate and the House. . . .

Currently, Krupp is engaged in construction of major installations in Asia and Africa. . . .

This, essentially, is merely a way for Germany to increase its exports, with the United States footing the bill. There are other friends in Europe, also struggling with the export problem, who would get no such help from us.

There is no reason to hit the United States taxpayers with an added bite for a particular company in Germany.

(Donald T. Rogers, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-25-56)

The United Nations and the Middle East Crisis

It is the considered judgment of the Society that the Middle East Crisis constitutes a major threat to world peace. Bearing this in mind, the Society sought to acquaint the United Nations with its views on this crucial problem. For the benefit of our readers we publish below the complete text of the Society's statement.

Introduction

We respectfully call your attention to the enclosed statement on the Middle Eastern crisis issued by the Society for the Prevention of World War III. The Society is a non-governmental organization accredited to the United Nations and unreservedly supports United Nations efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement.

Among the major purposes for which the Society was founded in 1943, are

(a) "to prevent the occurrence of another world war by creating a permanent body of experts on international politics and economics to search and study the impelling forces and causes which have led to two world wars . . ."

(b) "to observe and examine changing conditions in world politics and economics and possible causes which might lead to a third world war"

(c) "to announce and publish its findings, conclusions and opinions . . ."

In accordance with these aims the Society deems it a duty to make known its views on some aspects of the Middle East crisis. We seek an objective evaluation of the decisive ingredients which have turned the Middle East into a caldron of hatred and strife.

The Society's search for the truth and its endeavor to prevent World War III are the sole standards by which we discuss the critical situation in the Middle East.

The United Nations and the Middle East Crisis

Dedicated to the cause of a just and lasting peace, the Society for the Prevention of World War III supports unreservedly the efforts of the United Nations to master the present world crisis. At this dangerous moment, the United Nations possesses an unmatched opportunity to fix firmly its moral and material authority as the guardian of world peace.

The immediate focal point for United Nations action lies in the Middle East where the flames of war threaten to engulf the world in unprecedented catastrophe. The root cause underlying the ever growing discord in the Middle East is the failure of the states in that area to conduct their external relations on the basis of mutual respect and good will. If the United Nations succeeds in normalizing conditions in the Middle East, it will have a profound effect on lessening tensions and strife throughout the world. On the other hand, if the United Nations cannot prevent further deterioration, the danger of World War III will increase.

In making these observations the Society hopefully assumes that the realities of the Middle Eastern situation will no

longer be masked. For years it has been politically expedient for statesmen to pretend that there was peace in this vital area. By maintaining this false front, the forces of war have been encouraged while the United Nations has been inhibited from taking positive and effective action.

The Society does not pass judgment on the relative merits of Israel's case against her Arab neighbors or vice versa. We seek an objective evaluation of the decisive ingredients which have turned the Middle East into a caldron of hatred and strife. The Society's search for the truth and its endeavor to prevent World War III are the sole standards by which we discuss this critical situation.

The State of Israel born under United Nations' aegis found itself in a region turbulent with social discontent and militant nationalism. The populations of this area, however they strove to live in peace with their neighbors, have been caught in the maelstrom of ceaseless warfare. At first they were the victims of a war launched by the Arab governments to destroy Israel. Subsequently, the warfare became more subtle although in many ways deadlier. It was warfare based on terror and attrition. It involved hit-and-run raids, skirmishes, infiltration, sabotage, subversion and blockade. This "new type" of warfare was powerfully stimulated by hate inciting propaganda. Reason and self interest were terrorized into silence by artificially whipped up passions.

The blockade against Israeli shipping in violation of the armistice agreement of February 24th, 1949, and Security Council resolution of September 1st, 1951, signified continuation of the war by other means.

On March 23rd, 1954, eight members of the Security Council voted for a resolution to reaffirm the previous resolution of September 1st, 1951. This was vetoed by the Soviet Union while the Egyptian Government continued the blockade.

The determination to continue the blockade of Israel is seen by the fact that, after Egypt had seized the Suez Canal, it again refused the freedom of passage of Israeli ships and of shipping bound for Israel. The New York Herald Tribune (8-29-56) quoted President Nasser as stating, "since the Suez Canal runs through three Egyptian cities, the vessels of Israel with which Egypt is technically at war, are excluded." Thus, President Nasser publicly admitted that his Government was at war with Israel and that the blockade policy was part of the war strategy.

The war has taken its toll of human lives and property. Thus, incursions, into Israel from July 1949 to October 1955 resulted in the slaying of 1039 unarmed Israeli men, women and children. In addition, a total of 2231 armed attacks by Arab forces upon the Israelis took place (Congressional Rec-

ord, 6-4-56, Senator George H. Bender). In this connection, the Israeli Government more than a year ago, pointed out that the Mixed Armistice Commission had registered 1006 violations of the Armistice Agreement by Egyptian forces within a 7 months period.

The ceaseless ambushes against the Israeli population are symptomatic of never ending war. Prominent in these raids were forces called "Fedayeen" encouraged and organized by the Egyptian Government. On May 28, 1956, President Nasser publicly declared:

"The Fedayeen, the Palestine army, which started as a small force of 1,000 men last year, is today great in numbers and training and equipment. I believe in the strength, the ability, the loyalty and the courage of this army. Its soldiers will be responsible for taking revenge for their homeland and people."

On August 31, 1955, the official Cairo radio declared:

"Egypt has decided to dispatch her heroes, the disciples of Pharoah and the sons of Islam, and they will cleanse the land of Palestine. Therefore, ready yourselves; shed tears; cry out and weep, O Israel, because near is your day of liquidation. Thus we have decided and thus is our belief. There will be no more complaints and protests, neither to the Security Council, nor to the United Nations, nor to the Armistice Commission. Nor will there be peace on the border because we demand vengeance and the vengeance is Israel's death."

"The Egyptian Fedayeen have begun their activities inside the territory of Israel after repeated clashes on the border during the past week. The Egyptian Fedayeen have penetrated into Jewish settlements spread out in the Negev to Beersheba and Migdal Ashkelon at a distance of 40 kilometres from the Egyptian border, and have taught the aggressive Israelis a lesson they will not forget. The Egyptian Fedayeen sowed fear and consternation among the citizens of Israel."

The character of the propaganda deluging the Middle East is also indicative of the never ending war. It goes beyond the normal practices of exhortation to patriotism as it whips the minds of the people into a state of blind hatred. Through this ceaseless barrage of hate-inciting propaganda the war psychosis is maintained at fever pitch. At that point the enflamed passions of the people merge with the physical assaults perpetrated by such armed forces as the Fedayeen. It is total war.

The Cairo Radio, 9-17-54, broadcasting in Arabic to the Arab world, said:

"... we repeat Salah Salim's slogan: 'There would be no Egypt, no Egyptian revolution and Egyptian Army if Egypt would make peace with Israel.' Let all of us, O Arabs, repeat it once more: 'There would be no Egypt, no Egyptian revolution, and no Egyptian Army if Egypt would make peace with Israel.'"

On September 21, 1954, the Cairo Radio, broadcasting in Arabic to the Arab world, declared:

"The UN General Assembly opens its new session today. Each time we examine the UN Charter, we read its seemingly plausible effort to free peoples, to bring them happiness through peace, and to protect them from destruction... The Voice of the Arabs wishes to tell you today not to believe in the United Nations, not to be deceived by its charter, and not to expect any good from it."

The Cairo Home Service (12-27-55) quoted Col. Anwar Sadat, Egyptian Minister of State:

"Our war against the Jews is an old struggle that began with Mohammed and in which we achieved many great victories. Today, we fight them in Gaza and in Sabha and everywhere. It is our duty to fight the Jews for the sake of God and religion, and it is our duty to end the war which Mohammed began."

On January 12, 1956, the Cairo Home Service stated:

"Peace between us and the Jews is impossible. As far as we are concerned the problem is a matter of life and death and not a dispute over frontiers or interests. Nor is it a difference of viewpoints which require mediation for settlement... This part of the world, that is, the Middle East, cannot hold both of us. It is either we or they. There is no other solution... Thank God that our leaders... know that poems will not achieve our aims. It is steel and bullets which will realize these objectives."

On April 9, 1956, the Cairo Radio broadcast:

"The Arabs are determined to stress one fact, even by bloodshed: Israel must be wiped out."

It would be a disservice to truth were we to ignore the fact that the tone and content of this type of incitement have been continuously employed by the leaders of the various Arab countries. We cite below some examples:

President Gamal Nasser as quoted in "Al Ahram," Cairo, 10-15-55:

"I am not fighting solely against Israel, but also against World Zionism and Jewish capital. My task is to deliver the Arab world from destruction through Zionism intrigues which have their roots in the United States, and which receives aid from Britain and France... The hatred of the Arabs against the Zionists is very strong and there is no sense in talking



(Courtesy N. Y. Times)

about peace with Israel. There is not even the smallest place for negotiations between the Arabs and Israel."

President Nasser in a cable to Syrian President Kuwatly: "Egypt will be glad when her and the Syrian armies meet on the ruins of this treacherous people, these Zionist gangs, so that our dead may rest in peace with the knowledge that our countries have been liberated of all foreign encroachment" (Near East Arab Broadcasting Station, Cyprus, 12-18-55).

President Nasser:

"The Palestine Army (Fedayeen) raised by Egypt has become a powerfully armed and trained force, and the duty of its soldiers is to take vengeance for their land . . ." (Radio Cairo, 5-20-56).

President Nasser (7-26-56):

"The fight in which we are now engaged is against imperialism and its supporters and against imperialistic methods. It is a fight against Israel, the tool of imperialism created in the heart of the Arab world to obliterate our nationalism. But we will all defend our freedom and Arabism and will struggle to see the Arab Motherland extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf."

King Hussein of Jordan:

"Jordan will fulfill its mission of vengeance in Palestine to the very end" (Radio Ramallah, 1-23-56).

"We swear before Allah and history to sacrifice our property and everything dear to us for the sake of Palestine, to guard all her holiness and Arabism. We will not lay down our arms until we regain our rights completely" (Radio Ramallah, 3-9-56).

On October 11, 1956, an official Iraqi spokesman stated:

"... They (the Arabs) must fight Zionism and its ally, the new imperialism, with the same spirit they fought before . . . Iraq and the majority of the Arabs consider that the question of fighting the Zionist cancer should come first, because this constitutes a great danger to the Arabs" (Radio Baghdad, Home Service, 10-11-56).

President Shukeiri El-Kuwatli of Syria:

"The present situation demands the mobilization of all Arab strength to eliminate that state which has arisen in our midst. Israel is like a cancer, not only satisfied to feed on her own manpower but is also assisted by world Zionism." (Address before delegation of Lebanese Moslem youths, 4-2-56.)

President Camille Chamoun of Lebanon:

"The Egyptian revolution was the beginning of the end of Israel. My belief is that Israel will not be eliminated except by military states that are prepared to destroy her. Egypt today is a military state of the first magnitude and I think that she alone can eliminate Israel. I hope in the near future all the Arab states will be organizationally and militarily prepared in a similar manner to Egypt. Then will we be able to say—openly and with certainty—that Israel has arrived at her inevitable end, and not just at the beginning of her end." (Akhir Sa'at, Cairo, 10-12-55.)

King Saud of Saudi Arabia:

"The Arab nations should sacrifice up to 10 million of their 50 million people, if necessary, to wipe out Israel. . . . Israel to the Arab world is like a cancer to the human body and the only remedy is to uproot it just like a cancer. . . . We don't have the patience to see Israel remain occupying Palestine for long." (New York Times, 1-4-54.)

Emir Fahd Saud:

"Israel represents western imperialism and world Zionism. Both are a cancer which has to be cut out of the body of the Arab nation. My opinion is that the Palestine Army will fulfill its task." It will achieve that which Abdul Nasser said about it: "I desire that the Palestine Army will write the most glorious page in the history of Palestine." (Al Ahram, Cairo Daily, 6-27-56.)

The facts mentioned above do not detract from the problems besetting the Arab peoples. Economic backwardness, disease and illiteracy weigh heavily on them. Such conditions breed unrest and do not create a climate conducive to peace. These factors form the backdrop of Arab attitudes towards other vital issues. For example, they strongly resent the plight of Arab refugees, victimized by the Arab war against Israel. They have noted with apprehension some extremist voices in Israel urging expansionist policies. Yet, it is a matter of record that extremist views have been categorically rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Israeli people and by their government.

By grossly exaggerating the importance of these voices, Arab propaganda has tried to depict Israel as an "interloper," a tool of "Western imperialism" whose main purpose is to exploit and humiliate rather than to deal with the Arab peoples on an equal basis.

No matter what shortcomings may be ascribed to Israel's statesmen, they recognize that peace and progress for the whole Middle East depends in the first place on solid understanding with the Arab countries.

The Israelis know that the great economic and social problems including poverty and sickness in the whole Middle East can only be tackled on the basis of friendly cooperation.

On May 14, 1948, the independent state of Israel came into being. Its first proclamation was an offer of peace to the Arabs.

"We extend the hand of peace and good neighborliness to all the neighboring states and their peoples and invite their co-operation and mutual assistance. The state of Israel is ready to make its contribution to the joint effort towards the progress of the Middle East as a whole."

On May 11, 1949, upon Israel's admission to the United Nations, its Foreign Minister told the UN:

"The pursuit of peace is a treasured part of the Jewish heritage . . . That pledge becomes an earnest and urgent appeal when addressed to our closest neighbors, the Arab states, and other nations of the Middle East . . . We are not aware of any serious conflict between us and our neighbors which could not today be resolved by peaceful negotiations."

On May 8, 1950, Israel's Foreign Minister told the Palestine Conciliation Commission:

"I wish to reaffirm categorically that the Government of Israel is willing to negotiate with any state which announces its readiness to conclude a final settlement of all outstanding questions with a view to the establishment of permanent peace."

On September 21, 1951, Israel informed the Paris Conference of the Palestine Conciliation Commission of the United Nations that:

"We are prepared here and now to extend to each and every one of the Arab states the offer of a pact of non-aggression. We should see in acceptance of this offer a real token of

the Arab states' willingness to work toward the essential goal of this Conference—the restoration of peace in the Middle East."

On January 2, 1952, Israel's representative at the United Nations told the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly:

"My Government instructs me to reiterate that a formal understanding with the neighboring Arab states remains a central objective of its policy... We sincerely invite the Arab world at this important juncture in its modern history to reflect carefully upon its decisive choice. If it desires, it can establish with Israel the relations which normally govern the intercourse of civilized states."

On September 28, 1953, Israel's representative told the United Nations General Assembly:

"My Government continues to uphold the vision of the Middle East at peace with itself, uniting all efforts of its two kindred peoples to heal the wounds of aggressive violence and reawaken the rich potentialities of the region for political, economic and cultural progress."

On May 10, 1954, the Foreign Minister of Israel told the Parliament:

"Israel is ready at any time to enter into negotiations with any of the neighboring states concerning either a final and comprehensive peace settlement, or any partial or interim arrangement aiming at paving the way towards peace."

On July 24, 1955, Israel's Prime Minister told a United Press correspondent:

"If there is any Egyptian statesman who is ready to meet me to consider ways and means for the improvement of relations between Israel and the Arab states, I am ready at any

time or place..."

On January 3, 1956, the Prime Minister of Israel before the Knesset said:

"We believe the maintenance of peace is preferable even to victory in war. We know that any war, even war in which we gain the upper hand, involves ruin and destruction for both parties and intensified hatred between nations."

CONCLUSION

The United Nations must succeed in bringing together both sides to the conference table where they can in dignity agree to a peace based on mutual respect and good neighborly relations. Such a peace must do away with the past relations in the Middle East which were attuned to the exigencies and strategy of incessant warfare.

