



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

Yale / Université de Yale

Yale / Université de Yale

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

THE HISTORY OF THE NEWSPAPER AUFBAU -  
1934-1948

Dagobert Broh

A Thesis  
in  
The Department  
of  
History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

February 1996

© Dagobert Broh, 1996



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Your file - Votre référence*

*Our file - Notre référence*

**The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

ISBN 0-612-10827-9

**Canada**

## ABSTRACT

### The History of the Newspaper *Aufbau* - 1934-1948

Dagobert Broh, Ph.D.  
Concordia University, 1996

*Aufbau* began in 1934 as a monthly 12-page bulletin of the German-Jewish Club in New Ycrk, N.Y. As a foreign-language paper, it wanted to be a bridge between the old and the new homelands. It also adopted the purposes of the club, whose members were recent immigrants: to help its readers become good Americans and self-assured Jews. News and politics were limited to the fight against Nazism. Members of the club produced and distributed the bulletin except for the printing and some outside contributions.

After overcoming two crises shortly after the beginning, *Aufbau* gradually increased its circulation and advertising as more and more refugees from Nazi persecution arrived. *Aufbau* guided them in their new life, becoming a necessity for them. The increased revenue allowed *Aufbau's* expansion to a true newspaper.

In 1939, the club hired Manfred George, an experienced journalist who had previously been instrumental in the establishment of two successful newspapers. *Aufbau* would become the third. He changed it to a weekly, gave it a style used by the liberal German press with some features adopted from the American papers, and added news and non-partisan

politics. His editorial policy democratized the contents by sponsoring forums as well as inviting contributions of all non-radical opinions of public interest. He also promoted the view that Jews in America formed one of the sub-nations that together constituted the great American nation. *Aufbau* also supported a Jewish state in Palestine. During the Second World War, the American war effort was given the highest priority for space in the paper. Thereafter, *Aufbau* endorsed, after early doubts, U.S. government policy in the Cold War.

The newsprint shortage during the war and shortly thereafter stopped the paper's growth. The circulation reached its peak in 1946/47. As a non-profit corporation, *Aufbau* used its surpluses to finance its and the club's social relief programs.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I: INTRODUCTION. . . . .	1
Foreign-Language Press in the U.S.A. . . . .	1
<i>Aufbau's</i> Necessity . . . . .	5
<i>Aufbau's</i> Character . . . . .	7
 Chapter II: <i>AUFBAU</i> 1934-1939. . . . .	 15
The First Issue . . . . .	15
The Antecedents . . . . .	18
The Editors and their Helpers . . . . .	22
An Ideological Crisis . . . . .	29
A Financial Crisis . . . . .	36
Politics in <i>Aufbau</i> . . . . .	39
The Issues . . . . .	40
The Fight against Nazism . . . . .	40
Americanisation . . . . .	50
Discussions about the Past . . . . .	56
Commercial Affairs . . . . .	59
 Chapter III: RESTRUCTURING OF <i>AUFBAU</i> . . . . .	 65
Manfred George . . . . .	65
The Assistant Editors, the Press Committee and the Advisory Board . . . . .	 83
The Readers . . . . .	92
The Business Department . . . . .	97
The Circulation and Volumes . . . . .	98
Prices . . . . .	102
Advertisements . . . . .	102
Lineage and Prices . . . . .	108

Chapter IV: <i>AUFBAU</i> BETWEEN 1939 AND PEARL HARBOR . . .	112
New Physical Layout and Increased Professionalism . . .	112
The first Number under George's Direction . . .	112
The Issue of November 29, 1939 . . . . .	115
Expansion of News Coverage . . . . .	121
Aufbau's Special Tasks . . . . .	126
Introduction of a Feuilleton . . . . .	128
Miscellaneous Reader Services . . . . .	134
The Flag or Nameplate . . . . .	138
The Masthead . . . . .	140
The Ideas of Editorial Policy Realized . . . . .	143
Fight against Nazism . . . . .	143
War or Peace . . . . .	143
Hitler's Agents in the U.S.A. . . . .	145
The Bund's Downfall . . . . .	149
The Staats-Zeitung's True Face . . . . .	150
Jews under the Nazi Yoke . . . . .	152
The Dictators' Limits . . . . .	156
The U.S.A. and the War . . . . .	163
The Isolationists and the War . . . . .	166
Curing Harm caused by Nazism . . . . .	170
Aufbau, a Jewish Paper . . . . .	175
Intolerance in the U.S.A. . . . .	176
Reconciliation between Eastern and Western Jews . . . . .	179
Jewish Tradition and History . . . . .	181
Zionism, still a Sensitive Subject . . . . .	184
Americanization . . . . .	188
What Kind of Americanization? . . . . .	188
Freedom, the Reward of Americanization . . . . .	190
Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Idol . . . . .	194

Chapter V: AUFBAU AND AMERICA'S WAR 1941-1945 . . . . .	200
New Statement of Policy . . . . .	200
Winning the War . . . . .	202
Our Boys and Girls in the Army . . . . .	202
The Home Front and "Our Boys" . . . . .	208
The Home Front and the Immigrants . . . . .	210
"Enemy" Aliens . . . . .	216
The German Problem . . . . .	218
A "Fifth Column" . . . . .	219
Fellow Travellers . . . . .	220
— Punishment of War Criminals Proposals . . . . .	222
The Ludwig-Tillich Debate on Postwar Germany . . . . .	225
The U.S. Plan for Germany . . . . .	233
Aufbau versus Political Emigration . . . . .	236
Nazism after Defeat . . . . .	242
Germans and Jews . . . . .	243
The Jewish Problem . . . . .	245
Jewish Survival and the Rescue of Jews from Nazi	
Europe . . . . .	245
The New Tendency . . . . .	253
Fight for a Jewish State . . . . .	255
A Jewish Army . . . . .	258
Jews and Arabs . . . . .	261
Discrimination During the War . . . . .	263
Making Good (Restitution) . . . . .	265
Americanization . . . . .	266
The Successful Immigrants . . . . .	266
The New Americanization . . . . .	268
Going Back . . . . .	272
A Newspaper in Wartime . . . . .	274
Practical Problems . . . . .	274
Reporting on War and Politics . . . . .	276
Other News Coverage . . . . .	279
Feuilleton, the Soul of the Paper . . . . .	280
Aufbau's Special Tasks II . . . . .	282
Two Deaths and the End of the War . . . . .	287



Chapter VI: A NEW BEGINNING . . . . .	292
The Unwritten Statement of Policy and Basic Changes .	292
A Newspaper in Peacetime . . . . .	297
The Makeup during Transition . . . . .	297
The Correspondents Abroad . . . . .	300
Additional News Coverage Abroad . . . . .	303
Other News Coverage . . . . .	305
Supplements and Columns . . . . .	307
Feuilleton . . . . .	309
Aufbau and the U.S.A. . . . .	317
Foreign Policy . . . . .	317
U.S.S.R. . . . .	317
Germany . . . . .	328
Domestic Policy . . . . .	339
The New Deal and the Fair Deal . . . . .	339
Immigration . . . . .	341
The House Committee on Un-American Activities .	345
Economic and Social Policies . . . . .	348
FDR, the Idol Still after His Death . . . . .	354
The Dangers of the Atomic Age . . . . .	358
Aufbau and Germany . . . . .	363
Nazism after Defeat . . . . .	363
Is Nazism Dead? . . . . .	363
Atonement in Nuremberg . . . . .	371
Germans Visiting the U.S.A. . . . .	376
The Good Germans . . . . .	380
Germany in a United Europe . . . . .	383
The Problem of Return after the War . . . . .	385
Three Eminent Writers Who Did Not Return . . . . .	385
Permanent and Temporary Returnees from the U.S.A.	388
Some Progress in <i>Wiedergutmachung</i> . . . . .	391
Jewish Problems . . . . .	393
Anti-Semitism in the U.S.A. . . . .	393
Help for the Displaced Persons [DPS] . . . . .	399
Miscellaneous Events in Jewish Life 1945-1948 .	403
Erez Israel, the State of Israel . . . . .	409
Chapter VII: CONCLUSION . . . . .	429

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	444
------------------------	-----

APPENDIX

1) Page 1 of <i>Aufbau's</i> issue, December 1, 1934	452
2) Folder of the club's program for July 1932	453
3) Page 1 of issue, April 1, 1939 . . . . .	455
4) Pages 1 and 2 of issue, November 29, 1939 .	456
5) Page 16 of issue, December 8, 1939 . . . . .	458
6) Page 4 of issue, January 9, 1942 . . . . .	459

## *Chapter I Introduction*

### *Foreign-Language Press in the U. S. A.*

The U.S.A. has been in modern times the classical country of immigration and also the nation with the largest number of foreign-language newspapers. The formation of this special kind of press and its continuation was possible as a result of the steady stream of newcomers whose mother tongues were not English and of the freedom of the press established in the first amendment of the Constitution in 1791.<sup>1</sup>

The continuing phenomenon of a foreign-language press has not meant longevity for all the individual units. The causes of the heavy turnovers included shoestring budgets, the drying up of immigrants from the same linguistic group and American acculturation of the original immigrants' offspring. On the positive side, leading to new newspapers, was the arrival of waves of newcomers from one or more countries caused by political or economical conditions overseas.

In 1917, 1350 foreign-language periodicals appeared in the U.S.A. The number for 1940 was 1047 with a circulation of more than six million in 38 languages: 178 in German, 129 in Italian and 72 in Polish, to name the largest groups. For

---

<sup>1</sup> Alfred M. Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America*, (New York: The Mac-Millan Company, 1947), p. 15.

1947, the total was 1010 in 39 languages, 130 in Spanish, 115 in German and 108 in Italian.<sup>1</sup>

The language diversity was not the only characteristic that differentiated the foreign-language periodicals from each other. They also differed in politics, frequency of appearance and length. Among the 1047 published in 1940 were dailies, semi-weeklies, weeklies, bi-weeklies and monthlies. Some consisted of no more than four pages and had a circulation of a few thousand copies; others were comparable to the American dailies in the big cities, including weekend editions. Advertising was scarce in the small foreign-language papers, while the big ones derived their main income from this source. The combination of newspaper and a small printing shop with the owner acting as publisher, sole editor and factotum was no rarity. He obtained the contents from the American papers, from those of the country of his origin and its government's handouts. Others subscribed to several wire services in both languages, were well-staffed and sometimes members of a chain.<sup>2</sup>

Political attitudes as well as business competition created variety and caused feuds within the various linguistic groups of papers. Before World War II, the best-known conflicts were those over Fascism in the Italian-language

---

<sup>1</sup> *Fortune*, XXII/5 (November 1940), p. 91 and *Aufbau* (hereinafter abbreviated A) XIII/7, 14.1.1947, pp. 23/24.