Peace in the Middle East must establish normal political, economic and cultural relations among all the states and be in complete harmony with the Charter of the United Nations.

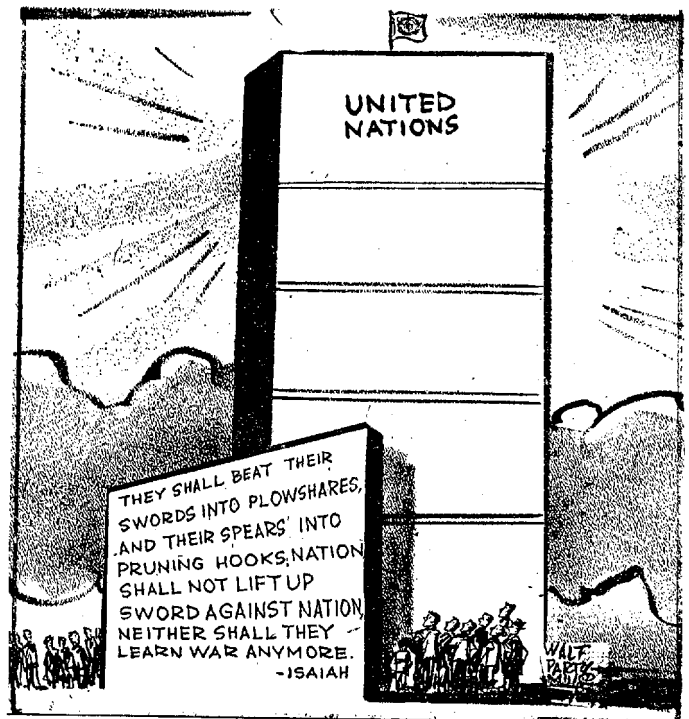
The intolerable conditions which have preyed upon the populations of the Middle East should be completely eliminated. The United Nations' efforts must be based on this premise if a just and lasting solution is to be found.

The United Nations cannot afford reversion to the conditions which have obtained up to the present and have blocked the establishment of peace.

If the United Nations fails on this crucial issue, then its effectiveness as a leading institution for world peace and security will have been gravely impaired. The establishment of peace in the Middle East would radiate its beneficent effects upon a tense and troubled world, and greatly contribute to the prevention of World War III.

The notion that the United States could succeed in winning the long-term sympathies of the Arabs may be a short-lived one. Quite apart from the fickleness of the Arabs if tomorrow, for instance, the United States quarrel with Communist China over the Formosa Strait should reopen—and the likelihood is that it will—then Arabs and Asians will very quickly forget the favors the United States has done them. Britain and France may be well advised to let the United States lead if she is willing to do so, and be satisfied with a silent partnership in the Middle East, but in the process the United States must not forget that to sacrifice Britain in the Middle East would have its inevitable repercussions on the European security system. Stalin was not quite right when at Yalta, during the discussions about the veto in the UN Charter, according to Churchill's memoirs, he predicted that Britain and France would want to use the veto to prevent Egypt from bringing the Suez Canal question to the United Nations. Egypt, as it turned out, grabbed it without asking. But he may prove right in his prediction that the capitalist nations will destroy themselves by fighting among themselves—over the Middle East.

(Harry Brandon, The New Republic, 10-3-56)



THE HOPE FOR THE WORLD

(Courtesy Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.)

The Free Democratic Party's Future

Though the West German federal elections are many months away, the contending political parties are losing no time in the race to gain the favor of the electorate. Even at this early date it is clear that the parties intend to employ the same stratagems and tactics which characterized their behavior during the 1953 election campaign. Depending upon the specific circumstances, the German political parties will be found flirting with each other or sharpening their knives for a sudden thrust at their political rivals.

Needless to say, these flirtations sometimes make for strange bedfellows. Thus, the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party, which are ideologically poles apart, have been speculating on the feasibility of a so-called "black and red" coalition. Yet, neither party will allow itself to be committed fully to such a deal. Therefore, we find the leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Chancellor Adenauer, toying with the idea of making a bargain with the Free Democratic Party, the largest of West Germany's constellation of minority political groups.

In this connection the Christian Science Monitor reported that on September 14, 1956, a meeting took place between Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Dehler (leader of the Free Democratic Party) at the house of the former's banker friend, Robert Pferdenges, to reopen "discussions for the purpose of finding a common platform before the elections." When the public got wind of this secret confab, the faces of the participants turned red with embarrassment and they tried to deflate the significance of this meeting.

Meanwhile the Free Democratic Party and the Social Democrats have also been exchanging "love notes." The jockeying for advantageous positions continues and at this moment it is not altogether certain how the final political lines will shape up. Though there are many imponderables, we can predict with a reasonable degree of certainty that all of the parties will do their best to attract all kinds of elements, irrespective of ideological or economic considerations. This means, of course, that each of the parties will be wooing Democrats, nationalists, Pan-Germans, neo-Nazis, Communists,

etc., etc. This is the way the 1953 election was conducted and there is no evidence that the political parties will not repeat this performance.

Facts About the FDP

There is, however, a special factor in the present election picture which ought to command the careful attention of the Western Democracies. We refer to the strategic political position of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and its future role in the development of German policy. The FDP is supposed to represent the ideas of liberalism in politics and laissez faire in economics. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the FDP is not a homogeneous body. On the contrary, it is plagued by factionalism involving bitter struggles between powerful extreme rightist groups and less influential liberal elements. Indeed, while the FDP poses as a party of liberal tradition, it is in reality controlled by groups that have little in common with democratic principles.

In the spring of 1947, the so-called liberal parties of all the four zones of Germany were loosely organized into a sort of "Working Committee" similar to that of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Socialist Union. The two co-chairmen of this "Working Committee" were Theodor Heuss, now President of West Germany, and the late Dr. Wilhelm Kuelz for the East. The liaison broke down toward the beginning of 1948 and by December of that year the members of the Western zones formed the Free Democratic Party.

Following the setting up of the West German Government, the Free Democrats were brought into Chancellor Adenauer's coalition. The appeal that the Free Democratic Party had among Germans in those early postwar years, was described in an analysis prepared by the U. S. Military Government: *"There is no doubt that many Germans now vote for the FDP (and for the CDU, too, for that matter), simply because there are no parties further to the Right, for whom they would actually prefer to vote. Consequently, there is a natural tendency for the FDP to yield to the pressure from nationalist elements in order to win votes."*

The fortunes of the Free Democratic

Party began to fade as Adenauer's popularity grew and his successes mounted both in international as well as in domestic affairs. The Chancellor's triumph in reestablishing Germany's prestige and power reduced the popularity of the FDP and in no small way contributed to the rising resentment and jealousy among FDP politicians.

Times have changed. The Adenauer policy seems to be reaching the point of diminishing returns. Important voices in West Germany are beginning to regard the Adenauer policy as a liability both politically and economically in terms of Germany's long-range requirements. In short, developments in Germany are ripening for change. It is more than just a question of substituting one political party for another to take over the affairs of government. The whole problem of the direction and orientation of German policy is involved and it is precisely here where the FDP may be coming into its own.

The FDP Leadership

To understand the FDP's future role it would be helpful, we believe, to familiarize ourselves with the key leaders of the FDP. Perhaps the most articulate of them all is Dr. Thomas Dehler who was Minister of Justice during the first Adenauer Coalition Government. Herr Dehler is a lawyer by profession. He does not appear to have played any significant role one way or the other during the Hitler regime. However, in 1946 he came into prominence when he founded the FDP Branch in Bavaria. Subsequently, he was a member of the Parliamentary Council in Bonn from 1948-1949. Herr Dehler, according to available information, was not a member of the Nazi party. On the other hand, his ideological affinities and views predate Nazi doctrine, that is to say, he is a German nationalist and has not hesitated to sound off on the glories of the old Reich whenever the opportunity presented itself. It was probably his "bull-in-the-china-shop" approach which finally alienated him from the more subtle Chancellor Adenauer.

On November 22, 1952, the New York Times reported Herr Dehler as denouncing what he called "the decen-

tralized state" of Germany. "The time must come again," he warned, "when Prussia is a reconstituted German Reich, once again fulfilling its duty of maintaining German culture in Central Europe." Dr. Dehler's apologies for Germany's military excesses and war guilt was expressed in a speech in Hamburg in 1950. "Hitler," he cried, "is to a great extent the consequence of the Versailles Treaty," and "Germany is no more guilty than France for World War I." This statement caused a furor among Allied officials and Herr Adenauer was visibly embarrassed although he was careful not to call his Minister of Justice to account.

In view of Herr Dehler's fervent nationalism, it is not surprising that he showed a marked sympathy for German war criminals. Utilizing his strategic post as Minister of Justice, he boasted publicly that the Bonn Government had spent at least \$12,000 in the defense of seven Nazi war criminals (JTA, 5-31-52). As a leading spokesman for the Free Democratic Party, Dehler made the cause of absolving Germany's war criminals a special duty of his party. The FDP has publicly asserted that Germany's "so-called war criminals" committed no

more serious misdeeds than American soldiers in Korea (New York Times, 6-5-52). The Times reported that U. S. authorities were convinced that the statements emanating from the FDP press, were part of a deliberate campaign and "a sly attempt to justify the actions of the Germans who were condemned as war criminals." The FDP made it a special point to whitewash all of Germany's war criminals in the effort to obtain their freedom. Dehler's Ministry of Justice told the press that 90 percent of the so-called war criminals were "simple soldiers who happened to be caught while guarding concentration camps."

Herr Dehler has never been an enthusiastic supporter of a pro-Western policy. On one occasion he asserted that West Germany must begin to dicker with the Kremlin because it was there and not in Washington where important decisions are made. His attitude toward the Allied occupation has been one of contempt. The Western Allies, he once said, were totally ignorant of the problems facing Germany today. There could be no democracy in West Germany, he warned, so long as the High Commissioners—the "Three Holy Kings"—grasp

power in their hands (ONA, 9-14-50). Four years later he denounced the sovereignty status granted to West Germany. "Every German," he once stated, "must be pained at the thought that changes in our constitution still depend upon the will of the Allies" (Christian Science Monitor, 4-26-54).

More recently he accused Chancellor Adenauer of "bearing the historic guilt for the bad outcome of the German unification problem" (Reuters, 6-23-56). This is a significant charge in view of the fact that the FDP under Dehler's personal guidance has reestablished political liaison with the so-called Liberal Party in the East German satellite state.

"Lesser Lights"

Another influential member of the FDP is the German diplomat Georg Pfeleiderer. Herr Pfeleiderer was one of the earliest advocates of rapprochement between West Germany and the Soviet Union. His activities in this respect have been analyzed in detail in the No. 48 issue of PREVENT WORLD WAR III (see page 7, "Scapegoat Tactics"). According to the columnist Marquis Childs, Pfeleiderer is reported to have had close

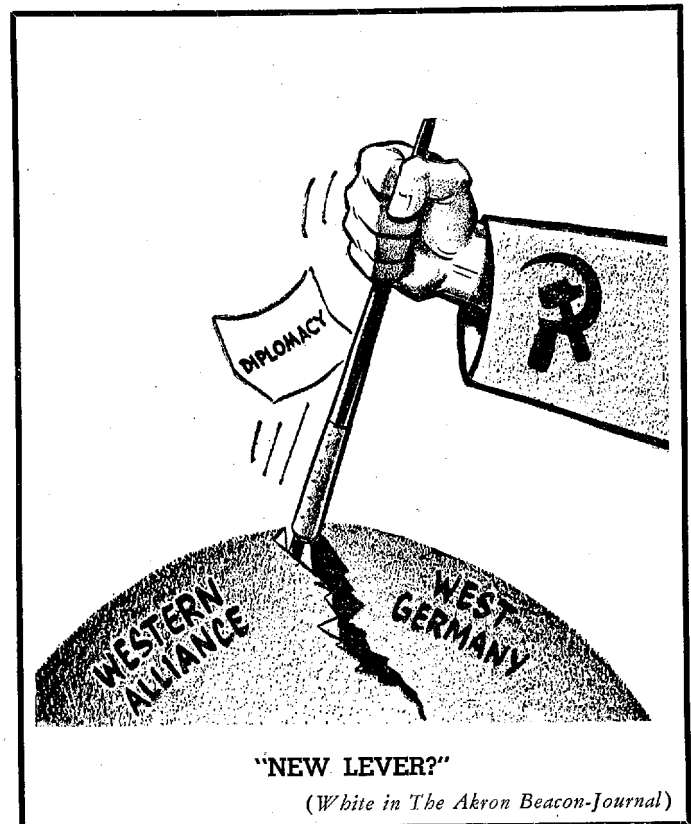
Not even West Germany's unparalleled prosperity is a sure brake against a slide into disaster. The ambition to get ahead financially and socially is the most compelling single force today. But the West German has become so engrossed in his material well-being that he ignores his political and moral responsibilities. So democracy remains fragile and untested. A new demagogue might strangle it. Repeated polls show that a majority of West Germans do not even condemn Hitler.

(E. M. Korry, Look, 10-2-56)

Impetus for the present movement toward European unity has come principally from Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany. . . .

What we are evidently seeing is a revival of the talk, widely current at the end of World War II, that Europe should be reconstituted so as to exist as a "third force" between the United States and communism. The threat to America implicit in any such arrangement is that a revived Europe would adopt the attitude of "a plague on both your houses," and, whether Mr. Dulles is pleased or not, would stand clear of attachment to the United States as well as to communism.

(Chicago Tribune, 10-6-56)



connections "with powerful Rhineland industrialists who want to expand their sales in both Russia and China." He is regarded as the chief expert on foreign affairs for the Free Democratic Party and has taken on many a secret mission in connection with Russo-German relations, with the blessings of Adenauer himself. In his present post as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Pfeleiderer continues to work for his goal, i.e., an understanding with Moscow. Herr Pfeleiderer is a leading exponent of the so-called Third Force idea which envisages a German dominated Europe cooperating with the Soviet Union. According to one of Chancellor Adenauer's trusted associates, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, Pfeleiderer's plan is in harmony with the long range objectives of Chancellor Adenauer (Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10-27-52).

Dr. Erich Mende is also a leading figure in the FDP. Herr Mende has been "the most persistent petitioner in the Bundestag for the release of war criminals..." (New York Times, 3-21-53). He seldom neglected an occasion to whitewash these criminals and to discredit the justice of the verdicts handed down at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. In 1952 he wrote a letter to Adenauer (which was more of an ultimatum) declaring that the German war criminals must be freed before the ratification of the EDC Treaty by the Bonn Government. Indeed, it was Mende who was instrumental in stalling West Germany's final ratification until satisfaction was given to his demands.

As a former officer in Hitler's Wehrmacht, Mende told the New York Times (8-25-52) that he would never agree to the ratification of the EDC agreement until the war criminals Field Marshals von Manstein and von Kesselring were freed. They were among the 146 criminals whose freedom Mende demanded. Von Manstein and von Kesselring had been found guilty of inhuman crimes during World War II, but Mende boasted that they were his "favorites." Like all of the FDP literature on whitewashing the war criminals, Mende too parroted the slander that many German war criminals had been imprisoned for acts which he alleged were not different from those committed by UN forces in Korea. It is interesting to note that in more recent times Mende has tried to belittle the military challenge of the Soviet Union. We shall have more to say about this

angle.

Another influential personality in the FDP is Hermann Schwann. From 1934 until 1945 he was a member of the Nazi party. Since then he has worked diligently on behalf of close ties with the Soviet bloc. In June 1956 Schwann declared that he would undertake "an unaccompanied trip" to Red China at his own expense "to break the ice." He stated that after his sojourn in China he would visit Moscow (California Staats-Zeitung, 6-18-56). Herr Schwann lived up to his promise with the blessings of the FDP. Parenthetically, he must have had the tacit blessings of Chancellor Adenauer's Government too, because German travellers must obtain the necessary foreign exchange via the government.

The Peiping radio announced Schwann's arrival in the Chinese capital in August 1956 where he was duly received by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of China, Chen Yi, and the Deputy Chairman of the Permanent Peoples Parliament Committee Huang Yen Pei. During his stay there Schwann discussed "existing possibilities for trade between the Federal Republic and China" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 8-28-56).

As Schwann indicated in his earlier announcement he visited Moscow after leaving China. When Schwann returned to the Fatherland, he was far from silent concerning the future of Germany, he declared, must set up proper economic relations with Communist China. He expressed his determination to create a "German-Chinese Association" and said that he intended to return to China in the spring of 1957. Though Schwann originally said that he would go alone to China, he actually had a companion traveller, Wolfgang Schenke. PREVENT WORLD WAR III has already exposed Schenke as a former intelligence agent for the Nazi High Command in China, working in the guise of a German journalist (see No. 48, page 10, Dr. Wilhelm Haas—Ambassador Extraordinary). Herr Schenke was described in flattering terms by the Soviet publication "International Affairs" (February 1956) as "the prominent West German orientalist." His views on neutralism were quoted approvingly by the Soviet publication.

Professor Noack

Recently the FDP welcomed into its ranks Professor Ulrich Noack. Prof.

Noack is unfamiliar to most Americans but he is an important personality in West Germany. If Prof. Noack intends to pursue the same line which he so articulately supported following the end of World War II, then his membership in the FDP will undoubtedly add new significance to the future role of that party. He was an active German propagandist when he lived in Norway in 1938. At that time (the year of Munich) he published a book, "The Ethics of European Diplomacy" in which he glorified Hitler's diplomacy and belabored the theme of a "Greater German Lebensraum." When war broke out, he returned to Norway to continue his activities on behalf of the Fatherland. At the trial of Vidkun Quisling, the Norwegian traitor, it was revealed that Noack had participated in organizing Quisling's trip to Germany. Indeed, Norwegian officials charged that it was Noack who introduced Quisling to Hitler in 1939 at which time the invasion of Norway was discussed. These officials have further stated that Noack was chiefly responsible for the course of events in Norway in 1940. As professor of German at the University of Oslo he misused his office to spy for the German Embassy. Reliable sources report that Noack had been a member of the Nazi party since 1939 (Neue Zeitung, 11-7-49).

Following the defeat of Germany in 1945, Prof. Noack became a celebrated public figure when he announced his program for the "salvation" of Germany. The essence of his plan amounted to immediate ending of the Allied occupation of Germany and the establishment of a strong centralized German government. The tone and aim of the program was decidedly anti-Western and sought to salvage Germany's economic and political power by playing up to the Russians. He talked about a so-called neutral Germany, but behind the word neutralism Noack strove to save Germany from the consequences of her crimes and aggressions. There was nothing in his program which showed a sense of contrition. It was purely a device to enable Germany to take a commanding position in Europe which, after all, had been the aim of Hitler himself.

Prof. Noack developed many of his ideas following frequent visits to the Russian military headquarters in Berlin. It was in 1947 that he organized the Nauheim Circle, named after the resort

where he had preached his gospel. The Circle was composed of elements representing all colors of the political spectrum. The following year Noack's movement attracted more influential groups throughout West Germany. His slogan "Out With the Occupation Troops" appealed to "Communists, Nazis, pacifists, professors, students and industrialists from both East and West" (AP, 11-26-48). In November 1949 Noack convened a congress of his supporters. German politicians from the satellite East zone indicated their enthusiasm for the meeting. Important personalities from the Western zones also supported the movement. In this connection Noack had the ear of many prominent Ruhr industrialists whose mouths watered at the idea of profitable trading with the East.

Generally speaking, Noack attracted politicians, diplomats, intellectuals and industrialists on both sides of the Iron Curtain who maintained their loyalty to the Bismarckian tradition of close understanding with Russia vis-a-vis the West. While his activities were glorified by the Communist controlled press in the East zone, he was described in the West as "the most dangerous man in Germany." One American high official noted that Noack's program "is more effective than the Communists's because it is not clearly identifiable with the Communists." He freely admitted that his movement attracted the extreme right and extreme left. "How do I explain that Communists from the East zone and rightists from the West are all in my camp? It is simple. They all believe in Germany unity and the withdrawal of the troops" (New York Herald Tribune, 11-27-48).

Noack's Mentor

The pro-Russian orientation of Noack's Nauheim Circle was not an isolated case. His movement was part of the overall line pursued by a former German Ambassador to Moscow, Rudolf Nadolny. Count Nadolny was also a disciple of Bismarck and a faithful student of Germany's master geo-politician, Dr. Karl Haushofer. Nadolny pioneered in re-establishing friendly relations with the Kremlin after 1945. In that year Marshal Zuhov appointed him to the post of Special Advisor on German Questions. In this strategic position and with the complete backing of the Russians, Nadolny began to organize small groups of influential personalities to develop long-term plans for a Russo-German under-

standing.

Unlike the Noack circle, Nadolny's following was smaller in numbers and less noisy but where it lacked quantity it had the power to reach into the highest circles of German society. Among his admirers one could find persons who today are associated on the most intimate political terms with Chancellor Adenauer and his government, including Hermann Abs (Hitler's chief paymaster and financial advisor to Adenauer), Ludwig Erhard, Adenauer's Minister of Economics, Andreas Hermes, one of the founders of the Christian Democratic Union. There was a firm relationship between Nadolny's small group and the Nauheim Circle. Ruth Fischer, an expert on German Communist affairs, wrote that the Noack movement was "Nadolny's direct offspring" (This Week, 11-6-49). The French journal *Franc Tireur* (11-5-49) reported that Nadolny was "in liaison with Noack." Indeed, the New York Times (3-13-49) noted that Nadolny was a member of the Nauheim Circle in Hesse. Thus, the evidence shows that the "circles" created by Nadolny and Noack had close ties with each other and had a common purpose, i.e., the reestablishing of a Greater Germany through an understanding with the Soviet Union at the expense of Western security. That Noack should now regard the FDP as his political home helps to clarify the hopes and ambitions of the FDP leadership.

Nazi Connections

It is true that the FDP is a minority party but where it lacks mass support, it attracts individuals whose voices carry weight in German affairs. In this connection, the FDP is receiving the support of many of Germany's leading publicists. For example, Paul Sethe, a leading journalist and writer for the German newspaper *Die Welt*, has expressed sympathy for the FDP cause. Gieselher Wirsing, another prominent writer for *Die Welt*, has also gone over to the FDP. Wirsing was the author of many anti-Semitic books during the Hitler regime. Today he attacks Israel while he lauds the Nasser dictatorship in Egypt.

FDP politicians have been preparing for the coming elections for some time. They are out to round up a big vote even if it takes a good Nazi propagandist to help them. Thus, they have employed Gunther Kaufman, former editor of the Hitlerite periodical "Wille und Macht" (Will and Power), to do a smear job

on their political opponents.

Playing ball with former Nazis does not deter the FDP from flirting with the Social Democratic Party. In the State of North Rhine Westphalia the FDP joined hands with the Social Democratic Party to overturn the government of Karl Arnold. In an informative article on the growing influence of the former Hitler Youth in the FDP, Terence Prittie, noted English journalist, reports that they are not even satisfied with Dr. Dehler who may be a bit too cautious to suit them. Mr. Prittie reports that these ex-Nazis "want a direct German approach to Moscow in order to win German reunification, East-West all-German talks and the re-emergence of a 'German role' as arbiter of Europe's fate" (New Republic, 6-2-56). These young Hitlerites, Mr. Prittie writes, have a profound contempt for democratic principles. They are anti-Western and regard Germany's association with the Western powers as a long term liability although they recognize that Western financial and political support helped Germany to regain a position of power. Like their Nazi forebears they hope to exploit the discontent of the various social groupings of Germany and dream of the day when their voice will determine Germany's fate.

Accommodating the Russians

Recognizing that the Social Democrats have gained considerable political advantage due to the declining vigor of Adenauer's following, the FDP is desperately trying to overtake their rivals. Dr. Mende has publicly declared his support for a military detente along the lines which the Russians have been pushing.

In May 1956 the FDP congress supported Mende's plan which called for a united Germany, a breaking up of NATO and the establishment of an independent German army. Mr. Prittie observes that Mende's plan has provided the Free Democrats with a new line of thought. "Small professional armies on both sides of the iron-curtain frontier which runs through the middle of Germany could be amalgamated after reunification; they could even encourage reunification by the threat implicit in their existence. Behind these professional armies—which will revive the glorious memories of German arms—will be 'national militias' to be used for local defense only. Their role should suggest that no German any longer considers armed aggression as a quick way of settling arguments." As Mr. Prittie points out, the Mende plan is

almost an exact counterpart of the ideas put forth more than a year ago by Colonel von Bonin who was a leading military advisor in Adenauer's Defense Ministry. Von Bonin was dismissed because on the surface at least, the Bonn Government disapproved of his ideas which were regarded as playing into the hands of Russian strategy. Now the FDP which has close connections with former members of the German General Staff, has taken over the von Bonin plan as its own. (Ironically, it appears that Adenauer's Government is now working toward the same end.)

Planning for "The Day"

Thus, the FDP today is not merely running an election campaign. From all of its deeds and the statements of its leaders, the evidence points to the fact that the FDP regards itself as THE party which is destined to deal with the Soviet Union and to bring about the Fourth German Reich.

On more than one occasion the Society has emphasized that the Kremlin was not so much interested in communizing all of Germany, for the present time at least, as it was in helping to create a Germany which would dissociate itself from the West and deal with the Russians "realistically" on all levels.

The Russians find it more profitable to deal with the Krupps than they do in supporting isolated and discredited German Communists in West Germany. The FDP seems to understand this too. The top leaders of the FDP including Dehler, have reestablished their liaison with the so-called Liberal Democratic Party of East Germany. The New York Times (10-9-56) reported that West Germans placed little significance on this get-together because there "was little community of principle" between the two. From other accounts of the meeting it would seem that the West Germans as quoted by the Times are wide of the mark. While the participants in the meeting admitted that there were divergencies of opinion, "a common approach was secured over practical matters for achieving German unity." What these practical matters are has not been spelled out although they agreed in principle to exchange speakers!

Commenting on the results of the meeting the Manchester Guardian (10-11-56) declared that the FDP's action in seeking common ground with the Eastern party must not be regarded as an isolated affair. "It would turn out," the Guardian writes, "to be a turning point in postwar Germany. The guiding

thought behind it is the belief that a concerted effort must be made to secure reunification and that all other questions, including close association with the West and a place in a united Europe, are subordinate."

The meeting between the FDP and its Eastern counterpart recalls to mind the views expressed by Herr Dehler two years ago when he advocated Russo-German talks and indicated the willingness to go himself to Moscow. He told the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (10-5-54) that for years the project of a journey to Moscow had stirred him more than a trip to Washington "because what is going on, what is planned and worked out in Moscow is more important than that what goes on in the Western world." He declared his opposition to what he called anti-Soviet politics and said, "Russia is a realistic power, it is necessary that we discuss and come together in a peaceful way." A couple of weeks later Herr Dehler returned to this same theme and predicted that it was "simply a matter of course that we Germans will some day enter into conversations with the Russians on unification" (New York Herald Tribune, 10-19-54). The FDP today is still planning with all its energy for that day.

The problems of the past already have given way to new problems. The shift of Poland from satellite status to independent Titoism, and of Hungary probably much further, raises a very serious question about how Central and Eastern Europe are to be reorganized. There may soon be a power vacuum in Eastern Europe. If the Soviet Union is expelled totally from it, the historical course would be for Germany, in competition with France, to attempt to occupy it. Yet this would rebuild the substance of the old German Empire.

(Joseph C. Harsch, Christian Science Monitor, 10-30-56)

A Western Germany fully capable of defending itself with modern weapons and armies would again offset the balance of power in Europe. That has been the fear of the French in particular. The rest of Europe concurs. . . .

Germany's tremendous economic upsurge came while the rest of Europe fulfilled its NATO commitments. The British are certain that Germany would not have moved so spectacularly if Bonn had the same obligations as the United Kingdom. France joins in with this argument.

(Curtis J. Hoxter, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun, 11-3-56)



(Courtesy N. Y. Daily Mirror)

German Realpolitik in the Middle East

The fishing season in the Middle East is on with a vengeance. *"Soviet and Nazi technicians (in Egypt) are once more cooperating with all of the intimacy inspired by their dead leaders' 1939 pact"* (Barron's, 12-3-56). Though Soviet and German "fishermen" eye each other with suspicion, they find it mutually advantageous for the present to exchange hooks and bait. Reports concerning the "catches" of the Russian anglers have been widely publicized, both here and abroad, but, strangely, comparatively little has been told about the big "hauls" of the German fishing enthusiasts. This seems to be all the more inexplicable in view of the fact that the German "fishing" tradition in the Middle East covers two world wars and has produced such "expert anglers" as Kaiser Wilhelm II, the Mannesmann Brothers, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel and his Commander-in-Chief, Adolf Hitler.

We do not mean to imply that the Middle East Crisis with its threat to world peace can be readily explained solely in terms of the Russian and German "fishing" expeditions. Yet, if we minimize the importance of their exploits, we shall be ill equipped to deal with this crisis in a realistic way.

German Agents At Work

In the Nos. 41 and 48 issues of PREVENT WORLD WAR III we provided pertinent details regarding the postwar activities of the Germans in the Middle East and their impact on Arab policy toward the West. For example, we brought out the fact that hundreds of neo-Nazis, Pan-Germans, and war criminals found a haven in Egypt shortly after World War II. They were able to infiltrate important positions in Egypt's economy and military setup. They served as key advisors to Nasser's predecessors and, of course, they continue this role under the present Egyptian dictatorship.

It is not without significance, we believe, that key German agents in Egypt are reported to be in close touch with Bonn Government officials including Adenauer's chief diplomatic aids, Dr. Blankenhorn and Prof. Hallstein. Even Der Spiegel, a widely read German magazine, had to take cognizance of these facts (10-26-55): *"Adenauer's leading diplomats have laid themselves open to the charge that they must share to a considerable extent in the tactical victory gained by the Bolsheviks in the Near and Middle East."*

To this very day the Adenauer Government has remained silent on the nefarious role played by the former partisans of Hitler in Egypt and in other Middle East countries. We have yet to hear Adenauer condemn Nasser's employment in key posts of such faithful servants of Hitler and Gocbbels as Wilhelm Voss, Johannes von Leers, etc.

According to the latest count that we have seen, there are approximately four thousand Germans in Egypt alone (New York Times, 10-31-56). We have no doubt that these "visitors" and "tourists" have other interests than just gazing upon the ancient pyramids and the Sphinx. Descriptions of their doings show that they feel very much at home in Egypt. They enjoy the best hotels and have easy access to the elite in Egyptian society including Nasser himself.