<sup>2</sup> *Fortune*, p. 90/91.

press and over Nazism in the German-language papers.<sup>1</sup> These were not the only conflicts transferred from the old to the new world. "Old Hatreds" and the "Class War" were catchwords for other issues fought over in the foreign-language press.<sup>2</sup>

Although different in their structure, contents and importance, the individual papers of the U.S. foreign-language press shared a common reason for their existence: All of them wanted to be a bridge between the old and the new homelands of the immigrants they expected to gain as readers.<sup>3</sup> For the most part, they wanted to soothe the longing of the homesick immigrant,<sup>4</sup> to keep alive his or her mother tongue and culture as well as to help him or her in the acculturation process. In addition, they wanted to function as a connecting link between the individuals of the group.<sup>5</sup>

While their existence was of benefit to the immigrants at all times, the foreign-language press in the U.S.A. elicited hardly any notice from the domestic chroniclers. From 1840 to 1940 about 37½ million immigrants entered the U.S.A., and the mother tongue of about 22 million was not

---

<sup>1</sup> Joseph A. Roucek, "Foreign-Language Press in World War II" in *Sociology and Social Research*, XXV (July/August 1943), pp. 463/466.

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1922), pp. 106, 214.

<sup>3</sup> Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America*, (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1973), p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Fortune*, pp. 91.

<sup>5</sup> A VI/1, 5.1.1940, p. 4.

English.<sup>1</sup> They and their newspapers must have had some influence on the development of the American society. Recently, this thesis has been developed by Hanno Hardt, Professor at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Iowa.<sup>2</sup> After having analysed the standard works of general press history, Hardt concludes: "... by omitting an assessment of the social and political contributions of immigrant cultures and their newspapers as supportive or opposition forces in society, press historians have made a travesty of journalism history."<sup>3</sup>

This negligence beckons the question: what did public opinion think about the foreign-language press? *Fortune* wrote about it in 1940: Rumours called for a general ban on foreign-language newspapers.<sup>4</sup> The same had happened during World War I. A law passed in October 1917 forced foreign-language newspapers to furnish translations to the post office for all articles referring to the war. Although the law allowed exemptions, and many were given, it restricted newspapers' routines, put a financial burden on several papers and drove some out of business.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/7, 13.2.1947, pp. 23/24.

<sup>2</sup> Hanno Hardt, "The Foreign-Language Press in American Press History" in the *Journal of Commerce*, No. 19/2, Spring 1989.

<sup>3</sup> Hardt, no page number given.

<sup>4</sup> *Fortune*, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Wittke, pp. 264/265.

Actually, the foreign-language press was not subject to special regulations during World War II. All media had to observe guidelines established by the Office of Censorship.<sup>1</sup> However, the possibility existed of a repetition of World War I policies. Such was the general situation in the field of communication in which the newspaper *Aufbau* sought to find its place.

### *Aufbau's Necessity*

At the time of writing, *Aufbau*<sup>2</sup> is in its 61st year. Having served the German-Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. for three generations, it has not only lasted longer than most foreign-language newspapers but also outlived the main purpose of its existence: to be the link between the old and the new homelands. But its long life has also been proof of the need for such a paper and of the successful fulfilment of its tasks.

In spite of having contributed to the survival and integration in the U.S.A. of the Jewish refugees from Germany and other countries and thus securing an honourable place in the history of the persecution of minorities in general and of Jews in particular, *Aufbau's* own history has never fully been told. Although its story has appeared incompletely in several works on German exile literature and

---

<sup>1</sup> Edwin Emery, *The Press and America*, Second Edition, [Eaglewood Cliff, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1962], p. 606.

<sup>2</sup> Reconstruction.

the German exile press, in the biographies of, or stories about, some of its journalists and in an anthology of the paper's representative articles, these publications, sometimes "superficially researched,"<sup>1</sup> failed to show the whole picture.

*Aufbau* started as the bulletin of the German-Jewish Club in New York. Most of the above-mentioned works have neglected this period entirely or have treated it as unimportant in the development of the paper. However, although written and edited by non-professionals, *Aufbau's* level was higher than that of an ordinary club bulletin. Its guidelines were almost the same as those in later years, and many articles dealt capably with the problems caused by the Nazi seizure of power in Germany and those of the refugees from that country. A build-up to a full-fledged newspaper in the early years would have led to failure on account of the lack of readers and advertisers. The first year in which more than 10,000 German refugees entered the U.S.A. was 1937. In 1938 the estimated number of all refugees was 44,800; in 1939 it was 61,800.<sup>2</sup> An estimated 67.6% of these refugees were Jews.<sup>3</sup> The conversion from club bulletin to newspaper

---

<sup>1</sup> Joachim Radkau, *Die Deutsche Emigration in den USA-Ihr Einfluss auf die amerikanische Europapolitik 1933-1945*, [The German Emigration in the U.S.A. - Its Influence on the American European Policy], [Duesseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitaetsverlag, 1971], p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert A. Strauss, *Essays on History, Persecution and Emigration of German Jews*, [New York: K.G. Saur, 1987], p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice R. Davie & Samuel Koenig, *The Refugees are now Americans*, [New York: Public Affairs Committee Inc., 1945], p. 11.



required not only a market but also the presence of professional journalists who could devote full time to its publication.<sup>1</sup>

A great number of journalists fled from Germany after January 1933. Most of them had worked for the publishing houses Mosse and Ullstein, owned by Jewish families. They settled in Paris and Prague, where they published anti-Nazi newspapers and journals or worked for them. After the Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia and France, the majority escaped and reached the U.S.A.

The publisher of *Aufbau* waited until the two factors came together: a prospective readership large enough to support a newspaper and the availability of journalists to produce it. Most of the German-speaking immigrants had a good education, belonged to at least the middle class and were accustomed to reading newspapers, including a Jewish one.<sup>2</sup> It was up to the journalists to create a paper that would be acceptable to the expected readers.

### *Aufbau's Character*

The journalists brought with them to the U.S.A. their professional training, experience and *weltanschauung*. They were soon to recognise, if they did not know before, the

---

<sup>1</sup> The last editor of the club bulletin, Dr. Rudolf Brandl, worked full time.

<sup>2</sup> Steven M. Lowenstein, *Frankfurt on the Hudson-The German Jewish Community of Washington Heights 1933-1983*, [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989], pp. 23, 125/6.

difference in conveying the news in the U.S.A. and their homelands. American papers reported the news in stages with ever growing details. The headline was the shortest version. The emphasis was on straight news, description without opinion, comment or colouring. Evaluations, or other judgements had their place on the editorial page.

In Europe, the journalists were accustomed to present their view of the events, not as objectively as possible, not even fairly. This applied not only to the writers of the political, economics and other departments but also to the correspondents, domestic and foreign. In addition to presenting the news as they saw it, the journalists tried to educate the readers.<sup>1</sup> Arthur Koestler, Hungarian-born journalist and writer, at first a Communist and later an anti-Communist, described the difference between the German-language and the Anglo-American press as follows:

British and American newspaper correspondents aim, at least theoretically, at an impersonal and objective reporting of facts. Political bias and personal idiosyncrasies are supposed to be kept down to a minimum and make themselves only indirectly felt through the inevitable selection of material and distribution of emphasis. To express opinions and judgements is the prerogative of leader-writers and columnists. German journalists ... took a diametrically opposite course. Its starting point was the correspondent's *weltanschauung* and the political philosophy of the paper for which he worked. His job was not to report news and facts ... but to use facts as pretext for venting his opinions and passing oracular

---

<sup>1</sup> Walter F. Peterson, *The Berlin Liberal Press in Exile-A History of the Pariser Tageblatt-Pariser Tageszeitung*, [Tuebingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1987], p. 21 and Michael Groth, *The Road to New York-The Emigration of Berlin Journalists 1933-1945*, [PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 1983], p. 50.

judgements. "Facts", a famous editor said, "are not fit for the reader when served raw; they have to be cooked, chewed and presented in the correspondent's saliva."<sup>1</sup>

What did Koestler mean by "the philosophy of the paper and the correspondent's *weltanschauung*"? In the concrete cases of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Vossische Zeitung*, belonging to the Mosse and Ullstein firms respectively, for which most of the journalists of *Aufbau* had worked, the publisher and the editor-in-chief set the philosophy. Politically, these papers supported the Republic, a parliamentary democracy and the classical demands of liberalism, namely freedom of the press, of assembly and of the person. Economically, they opposed socialism but favoured social reforms to alleviate the hardships of the prevailing capitalism. Tolerance, reason and free artistic expression were the guidelines in the cultural program.<sup>2</sup> This was actually the program of the German Democratic Party, which both papers supported. Theodor Wolff, editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, was one of the founders of the party. Later, when the party moved to the right, both papers denounced it. At its founding, it was clearly left of centre, catering to the middle classes and the educated bourgeoisie.

---

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Koestler, *Arrow in the Blue*, [London: Collins, pp. 189/190. [quoted by Groth, pp. 50/51.]

<sup>2</sup> Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*, [Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969] and Peterson, pp. 10/12.

To define the *weltanschauung* of the correspondents and all journalists is impossible. They were individualists formed by personal education, experience and inclination. Peterson found one common denominator, calling them "humanist intellectuals."<sup>1</sup> In practice, these journalists would, one could reasonably expect, condemn the misuse of power, foster evolutionary development and protect the underprivileged.

Continental newspapers also carried a section not found in the American press: the *feuilleton*, whose contents is often not even news. Webster defines it "as a part of a newspaper, usually the bottom of one or more pages marked off by a rule, devoted to light literature, fiction, criticism etc."<sup>2</sup> The French definition agrees essentially with the English, except that it spells out the "etc.", naming the typical contents: *le roman-feuilleton*, that is a novel printed in instalments.<sup>3</sup>

*Aufbau* chose, after it had become a newspaper, to follow the German tradition. It became a special kind of a *Meinungszeitung*, an organ expressing opinions outside of the editorial page, despite its emphasis on being an American paper helping in the Americanisation of its readers, which

---

<sup>1</sup> Peterson, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*, 1989, p. 526.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Robert, *Dictionnaire*, [Paris: Soci t du Nouveau Littr 1969], p. 701.

was one of its primary tasks. The only features *Aufbau* adopted from the English-language press were the editorial page, though still maintaining the editor-in-chief's lead article, and the journalistic device of columns, which, in the paper's view, contributed to its enhancement as a *Meinungszeitung*.<sup>1</sup>

The format *Aufbau* opted for followed a recommendation by Georg Bernhard, who had been editor-in-chief of the *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin and in exile was in the same position at the *Pariser Tageblatt-Pariser Tageszeitung*. His formula for running a progressive newspaper successfully was to marry "the qualities of the *Meinungszeitung* with those of the popular press. Such a combination, it was hoped, would best fulfil a newspaper's multifarious functions as a source of information, and a propagator of political enlightenment and engagement."<sup>2</sup>

As a foreign-language paper and organ of the German-Jewish Club, *Aufbau eo ipso* carried much of the contents of the popular press. Thus, it contained such features as a gossip column, crossword puzzles, chess problems, prize-winning riddles and a philatelic corner.