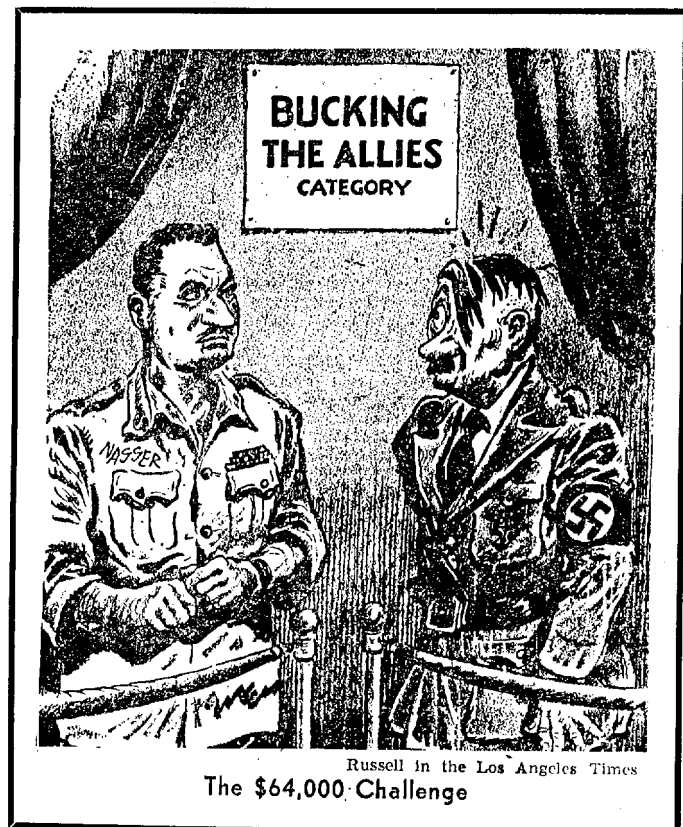
The Egyptian dictator has done much, it seems, to bolster up the "morale" of these Germans since their expulsion from Egypt by the British during World War II. Their arrogance has reached such proportions that, according to one reporter, they are "lording it as if they had won the battle of Alamein" (London Daily Express, 8-31-56).

Parenthetically, it should be borne in mind that Nasser has written boastfully about how he contacted Hitler's agents during World War II for sabotage operations against our British Ally.

"Neutrality"

The delicate situation in the Middle East has demanded the utmost prudence on the part of the Germans to prevent the growth of distrust among the Western Allies with regard to their activities. On the surface West Germany is a sympathetic friend and ally of Britain and France. However, Germany's gestures of sympathy should not blind us as to their real aims.

Even before hostilities broke out in the Middle East, the German press and other channels of information were conditioning public opinion to take a pro-Arab stand. Editorials in leading German newspapers including the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" attacked the British and French position on the Suez as "irresponsible." The Bonn Government adopted an equivocal line when Nasser seized the Canal. This was in the name of "neutrality." (It is interesting to note that Adenauer has opposed the idea of German military neutrality in negotiations between the West and Moscow.)



Yet, this so-called neutrality did not prevent Bonn from seriously considering the acceptance of Nasser's invitation to a conference that would have created a regime for the Suez Canal in violation of the international agreements covering this major waterway. The New York Times (9-16-56) reported that Bonn was determined "to do all possible to avoid taking sides in a showdown by force between its European treaty partners and the country's Arab-Asian partners in a flourishing commerce." The following day the Times reported that, while West Germany would join discussions on the establishing of the Suez Canal User's Association "Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano has told British and French officials that Bonn would make no commitment on joining."

The careful diplomacy and the tricky editorials in the German press were discarded when hostilities broke out in the Middle East. It seems as though the West German press had been "itching" for that moment, so it could blast away at the British and French. "Die Welt," an influential German newspaper, which employs journalists who worked for Hitler, condemned the British move in Egypt as an "imperialistic" aggression. "The victory at Port Said will be a Pyrrhic victory," this newspaper ominously declared.

"Public Opinion" and Politicians

The unanimity of the German press assaults condemning the British and French as "war criminals" made it appear as though instructions had been received from a central source. The German press outburst was the spark to enflame West German public opinion (London Economist, 11-10-56). A reporter of the Christian Science Monitor (11-16-56) described West German reactions toward the British and French as "almost as violent as they are toward events in Hungary." The same reporter noted that the German mood was a kind of "Schadenfreude," i.e., a malicious joy which recalled the Allied condemnation of Germany's crimes under Nazism. The British and French action was compared to Hitler's aggressions. Demonstrators in Berlin manhandled British soldiers, and students in Hamburg carried banners which proclaimed "Send Eden to Nuremberg," obviously to stand his trial as a war criminal.

While the Germans heaped abuse on Prime Minister Eden, they began to tell themselves that Hitler's barbarous actions were not so terrible after all. Indeed, people began to say that "all the fuss about Nuremberg and the branding of Germany as guilty can now be forgotten" (Christian Science Monitor, 11-16-56). Even the Arab Ambassadors to Bonn were given the opportunity to launch slanderous attacks against France, Britain and Israel at a specially prepared press conference.

The whipping up of public opinion made it safer for the Bonn politicians to speak more candidly. Foreign Minister von Brentano stated on December 4, that the Bonn Government's attitude with regard to the Suez conflict has been at all times determined by consideration for the "close and friendly relations" with the Arab States. Chancellor Adenauer himself condemned Britain, France and Israel in a speech before the Bundestag. Posing as a paragon of peace, the Chancellor tried to convey to world public opinion that the Germans were a disinterested party in the struggle and would exercise their "moral" influence to curb the "rash" use of force. While speaking on this high plane, Adenauer's

Government was busily at work pressuring Israel through the threat to cut off restitution deliveries which the Germans had solemnly obligated themselves to discharge. Adenauer's saintly pose in this crisis was deliberately built up by German propaganda. Indeed, his spokesmen went so far as to claim that it was the Chancellor who played "an influential role in the discussions that preceded acceptance by Britain and France of a cease fire in Egypt" (New York Times, 11-8-56).

The Germans had played their hand well. The coordination between the newspapers and the government and the shaping of public opinion seemed to work with military precision. So careful were the German bigwigs that nothing must be said that could destroy Germany's posture as a disinterested party in the conflict that they agreed in advance to prohibit debate on the Middle East Crisis in the German parliament. Instead, the Chancellor read his prepared and ambiguous speech and the "opposition" leaders reciprocated in kind. It was a cut and dried affair. The actors played their parts to perfection all under the categorical imperative "Don't rock the boat!"

It is not difficult, by any means, to define the underlying motives which have induced German politicians to avoid any statement or action that would displease Nasser and other Arab leaders. They were succinctly described by the foreign correspondent Seymour Freidin:

"Drang Nach Osten"

"In the general uproar over the future status of the canal, everyone seems to have forgotten that West Germany has moved into the Middle East, economically, on a scale the country never approached before and during two world wars.

"It's a Drang-nach-Osten, present-day Bonn-to-Baghdad road, paved with billions of hard Deutschemarks, contracts and credits for the smoking factories of West Germany. Where a vacuum existed by the liquidation of French or British interests, West Germany promptly moved in, set up shop and thrived briskly.

"Because of their ever-expanding industrial power, the House of Krupp and associated West German competitors foresaw the day that they would install themselves in entrenched, cash-and-carry positions. These are lush prospects, not easily disgorged. They happen also to be compatible with some absorbing, West German national political interests" (New York Post, 9-6-56).

Mr. Freidin's observations have received concurrence from other reliable sources. Thus, the Manchester Guardian (8-9-56) wrote: "With the collapse of old relationships in the Middle East, and with their own growing industrial power, many Germans hope that their country can fill the vacuum if not politically at least economically." The Christian Science Monitor's Bonn correspondent, J. Emlyn Williams, also notes, "The greatest concern of the West Germans now, apart from peace, is the safeguarding of industrial investments in Arab lands and expanding their trade there" (11-16-56).

There is no question but that the Germans believe that the Middle East Crisis has created vast opportunities for the realization of Germany's ambitions. It has given new hope to Adenauer's dream of a United Europe where the political and economic policies of the separate states would be "co-ordinated." The New York Times (11-19-56) notes that Adenauer's domestic authority and "consequently his capacity

to move forcefully on the European stage also has been enhanced by the turn of events in Hungary and Egypt." Now that the British and French are beset with grave problems, Herr Adenauer feels that he can show them how "logical" it would be for the Western European nations to unite in order to protect their "common interests."

The idea of unity like the world peace can have different meanings. For the Germans the unity of Western Europe is synonymous with their domination of that area. To them it means that they would do all of the "coordinating" and act as the agent of Western Europe in dealings with the Arab countries. Aside from their conceit, the Germans believe that they are best suited for the task because their hands are "clean." It goes without saying, of course, that the role of "honest broker" promises enormous windfalls, both politically and economically.

Seeking U. S. Support

Yet, the Germans, under present circumstances, know that their game cannot be won without the sympathetic support of the USA. It is for this reason that German propaganda has all of a sudden placed the United States on a special pedestal. President Eisenhower is now being hailed as the great peace maker. The United States is depicted as the only power that can retrieve the "moral authority" of the West which was so brutally and brazenly undermined by the British and French. Thus, the Germans fawn upon the USA while they engage in scurrilous attacks against our Western Allies. Needless to say, the intent of this tactic is to create further disunity between the British and French on the one hand and the USA on the other. At the same time, Adenauer's Foreign Minister von Brentano offers Germany's "good offices" to restore mutual trust between Washington, London and Paris and "to revive the solidarity of the West" (New York Herald Tribune, 12-2-56).

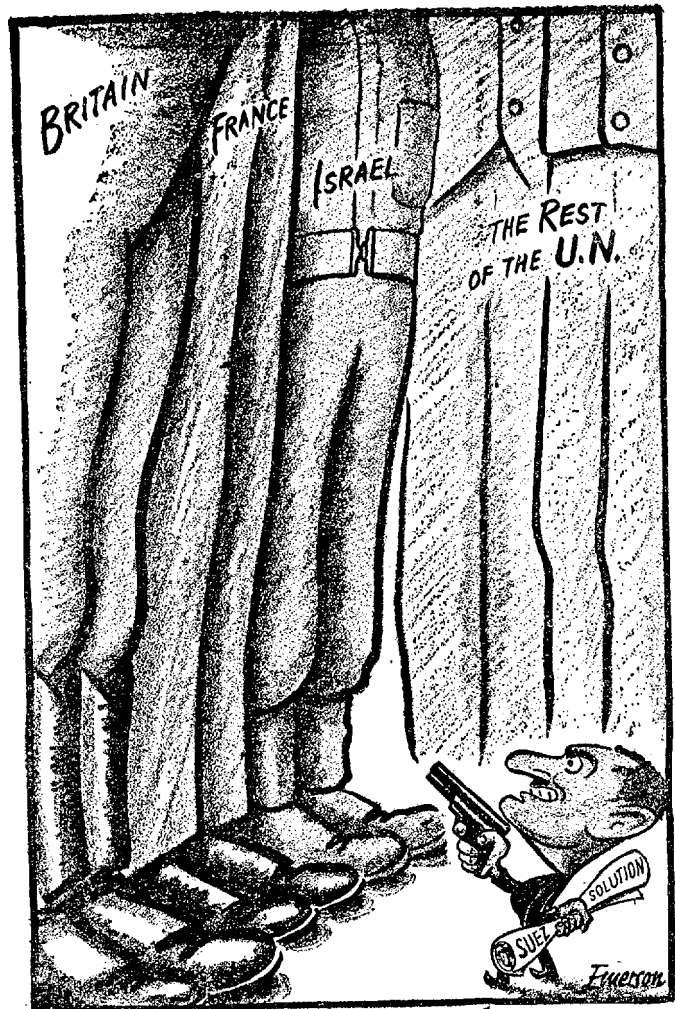
It is interesting to note that besides their efforts to act as "honest broker" between the USA and its Western Allies and between the Middle East and the West, the Germans seek to act as spokesmen for the West vis-a-vis Moscow. Thus, Adenauer, while opposing a Big Four meeting to discuss outstanding East-West problems, told a press conference that he was willing to open bilateral talks with the Kremlin "at any time" (New York Times, 12-8-56).

As mentioned above, the opportunities in the Middle East are vast and the Germans are losing no time to bring the United States over to its corner. Thus, when the Middle East Crisis was at its height, Adenauer told the press that he was determined to make a major effort "to tighten German-American cooperation." Toward this end he planned to send von Brentano to Washington, "to sound out administration leaders and press for coordination of German and American policy in Europe and the Middle East" (New York World Telegram, 11-16-56).

In economic terms this so-called coordination revolves around Germany's objective of becoming the most influential power in the Middle East and in North Africa. Indicative of German thinking in this respect was Dr. Adenauer's suggestion, made during the crisis, that "the West" help Egypt build the Assuan Dam. Speaking at a meeting of German newspaper editors he said, the best way to bring peace to the Middle East was "to support reconstruction of the crippled Egyptian economy" (New York Times, 11-18-56). Obviously,

Adenauer's words could only warm the heart of the Egyptian dictator while they implicitly slapped the British and French.

Adenauer's high sounding phrases turned out to be a trial balloon for more practical considerations. Thus, several weeks after he spoke, reports circulated in Egypt that Krupp had offered to build the Assuan Dam (AP, 12-5-56). When representatives of Krupp were asked to confirm these reports, they told the press that they were "premature." For almost a year the Krupp interests have been working on their so-called Point 4½ Program for the underdeveloped countries. If we tear away all of the fancy trimmings around this project, we find that it is based on two assumptions: (a) that the scheme will be financed by Uncle Sam, and (b) that the major share of profits will go to Krupp. To put it another way: the Point 4½ Program is part and parcel of the German aim to bring to fruition the Berlin-Baghdad axis. Germany tried to realize this dream in two world wars. Having failed by force, they hope they will succeed via the US Treasury. It would be well for our statesmen to bear this in mind before they pick up the check for Germany's honest brokers, the Herren Adenauer and Krupp. Much is at stake in the German gambit in the Middle East. Above all, there is the grand alliance between the United States and France and Great Britain—the foundation stone of their mutual security and prosperity.



HOLDING UP THE WORKS!

(N. Y. Daily Mirror)

Nationalism in Youth Organizations

"German Kultur Association of European Spirit"

Nationalist youth organizations have stepped up their activities though they lack as yet a strong over-all leadership, it is stated in an article in the *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, 23-6-56, which distinguishes three categories: (a) groups with an undisguised Fascist tendency, e.g., "Viking Youth" and, closely associated with the German Block, "Eagle" Youth Union; (b) groups with a more old-fashioned sort of nationalism, e.g., the German Party's "Union of Young Germans" and an organization of the refugees, "German Youth of the East"; (c) the youth groups attached to the soldiers' associations whose aim is to foster the "soldierly virtues." The Bavarian paper believes that in the event of a deterioration of the political situation, the third category was likely to constitute a much more serious danger than any of the other groups which were numerically inferior and also disunited.

A warning against the "revival of Nazi and nationalist tendencies" in certain youth organizations was issued by the Hesse Government Youth Department (according to the *Offenbach Post*, 31-7-56). Attention was drawn particularly to the danger of any cooperation with the "German Kultur Association of European Spirit." This Association is stated by the trade union paper *Welt der Arbeit*, 15-6-56, to be run by "unteachable Nazi diehards" engaged in "subversive activities under the cloak of Kultur" of which three instances were named: the "Türmer" publishing firm, publication of a periodical called *Klüter Blätter*, and two busy book societies.

President of the Kultur Association is Herbert Böhme, a former SA writer. He has gathered around him a number of Nazi and philo-Nazi authors, e.g., Will Vesper, Wilhelm Pleyer, Theodor Seidenfaden, Hans Grimm, Heinz Steguweit, who meet regularly to read from their works.

In his effort to win influence among German youth (says a report in the Socialist *Vorwärts*, 29-6-56), Böhme recently founded the "Schiller League of German Youth" which is said to have affiliated to the Hitler Youth successor organization called "Viking Youth." A youth rally was held at Castle Ludwigstein, the Kultur Association's permanent home, where one of Böhme's friends, Josefa Behrens-Totenohl, read from her "Blood and Soil" lyrics.