According to Dr. Joseph Maier, who began to work for *Aufbau* as a student, was assistant editor from 1940 to 1943

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/31, 2.8.1940, p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Peterson, p. 88.

and ended his connection when in 1991 the paper discontinued his column "Portion of the Week", *Aufbau* indeed followed Bernhard's formula.<sup>1</sup> The paper, he added, had a "broad outlook", avoided all radicalism and also went by the principle *Wer vieles bringt, wird manchem etwas bringen*.<sup>2</sup>

This study deals with the early years of the newspaper from its inception in 1934 to the founding of the state of Israel in 1948. The statements of editorial policy and guidelines that *Aufbau* published from time to time suggest four distinct phases during this period. From 1934 to 1939, *Aufbau* was mainly a club bulletin, written and edited by nonjournalist members of the club. Maier called this the heroic period.<sup>3</sup> Between 1939 and 1941, while war was being waged in Europe without the direct involvement of the U.S.A., *Aufbau* became a real newspaper when it hired Manfred George as editor. Editorial policy prescribed tact and precaution in discussing America's attitude towards the war. From 1941 to 1945, the U.S.A. was at war. For *Aufbau* it was also a Jewish war against the Nazi enemy. Its editorial policy had only one aim: winning the war. Between 1945

---

<sup>1</sup> Interview Dr. Joseph Maier at Stowe, Vt., August 5, 1991. Transcript pp. 43/44.

<sup>2</sup> He who produces much, has something for everybody, Goethe's *Faust*, line 97 and Maier pp. 43/45.

<sup>3</sup> Interview by Birgit Kienzle with several persons, for the TV documentary *Leben als Nachlass Aufbau, ein deutsche Exilzeitung in New York*. [*Life as Heritage-Aufbau a German-Language Periodical in Exile in New York*.] Produced by TV station Bundesfunk Baden Baden, Germany [from the reels of the unedited interviews.] Broadcast December 1988.

and 1948 a new world order arose leading to another "war" - a diplomatic, cold war. After initial doubts, *Aufbau's* editorial policy supported the official American policy. A parallel goal was to prevent a repetition of the situation that had led to the Holocaust; and to achieve this goal the newspaper supported the establishment of a Jewish state.

If conditions under which the paper had to formulate its editorial policies varied in the four periods, the services it wanted to provide for its readers remained unchanged. As a foreign-language paper in the U.S.A., it was a bridge between the old and the new homelands. *Aufbau* expected to be more than that for its readers. It called itself "friend, tutor and advisor" to all immigrants, Jewish and German-speaking in the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> It wanted to lead them from a world that existed no longer into the American way of life<sup>2</sup> and style of thought.<sup>3</sup> The world that existed no longer had been in Europe where the Jews were supposed to be fully emancipated, but where in reality they never received full equality and freedom of opportunity,<sup>4</sup> not even in the Weimar republic. The American society was pluralistic, giving every individual or group of individuals the right to life, liberty and protection under the law. Even though anti-ethnic,

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/16, 1. 9. 1939, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Buergertum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Gedankenwelt*. -A VI/48, 28. 11. 1940, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Holborn*, p. 280.

including anti-Semitic, expressions could not be prevented, discrimination on account of race, religion or origin was unconstitutional.

This study will not only examine *Aufbau's* history in its first fourteen years, during which it served as a bridge between the old and the new homelands, but also how Manfred George created a successful American-Jewish paper. *Aufbau* copied the democratic process in its editorial policy by opening its pages to all non-radical opinions, offering at the same time to its Jewish readers, traumatised by the expulsion from their countries of birth, a new self-identification.



## Chapter II - Aufbau 1934-1939

### *The First Issue*

*Aufbau* had a modest beginning. Its first issue appeared on December 1, 1934, and consisted of twelve 8 1/2 x 11 inch pages. The title page showed the name *Aufbau* and below *Nachrichtenblatt des*<sup>1</sup> German-Jewish Club, Inc., New York, N.Y., with the emblem of the club. Still further below was the word *Festnummer*.<sup>2</sup> This referred to the 10th anniversary of the club. The banner also showed Volume 1, the individual number 1, as well as the date and the place, a number, 139, and the price of 5¢.<sup>3</sup>

The masthead was on page 4. It showed again the name *Aufbau*, published by the German-Jewish Club, Inc., 210 West 91st Street, New York; the subscription price, \$1.00 annually for members, \$2.00 for non-members; the name of the editor Edward W. Jelenko; the usual declaration about postal rates and the information that advertising rates could be obtained by application. The names of the officers of the club, its physicians and dentists and the names of 23 new members followed, together with these excerpts from the statutes:

The purpose of the club is the development of its members to good American citizens and to self-

---

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin of the.

<sup>2</sup> Anniversary Number.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix I.

confident and upright Jews, particularly through the medium of cultivating Jewish and general knowledge. The club, furthermore, strives to foster the friendly association of all German Jews in New York through social events.

The same page also contained a message from the president of the club, Ernst Heumann, entitled *Zum Geleit*.<sup>1</sup> Because of the club's growth, the former bulletin had proven insufficient, and the bigger format of a newspaper would now serve the club's purpose better. The title stood for the development of the paper itself, the activities of the club and for the hopes of thousands of Jews in the new homeland.

The announcements of the club took up much space. The program of the month covered about half a page, listing three lectures, the meeting of the general assembly and four parties or festivities, some of which also appeared in separate ads.<sup>2</sup> They furthermore included the annual report of the commission for social welfare, a schedule of English instruction classes, the "Club's Review", a report about last month's events, the announcement of the introduction of a new column, "The Forum", for contributions from the readers, as well as details about where information about job counselling, immigration and sickness was obtainable.<sup>3</sup> The sport page dealt only with the club's own facilities and events.<sup>4</sup>

The lead article by Jelenko, titled "Ten Years," occupied

---

<sup>1</sup> A Send Off.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 3, 8, 9, 11.

<sup>4</sup> p. 7.

the greatest part of the news pages.<sup>1</sup> It paid tribute to the founders of the club, who had not shrunk from work and trouble. This organisation of Jewish immigrants of all political and religious stripes for cultivation of spiritual values, the enjoyment of friendship and sociability had become, thanks to their endeavours, a reality. Jelenko then concentrated on the importance of fostering Jewish ideas and values in light of hostile tendencies. The final aim was the development of pure humanitarianism. The solution to the problem of Palestine not only had practical significance but was also an idealistic and religious-spiritual goal, from which, eventually, mankind could benefit through the elimination of anti-semitism. After having reviewed the social, economic and sportive achievements of the club, he expressed the hope that *Aufbau* would have the effect of attracting many new members to the group.

The remainder consisted of articles, only one in English, "What is Channucah?"<sup>2</sup>, a letter to the Editor accusing German Jews of neglecting Zionism,<sup>3</sup> book reviews,<sup>4</sup> two poems, one expressing militant Zionist sentiments,<sup>5</sup> and fillers as well as advertisements. The latter covered about 33% of the space, the club's announcements about 30% and articles about 37%.

---

<sup>1</sup> pp. 1, 4, 10.

<sup>2</sup> p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 9/10.

<sup>4</sup> p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 10/11.

### ***The Antecedents***

At the beginning, of course, was the German-Jewish Club Inc., founded in 1924. Dr. Fritz Schlesinger, president of the club for many years, discussed the club's origin in articles written on the occasion of the club's 20th and *Aufbau's* 10th anniversary, based on documents still existing at that time. The idea came from Willi Guenzburger, who, together with Joe Adler and Julius Frei, founded the club. Schlesinger mentions five other persons who joined the club shortly after the foundation and who played important roles in the early development.<sup>1</sup>

Although Schlesinger spoke, on different occasions, of seven and eight founders and other persons have given various versions, additional evidence confirms the president's original presentation. The brochure for the 20th anniversary of the club shows a picture of Adler, Frei and Guenzburger sitting at a table with the following caption: "These 3 founders of the New World Club<sup>2</sup> are still active members of the organisation. We want to express to them on this occasion our sincerest thanks for the unselfish work and sacrifice on behalf of the newcomers of this, our new country." Julius Frei, the last survivor of the three, shortly before his death sent me his version of the origin of the club [in translation]:

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/48, 1.12.1944, pp. 24, 26; X/50, 15.12.1944, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Changed from German-Jewish Club.

One day, I walked along Broadway, where I met an old friend, Joseph Adler, who told me that we should start a club together with Willi Guenzburger, whose idea it was.<sup>1</sup>

Before *Aufbau* became the medium of information, post-cards containing the program of the month fulfilled this purpose.<sup>2</sup> In 1937, after the club's merger with the German-Jewish Centre, the additional membership fees enabled the printing of the program on folders, which also contained paid advertisements.<sup>3</sup> The earliest folder in my possession is from July 1932, a copy of which is attached as appendix 2. Post-cards and folders were the precursors of *Aufbau*.

The next question is: Who had the idea for the paper and who carried it out? The choice is between Edward W. Jelenko, the first editor, and Eric de Jonge, president of the club from 1931 to about 1933, then member of the Board of Directors until August 1936.

Jelenko announced his claim in the 10th anniversary number of *Aufbau*:

Reflecting in retrospect on the achievements of *Aufbau*, I finally remember today with great satisfaction and excusable pride the enthusiasm which moved us to create the paper. To ensure the realization of the idea, I performed with perseverance the largest and smallest tasks. In those trying days, it was my dear friend and successor as editor of the *Aufbau* the late Dr. Alfred Eichenberg, who was my only source of encouragement and cheer.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter February 8, 1990.

<sup>2</sup> Letter November 26, 1989, p. 6 from Eric de Jonge to the author, in future abbreviated E de J, date of letter and page.

<sup>3</sup> E de J, 26.11.1989, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> A X/51, 22.12.44, p. 18.

De Jonge made the same claim for himself      years later in the 50th anniversary number of *Aufbau* as well as in correspondence with the author. The idea of *Aufbau*, de Jonge claims, came to him in 1933. He and Eichenberg served as co-editors when the paper started in late 1934. De Jonge described his own position as *eminence grise*.<sup>1</sup> All other editors, including Jelenko, served after he and Eichenberg had their turn.<sup>2</sup> In the column "The Forum", de Jonge previously had written about the creation of *Aufbau*:

It was the most auspicious idea ever realised by the Board of Directors, when it started the creation of the paper. Conceived as club bulletin, it would not cover such a wide field as was appropriate for a well structured and edited journal. The first editor realised this immediately.<sup>3</sup>

This article written only ten months after the event in dispute and without any of the assertions in the article of June 15, 1984, should be sufficient to dismiss de Jonge's claim. But additional facts do not leave any doubt.

A questionnaire I sent de Jonge contained the following list of editors shown in the masthead of *Aufbau*:

from 1.12.1934	Edward W. Jelenko
" 1. 1.1935	Dr. Alfred Eichenberg
July 1935	Josef Maier
" 1. 9.1935	Dr. Alfred Eichenberg
" 1. 2.1936	Eric de Jonge, Assistant-Editor
" 1. 4.1937	Dr. Rudolf Brandl
" 1. 4.1939	Dr. Manfred George.

---

<sup>1</sup> E de J, 16.11.1989, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A L/24, 15.6.1984, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> A I/10, 1.9.1935, p. 11. The letter signed A.K. came from de Jonge, which he acknowledged in the next number.

There is no imaginable reason why *Aufbau* should have named Jelenko as editor of the first number, if Eichenberg and de Jonge as co-editor or *eminence grise* had actually edited it. Hence, the names of the editors shown in *Aufbau's* masthead for each number must be considered correct. *Aufbau* was, by implication, the realisation of Jelenko's idea.

This judgement does not dismiss de Jonge's story as pure invention. He was the most prolific contributor to the paper when Eichenberg was editor and a watchdog thereafter so that the group of members who opposed *Aufbau* would not succeed in undoing the creation of the paper. He published a number of articles under the easily recognisable initials EDI and E de J, as well as unsigned ones attributable to him by the style, although neither kind was identified with his name in Lieselotte Maas's *Handbuch der deutschen Exilpresse 1933-1945*.<sup>1</sup> He belonged, without doubt, to the group of members who voluntarily and without financial remuneration did the jobs usually done by salaried employees to produce a paper.<sup>2</sup> He outlined a plan for *Aufbau's* development and expansion as early as 1935, most of whose suggestions became reality in later years.<sup>3</sup> However, in the matter of the origin of the paper, his memory failed him.

---

<sup>1</sup> Handbook of the Press in Exile 1933 - Volume I Bibliography A-K (Munich; Carl Hanser Verlag, 1976), p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> A L/24, 15. 6. 1984, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> A I/10, 1. 9. 1935, p. 11.

### *The Editors and their Helpers*

It must have been relatively easy for Jelenko to come up with the idea of the paper. It was more difficult to produce and to distribute it without having the financial resources for hiring salaried employees. He and his successors were fortunate enough to find a group of young members who were willing to do the work without financial reward. They received some relief from the workload when *Aufbau* became able to pay Job Printing Co., which has printed the paper from the beginning until now, for wrapping and mailing, probably after the financial crisis in 1936.<sup>1</sup>

The workplace of the group, according to Schlesinger, was Kitty Schiff's Beauty Parlour. Both de Jonge<sup>2</sup> and Maier<sup>3</sup>, active members of the group, describe that version as incorrect. Schlesinger also named some members of the group.<sup>4</sup> De Jonge confirms only Ella Ehrlich, and says the others named by Schlesinger opposed *Aufbau*. Maier called the Kitty Schiff story a legend. Otherwise no records show the names of the group's members.

What motivated the young men and women to work for the cause? "We felt as a community of fate,"<sup>5</sup> Maier wrote in the

---

<sup>1</sup> E de J, 28.11 1989, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Maier, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*.



50th anniversary number of *Aufbau*, "and responsible for the weal and woes of the greater community to which we belonged." Those of the group who wrote for *Aufbau* stressed collective values and solidarity. Spiritual and ethical values, derived from German culture and Jewish cosmopolitanism, served to sound the alarm of Nazism's danger.<sup>1</sup> Their enthusiasm, it must be added, overcame the handicap that neither the editors, with the exception of Dr. Rudolf Brandl, nor their helpers had any previous journalistic experience. Those writers who as editors led *Aufbau* through its most difficult period merit a more detailed description.

Edward W. Jelenko founded *Aufbau* and set up the organization for production of the first number. He came from Austria shortly after the end of World War I, spoke several languages, and became a U.S. citizen before he took over *Aufbau's* editorship.<sup>2</sup> Jelenko was the correspondent for two European newspapers<sup>3</sup> and wrote a pamphlet on anti-Semitism, *Judenhass-Menschenhass*.<sup>4</sup> As editor, he saw his main task in cultivating Jewish ideas in view of spreading anti-Semitism. This included the support of Zionism.<sup>5</sup> After having edited just one issue, Jelenko resigned to accept a post as

---

<sup>1</sup> A L/24, 15.6.1984, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> E de J, 14.11.1989, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1961, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Hatred of Jews-Hatred of Mankind* - A I/5, 1.4.1935, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> A I/5, 1.4.1935, p. 4.

director of research and publication with the American Jewish Congress.<sup>1</sup> Even after his resignation, he wrote several articles for *Aufbau*.

His successor was Dr. Alfred Eichenberg, one of the club's physicians and a sex psychologist<sup>2</sup>, who had arrived in the U.S.A. in 1924.<sup>3</sup> He led *Aufbau* through two crucial crises without having to change his editorial policy. His articles and the lectures he gave at the Theodor Herzl Society<sup>4</sup> identify him as a Zionist. He resigned early in 1937 when the editorial work had increased so much as to interfere with his medical practice.<sup>5</sup> Eichenberg died in May 1948. Both Jelenko and de Jonge wrote obituaries, the former praising his vitality, the latter his quiet persistence, and both saluted his devoted work in the development of *Aufbau*.<sup>6</sup>

Josef [later Joseph] Maier, who was, at that time, still a student at Columbia University in New York, edited just one number in an emergency. He came to the U.S.A. in September 1933<sup>7</sup> from Central Germany.<sup>8</sup> His numerous contributions to the

---

<sup>1</sup> Maier, pp. 4, 27.

<sup>2</sup> A I/2, 1.1.1935, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/20, 14.5.1943, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> A I/7, 1.6.1935, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> A L/24, 15.6.1984, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> A IX/20, 14.5.1943, pp. 8, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Maier, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> A I/5, 1.4.1935, p. 8.

paper dealt mostly with philosophical, sociological and religious subjects. Delegated by the club to speak in 1935 at the annual laying of a wreath on the poet's day of death at the Heine monument in the Bronx, Maier presented the thesis that "the Jews chased from Germany were the heirs to German literature and philosophy."<sup>1</sup>

Eric de Jonge, a mechanical engineer as well as fancier of antiques and American art, emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1926.<sup>2</sup> He was president of the club from 1931 to 1933<sup>3</sup>, vice-president in 1936 and for many years a member of the board of directors. He resigned as assistant-editor at the same time as Eichenberg and for similar work-related reasons.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Rudolf Brandl, who became editor on April 1, 1937, differed completely from his four predecessors. First, he did not belong to the group of young members of the club but came from a non-permanent job with the *New Yorker Staatszeitung and Herold*,<sup>5</sup> one of the papers of the Ridder press empire founded in 1834 and published in German. Secondly, he had worked in Germany as a journalist, but his last job with the Ullstein concern was as archivist and librarian.<sup>6</sup> Thirdly he was

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/3, 1.2.1935, pp. 1, 9; L/24, 15.6.1984, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> E de J, 16.11.1989, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See also p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Henceforth abbreviated *Staats-Zeitung*.

<sup>6</sup> Werner Roeder & Herbert A Strauss, Eds., *Handbook of the German-Speaking Emigration After 1933*, [Munich, K.A. Saur, 1980] p. 82.

neither a Zionist nor sympathetic to Zionism but a follower of Max Naumann even in exile.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, *Aufbau* paid him a salary of \$12 per week.<sup>2</sup> In articles in *Aufbau*, Brandl asserted a continuing affiliation with the *Deutschtum*.<sup>3</sup>

Brandl's editorship showed two distinct phases. The paper reported on February 1, 1938<sup>4</sup> that he was sick and could not participate in preparing that issue. Before this date, *Aufbau* unmistakably showed Brandl's stamp: the stress was on the link between Jews and Germans. After his sickness, *Aufbau* more closely resembled Eichenberg's position. In the first issue he edited, Brandl introduced two columns: *Worte der Erkenntnis*<sup>5</sup> and *Memento*. The former was to provide a selection of maxims, eminent in thought and language, from great literature; the latter utterances that exposed the essential mentality of that "elementary people's movement."<sup>6</sup> *Memento* appeared only five times. Many of the immigrants knew Nazi practices from their own experience: they did not need to be reminded of the brutality of their opponents. Most of the *Worte der Erkenntnis* came from German gentile authors.

---

<sup>1</sup> Naumann's Federation of National-German Jews was "stoutly anti-Zionist" and rightist in German politics. Georg Bernhard called them "prevented Nazis", [Peterson, p. 122].

<sup>2</sup> E de J, 24.8.1990, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Germanism, A III/7, 1.6.1937, p. 4, and IV/5, 1.4.1938, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> IV/3, p.4.

<sup>5</sup> Words of Wisdom.

<sup>6</sup> He meant the Nazis. A III/5, 1.4.1937, pp. 4/6.

Brandl accepted contributions on Nietzsche<sup>1</sup>, Fichte<sup>2</sup>, and Schiller.<sup>3</sup> But he published only one article about Zionism, "Britons, Arabs and Jews,"<sup>4</sup> on the occasion of England's decision to divide Palestine. He also stopped all announcements from the Theodor Herzl Society together with the recommendation to attend its events. The anti-Zionist tendency is obvious.

After Brandl's recovery from sickness, the two columns *Memento* and *Worte der Erkenntnis* ceased publication. His own lead articles became rarer than before and less doctrinaire. "Twilight of Men"<sup>5</sup> dealt with the spinelessness of Western leaders and the uselessness of compromising with the Nazis.<sup>6</sup> "Appearance and Reality" took issue with the problems that Jews created themselves.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, *Aufbau* published Alfred Kerr's love declaration *Jeruschalajim*,<sup>8</sup> and the Theodor Herzl Society was welcome again. Although he had adopted the pattern that prevailed in the paper before his editorship,

---

<sup>1</sup> A. III/6, 1.9.1937, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A III/9, 1.8.1937, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A IV/4, 1.3.1938, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A III/12, 1.11.1937, pp. 5/6.

<sup>5</sup> *Menschendaemmerung*.

<sup>6</sup> A IV/6, 1.5.1938, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> A IV/7, 1.6.1938, pp. 1/2.

<sup>8</sup> A IV/6, 1.5.1938, pp. 7/8.

Brandl announced his resignation on March 15, 1939.<sup>1</sup>

What did the readers say to Brandl's style? The painter Leo Glueckselig, who arrived in New York in 1938, described his first impression of the paper as unfavourable because its articles were "too literary for these terrible times."<sup>2</sup> Brandl's style certainly did not meet de Jonge's demand, namely that articles should not be of an abstract nature offering nothing concrete to the reader or beyond his or her comprehension.<sup>3</sup>

In fact, Brandl did not resign voluntarily, but was forced to vacate his place for Manfred George, whom Hulse, chairman of the club's press committee, and his ally Dr. Alfred Prager favoured. According to de Jonge, the dismissal occurred in a "tactless, if not brutal way." But de Jonge also admits "that Brandl as a nationalistic German Jew was not the best man for *Aufbau*."<sup>4</sup> Brandl returned to Germany in 1953, where he died in 1957.<sup>5</sup>

Before leaving the U.S.A., Brandl sought to take revenge on *Aufbau*, the club and George. The paper, he contended, did not support Britain and France in their fight against the Stalin-Hitler Pact in 1939. The club was "an organisation in

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/5, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Kienzle, 2.5.1988, Reel 4.