Hitler-Faust and His Gretchen

A typical example of Böhme's Kultur propaganda is an article of his in *Klüter Blätter*, July 1956, where he compares Hitler (without naming him) to Faust who had brought about the "creative awakening" of the German people ("Gretchen"). "We were awakened (Böhme writes), we could not do anything about it, such was the power he wielded over us, and by knowledge and ability he increasingly poured enthusiasm into our unspoiled souls," etc.

This article was denounced in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 2-8-56, as an attempt to minimize "guilt" by representing it as "fate." That sort of "poetry," it was said, is "infested with ulterior motives," and "the intoxication of feeling is corrupted by the perversions of malice."

According to the *Welt der Arbeit*, 15-6-56, Governmental subsidies already promised to the Kultur Association were withdrawn by the Bavarian Ministries of Finance and Education after strong protests had been lodged in the Munich press. The loss is said to have been made up, however, by substantial grants from industrialists.

"Threat from the Right" was the motto of the 14th congress held by the Federation of West German Youth Associations at Oberursel (according to the *Vorwärts*, 29-6-56). The principal speaker, Professor Eugen Kogon, stressed the characteristics by which the incorrigible elements today could be recognized: defamation of the Weimar Republic; impugning the integrity of the anti-Nazi resistance, and direct or indirect glorification of the Hitler regime. A plea for legislation to stop the new Nazi literature, was made by the chairman of the Association of Catholic Youth, Dr. Schreeb.

Increasing encroachments of nationalism were also de-

ECHOES OF THE SS

Police have been looking around Bavaria for recordings of Hitler's voice. They don't have to go that far.

In the last month, there has been more done by official sanction and calculated indifference to make respectable men of Nazis than through the entire combined post-war period.

Because of difficulty in recruiting for the new army, the Federal Republic changed its policy about Waffen SS officers. . . .

As the SS demands, and becomes, more equal with the passage of time, an operative question much be asked. To whom will the officers be loyal? Many of them swore oaths of allegiance to another German Republic in the past and then proceeded to destroy the state.

Can a glib expression of loyalty from such men mean more to them than the oath they took to their Fuehrer? In logical sequence, their hearts belong to Doenitz, Hitlers' appointed successor.

The SS is getting promoted all the time. Only a short while ago, they were permitted to volunteer for the new army only as privates. Today, it's up to lieutenant colonel. The pressure, as Kurt Meyer's rally clearly implied, will be for the generals next.

It doesn't mean that these unfortunate activities are symptomatic of rampant Nazism on the militant march again. It shows that utter indifference, compounded of political expediency and studied carelessness, is providing a powerful voice to the worst elements in Germany.

(Seymour Freidin, The N. Y. Post, 10-13-56)

nounced in a statement by the German Federal Youth Federation, the roof organization of all democratic youth associations, according to a report in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 15-6-56. The danger is seen in "the arrogant department of former Nazi officials, the infiltration of nationalists into high administrative and Government posts, the launching of youth groups devoted to obsolete ideologies, and the open defamation of the anti-Nazi resistance." A demand was made on all politicians to banish nationalist arguments from their utterances, and on Parliament to outlaw the glorification of Nazism.

Nazi Authors Reinstated

Hans Baumann, author of Nazi youth and soldiers' songs, was awarded the Friedrich Gerstaecker Prize by the city of Brunswick. In a report, the *Zeit*, 26-7-56, recalls that Baumann had composed the song containing the lines "Today ours is Germany, tomorrow all the world." The paper protests against a distinction being conferred on a man "whose fraudulent pathos helped induce German youth to run off to the battle fields and into the graves of a nonsensical war."

Hans Grimm was among a number of Nazi and philo-Nazi authors invited by the Cuxhaven Spa Council to read from their works at Council-organized "Authors' Nights by the Sea," says a report in the West Berlin *Telegraf*, 18-7-56.

Hermann Wanderscheck, member of the Nazi "Reich Government's Press Department," was appointed editor-in-chief of the new journal of the Copyright Society, *Der Autor*. He had held the same office under the Nazis. In a comment, the trade union paper *Welt Der Arbeit*, 22-6-56, lists Wanderscheck's propagandist Nazi output and reflects on the "tragedy that people like him, champions of the Nordic-racialist perversion of literature, today claim and actually obtain leading positions among German authors."

Denying the Crimes

The "Organ of the Outlawed Victims of Post-War Discrimination," *Die Anklage*, which specializes in denigration of the German anti-Nazi resistance (see last Bulletin, p. 7), also concentrates on systematically denying the Nazi crimes, especially the extermination of the Jews. "This is the Truth. Stop the Atrocities Propaganda," runs the headline of a full page article (No. 13-14, July 1-15, 1956) asserting, on the strength of a Jewish source of 1935, that in the whole of what was later German-occupied Europe, there had been no more than 6,190,182 Jews—"all of whom the lying Allied propaganda says were murdered." The Nazi paper leaves out from its account (and quotation) the relevant figures for Russia and the Baltic States (ca. 2,200,000), and adorns its "truth" by adding that the 1935 figures does not include the "scores of thousands" who emigrated to "Israel, overseas, Switzerland, Portugal, Algiers and South Africa."

The "atrocious fairy tale" about the six million murdered Jews had been invented, says *Die Anklage*, "in order to fan among the Allies hatred of everything German during the war, and after the war to use that figure for dirty business, deriving from it a certain moral claim to the highest possible indemnification."

"Widar" Publishing Company

On instructions from the Bonn Ministry of the Interior, investigations are being made by the Federal Criminal Investigations Bureau into the affairs of the antisemitic "Widar" publishing firm of Guido Roeder, at Oberammergau. This

"unusual procedure" is applied, according to the *Kolner Stadtanzeiger*, 18-7-56, only when the Minister of the Interior has "serious reasons" for doing so.

Among the firm's publications is a book by an American Jew-baiter, Eustace Mullins, entitled "Federal Reserve Conspiracy," which is described, in the *Echo der Zeit*, 15-7-56, as "insane ravings about a Jewish-Communist domination of the United States, with direct incitement to Jew massacres." Another "Widar" book, "Soviet Agents Everywhere," was confiscated by the Public Prosecutor. So were, according to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 4-8-56, 9,000 copies of Eustace Mullins's brochure "Die Bankierschwörung von Jekyl Island" (apparently the German version of the above-mentioned title).

The fact that books like these are published in Germany in the year 1956 is described by *Die Zeit*, 26-7-56, as "fantastic and humiliating."

Guido Roeder, owner of "Widar," is himself the author of an "anti-Communist" brochure entitled "SOS Rufe aus U.S.A.—Die Kommende Rote Diktatur." Denouncing it, a *Frankfurter Allgemeine* editorial, 10-7-56, explains that under the camouflage of anti-Communism, the author was "dishing up the very hoariest tales from the arsenal of Messrs. Julius Streicher, Alfred Rosenberg and Adolf Hitler." The editorial concludes: "Products of diseased brains—true enough. But since we have lived to see what catastrophes and crimes can be caused by such a compound of folly, insolence and hate, it is not sufficient to expose it to ridicule . . . People like Röder—and there are several others of his ilk amongst us—must be stopped from carrying on their insalubrious trade. Where incitement to crime begins, tolerance and freedom ends."

(Courtesy, Wiener Library Bulletin)



Inside Germany

BULL-BOY

The fires of nationalism flared with uncomfortable heat in Bonn . . . when Heinrich Schneider, West Germany's newest and most accomplished demagogue, arrived in the capital to stoke the reunification furnace before a crowd of 70,000 refugees from the East who booed the name of Adenauer and howled for the return of lost territory. Their eyes are on the Oder-Neisse line beyond which is the land taken by Russia and Poland after the war.

Schneider is the bully-boy from the French-occupied Saarland whose Nazi tactics helped win the Saar's vote last year for return to Germany . . . He called the Bonn rally for a joint council of the East and West German governments to prepare a National Assembly for a united, neutral Germany that would join a "peace zone" of states stretching from Finland to the Mediterranean.

(Theodore Kagan, N. Y. Post, 10-8-56)

★

"LOVE NOTES"

Hesse's interior ministry is pressing an investigation of the "Fighting Organization for an Independent Germany," which does its fighting with poison-pen handbills reminiscent of the Hitler era.

The anti-American, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic handbills, carrying the organization's signature, have been sent to many high-ranking U. S. Army officers, practically all the foreign consulates in Germany and even to officers of the new German Army.

The handbills promise that Germany "will throw off the foreign chains of American high finance, English lords, Adenauer and his Marxist friends." . . .

(John Dornberg, Overseas Weekly, 11-18-56)

★

ROLLING ALONG

The recent political unrest in Europe did not slow down the steady progress of West Germany's automobile industry. According to the latest statistics, West Germany's automobile production during the first nine months of 1956 has reached 797,429 units, compared to 539,000 during the like period of 1955 . . .

For expansion and modernization of its present plans, the West German automobile industry contemplates investing \$300,000,000 in 1957, against \$250,000,000 in 1956.

(Maurice Feldman, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 11-25-56)

★

WELCOME HOME

Wehrmacht veterans make up almost 80 per cent of the men volunteering for service in West Germany's slowly growing armed forces.

The Defense Ministry announced in a year-end report today 250,000 such veterans have registered, against 66,000 with no military experience.

★

(AP, 12-18-56)

MEMO TO FUTURE HISTORIANS

The new German army is restoring the jackboot and a uniform similar to that of the old Wehrmacht.

Present uniforms, double-breasted with wide lapels, were widely criticized as "un-German" and "Latin-American." The army is introducing a single-breasted blouse with only two breast pockets.

The army's American-style boots, similar to those worn by paratroopers, will be replaced by black jackboots last seen in Adolf Hitler's time.

(N. Y. World Telegram and Sun, 12-17-56)

★

ECHOES OF THE PAST

Siegfried Einstein, a Jewish poet, is currently appealing a fine of 300 marks levied against him because of his alleged slander of the officials of his town, Lampertheim. Einstein called them "Nazi bosses" and "Nazi louts," but claims he spoke only after severe provocation over a two-year period . . .

The original court ruling said that Einstein was suffering from a "Jew vs. Nazi" complex, and he was therefore fined instead of imprisoned for his offense . . .

According to the Manchester Guardian, Lampertheim has become notorious for its anti-Semitism. Einstein has charged that a large majority of the town council are ex-Nazis. He also publicly protested when honors and 6,000 marks were conferred on returned prisoner of war Wilhelm Rau, former Nazi legal inspector . . .

(The Churchman, 10-1-56)

★

ACHTUNG!

Meanwhile, former SS Maj. Gen. Kurt Meyer addressed 6,000 veterans of the Waffen SS, elite units of the Nazi army, at a rally in Minden, Westphalia. SS veterans below the rank of colonel are being admitted into the army by a decree of the Bonn government.

Gen. Meyer said SS men never of their own free will would shoot at their "German brothers" in the Communist-run East German Army. He said he is convinced that East German troops, in turn, would not shoot at West Germans.

"German soldiers listen to German orders," he said, "not to the orders of foreigners."

The rally was attended by several hundred wartime SS veterans from Austria, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the South Tyrol and other parts of Europe.

(Gaston Coblenz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 9-17-56)

★

A FAMILY QUARREL

Former members of the Waffen SS, Hitler's elite troops called each other "criminal" and "scoundrel" during a political forum that ended in confusion.

The meeting was designed to show that one-time SS soldiers were ready to back military conscription in the present democratic state . . .

When a former SS general said the organization should never have been condemned at the Nuremberg trials a German reporter shouted at him: "No doubt the SS will soon claim to be a victim of Nazism."

(Reuters, 9-12-56)

★

A DEVOTED SISTER

Adolf Hitler's sister said today she is writing her memoirs to set the record about her family straight.

"And the readers will forgive me if I abstain from depicting my brother at all costs as a wicked character, just for the sake of profit," she told a reporter.

"I must complete these memoirs. I owe it to the memory of my parents to tell the truth. So many distorted stories have been written in the postwar years that I have to set some facts straight."

(N. Y. Post, 10-10-56)

**★
DOWN FROM "FIFTY PLUS"**

From the Rhine to the Elbe, the bosses of Germany are retreating from a "leisure krieg."

From German boardrooms come five words of hope for British exporters—"fuenf-und-vierzig Stundenwoche"—the 45-hour week.

The German worker is demanding more leisure . . .

The bustling, booming German economy, built up by the sweat of the 50-hour-plus working week, has lost the first round in the "leisure krieg." . . .

(Frederick Ellis, London Daily Express, 10-15-56)

**★
LOADED**

Gold and dollar holdings of the Bank Deutscher Länder are now in excess of \$3,100 million (£1,100 million), nearly 40 per cent more than the sterling area's central gold and dollar reserves (\$2,244 million), it is learned . . . Germany's E. P. U. surplus last month was of the order of \$100 million.

Foreign exchange reserves of the Bank rose by DM.470 million during the four-week period ending October 29. This brought the total to DM.17,140 million, that is \$4,080 million . . .

(London Financial Times, 11-6-56)

**★
FORGETTING**

Addressing a meeting held here by the local group of the Bavarian Council for Freedom and Justice to commemorate the victims of Nazi oppression, Senator Dr. Erich Muhler, a South German leader who spent three years in a Nazi concentration camp, stated that the German people were gradually forgetting the horrible events of the Nazi past. There was a tendency, he said, to belittle the crimes. This proved that people were not prepared to learn a lesson from past events.

(JCNS, 9-14-56)

**★
CASHING IN ON BOOM**

West Germany is cashing in on the ship-building boom.

Its shipyards expect to deliver this year about a million tons of shipping . . .

Order books of the big West German yards are filled until 1960, and some yards have begun turning away prospective customers. Even smaller ones have enough orders to last 18 to 24 months . . .

Some of these vessels were delivered to Russia.

(Chicago Tribune, 10-4-56)

TOOLS FOR SALE

Exports of German machine tools may reach 45-50 million English pounds this year, accounting for about 40 per cent of total output, the German Machine Tool Association estimates.

The export ratio of Germany's machine tool industry was about 25 per cent before the war and reached a peak figure of 50 per cent during the Korea boom . . .

(London Financial Times, 9-28-56)

**★
LENDING A HELPING HAND**

A representative of the state-controlled Soviet Transport Agency is presently in Hamburg to negotiate with ship owners and charter firms the chartering of German tonnage for transport of Russian exports . . . In the past West German ships have already been used under Russian charter for many purposes . . . Definite figures as to . . . the amount of tonnage involved are not available.

(California Staatszeitung, 10-5-56)

**★
BLOOD AND GOLD**

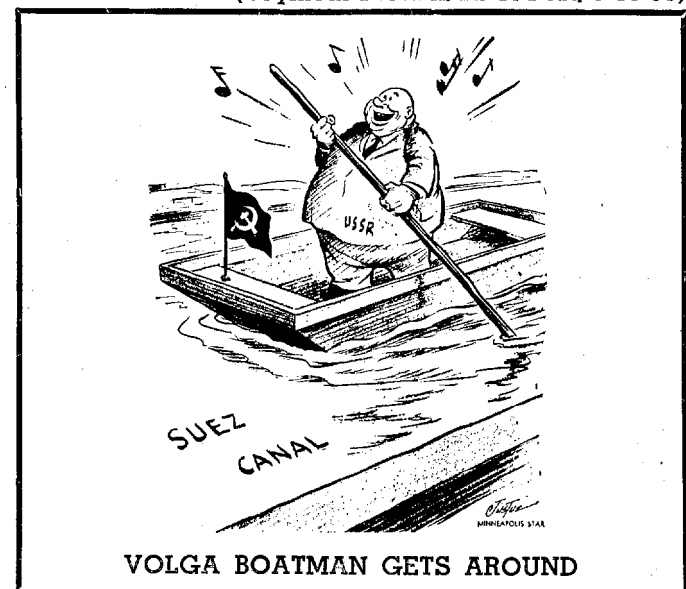
Sepp Dietrich, SS general and one of Hitler's favorite cutthroats, is about to be tried for murder. As a convicted war criminal, Dietrich was paroled last year. He isn't going to be prosecuted for the massacre of 142 American PWs during the Battle of the Bulge.

For his part in Der Fuehrer's murder of Ernst Roehm, the blood bath of 1934, Dietrich will face charges contained in an 88-page indictment . . .

It's a curious quirk of present-day life and living that a convicted criminal like Dietrich can be sprung for past mass murders but that he faces the possibility of another jail term—for getting the jump on fellow murderers.

Behind him this time, there probably also will be all the money the Nazis extorted and managed to hoard. Nobody will be able to confiscate the millions, hidden by Dietrich's faithful. It will reappear in the form of crisp, sound banknotes . . .

(Seymour Freidin, N. Y. Post, 9-16-56)



RECOMMENDED READING:***SS: Alibi of a Nation***

By GERALD REITLINGER

Reviewed by TERENCE PRITTE

Three years ago Mr. Reitlinger performed a valuable service to future generations by writing "The Final Solution," which set out for the first time the full history and true nature of the Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews. "SS: Alibi of a Nation" is not exactly a companion volume to "The Final Solution," yet it is in a sense complementary to it. Here—also for the first time in print—is the story of the state within the State, the mixed military-police-murder squad which came to be accepted by the great mass of the German people as a normal part of the community. It is literally impossible to tell the whole story of the S.S. in 500 pages, for the organisation was a monstrous labyrinth with fresh horrors at every twist and corner of it. Mr. Reitlinger has yet managed to give a graphic and terrifying picture of its intricate organisation, brutal plans and performances, and of the half-mummified presiding figure of Heinrich Himmler. . . .

The outstanding impression which emerges from this book is that the huge majority of the German people tolerated the S.S. and may have even regarded it as indispensable. German civil servants shrugged off what seemed hardly to concern them and their offices. German generals full of righteous anger—generally, indeed, because they felt that their authority had been flouted—prepared powerful protests which died frozen on their lips. The older German nationalists expressed themselves on the iniquities of the S.S. with great force—to their personal friends and in the privacy of their own apartments. A few Germans tried, too late, to resist Hitler and the S.S. State. But the current German version of that resistance—that it failed only because Germany was at war and the Allies had demanded unconditional surrender—is pitifully unconvincing. The S.S. built up its essential power in peace-time, when any surrenders taking place were made by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, M. Daladier, and President Benes of Czechoslovakia. It was in peace-time that the S.S. set up Dachau and other concentration camps. It was in peace-time that they murdered Austria's Chancellor Dollfuss, and kicked small Jewish girls and pregnant Jewish mothers down the streets.

This book is a chronicle of horror, and it is hard to select from it in order to produce an impression in cameo. Not so long ago a German weekly paper declared that the concentration camps were an invention of the victorious Allies and that the gas ovens of Dachau were installed by American pioneers. The map at the end of his book is therefore all the more valuable. It marks only the most important concentration camps, and there are 23 of them. Each single name—Belsen, Buchenwald, Flossenbug, Mauthausen—conjures up its own particular pictures of unbelievable cruelty, which is relived in the nightmares of survivors who are still waiting for some poor material compensation for their sufferings. Of course, many Germans will assure you, practically no one in Germany knew about the concentration camps. Is this quite credible? The mayor of Bergen-Belsen saw the long columns

of half-starved Jews being marched to the infamous camp on the heath, and he never saw them being marched back again. . . .

Mr. Reitlinger gives one a choice of horrors—the sadistic tortures and beatings-up, the medical experiments on innocent people, the mass murders in ditches and dungeons, the grisly business of disposing of millions of corpses. He gives one, too, a picture of the mystical lunacy and hero-worship which warped the brains of the perpetrators. Himmler believed in "S.S. runes" and "racial purity," but the small man of the S.S. was often no better. Here, for instance, is the testimony of S.S. Sergeant Jerk when he confronted S.S. Obergruppenführer Steiner: "As he approached me his stern features brightened into a smile. He had recognised me. And yet it was almost a year since I had taken part in the deputation which greeted him at Narva on his birthday. Since then he had seen innumerable faces and yet he recognised mine. I stood no longer on the ground but swam in a rosy cloud of happiness." This type of inspired imbecility enabled Germans to do things which might otherwise have seemed incredible, such as shooting down droves of small children in ditches, driving gypsies in hundreds into the frozen waters of the Dnieper to drown, and knocking skeletal prisoners into open cess-pits in order to watch them struggle to death in liquid manure.

To-day the new German Army is ready to begin recruiting former members of the Waffen S.S. This is hardly wise, for however efficient a screening system is devised, a percentage of people who either connived or participated in crime will infiltrate into armed forces which are intended to be genuinely democratic. It is not wise to forget too soon. But the Germans are adept at forgetting, as a few examples from Mr. Reitlinger's book will show, Otto Brauetigam, who decided that Jews should be killed in the Eastern territories regardless of "economic consequences," is now a trusted member of the Federal Foreign Office. General Lothar Rendulic, who was stringing up alleged deserters during the final weeks of Germany's collapse, is a regular contributor on "military matters" to a Rhineland weekly paper. General Kurt Meyer, who had Canadian prisoners butchered in the Ardennes, was fêted when he was released from gaol and given a new car by a Düsseldorf firm. Wilhelm Schepmann, Chief of Staff of the S.A., was made a priority candidate for Parliament in Lower Saxony by the B.H.E. Refugee party.

It is these and many other incidents which make Mr. Reitlinger's book invaluable. He himself summed up the real reasons for writing it in his very last paragraph. "The machinery of the S.S. as a state within a state will be forgotten because it never achieved its end. The successes of the S.S. in the field will be forgotten because the S.S. never fought as an army and its leaders never achieved more than tactical control. The idealism of the S.S. will be forgotten because it meant nothing beyond loyalty to one man. But the racial transplantations, the concentration camps, the interrogation cells of the Gestapo, the medical experiments on the living, the mass reprisals, the manhunts for slave labour, and the racial exterminations will be remembered for ever." Substitute "must" for "will" in special consideration that it could all happen again—if not in Germany, then somewhere where the lesson of the S.S. has not been learned or even thought about.

(Courtesy, Manchester Guardian)

World Crises—German Opportunities

One of the first tasks of Dr. Abdelatif Ben Jelloun, who has just been appointed (Moroccan) Ambassador to Bonn, will be the negotiation of a trade agreement with Germany.

The Government of the Federal Republic is anxious for an agreement to push sales of German products in Morocco, the purchase of German equipment for agriculture and industries, and the use of German technicians, engineers and civil servants in Morocco.

The Moroccan Government is considering the substitution of its French civil servants, technicians, engineers and air pilots, by people of other nationalities. Germany has offered to fill some of the vacancies.

(London Financial Times, 11-12-56)

* * *

In Moscow a group of West German industrial experts were received by the Soviet Minister for heavy industry. The experts represent AEG, DEMAG, Krupp, Mannesmann, Siemens and Gutehoffnungshütte. The purpose of their trip to the Soviet Union is to visit factories and mines in the Ukraine and the Ural region. In Moscow they saw the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition and, as reported by the German Embassy, were impressed by displays in the field of atomic energy utilization for peaceful purposes.

(The Bulletin [Bonn], 11-22-56)

* * *

The French Government will return the Voelklingen steel-works in the Saar to the heirs of the former owner, Herr Herman Roehling, by December 1. The works have been under French sequestration since the war . . .

The plants produce 1 million tons of raw steel a year, a third of the Saar output.

The agreement between the French Government and the Roehling heirs followed the refusal by French banks and steel companies to take over a share in a Franco-German company which was to have paid Swiss Frs.200 million (16.3 million English pounds) to the heirs under the Pinay-Adenauer agreement of May, 1955.

(London Financial Times, 11-16-56)

* * *

West German pipe and tube companies were on the march in Canada this week.

Mannesmann, AG, of Düsseldorf, has announced it will establish its Western Hemisphere headquarters in Toronto. The new Canadian GHQ will be capitalized at \$30-million. The Toronto office will oversee the new Mannesman Tube Co. at Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., and the company's Brazilian manufacturing operation.

Meanwhile, farther west in Alberta, the new \$6.5-million plant of the Alberta Phoenix Tube & Pipe, Ltd., began production this week. This Edmonton operation is owned by Alberta oil millionaires Frank McMahon, San Francisco oilman William Gilmore, and West Germany's Phoenix-Rheinhof, AG.

(Business Week, 12-8-56)

* * *

Talks on an extension of trade relations between Rumania and West Germany are now being conducted in Bucharest, Radio Bucharest reported . . .

The German delegation is headed by Herr Max Rademacher, a leading Free Democrat from Hamburg and a member of the Bundestag (West German Lower House).

The radio quoted Herr Rademacher as saying that the present figure of \$60-million a year for German-Rumanian trade could easily be increased. He also suggested that more Rumanian overseas exports and imports should be shipped through Hamburg . . .

(Reuters, 11-10-56)

* * *

Twelve West German oil technicians have begun intensive exploration of a 5,800-square-mile petroleum development concession in Northeast Syria.

The concession was obtained recently from the Syrian Government by Deutsche Erdoel AG of Hamburg, a leading producing company. It is the first West German toehold in Middle Eastern oil exploitation.

The company agreed to invest up to \$5,000,000 in exploration work during the next three years. In return Deutsche Erdoel received "the most favorable profit-sharing arrangement in the Middle East," according to company officials . . .

Company spokesman said that "the best possible guarantees" against nationalization of the concession had also been obtained. He attributed the terms of what he said was the



relative popularity of German businessmen in the Arab world . . .

(Arthur J. Olsen, N. Y. Times, 12-14-56)

* * *

Trade missions in Hungary and Poland may soon be established as the first step towards resumption of full diplomatic relations . . .

German-Polish trade has been rapidly expanding during this year, German exports from January to August amounting to over DM.209 million, or treble the DM.67.3 million total during the corresponding period of 1955, and German imports to DM.147 million, against DM.60 million from January to August last year.

Trade talks with Hungary, recently concluded, provide for a 20 per cent increase in trade volume to DM.141 million per year both ways.

(London Financial Times, 11-1-56)

* * *

"Egyptianization" is the new watchword of President Nasser's regime . . .

Organizations regularly appeal for a boycott of all British and French products . . .

The newspaper Al Ahram charged the British and French with monopolizing this profession "because firms feared their secrets would become known to the Egyptians." . . .

Reinsurance operations by Egyptian companies, formerly handled through London, are being shifted to other markets, especially Switzerland and West Germany . . .

(Edwin Shanke in the AP, 11-30-56)

* * *

The foreign trade boom extended to West German commercial relations with the Communist countries.

In the first ten months of 1956 goods in the amount of 1,786,000,000 marks (\$425,000,000) were exchanged with the Soviet Union, its satellites and Communist China. This exceeded the former peak volume of trade with those countries that was established in 1937 . . .

The Federal Republic's commerce with the East has increased by 250 per cent since 1950 despite careful adherence to Western strategic controls. (N. Y. Times, 1-3-57)

Items of Interest

HELPING NASSER

Egypt's High Aswan Dam project was discussed yesterday by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Eugene Black, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Dr. Adenauer has proposed that the West help Egypt build the dam. Mr. Black is on a week's visit to West Germany to study the possibility of enlisting that nation's resources in the development of economically retarded countries . . .

(N. Y. Times, 11-22-56)

★

OPERATION "CANADA"

About 180,000 Germans have emigrated to Canada since 1945 and today some 700,000 Canadians of German origin rank third in the population, after the English and French speaking groups.

The German Federal Republic has become Canada's most important trade partner on the European continent . . .

(The Bulletin, 11-8-56)

★

RIGHT INTO THEIR HANDS

The knowledge that coming months will see at best an uneasy peace in the Suez area is drawing the Afro-Asian bloc closer commercially to Japan. Already, since the canal has been blocked to traffic, Japanese exporters have received orders for goods normally supplied by European makers from a number of nations east of Suez.

Japanese businessmen make little secret of their hope that the Southeast Asian market will not drop into their hands . . .

(Igor Oganessoff, Christian Science Monitor, 11-13-56)

★

THE PRICE FOR RECOGNITION

West Germany announced today that it will refuse to establish diplomatic relations with Guatemala because the government there of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas has permanently expropriated the German property which was seized in World War II.

(Gaston Coblenz, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12-4-56)

★

DRANG NACH WESTEN!

. . . But by July 1 Adenauer promises to provide General Norstad, the Allied commander, with three motorized and two mechanized divisions plus one mountain and one airborne regiment.

Furthermore, as a sign of faith, the Allies have agreed to give Bonn important posts. In the spring a German general—probably Hans Speidel—will take control of all NATO land armies on the central front running from Switzerland to the Baltic.

The committee of Allied staff chiefs is considering naming a German as liaison between itself and the Big Three standing group. If this is done the nominee may be General Heusinger . . .

(C. L. Sulzberger, N. Y. Times, 12-15-56)

The British government has evidence that the Soviet Union is subsidizing leading members of the military junta that is now the real power in Syria. It also has information concerning a Soviet plan for an increased shipment of arms to Syria and for the later export of these arms from Syria to Egypt.

Secretary Dulles was told of this plan by British officials at the recent meeting of NATO in Paris. His comment, according to an authoritative source, was that the reports were "interesting."

(The N. Y. Times, 12-23-56)

Israel captured high Egyptian officers in the Sinai Peninsula carrying copies of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in their knapsacks. Although the majority of Nasser's army is illiterate, its officers are not.

To inspire them against Israel, Nasser had reprinted in Arabic huge quantities of "Mein Kampf." The high officers of Nasser's army were urged by him to exhort his army to wipe out Jews according to the gospel as preached by Adolf Hitler.

(Barry Gray, The N. Y. Post, 11-21-56)

KRUPP IN BRAZIL

In Rio de Janeiro Alfred Krupp told newspapermen that his concern is building a factory for production of locomotives and automobile trucks in Campo Limpo in the state of Sao Paulo . . . Both the Brazil Federal Government and the State Governor of Sao Paulo have given assistance to the project, said Krupp, who called attention to the fact that his firm has entertained relations to Brazil since 1836 . . .

(N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, 12-18-56)

★

AN FBI STORY

President Eisenhower was marked for assassination by Nazi Germany in the closing months of World War II, it was revealed today.

Mr. Eisenhower, then supreme allied commander in Europe, was to be the target of German parachutists dropped behind allied lines, on London and Paris, during the death throes of Adolf Hitler's Reich in 1944.

In addition, the Nazis hoped to set the stage for an attempt on the life of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt by a mass-breakout of some 400,000 Axis prisoners-of-war interned in this country. Both plots failed, chiefly through the efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The thwarting of these and other Axis intrigues, as well as a 50-year war against the underworld, are described in a new book called "The FBI Story" by Pulitzer prize-winning reporter Don Whitehead . . .

(Cleveland Plain Dealer, 11-28-56)

★

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Maj. Gen. Julius Klein, who commanded a regiment against the Axis powers in World War II, has been hired as a "foreign agent" by a society of German business men.

General Klein registered Sept. 5 with the Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act . . .

The president of the society is Dr. Hermann J. Abs, a German banker . . .

(N. Y. Times, 9-23-56)

★

RECRUITING FOR THE WEHRMACHT

At Minden . . . the former members of the military branch of the Nazi SS held their biggest rally to date.