<sup>3</sup> A I/10, 1.9.1935, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> E de J, 11.6.1991, pp. 1/2.

<sup>5</sup> Roeder & Strauss, p. 82.

which ... all seeds of intellectual activity [had] dried up beyond recovery". George was a Communist agent ordered to conquer the club."<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Norbert Goldenberg, vice-president of the club, Brandl even denounced the club to the FBI.<sup>2</sup> The following story will show how ridiculous these accusations were.

### *An Ideological Crisis*

This crisis of the paper developed from a conflict transplanted from Germany. Several of the early members or followers, including the three founders, had been members of the *Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten*.<sup>3</sup> Their affiliation with the RjF pointed to a background of assimilation, the rejection of national-Jewish aims and a contempt of *Ostjuden*.<sup>4</sup>

Jelenko's lead article and particularly the militant Zionist poem in the first number must have angered these anti-Zionist members. Most of them opposed *Aufbau* from the beginning.<sup>5</sup> An unsigned article, probably written by the new editor, Dr. Alfred Eichenberg, a Zionist sympathiser and lecturer in

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Brandl, *Der Kulturverband und Seine Sippe in Gegen den Strom*, October/November 1939, pp. 18, 20, 21. taken from Radkau, pp. 92/129/314/318, and Robert E. Carden, *German Exile Literature in America 1933-1950 - A History of the Free German Press and Book Trade*, [Chicago: American Library Association 1970] p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert A. Strauss, ed., *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U. S. A.*, Vol 5 [New York: K. G. Saur, 1984] p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> RjF-German Federation of Jewish Frontline Fighters.

<sup>4</sup> Jews living in or coming from countries east of Germany.

<sup>5</sup> E de J, 26.11.1989, p. 4.

the Theodor Herzl Society, tried to pacify them. A paper could not be politically neutral, as the statutes of the club demanded, or it would become colourless and boring. Applying the regulation to the paper meant the opening of the pages to all opinions.<sup>1</sup>

This explanation did not appease the anti-Zionists and opponents of *Aufbau*. Kaete Schreiberstein wrote to "The Forum", a letter to the Editor column, describing them contemptuously as *Deutschjuden*,<sup>2</sup> who have learned absolutely nothing from Hitler's rise. They did not want to accept the fact there was only one kind of Jew nor the necessity of a positive attitude towards Judaism.<sup>3</sup>

Point III of the agenda of an extraordinary assembly on May 1, 1935, was "discussion about the club bulletin."<sup>4</sup> The report about the meeting in the next number did not give any details, but stated that "unpleasant but necessary things were discussed."<sup>5</sup>

That issue, of June 1, still showed Eichenberg as editor, but also the following announcement: "This number of the *Aufbau* is dedicated to the Press Committee of the German-Jewish Club, without whose assistance it could not have been

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/2, 1.1.1935, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Nationalistic Germans of Jewish faith.

<sup>3</sup> A I/5, 1.4.1935, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> A I/6, 1.5.1935, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> A I/7, 1.6..1935, p. 4.



published on time."<sup>1</sup> No. I/8&9, July and August 1935, now showing Josef Maier as editor, thanked Eichenberg for his work and wished the new editor success.<sup>2</sup> But strangely, without any explanation, Eichenberg again appeared as editor for the issue of September 1935, a post he occupied until he resigned in March 1937.

De Jonge's letter in "The Forum", expressed in diplomatic language rather than in Schreiberstein's unmincing words, lifts the veil somewhat but still leaves a great deal unexplained. Headed "Crisis of the Newspaper", it described the two opposing groups. One side showed myopia, intellectual disinterest and the ideology of Klein-Kleckersdorf,<sup>3</sup> while the editor's side showed farsightedness, perception of the need for articles with political and Jewish content, as well as self-criticism. This led to conflicts within the club. Some members with parochial views objected to the editor's extended plan through boycotts and countermeasures, while the people around the editor did not want to abandon their endeavours. All attempts to come to an understanding were in vain.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, the parties reached some kind of accord. The "Club Review" wrote about point III of the agenda: "Report about the readjustment of the club bulletin", dis-

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A small, unimportant and isolated town.

<sup>4</sup> A I/10, 1.9.1935, p. 11.

cussed in an extraordinary assembly on September 4, 1935: "The membership approved the report and the proposals of the press committee."<sup>1</sup>

Although full of gaps, these facts are sufficient to reconstruct what the paper did not publish. The assembly of May 1, 1935, must have resolved to institute a press committee, whose main task was to function as publisher of the paper. It was also to act as arbitrator in the fight between the two groups.

Before the committee could start its work, open warfare began again. It might have been about articles extremely offensive to the *Deutschjuden*. More probably, the reason was a complaint that Fred J. Herrmann,<sup>2</sup> vice-president of the club and main speaker of the group, aggressively expressed in a letter to "The Forum". The editor, namely Eichenberg, had criticised too harshly the club's social activities.<sup>3</sup> This may seem frivolous, but the staging of such events was one of the reasons for the club's existence, planned at a less sorrowful time for all Jews than the period that began in 1933.

In the ensuing argument, Eichenberg discontinued editing the June issue and resigned. A compromise, probably initiated by members not involved in the fight, could be reached only by appointing a neutral person acceptable to both sides as

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/11, 1.10.1935, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> F.J.H.

<sup>3</sup> A I/4, 1.5.1935, p. 10.

chairman of the press committee. Such a person was Wilfred C. Hulse. He was an individualist and not identifiable with either of the parties.<sup>1</sup> He held this office until 1943 when he joined the army.

Eichenberg withdrew his resignation and obviously tried not to offend the *Deutschjuden*. The articles he accepted corresponded to the by-laws of the club" and served "Jewish and general knowledge."<sup>2</sup> The majority of articles dealt with the lives and achievements of famous Jews, successful Jewish enterprises and religious philosophy. The only contribution that could be considered Zionist was the program of the New York Theodor Herzl Society.<sup>3</sup>

Eichenberg's caution ended abruptly. It started with a review by Dr. Ludwig Schwarzschild of a meeting about Palestine. The opening lines read as follows:

Palestine, once the land of our ancestors, to-day however, the land of the Jewish present and more than that of the Jewish future, was the centre of an event arranged by the German-Jewish Club together with the Prospect Unity Club under the auspices of the Jewish National Fund of America.<sup>4</sup>

Several articles followed. Franz J. Katz in *Richtungsnahme angesichts zweier Krisen*<sup>5</sup> - dealing with the anti-Semitism spreading from Germany and the revolt of the Arabs in

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Groth p. 340, Hulse arrived in the U. S. A. in 1935.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 15/16.

<sup>3</sup> A I/7, 1.6.1935, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> A II/5, 1.4.1936, pp. 2/5.

<sup>5</sup> Orientation in view of two crises.

Palestine - reviewed past errors and the prospects of the future of Eretz Israel.<sup>1</sup> No Jewish legion existed, which was the main mistake, to take possession of the land immediately after the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Now, the Jews themselves have to fight for it and not rely on the mandate power.<sup>2</sup> In the same issue, Clara Simons began a three-part report on her voyage to Palestine.<sup>3</sup> "Eretz Israel or Pan-arabia" was the title of a piece by de Jonge, arguing that the increased Jewish immigration did not harm the Arabs.<sup>4</sup> Robert Stricker criticised the official Zionist aim in "Why Do We Need the Jewish State?" Weizmann's policy would be satisfied with a Palestine in which Jewish capital and work guaranteed the settlers security without them being masters in the house. Similar arrangements in Spain, Germany and several countries in East Europe had ended in a catastrophe. Only a Jewish state as demanded by Herzl could prevent such a disappointment in Palestine.<sup>5</sup> Katz recounted the story of "35 years of Keren Kayemeth",<sup>6</sup> the organisation that acquired ground in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.<sup>7</sup> He also

---

<sup>1</sup> The state of Israel.

<sup>2</sup> A II/6, 1.5.1936, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 9/10.

<sup>4</sup> A II/7, 1.6.1936, pp. 1/2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Jewish National Fund.

<sup>7</sup> A III/2, 1.1.1937, p. 7.

welcomed Ittamar Ben Avi, a Jewish writer, politician and militant activist, who was to speak before the German-Jewish Club on "Storm over Palestine."<sup>1</sup> At that time, *Aufbau* even gave a platform to a Marxist writer, J. Frank. He rejected, of course, all kinds of nationalism and explained all events in the world by the class struggle. While denying any Jewish historical right to Palestine, Frank saw Zionism's task as helping poor, persecuted Jewish people escape to other countries, including Palestine, if conditions were favourable.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau's* pages do not give any indication of the reason for this reversal, which gave it the appearance of a Zionist paper. Eichenberg may just have disregarded the opposition and got away with it. It did not cause his resignation in March 1937.<sup>3</sup> A more reasonable assumption would be that the *Deutschjuden* had relented in face of the ever worsening Jewish situation as, for instance, seen in the pogroms of late 1938. Zionism was no longer the "enemy" for them as it had been when they defended their position as Germans of Jewish faith against Jewish nationalism.

When *Aufbau's* success was no longer in doubt the *Deutschjuden* abandoned their opposition and climbed on the bandwagon. "It still pains me", de Jonge comments, "that in

---

<sup>1</sup> A III/3, 1.2.1937, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A II/9, 1.8.1936, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> E de J, 11.6.1991, p. 1.

later years, when *Aufbau* bloomed, they claimed and were acclaimed as THE supporters of *Aufbau* and let everyone know that without them there would not have been *Aufbau*."<sup>1</sup>

This change had not yet occurred when Hulse negotiated with George to become editor of the paper. Some tension between the two groups must have existed. Hulse wanted George on January 22, 1939, to "confirm [his] political neutrality ... since you know how difficult everything is in New York émigré circles".<sup>2</sup>

### ***A Financial Crisis***

The first indication of financial difficulties appeared in de Jonge's letter to "The Forum" on September 1, 1935.<sup>3</sup> Then in January 1936, the general assembly approved the establishment of a "Newspaper Fund" for voluntary contributions. Increases in the circulation of the paper and higher welfare payments were responsible for the move.<sup>4</sup> Since the appeals did not have the expected result and since new immigrants arrived in greater and greater numbers,<sup>5</sup> increasing automatically the club's welfare expenses and the

---

<sup>1</sup> E de J, 17.3.1992, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutscher Literatur Archiv*, Marbach, Manfred George Papers, 75-2871/2, quoted from Groth, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> A I/10, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> A II/3, 1.2.1936, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> A II/5, 1.4.1936, pp. 1/2.

circulation of the paper, other financial measures became necessary.