Ostensibly summoned to discuss welfare questions, the gathering, 10,000 strong, was an open demonstration of unrepentant arrogance. The Waffen SS men assured each other that the new German army would be of no use without them. They were encouraged in this confidence not only by the Bonn government's deplorable offer to reinstate them in their previous ranks, but also by the appearance at Minden of Dr. Mende, the opposition Free Democrat party's defence expert. Dr. Mende's party seems confident that after the elections it will either come to power in alliance with the Social Democrats, or be able to name its own terms for realigning itself with the Christian Democrats. This prospect lent weight to Dr. Mende's words when he tried to whitewash the record of the Waffen SS and assured its former members that any who wish to join the new army will be accepted before long . . .

(London Economist, 9-22-56)

★

GOEBBEL'S TACTICS REBORN

The Suez Canal, one of the most important waterways of the world, has been turned into an internal stream. Orderly procedures have disappeared in the Middle East and will not be readily restored.

For instance we in the United States have concentrated on the quarrel between Egypt and Israel, but we have paid little heed to the violence of the attack upon the Government of Iraq, the most stable of the Arab countries and the closest friend of the West among them. The Egyptian radio issued this statement to the Arab world and it is here quoted as characteristic of the bitterness toward Iraq of the Sovietized Arab countries:

"The Iraqi Government . . . tried to utilize the Iraqi Army as a tool for terrorizing the Iraqi people. It then dared to mass troops on the Syrian border, participated in a conspiracy against Syria's safety, assisted Britain, France and Israel to attack Egypt and bombard its citizens and to invade it in order to violate its freedom and independence.

"The present Government in Iraq is no longer a lawful Government entitled to demand obedience from the Iraqi people. The actions undertaken by this Government have made it a trespasser and usurper Government. No one should obey this Government. Indeed, every Arab and every Iraqi must resist it. . . ."

This is one Government issuing propaganda among the people of another. Egypt and Syria now believe that, with Russian aid, they can get away with anything.

(From Editorial N. Y. Daily Mirror, 1-3-57)

★

ATTENTION AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN!

The only car making a sizable gain in U. S. sales this year is foreign.

The German Volkswagen showed a year-to-year sales increase of 250 per cent in the first half, as nearly 26,000 of the little cars moved out of showrooms.

No American make in the lower or medium price

range chalked up a sales gain in the same period. Most of them lost a good deal of ground.

Detroit is startled, also, to find that more Volkswagens were sold than either Hudsons or Packards. This is the first time since the war that a foreign car has outsold an established American brand on the home grounds . . .

The Germans have taken the lead in another invasion of the U. S. market . . .

British bikes relinquished their sales lead to the German bikes, which accounted for nearly half of all foreign sales in the U. S. in the first half of 1956.

You can expect to hear more squawks from domestic manufacturers of bikes . . .

(U. S. News & World Report, 9-14-56)

★

PRIVILEGE RESTORED

The Commerce Department has restored U. S. export privileges to Hans Wolff Export-Import Co. of West Berlin.

Mr. Wolff and his principal, Richard Fleschner Import-Export, also of West Berlin, were temporarily denied the privileges on June 26, 1956, for alleged attempted transshipment of U. S.-origin vehicles and parts from West Germany to Soviet Russia . . .

(AP, 11-6-56)

★

LILI SINGS AGAIN

Lili Marlene in person—the blonde who first sang "Underneath the Lamplight by the Barrack Gate" over the Wehrmacht radio—will open a rally of 20,000 men Rommel's Afrika Korps in Düsseldorf, "the Paris of the Rhine," . . .

In the audience Lili expects to have the widow of Rommel; Field-Marshal ("Smiling Albert") Kesselring—"Old Soldiers Never Die"—as they call him in Germany—General von Lettow-Vorbeck, brilliant first-war commander in what was then German East Africa:

We misinterpreted the phenomenon of the Egyptian dictatorship. We thought it could be beguiled from its course and thought of it merely as a form of new nationalism, while Nasser had avowed his imperialistic ambitions as clearly as Hitler did and proved the efficacy of those ambitions by his propaganda campaign in all Arab, even all Islamic, nations. We insisted on treating him as the innocent victim and Britain, France and Israel as the "aggressors," thus ignoring the years of provocation and Nasser's explicit ambition to wipe out the little State of Israel. Our miscalculation about the dynamism of Nasser's movement have been exceeded only by the British Labor party, the intelligent leader of which expressed the hope that Eisenhower was now in a position to "arbitrate" between Israel and Egypt. One is reminded of Chamberlain's pathetic efforts to arbitrate at Munich. . . .

(Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, New Leader, 12-24-56)

and General Speidel, once Rommel's Chief of Staff, now the brains of the Adenauer army . . .

Among those accepting invitations are the British Rhine Army's Chief of Staff, Major-General J. D'Arcy Anderson, and Major-General J. W. Hackett, commander of the Seventh Armoured Division—the original "Desert Rats." . . .

(London Daily Express, 9-29-56)

★

MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA

Great interest has been shown here in to-day's arrival in the Union on a 10 days' visit of West Germany's Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Ludwig Erhard . . . Closer economic and financial ties with Germany are . . . anticipated . . . In the circumstances, there is considerable speculation whether Germany, which has moved so rapidly to the status of a creditor country, may not become very closely identified with the Union's economic expansion in future.

(London Financial Times, 11-2-56)

★

BUSINESS WITH A BANG

An explosion in an office building in midtown Hamburg appears to have uncovered a large-scale arms export business to the Middle East and North Africa. The blast reduced the building, a four-story reinforced concrete structure, to rubble . . .

(Arthur J. Olsen, N. Y. Times, 10-5-56)

★

WHO'S GOT A SECRET?

Former German aircraft firms getting back to business are negotiating with British jet-engine makers for the right to make some of Britain's secret jets and rocket motors. They are needed for 2,000 mile-an-hour fighters.

(London Daily Express, 10-1-56)

★

As the London Observer has suggested . . . the challenge to the Western nations is to make a withdrawal from Eastern Europe strategically tolerable to Russia. . . .

Yet Russia has a bear by the tail in East Germany, and there have been a number of indications that she would like to be rid of it if this could be accomplished without endangering her own security. From the Western standpoint, moreover, so long as the 22 divisions remain in East Germany they will have an inhibiting effect on Polish independence and the pull for more freedom in the satellites. How, then, can a withdrawal be made tolerable?

Obviously the West will have to give up something. What it might well give up is German membership in NATO. That is, in effect, offer to establish German neutrality in return for Soviet concessions in East Germany, the satellite empire—and perhaps in a Middle Eastern settlement. . . .

(Washington Post, 11-25-56)

Dulles and The Suez Riddle

by T. H. TETENS

We print below a thought-provoking and original article by T. H. Tetens, together with his covering letter. Mr. Tetens is a writer on international affairs and the author of the book "Germany Plots With The Kremlin." His article speaks for itself and does not necessarily represent the views of the Society.

January 2, 1957

To the Society for the
Prevention of World War III.
Gentlemen:

When the dramatic events in Hungary and Suez occurred, I was in the midst of preparations for a new book about the Adenauer plan to integrate Europe.

Since then I have scanned many reports and articles published here and abroad. The necessity to set the political facts straight is especially urgent at a time when there is a maximum of political confusion and a perversion of moral principles.

I have compiled a wealth of material which proves that the master planners in Bonn, above all, will profit from recent events.

I know that there is little room for extensive documentation. That has to remain for the book. What I have in mind at this time is to provide your readers with a brief survey which indicates that the Suez catastrophe was not primarily the result of "blunders."

Cordially,

T. H. TETENS

The Crushing Blow

The ill-fated British-French Suez action of November 1956 will be recorded by scholars as one of the great turning points in modern history.

When London and Paris acceded—under heavy pressure—to the demand of a cease fire and withdrawal from the Suez Canal, a great chapter of European leadership ended in what the Economist called "a total and unmitigated defeat."

Few people know what really happened behind the diplomatic scenes during those eventful days of November 1956. Yet, the results of the hectic struggle between Washington and London became glaringly visible before the eyes of the whole world. Great Britain and France had been dealt a heavy blow and the position of both countries as great world powers was seriously damaged. This fact was bluntly stated by a leading political magazine, the U. S. News & World Report (12-14-56), which called Britain's retreat from Suez appropriately "the end of an era."

The U. S. News & World Report sized up the situation in these words: "This time the British withdrawal from Suez is for keeps . . . Britain can no longer protect its own interest in the Arab world . . . Britain and France, by their failure in Egypt, have exposed themselves as second-class powers in the world."

How did this catastrophe happen? Why was it necessary to stab the British, French and Israelis in the back? Was not Great Britain America's closest and most dependable ally, if not by treaty, then by tradition? Why did Washington administer this humiliating blow which played into the hands of Dictator Nasser and his Arab allies, and won the eager sup-

port of the Soviet bloc?

Britain and France had intervened at Suez with the objective of restoring order and security at this vital international waterway. They saw realistically the necessity to put an end to Nasser's dictatorship. London and Paris decided to act after it had been proven that efforts towards a peaceful settlement through the UN or by concerted action with Washington were of no avail. The record shows that all steps in that direction had been stymied by the U. S. State Department.

Unexplained Mysteries

The millions of words which have been written about the Suez crisis have up to now not answered the one overriding question: Why did Secretary Dulles, over a period of many months, remain passive in spite of all urgent British, French and Israeli appeals to support a move, either by the big powers or through the UN, for a lasting settlement in the strife-ridden region of the Near and Middle East?

There are many other questions. For instance, why did Mr. Dulles initiate, in midsummer, 1956, a pointed campaign against "colonialism" at the moment when the British had just voluntarily withdrawn their last troops from the Suez Canal and had all hands full to find a solution for other difficult situations, such as Cyprus, Jordan and the Arab-Israeli conflict, not to speak of other burning problems in the Far East?

During the last two years London had pointed with increasing alarm to the rapid deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. But all its urgent pleas did not faze Mr. Dulles. Why? Can it be that the Secretary of State had become captivated by a diplomatic scheme which made it necessary to undermine British and French power? A significant statement which appeared in the fall of 1956 in the editorial page of the Hearst newspaper Journal-American, may shed light on Mr. Dulles' intentions. On October 5, the Journal-American published an article pointing out that Secretary Dulles was set to play a "new role" in world affairs. Friends of the Secretary, it was stated, had hinted of a "foxy design" by which Mr. Dulles hoped to defeat the "neutralized-minded nations" which aspire to "act as umpire in the cold war struggle between the major forces of the world—the United States and Russia." Mr. Dulles, the article continued, "aimed at fighting colonialism." He had just declared, on October 2, that the U. S. would take "an independent position on the colonial issue." Having thus described the purpose of Mr. Dulles' "foxy design," the Hearst paper proceeded to state the Secretary's basic objectives: "*Dulles may still go down in history as the man who sparked the realization of that old American dream—the coming of Western Europe into a United States of its own. He may have done this by kicking the British and French in the teeth on the colonial issue . . .*"

This truly amazing statement was made four weeks before the catastrophic events descended upon our two closest friends

and allies. In the light of the above testimony, coming from a paper which is known as a staunch supporter of the Secretary's foreign policy, it seems justified, even imperative, to take a close look with regard to the essence of Dulles' diplomacy.

In spite of thousands of articles, editorials and comments by which the press tried to explain the news behind the Suez Crisis, there is very little knowledge of the forces which first precipitated this crisis and finally determined the catastrophic outcome of the British-French expedition. James Reston, the New York Times diplomatic correspondent in Washington, wrote on December 30, 1956, that the "*whole story of the attempts of this government to block the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, has not yet been told.* There are indeed many facts which have not yet been told, facts which are of utmost importance in order to grasp the enormity of the "foxy design" that turned the tables against our friends and allies.

There is also a word to say about the new role of Mr. Dulles as the "only prophet" who, in the early summer of 1956, climbed out on the limb and boldly forecast events which would allow us "to look hopefully forward to a transformation of the international scene." Mr. Dulles was then known in the journalistic and diplomatic fraternities in Washington as the man who, throughout his life, had constantly made wrong guesses. Now, suddenly, the Secretary of State basked in the glory of a great political forecaster. Recalling Mr. Dulles' prophetic statements, the Christian Science Monitor (12-12-56) remarked that Mr. Dulles' earlier "undiplomatic predictions were made to the amazement and shock of quite a few Washington pundits" and it was generally felt at that time that Mr. Dulles "was being over-optimistic and possibly naive."

Could it be that the "prophet" John Foster Dulles had exact knowledge of pending schemes which allowed him "to look hopefully forward to a transformation of the international scene"? It is noteworthy that he is not the only "prophet" and "forecaster" who dabbles in the business of "foxy designs." On the other side of the Atlantic is his close friend and colleague, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, known by friend and foe as the "Old Fox." The Chancellor looks proudly back over a lifelong career in the manufacturing of "foxy designs." The record shows that both men, Dulles and Adenauer, had reached the end of their respective "diplomatic ropes" in the spring of 1956. Yet both dared to turn "prophet" and to predict events which would bring about "a transformation of the international scene."

The Rift Between London and Washington

In order to understand the underlying forces which have caused the catastrophic turn in world affairs in the fall of 1956, we must take a brief glance at the developments in Anglo-American relations during the first postwar decade.

The cold war alliance between Washington and London came officially to life with Churchill's famous "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo., in March 1946. The common bond was fear of the Russian bear who had advanced deep into Central Europe and threatened British and American interests in other parts of the world. With the rapid change during the postwar period, especially with the comeback of a revitalized Germany, the strength of the Anglo-American alliance was bound to weaken. Our relations with France

were strained from the beginning of the postwar period.

The first differences with Great Britain appeared under the Truman-Acheson Administration in regard to such issues as German re-industrialization, the Berlin blockade, and U. S. direction of the Korean war. Our relations to the British ally became strained even more under the Eisenhower-Dulles administration. There was serious irritation during the Korean truce negotiations, during the formation of the Baghdad Pact, the Indochina crisis, on the Formosa question, on the issue of German remilitarization and European security, and on the burning Near and Middle East problems. The basic differences between London's and Washington's diplomatic conduct centered around the general policy of war, peace, and co-existence.

The British recognized early that under changed conditions in the postwar period they had to pursue world problems with a different diplomatic approach. Under a rapidly advancing arms technique toward absolute weapons, Britain was confronted with the paramount problem of survival. Russia had set off her first A-bomb; in 1949, China was lost to the Communist orbit; in 1952, Moscow came forward with luring offers for a German settlement, for a European security system and for large scale disarmament; in 1953, Russia surprised the West with an H-bomb test; in 1954, with modern intercontinental jet bombers of the Bison type, and with advanced experiments in guided missiles. The result of this development is a nuclear stalemate between the two super powers. The British reacted quietly and fast. They visualized the necessity of an overall world settlement and a speedy ending of the cold war. The logical answer for British statesmen was moderation and co-existence. London recognized that Russia and Red China were realities with whom they had to live—and to trade. At the same time, while the United States clung rigidly to the old policy concept of containment and non-recognition, the British accepted Russia, China and India as new world powers.

No similar policy revision was made by the United States. On the contrary: When the Eisenhower-Dulles Administration took over in Washington in 1953, the Secretary of State proclaimed an accelerated cold war policy of dynamic "liberation" and "rollback," a "massive retaliation" for the Soviets and an "agonizing reappraisal" of policy towards our allies.

"Brink of War" or Co-Existence?