One measure was to reduce the newspaper's size. *Aufbau*, until then 12 pages, shrank to 8 pages for the rest of 1936.<sup>1</sup> Other measures were a drive for new members<sup>2</sup> and a greater attention to collecting the membership fees: Although some of the early issues of *Aufbau* showed the prices for individual issues and for annual subscriptions, interested persons could receive the paper free of charge on request. From February 1, 1936 on, non-members had to pay 10¢ or \$1.00 respectively.<sup>3</sup> The club's membership fee apparently included a subscription to the paper.

Relying on the articles in *Aufbau* alone, one must come to the conclusion that the cause of the paper's crisis was beyond its control and that the above-mentioned measures solved the problem. Indeed, Fred Bielefeld, who became president of the club on January 1, 1938, thanked his predecessor Schlesinger for having overcome the difficulties in 1936.<sup>4</sup>

In the first place, the main reason for the crisis was an overestimate of the expected revenue from advertisements. In addition, numerous advertisers failed to pay for their ads.

---

<sup>1</sup> A II/8, 1.7.1936, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A II/5, 1.4.1936, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A II/3, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A IV/3, 1.2.1938, p. 2.

The worst offender was Fred J. Herrmann, who worked for a stockbroker and whose ad covered half a page in every number, until it was substantially reduced in March 1937. He refused payment because *Aufbau* published ads from other stockbrokers.<sup>1</sup>

A private group of financiers, who recognised the future possibilities of *Aufbau*, thought to exploit the financial troubles and offered to buy the paper. General opinion among the members was against commercialisation. It was the former president, Ernst Heumann, co-owner of Trylon Realty Co., who saved the situation.<sup>2</sup> Heumann, it seems, did his philanthropy in a discreet way, and the first disclosure of his help was not until 1984, Schaber stressed. Neither family nor friends could supply details. A donation of several thousand dollars, according to de Jonge's memory, was necessary to prevent *Aufbau* from falling into the hands of private interests.<sup>3</sup> Having thus saved the paper for the club, Heumann deserved some praise during the celebration of *Aufbau's* 50th anniversary, de Jonge thought. However, Bielefeld mistakenly paid tribute to Schlesinger and not to Heumann for having solved the financial crisis in 1936.

---

<sup>1</sup> E de J, 26.11.1937, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Will Schaber in A L/24, 15.6.1981, pp. 12/13.

<sup>3</sup> E de J, 14.11.1989 p. 1; 28.12.1989, p. 1.



### *Politics in Aufbau*

At the demand of numerous members, the board of directors convoked an extraordinary general meeting for September 4, 1935, to discuss a change of by-laws. Politics were banned from the club on principle, but "active political comments,"<sup>1</sup> in particular the fight against Fascism and Nazism should be allowed.<sup>2</sup> Such a step, it turned out in the discussion, was not necessary, since the board already had that authority. One of the purposes of the club was "the development of its members to be good American citizens". This meant "militant support of democracy and a relentless fight against its enemies. Political activities did not necessarily consist of demonstrations, protests and petitions, but rather of constructive support for the government and co-operation with it in its tasks. The assembly adopted this interpretation unanimously."<sup>3</sup>

*Aufbau* had previously written about Jewish political problems and maintained its attitude against opposition.<sup>4</sup> In the same number reporting about the results of the meeting on September 4, 1935, *Aufbau* began the column *Nazissen* by Edi, or Eric de Jonge, which was to ridicule the self-appointed

---

<sup>1</sup> *Stellungnahme.*

<sup>2</sup> A I/10, 1.9.1935, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A I/11, 1.10.1935, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 29/36.

"supermen."<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, in the last number before the American presidential elections in 1936, *Aufbau* published an unsigned review of the campaign without expressing any recommendation. But it described the Democrats as a liberal-progressive party and the Republicans as showing "reactionary-conservative ideas with rather distinct Fascist sympathies." The *Vereinigten Deutschen Gesellschaften*,<sup>2</sup> the umbrella organisation of all gentile German associations which were covertly sympathetic with the Nazis, as well as the *Amerikanische-Deutsch Volksbund*.<sup>3</sup> *Aufbau* continued, had recommended the election of the Republicans. With these facts given, was an explicit recommendation for whom to vote necessary? But most of the readers were newcomers and could not vote anyhow.<sup>4</sup>

### ***The Issues***

#### ***The Fight against Nazism***

From a practical point of view, *Aufbau's* fight against Nazism, though sanctioned by the club's members, was not the most important task. Obviously, its own efforts during this early period could not have amounted to much. The journalists who had been leading the opposition to Hitler were still in

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/11, 1.10.1935, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> United German Societies.

<sup>3</sup> American-German People's Association, better known as the Bund.

<sup>4</sup> A II/12, 1.11.1936, pp. 4/5.

Paris. *Aufbau*, unable to pay for their contributions, had to rely on its own writers. The paper's efforts, if not hitting Nazism deeply, gave, at least, comfort to the readers. The Nazis pictured in the column *Nazissen*<sup>1</sup> were presented as subjects of ridicule, and not the supermen they claimed to be.

*Aufbau's* campaign against the adversary consisted of three methods: 1) It could attack Nazism directly, 2) it could propagandise for organisations whose purpose was the denunciation of the Nazis and similar regimes and 3) it could report Nazi influence and activities in the U.S.A.

A good example of the first type of activity was Thomas Mann's first contribution to the paper *Deutschland in seiner tiefsten Erniedrigung*.<sup>2</sup> Mann warned against comparing the pogroms of November 1938 with the barbarism of the middle ages. Such cold-blooded destruction dictated from above had never occurred before: only a government without culture and conscience could have ordered it. Such a regime, Mann concluded, could not exist forever. It was important not to lose courage, but to continue the fight. Words like that from such an eminent author must have been comforting to the readers.

*Aufbau's* comments on Nazi successes and laws applicable only to Jews still in Germany were, of course, not only reports but also accusations and counterattacks. Issues and

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Germany in its Deepest Degradation - A V/2, 1.2.1939, p. 1., Reprint from *Mass und Wert*.

events discussed in the paper were the Nuremberg laws, the events in Austria, the Munich Pact and the pogroms in November 1938. But reports from inside Germany were, on the whole, too optimistic about the Nazis' shortcomings.<sup>1</sup>

Another kind of article tried to vie with the oracle of Delphi. E.G.O., who was Hulse, saw the dictators bent on war, the sooner the better. In that case, the Jews would stand "*auf Aussenposten*".<sup>2</sup> This was not the first warning against war in *Aufbau*. As early as 1935, an unnamed author, Eichenberg probably, had written: "We [the Jews] fight against Fascism not only because it has attacked us but also because it is the destructive element per se. Fascism means a world war."<sup>3</sup> The formation of a united front, the article continued, of all anti-Fascist groups was necessary to counter Fascist propaganda and then to work for the fall of the dictators. Small groups could not do much. Yet this would not relieve them from doing spade-work, such as: 1) supporting the boycott against Germany, 2) demanding the cancellation of the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, 3) advocating the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Carl von Ossietzky and 4) correcting immediately all lies spread in the U.S.A. by Nazi agents.

Did *Aufbau* pay attention to its own admonition? The pseudonymous author Antiteutonicus, examining the effective-

---

<sup>1</sup> A III/3, 1.2.1937, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *In a Dangerous Position* - A V/3, 15.2.1939, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A I/10, 1.9.1935, pp. 1/2.

ness of the boycott against German goods and services, quoted with great satisfaction the utterance of one of the directors of the German Central Bank: "Nothing can be done to counteract the world-wide boycott."<sup>1</sup> The imports of German goods into the U.S.A. for instance, dropped by about half between 1932 and 1934. At the end, the author requested the readers to watch for all deceptions and to report them when they occurred. "Boycott Nazi Germany!" were the last words. On June 1, 1936, *Aufbau* published an appeal by Toni Sender, secretary of the women's committee of the Joint Boycott Council, to participate in a picketing demonstration.<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards the new president of the club listed the tasks facing his organisation.<sup>3</sup> Demonstrations supporting the boycott were not among them.

On the other hand, *Aufbau* published several articles on the question of the Olympic Games. A German-Jewish sportsman, calling himself "H", explained how the U.S.A. agreed to participate in the Games. The president of the American Olympic Committee, Avery Brundage, visited Germany in September 1934 to verify the situation. He never spoke to the representatives of the German-Jewish sportive organisations alone; Nazi officials also attended the meetings. With the threat of the concentration camp unuttered but always present,

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/11, 1.10.1935, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> A II/7, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> A II/10, 1.9.1935, p. 1.

the Jewish sportsmen did not dare tell Brundage about the handicaps facing Jewish sport in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Verus, continuing the debate, confirmed the events as described in the previous article. The author found it strange that the AOC accepted the invitation to the Games in spite of the discrimination that became known before and after the visit. The article closed: "Stay away from the Olympiad in Hitler's Germany!"<sup>2</sup> While *Aufbau* did its duty in this respect, though in vain, it did not publish anything in favour of Ossietzky.

However, *Aufbau* gave almost unlimited space to articles that reported about efforts by Jewish organisations to fight Nazism before the League of Nations. What the contributions by Franz J. Katz<sup>3</sup> and by Arthur Schwertfeger<sup>4</sup> showed were not so much the struggle itself, but the competition between the two largest U.S. Jewish organisations, the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, over which of them was the leader in the fight against Nazism.

Dr. Hans M. Meyer condemned all actions before the League of Nations. They were useless, a waste of time and money, he insisted, because they disregarded the impotence of the League, the appeasing policy of the Western democracies and Nazi brazenness. The danger of such actions was the impression

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/7, 1. 6. 1935, pp. 9/10.

<sup>2</sup> A I/10, 1. 9. 1935, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A I/11, 1. 10. 1935, pp. 1/2, 6/7, II/9, 1. 8. 1936, pp. 2/3.

<sup>4</sup> A II/11, 1. 10. 1936, p. 4.

of something having been done when, in fact, they amounted to nothing.<sup>1</sup> In two additional articles, Meyer discussed what could be done under the circumstances: Because American Jewish leaders were largely ignorant about the situation in Europe, the true nature of the Nazi anti-Semitism and the facts of the fight, Nazi propaganda could spread more easily and successfully in the U.S.A. This should teach this lesson: Forget all ideological differences, consult German-Jewish immigrants who know Nazism and its methods and unite with gentile organizations that also fight Nazism to form one front without any frills, concentrating solely on the protection of the Jews left in Germany as well as on the fight against Hitlerism in the U.S.A. and abroad.<sup>2</sup> The readers of *Aufbau* could see from these articles the futility of fighting Nazism on the international level. How was the situation in the domestic field?

*Aufbau's* main target here was the *Staats-Zeitung*.<sup>3</sup> For its readership, this paper relied on the steady flow of German immigrants, who soon achieved middle-class status and who formed countless clubs, associations, territorial groups<sup>4</sup> and federations. Later, it depended, to a great extent, on advertisements from Jewish businessmen.<sup>5</sup> The Nazi seizure of

---

<sup>1</sup> A II/10, 1.9.1936, pp. 2, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A II/11, 1.10.1936, pp. 1, 6, II/12, 1.11.1936, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Landmannschaften*.

<sup>5</sup> Groth, pp. 281/2.

power in 1933 put the *Staats-Zeitung* into a difficult position. It could not cater honestly both to its primary readers on one hand, and to German-Jewish subscribers and advertisers on the other.

The *Staats-Zeitung* tried to overcome this situation by keeping its Jewish employees and the "Jewish Column", printing the telegrams of the American press agencies but also those of the Nazi Transocean Agency. It suppressed, however, the obvious misdeeds of the Hitler regime, an omission that particularly aroused *Aufbau's* ire.

*Aufbau* analysed in great detail the relations of German-Americans to Nazism in an article entitled *Sturm im Wasserglas*.<sup>1</sup> Although most of them had become American citizens or even were born in the U.S.A., an estimated 10% were militant Nazis, for the greatest part followers of Fritz Kuhn's "Bund,"<sup>2</sup> another 10% were militant anti-Nazis and 80% were non-partisans with a touch of Nazism.<sup>3</sup> The article also reflected on German-Jewish and German-American relations. Kipling's somewhat modified saying "East is Yorkville<sup>4</sup> and West is Washington Heights<sup>5</sup> and never the twain shall meet," characterised the relations of the two

---

<sup>1</sup> Storm in a tea cup.

<sup>2</sup> See page 40.

<sup>3</sup> *angenazit*.

<sup>4</sup> The Centre of the German-Americans.

<sup>5</sup> That of German-Jewish immigrants.



groups coming from the same country.<sup>1</sup>

The first article taking aim at the *Staats-Zeitung* in *Aufbau*, signed by "H", concentrated on an obvious target: the column *Aus Lee Greenspoon's Sammelmappe*.<sup>2</sup> It always began with *Gut Schabbes, Herr Redakteurleben!*,<sup>3</sup> indicating a Jewish author. "H's" analysis of the column characterised the style as grotesque, a German that no German Jew would recognise as his mother tongue, but that anti-Semites used in their satires. The contents avoided anything that could remotely be interpreted as criticism of Hitler's Germany. In contrast, the American government and others were roasted with glee. The *Staats-Zeitung*, "H" suggested, should eliminate this column; if it "thought" Greenspoon's babbling pleased Jewish readers, it was mistaken.<sup>4</sup>

A group of *Aufbau's* readers investigated the *Staats-Zeitung's* true political tendency. Under the cloak of neutrality, they found, there was Nazi sympathy, but badly camouflaged for the attentive reader. Using Nazi nomenclature, giving harmless headings to articles with clear Nazi tendency, adding the word *angeblich*<sup>5</sup> to news items that showed the Nazi

---

<sup>1</sup> A II//7, 1.6.1936, pp. 5/7.

<sup>2</sup> From Lee Greenspoon's folder.

<sup>3</sup> A Good Sabbath, Mr. Editor.

<sup>4</sup> A I/10, 1.9.1935, pp. 8/9.

<sup>5</sup> alleged.

regime's true face were but a few of the tricks it used for spreading Nazi propaganda.<sup>1</sup>

Numerous other articles of the same type as the two discussed here followed. But, once *Aufbau* reprinted verbatim an article under the heading *Die Staats-Zeitung auf neuem Wege*.<sup>2</sup> In it, Ridder's paper condemned without restrictions the pogroms of November 1938 that had taken place all over Germany. *Aufbau's* comment expressed the hope of finding the *Staats-Zeitung* on the side of humanitarianism in future.<sup>3</sup>

On another occasion, when reporting about the trial of some Nazi spies, *Aufbau* added: "We must do our utmost to prevent the brown pest from spreading outside the country of origin, particularly in America."<sup>4</sup>

The second and third types of articles published in *Aufbau's* fight against Nazism<sup>5</sup> were still in their early stages. The paper's organisation was not yet fully developed for these tasks. The first article of this kind concerned the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Kulturverband*.<sup>6</sup> Its purpose was to represent the German-Americans who did not want to be iden-

---

<sup>1</sup> A II/1, 1.12.1935, pp. 5/6.

<sup>2</sup> The *Staats-Zeitung* on a new course.

<sup>3</sup> A IV/13, 1.12.1938, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> A IV/10, 1.9.1938, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> German-American Cultural Association.

tified with the Third Reich in the cultural field.<sup>1</sup> Other articles about this association's events and the opening of educational classes followed.<sup>2</sup>

Another case where *Aufbau* offered its pages to an anti-Nazi<sup>3</sup> organisation was the *Antifaschistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*,<sup>4</sup> the brainchild of Dr. Hans Martin Meyer. *Aufbau* published his appeal for the foundation,<sup>5</sup> a report about the reaction to the appeal<sup>6</sup> and announcements about meetings of the group and its public events.<sup>7</sup>

Reports on Nazi activities in America were limited to New York City. Franz J. Katz, in an article *Brauner Antisemitismus in New York*,<sup>8</sup> named the DKV-Deutscher Konsum Verband,<sup>9</sup> which organised retail stores, travelling agencies and restaurants for the purpose of selling German goods. As well, it distributed posters with anti-Semitic contents and Nazi slogans to members for displays.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A II/1, 1.12.1935, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A II/2, 1.1.1936, pp. 1/2; II/4, 1.3.1936, p. 10; III/1, 1.12, 1936, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Or Anti-Fascist.

<sup>4</sup> Anti-Fascist study group.

<sup>5</sup> A II/1, 1.12.1936, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> A III/2, 1.1.1937, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> A IV/12, 1.11.1938, p. 1; V/1, 1.1.1939, p. 4; V/2, 1.2.1939, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Brown anti-Semitism in New York.

<sup>9</sup> German cooperative stores.

<sup>10</sup> A I/7, 1.6.1935, pp. 2/4; I/8, July 1935, p. 1.

Even though *Aufbau's* attacks against Nazism and support of anti-Nazi organisations could have been no more than pinpricks for the Hitler Reich, they provoked the banning of the paper in Germany as early as November 1935. *Aufbau* commented proudly: "We consider this ban as an honourable tribute to our paper. To our knowledge, the New Yorker *Staats-Zeitung* has never had the distinction of being forbidden in Nazi Germany."<sup>1</sup> The old homeland had become hostile territory to *Aufbau* and its readers. What did it do to acquaint the latter with their new homeland?

#### *Americanisation*

Americanisation, which Webster's dictionary defines as the instruction of foreigners in English and in U.S. history, government and culture, was at that stage the greatest necessity for *Aufbau's* readers. Donald P. Kent has given a more specific definition, which also applies to "assimilation." He includes a good knowledge of English, friendship with Americans, American citizenship, a secure livelihood in a field of one's training and experience, purchasing and settling in one's own home, participation in political life, and co-operation in social and cultural activities.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A II/1, 1.12.1935, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Donald P. Kent, *The Refugee Intellectual - The Americanization of Immigrants*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 241.

At this early period, the most important task for the immigrant was to find a job, some kind of livelihood for himself and his family. The basic idea of an editorial by Hulse, unfortunately headed "America First," the slogan of the isolationist movement, gave expression to this fact. For Hulse, it was an admonition to the readers to concentrate on the future in America. "The rebuilding of a secure livelihood will and must occupy all our energy to unite us with this country ... the classical nation of liberty" and "the capitalistic state under the rule of law."<sup>1</sup> The ambiguity of Hulse's title and errors about the legal status of recent immigrants caused de Jonge to misinterpret Hulse's editorial. Hulse, he thought, was of the opinion that with the receipt of the first papers the newcomers had been Americanised and that he advocated the isolationist policy. Americanisation, according to de Jonge, would take a decade for even those of a higher intellect. He called Hulse and his followers "*Schnellamerikaner*."<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau* had committed itself to contribute to its readers' "development to good American citizens". However, Dorothee Schneider in her thesis *Aufbau-Reconstruction and the Americanisation of German-Jewish Immigrants 1934-1944*,<sup>3</sup> complained that the German-Jewish Club stressed Jewish thoughts and

---

<sup>1</sup> buergerliche Rechtsstaat - A IV/11, 1. 10, 1938, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> On the spot Americans.

<sup>3</sup> An unpublished thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Massachusetts, May 1975.

subjects in its lectures but neglected entirely Americanisation of its members, judging by the programs in *Aufbau*. The paper itself, at least in its early years, was also "conspicuous for the absence of American topics."

*Aufbau* in particular, Schneider thought, did not publish any articles with political subjects. However, as early as in its second issue, the paper brought the first article of a series by Dr. Fritz Moses, *Unpolitisches ueber amerikanische Verfassung und Politik*.<sup>1</sup> The series was, of course, political instruction in spite of the title. Politics and the constitution, according to Moses, had a much greater effect on intellectual and economic life in the U.S. than in Germany. The same author also contributed a treatise on Judge Louis Brandeis.<sup>2</sup> The elections in 1936 evoked two articles, one already mentioned,<sup>3</sup> and the other by Erwin H. Klaus, "War Clouds overshadow the Election Campaign."<sup>4</sup> The editor published, furthermore, the appeal of a group of young active members of the club, though expressing disagreement with some of its contents. The group intended to better acquaint the readers with American problems so that these individuals could

---

<sup>1</sup> An unpolitical view on the American constitution and politics - A I/2, 1.1.1935, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> A III/1, 1.12.1936. pp. 6/7.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> A II/10, 1.9.1936, p. 4.

participate in the preservation of democracy in the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> The president of the club, Fred H. Bielefeld, thought this a good idea and promised improvement.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau* also published articles that furthered the Americanisation of its readers in the non-political fields. For the first two years, it adhered to its promise to publish one English-language item in every number. Later, it offered advice on how best to proceed in acquiring English knowledge fast.<sup>3</sup> In 1939, it started a column, "Say it in English," by J. Gillis and M. Railganu.<sup>4</sup> Walter Lewinnek reported about American universities, their students and the *Numerus Clausus*.<sup>5</sup> Another article dealt with Carl Schurz and his disapproval of anti-Semitism.<sup>6</sup> *Aufbau* reminded its readers in several ads to file their first papers, which would give them the right to issue affidavits for would-be immigrants.<sup>7</sup> The paper published a whole series on American immigration laws and regulations,<sup>8</sup> as well as reports from various parts of the country where prospects of finding work were better than in

---

<sup>1</sup> A IV/9, 1.8.1938, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A IV/12, 1.11.1938, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A III/7, 1.6.1937, p. 8, III/8; 1.7.1937, p. 1; IV/8, 1.7.1938, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A V/3, 15.2.1939, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> A I/8-9, July-August 1935, pp. 10/11.

<sup>6</sup> A II/4, 1.3.1936, pp. 1/2.

<sup>7</sup> A I/8-9, July - August 1935, p. 2. for instance.