Up to 1953 Russia's "peace offensive" to end the cold war had been unsuccessful. It needed the diplomatic art of John Foster Dulles to bring Moscow over the hurdle. After Eisenhower's election victory in 1952, Churchill came to Washington to hammer out a common Anglo-American policy adequate to meet the realities in a rapidly changing world. Churchill soon discovered the unbridgable gap between the British and American concept of diplomacy. The British found it difficult to follow the erratic "brink of war" policies proposed by Secretary Dulles. Churchill first suggested publicly on May 11, 1953, to have a meeting of the governments of the U. S., Great Britain and the USSR "at the highest possible level." This idea was sharply opposed by Secretary Dulles. Soon after the fruitless Bermuda Conference in the fall of 1953, the British Premier decided to try a new diplomatic approach in order to reach a direct understanding with Russia. After preliminary secret soundings in Moscow, Churchill opened an exchange of letters with Foreign Minister

Molotov on July 4, 1954, which was marked by an unusual cordiality. Recalling "our friendly relations in time of war," Churchill expressed the wish to meet Mr. Malenkov (then Soviet Premier) and other Soviet leaders. Churchill suggested a "simple and unofficial meeting in a friendly fashion without agendas, with the sole purpose of trying to find a sensible way of living side by side in an atmosphere of growing trust, ease and happiness."

The next day, July 5, Molotov responded with no less cordiality saying that the Soviet leaders had "completely understood the meaning of your important message." Referring to "our comradely relations during the war, and the outstanding part you played in it," Molotov posed this significant question:

"Why, if during the war years relations between our countries were of such importance not only for our peoples but also for the fate of the world, can these relations not develop similarly now? As far as we are concerned, we are striving in this direction and we view your letter exactly in this light."

The proposed meeting failed to take place. Churchill, under a pretext, decided four weeks later to "wait . . . and then let us look into my project again." It is no secret that Churchill's proposal had come under pressure from Dulles.

The fact is that there was no meeting of mind between Churchill and the U. S. Secretary of State. When Dulles pressed for "united action" in order to intervene in Indochina (April 1954), he was coldly turned down in London and Paris. At that time Secretary Dulles insisted strongly on his "brink of war" diplomacy and was even willing to risk all-out atomic war with the Soviets. The British Premier, however, recommended a policy of moderation and negotiation in order to live with the existing problems without risking war.

Geneva and "The Big Thaw"

Under Churchill's constant prodding, Eisenhower finally agreed to meet with the Russians at Geneva in 1955. According to the Alsop brothers, Secretary Dulles was "bitterly opposed" to the summit meeting. Geneva and its result, the "Geneva spirit," was called the turning point in the cold war. Yet, long before Geneva, Moscow had initiated the policy of "The Big Thaw"—the liberalization of domestic policies and a more flexible diplomatic offensive in all parts of the world. 1955 saw the signing of the Austrian Treaty, Moscow's apology to Tito, Russia's withdrawal from Finland, the beginning of de-Stalinization in the satellites, a reduction of 640,000 men in Russia's armed forces, and the triumphal Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to India and Burma. All these events were interpreted by Secretary Dulles as the result of Russia's "internal weaknesses," signaling the pending "disintegration of the Soviet empire." Accordingly Dulles took a "tough" attitude at the Second Geneva Conference in October 1955, demanding Moscow's acceptance of American policy on German re-unification and the liberation of the satellite countries.

By the spring of 1956, it had become clear that London and Paris prepared to negotiate directly with Moscow. Bulganin's and Khrushchev's visit to London April 1956 was hailed by the British press as a diplomatic event of first magnitude. In ten days of secret talks, the British and Russian statesmen came to an understanding on such vital points as European security, disarmament, close cooperation in the UN in order to pacify the Middle East, expansion of trade and strengthening of cultural relations. Eden was full of praise

and called the meeting "the beginning of the beginning" to end the cold war. The British reported that the Russian leaders had given assurance that before the year would end, the satellites would receive more independence and that other significant reforms were in the making.

There is little wonder that Mr. Dulles felt uneasy about the Anglo-Soviet talks. He and Adenauer were highly irritated by the fact that the problem of Germany had been by-passed. On this question London and Moscow had "agreed to disagree" and thus decided to keep Germany divided.

Soon, other sensational events followed. In May 1956, French Premier Mollet and Foreign Minister Pincau had intimate talks in Moscow which convinced them that peaceful co-existence was the only alternative to suicide. On May 14, 1956, the Russians announced a new voluntary cut of 1,200,000 men in the armed forces, the closing of military installations, the mothballing of ships and an immediate withdrawal of 30,000 troops from East Germany. There was a general trend to end the cold war. The West German press reported that secret negotiations between Moscow and the Vatican were going on and that Moscow was willing to grant freedom to the Roman-Catholic Church.

There was considerable irritation in certain quarters here and in Bonn about these developments. Dulles had come under a barrage of criticism at home and abroad. The German press criticized Adenauer for having missed the bus and expressed concern lest Moscow, London and Paris establish a new "entente cordiale."

The Countermove

In the early summer of 1956 the blue sky of peaceful co-existence was suddenly darkened by two ominous events. Late in June riots broke out in Poznan which were quickly suppressed by Polish police with the help of Russian tanks. Three weeks later, on July 19, there was another event of far greater consequence: Secretary Dulles' cancellation of the plan for financial assistance for Egypt's Aswan Dam project was used as a pretext by dictator Nasser to seize the Suez Canal.

The Adenauer-Dulles strategy to foil a Paris-London-Moscow agreement on key problems was powerfully reinforced by the bloody events in Hungary and the arrogant stand of the Egyptian Dictator. In this connection, it has been reported that Bonn's intelligence chief, Reinhard Gehlen, played his part through his secret agents. During the war Gehlen employed his talents for Hitler. After the end of hostilities, he and his vast apparatus worked for U. S. officials and subsequently were hired by Adenauer.

There is unanimous agreement among all political observers that John Foster Dulles' action of July 19 precipitated the chain of fatal events in the Middle East. Here is one of the great unsolved riddles in Mr. Dulles' diplomacy. The Secretary certainly did not blunder. Can it be that he played a carefully calculated game to precipitate events under which eventually Great Britain and France would lose their prestige as great world powers? This is exactly what happened in consequence of Dulles' action.

There is mystery upon mystery in the Secretary's handling of the Middle East situation. In London the Soviet leaders had agreed to settle the Middle East problem through the cooperation of all big powers in the UN. Dulles gave no support to this plan, but he continued to maintain his do-nothing position. Dulles, said the US News (-25-56) "has

not been willing to go all the way with the British Foreign Office on many issues of policy related to the Middle East." Was that all part and parcel of his "foxy design"?

There is a wealth of material, diplomatic reports from Cairo, London and Washington, which, together with the comments of such foreign policy experts as Walter Lippmann, James Reston, the Alsop brothers, Joseph Harsch, and others, constitute a devastating indictment of Secretary Dulles' handling of the Suez Crisis. This is not the place to enumerate the details of how Mr. Dulles first goaded and bamboozled the British and French. Having forced them into virtual unconditional surrender and "kicked them in the teeth," Mr. Dulles brought joy to Nasser and his Nazi adviser and to the Soviet bloc.

One has only to read the excellent report from Cairo "How the United States Saved Nasser," in The Reporter of December, 13, 1956, in order to fathom the magnitude of the crime by which Western interests were deliberately harmed. Three days after the swift moving Israeli forces had overrun Egypt's military might in the Sinai peninsula, dictator Nasser was on the verge of toppling. Then came the Dulles ultimatum of October 30, the mysterious five-day delay of the Canal occupation, the oil sanctions, the organized run on the pound, and finally the humiliating surrender. By the middle of November, Nasser had regained his prestige as the strong man of the Middle East. The man who had organized and directed the international rescue operation for the would-be Hitler on the Nile was U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. The American government, said the Alsops, "is bending every effort to restore Nasser—the irredeemable Soviet stooge—to the position of commanding leadership in the Arab world." Mulling over "the strange process of transforming Egypt's smashing military defeat into a smashing political victory," the Alsops wondered where Washington's "new course" may lead.

The New York Times observed (12-23-56) that "no settlement of either Suez or Palestine is now conceivable except on Colonel Nasser's terms." William Henry Chamberlin, usually a staunch supporter of Mr. Dulles' foreign policy, made the following sarcastic remark (New Leader, 12-17-56): "An observer from Mars might have wondered what great services Dictator Nasser had rendered to the free world to warrant the tremendous U. S. effort to restore his power and prestige."

Bonn's Grand Strategy

There is no doubt that Mr. Dulles' diplomacy which trapped the British at Suez helped Dr. Adenauer in his scheme to pull the rug from under the "Entente Cordiale" in the making.

On October 30, Dulles acted in a hurry to stop the British and French at Port Said. Even his antagonists have to admit that this was truly a shrewd move to change the world situation. The British and French, weakened and under economic strangulation, can hardly resist any longer the Adenauer-Dulles pressure for an integrated Europe. Thus, the century-old Pan-German dream, for which the Kaiser and Hitler started both world wars, has drawn closer to its realization.

What would have happened had Dulles remained inactive only four more days in addition to his four years of "non-commitment" in the Middle East? In that case the British and French would have occupied the whole length of the Suez

Canal. The Egyptian army in the Sinai peninsula would have been trapped, Nasser would have been swept out of power and Adenauer and his industrialists would have lost their tricky scheme in the Middle East. By siding with Egypt's dictator in those critical days, Dulles, as the London papers say, stabbed the British and French in the back and helped Nasser and his German friends into a powerful position in one of the world's most vital areas. From here, it will not be too difficult to set up and consolidate a German dominated Third Power Bloc stretching over the whole area of Europe and the vast African continent.

Who Will Fill the Vacuum?

The debate is on as to who will fill the vacuum in the Middle East. There is nothing to worry about in that respect because the Germans have already entrenched themselves firmly in all Arab countries. With the British and French licked and shoved out, and with their influence reduced in Europe proper, the Germans have regained full freedom of diplomatic action. Everywhere the German chancellor appears in the role of the "honest broker." He can help Moscow to end the cold war; for Washington he is the strong ally; and to London and Paris he offers "help" by creating a united Europe. But everyone has to pay a price. The British and French would lose their markets. Moscow would have to pay with reunification and a German sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. Only on this basis are Adenauer and Dulles willing to settle the cold war. Germany will be the only winner.

In addition there will be billions of dollars and new markets available in the Middle East. Here Dulles is willing to invest in a generous way. A large part of the dollars Washington is ready to spend in the Arab region, will go into the coffers of German industrialists. In Egypt, where British, French and Jews are driven out, the German firms are taking over. Newsweek (12-24-56) reports that the U. S. contemplates to go into the Middle East "with an investment in useful projects of between \$6 and \$10 billions." In Egypt alone, according to the Wall Street Journal (12-31-56), the "Administration is planning to help pay up to \$1 billion for improvement of the Suez Canal . . . and may renew its offer to help pay for Egypt's huge \$1.3 billion Aswan Dam."

This is the price Dulles is willing to pay for the realization of his scheme. He rebuked Nasser on a loan of a mere \$50 million, now he is willing to spend billions. The overriding question is: In whose interest is Dulles conducting U. S. foreign policy? The next question: When will the U. S. Senate discharge its responsibility and demand a thorough accounting of Dulles' "foxy" and costly designs?

The other Dulles-Adenauer policy—that of "negotiating from strength"—with Russia—has proved an equally abysmal failure. The reunification of Germany which was expected to follow from it now looks less likely than ever. And so the West Germans are beginning to take the matter out of the hands of Dulles and Adenauer and to act independently. Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, the party of big business which left Adenauer's sinking ship some time ago, press for relations with East Germany and the satellite countries.

["Carolus," The Nation, 10-17-56]

An Eyewitness Report

Nasser's Raiders

by
FRANK GERVASI

Some nights ago, in the town of Tel Mond, up where Israel narrows to a 10-mile strip between the Jordanian armistice line and the Mediterranean, Mrs. Malka Wig was awakened by strange noises. She shook her husband, Shimon, who grabbed his Sten gun and rushed to investigate.

Shimon Wig, 33-year-old tractor driver, never reached the front door. The 40 pounds or so of TNT which Arab fedayeen had planted under the foundations of the sturdy little two-story house exploded just as he reached the foot of the stairs. The house caved in.

Shimon was dead when rescuers reached him. His wife and their six-year-old daughter, Tamara, who was asleep in another upstairs room, were badly hurt. But they will recover. They were lucky.

Moshe Yoshpe and his wife were lucky, too. The night raiders, on their way back to the Jordanian frontier after dynamiting the house in Tel Mond, stopped at Moshe's house in Kfar Hess long enough to toss two hand grenades into it. The bomblets exploded harmlessly in the empty room next to the one in which Moshe and his wife slept.

* * *

The first incident was one of the 19 which Premier Ben-Gurion had in mind the other day when he sent a note to the State Dept. soliciting the good offices of the United States to persuade Egypt's Col. Nasser to stop sending fedayeen killer-saboteurs into Israeli soil.

Ben-Gurion listed only the "serious" incidents that have occurred between Nov. 2, when the UN ordered a cease-fire, and Christmas Eve. He did not include numerous other acts of terror and destruction.

* * *

Ben-Gurion's diplomatic language to the State Dept. did not tell the whole story. I have seen the day-by-day record. It is a chronology of bloody, systematic violation of the November 2 cease-fire, the Charter of the United Nations and of every written or unwritten law of the international behavior in war, peace or truce.

In the six or seven weeks since the fighting stopped, the incidents—I copied them one by one from the police records—have actually totalled 67. The dead numbered 9 and the wounded 20.

And before that? The other day the Knesset passed a Pension Law for Border Victims. It provided for compensation to residents of border settlements "wounded by infiltrators or the armed forces of neighboring countries." The law was made retroactive to Feb. 24, 1949. That was when the first Armistice Agreement was signed between Israel and the Arab nations which invaded the country in May, 1948, after the UN had created the State.

* * *

The law covered 1,376 wounded and 434 killed. Each case

had to be authenticated before the victims or their survivors could be eligible for compensation. The figures may be taken as absolute minimums.

The Nov. 2 cease-fire was presumed to cover ALL belligerent activities, those of the fedayeen as well as of the regular forces. Documents captured by the Israeli Army in Gaza prove conclusively the responsibility of the Egyptian General Staff for the fedayeen activities whether based on Egyptian soil or not. Of the 67 recent attacks, 51 originated on Jordanian soil.

Nasser cannot disavow the fedayeen, no matter where they operate from, not unless his officers left behind them magnificent forgeries of orders, staff memorandums, sabotage and murder plans, detailed maps and payrolls.

And to back up the case loads of documents, there is the testimony of captured fedayeen and their commanders. Col. Nasser would be amazed to know how voluble his boys become when they do not have a Browning gun or Karl Gustav automatic in their hands.

* * *

The responsibility for the resumption of fedayeen activities is clearly Nasser's, just as the responsibility for his survival as Egypt's dictator . . . is plainly shared by the U. S., the Soviet Union and the United Nations.

Ben-Gurion's note to Washington was both an appeal and a warning. It was an appeal to the State Dept. to use whatever powers of persuasion it might have over Nasser to end a campaign of terror and death at once provocative and cruel. It was a warning that unless the fedayeen attacks were stopped, Israel may be obliged to defend itself with the same vigor it demonstrated in Sinai.

Retaliatory raids are deplorable. Right is not a compound of wrongs. But in a country without a hinterland, a full quarter of it so narrow in places that a good walker can cross it in a matter of hours and only 67 or 70 miles wide at its widest point, attack often becomes the only means of defense.

Besides, Mr. Ben-Gurion might have reminded Washington, in his note, that . . . "The first duty of any Government . . . is . . . the protection of life and property. This is the paramount obligation for which governments are instituted, and governments neglecting or failing to perform it are not worthy of the name . . ."

Ben-Gurion might have written those words, but he didn't. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, wrote them on June 20, 1916, in a note to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of Mexico explaining why the Government of the United States had found it necessary to send American military forces across the Rio Grande.

True, times have changed since the days of Pancho Villa. But not, apparently, for the Arabs or their Soviet masters.

(Courtesy, The N. Y. Post)



Israel's "Aggression"

("Nebelspalter," Zurich 28 November, 1956)