<sup>8</sup> Starting A IV/12, 1.11.1938, p. 6.

New York.<sup>1</sup> A really practical series was on different kinds of insurance by Dr. Oscar H. Freitag.<sup>2</sup> While the paper was not entirely bare of subjects dealing with Americanisation, as Schneider has claimed, she is partly right as far as the amount of space allocated to this topic is concerned. Americanisation, so important for the integration of the newcomers, deserved more space in the paper; above all, its presentation needed a plan. The choice of articles seemed to be haphazard, except those on the elections.

The importance of facilitating Americanisation increased steadily, for it became clearer every day that Nazism in Germany was not a short-lived interregnum and that the old homeland had undergone a fundamental change. A return to it would be entirely out of question. Germany had become a second Spain for the Jews. This thought must have been the basis for Reinhold Herz's suggestion to found a "Federation of German Jews in America," though it was not directly expressed,<sup>3</sup> but Peter in his article, "The Rebuilding of the World," was blunter: "Return? That is not possible for the Jews."<sup>4</sup>

The relative neglect of Americanisation in *Aufbau's* early years can be largely attributed to the personal inclinations of the paper's two primary editors. Brandl was no friend of Americanisation as indicated by his preference for Germanism.

---

<sup>1</sup> A II/2, 1.1.1936, pp. 6/7 for instance.

<sup>2</sup> Starting A IV/12, 1.9.1938, pp. 7/8.

<sup>3</sup> A V/2, 1.2.1939, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> A V/4, 15.3.1939, pp. 10/11.



He expressed his disinclination in several utterances, for example: "A fool is one who ... has rashly adopted the idea of the American way of doing things."<sup>1</sup>

As for Eichenberg, his sympathy for Zionism inclined him also to downplay Americanisation and to prefer, instead, articles with Jewish subjects.

Even some of the German-Jewish immigrants, who came after 1933 and who knew that a return to Germany was not possible, spurned Americanisation nevertheless. *Aufbau* ridiculed this attitude by publishing ten commandments for newcomers, some of which read as follows:

If you want to incur the anger of your fellow-newcomers, you must heed the following guidelines:

1] Start every saying with "in our homeland in Germany ... "

9] Do not subordinate yourself to the customs of the country but demand that the country gets accustomed to your conduct.

10] If you think that the world treats you unjustly, complain loudly: Nothing is being done for the refugees.<sup>2</sup>

An article by Edith Bielschowsky, *Einstellung-Umstellung*<sup>3</sup> prominently placed on the first page, analysed the psychology of these malcontents, to whom she recommended the application of good will and for whom she put forward the highlights of American culture: democratic liberty, tolerance and civil

---

<sup>1</sup> A III/9, 1.8.1937, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A II/12, 1.11.1936, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Attitude - Adaptation.

rights,<sup>1</sup> a line of thought later developed by Manfred George as *Aufbau's leitmotif*. Articles such as "I like America" by Dr. Hella Meyer<sup>2</sup> and "Children like America" by M.J.<sup>3</sup> might also have had an effect against those who scorned the U.S.A.

#### *Discussions about the Past*

To survive in the new homeland and to survive in the style they were accustomed to, the immigrants had to look with confidence into the future, applying all their energy and enthusiasm. Nevertheless, introspection about what went wrong that had led to their emigration was a natural preoccupation. Some of them put their thoughts on paper, and *Aufbau* published these without taking a position. The main subject was assimilation, which for most of them had been an automatic lifestyle.

One article was directed against the most eminent beneficiaries of emancipation and assimilation: the Jewish businessmen, the men of wealth. An author who called himself "Emigrant" told in *Eindringliche Lehre aus Deutschland*,<sup>4</sup> the story of a Jewish politician, financier and owner of a department store who directly helped to pave the way for Nazism and neglected to aid the escape of his co-religionists.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A II/9, 1.8.1936, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A V/1, 1.1.1939, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> A IV/4, 1.3.1938, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Forceful Lessons from Germany.

<sup>5</sup> A II/2, 1.1.1936, p. 5.

Even after having reached the U.S.A., this type was unable to change his behaviour. An unsigned article with the title "Solidarity in the Emigration" [sic] told of other incidences of this kind, although the author admitted that this group was a small, but unabashed minority.<sup>1</sup>

Kurt Tucholsky used to portray these characters in his sketches of Mr. Wendriner. After the satirist committed suicide, de Jonge used this persona to write "Mr. Wendriner in the German-Jewish Club", in a tribute to Tucholsky.<sup>2</sup> This self-criticism often came close to the caricatures in Streicher's *Stuermer*. However, denying the existence of this type would have been to hide one's head in the sand.

The problem of self-identification after the failure of assimilation appeared particularly poignant in an exchange of correspondence between Dr. Willy Aron and Constantin Brunner published in *Aufbau*. Aron introduced Brunner as a preacher of assimilation, founder of the "Precept of the Intellectual and of the People,"<sup>3</sup> heir, commentator and developer<sup>4</sup> of Spinoza. Brunner was born Leo M. Wertheimer, was then about 70 years old and had fled from Berlin to Rotterdam in March 1933, where he lived in great poverty. Aron was his pupil and friend, who tried to induce Brunner to go to the U.S.A. and forget about

---

<sup>1</sup> A III/2, 1.1.1937, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A II/3, 1.2.1936, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Lehre von den Geistigen und vom Volke*.

<sup>4</sup> Fortbildner.

being German. Both attempts failed; Brunner insisted that he was still as German as he had been before. He knew that many of his countrymen shared his view. His name was Constantin Brunner and not Leo M. Wertheimer; he was just a German in exile. The nostalgia for Germany, Aron countered, had disappeared with the anti-Jewish measures. He never would return to the land of his birth, nor had Zionism any attraction for him. His home was now the U.S.A., where he could devote his mind to Jewish ideas of the Bible, the philosophers and the prophets, without restrictions by the authorities.<sup>1</sup>

For Hulse, as for Brunner, assimilation was not a failure, though for an entirely different reason. Judaism adopted from the people among whom the Jews lived valuable perceptions, losing in the process many assimilated Jews to other religions but overcoming the diversions after some time and returning to its own Jewish roots. Judaism survived many such periods during the previous centuries. The German assimilation was now at its end: the return to Judaism must follow.<sup>2</sup> Brunner was just stubborn. Brandl pleaded for abolition of the term assimilation in the internal struggle, because it prevented unity in the fight against the common enemy.<sup>3</sup>

The Zionist view of assimilation, on the other hand, was pragmatic. William P. Ernst reproached the assimilationists

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/11, 1.10.1935, pp. 8/9; II/1, 1.12.1935, pp. 8/9.

<sup>2</sup> A II/10, 1.11.1937, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A IV/7, 1.6.1938, pp. 1/2.

for not having realised that no natural right of social appreciation and sociability existed, that even wealth did not allow arrogance and that platitudes like Jewish eternal truths and the Jewish message, used by them as their credo, did not replace pride in Jewish history and knowledge. The followers of assimilation always rejected a united front. The latest events should have taught them otherwise.<sup>1</sup> A change in this respect, a letter to the editor by Dr. E. Schwabacher claimed, had already occurred. He referred to a lecture by Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld on "The new Germany." The assimilationists, Rosenfeld, one of the leading Social Democrats in Germany and former Prussian Minister of Justice, admitted, should not have opposed Zionist activities in Palestine, which had become home for thousands of refugees from Germany. The Jewish schools established by the Zionists before 1933 were the sole institutions where Jewish children received their education. The audience thanked Rosenfeld for his open acknowledgement of past mistakes.<sup>2</sup>

### ***Commercial Affairs***

Since financial statements are not available, an analysis of the sources of income must suffice as an indication of *Aufbau's* financial condition.

The number of subscribers and readers grew steadily. The flow of Jewish immigrants into the U.S.A. started to rise in

---

<sup>1</sup> A IV/1, 1.12.1937, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A I/1, 1.12.1934, pp. 9/10.

1936<sup>1</sup> and with it the circulation of *Aufbau*. Maas lists the following average figures:

1934	500 copies
1935	1,000 copies
1936	3,000 copies
1937	4,000 copies
1938	4,000 copies rising to 8,000
1939	8,000 copies rising to 10,000 <sup>2</sup>

Although the price of a subscription was low,<sup>3</sup> the gradual increase in circulation must have contributed to *Aufbau's* financial soundness. As early as February 1, 1936, *Aufbau* could announce that it had subscribers in eight countries outside the U.S.A.<sup>4</sup> The number of pages fluctuated between 8 and 24, the smaller number occurring in the summers of 1936 and 1937, the larger on February 1, 1939. Pictures appeared very seldom; the first one was on May 1, 1935.

The paper's main revenue, typical for the majority of periodicals, came from the advertising department. About 33%, or 4 full pages of the first number, was given to ads. The last number before the George era, March 15, 1939, had 20 pages and was about 50% advertisements, equal to 10 full pages. The increase in income must have been proportionate, if not even higher, since the paper must have been able to increase the rates due to the expanded circulation.

---

<sup>1</sup> Strauss, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> A II/3, p. 4.

The ads' variety was astonishing. The classified section appeared under five headings: Rooms, flats and apartments available and wanted, positions open, positions wanted, education and general. Food stores, restaurants and pharmacies offered their German and Austrian specialities. Dealers in antiques, rugs, furniture and cameras sought to buy such valuable items saved from Nazi confiscation. Several kinds of craftsmen tendered their services, so did forwarders, shipping companies, day nurseries, lawyers, translators, accountants, insurance brokers, beauty parlours and even funeral homes. Several manufacturers of specialities, such as gloves, ties and chocolates, advertised for agents. One would not have expected ads from real estate brokers and investment houses among them, but these businesses catering to the well-to-do classes must have found clients among the immigrants. The first ad of a hotel in the Catskills appeared on May 1, 1937.<sup>1</sup> Later, certain summer resorts depended on advertising in *Aufbau* for their clientele.<sup>2</sup> Most of the advertisers appeared to have been recent immigrants. Some of them added the name of their firm in Germany or Austria. The jeweller Leo Blau built up his business largely with the help of advertising in *Aufbau*.<sup>3</sup> Even in these early years, the paper contained display ads from well-known American firms.

---

<sup>1</sup> A III/6, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Kienzle, 3.5.1988, reel 6.

<sup>3</sup> Kienzle, 6.5.1988, reels 10/11.

*Aufbau* hired Hans E. Schleger as advertising and business manager on December 1, 1938.<sup>1</sup> Schleger, the brother of Dr. Fritz Schlesinger, who then changed his name to Frederick Schleger, was no expert in advertising,<sup>2</sup> but he "used all his thoughts and working power for *Aufbau*" and brought "the Advertising Section ... to full bloom".<sup>3</sup> As a reward, Schleger became the highest-paid employee, drawing a commission for every ad.<sup>4</sup>

The increased income from advertising and sales of the paper allowed a more frequent publication schedule; instead of monthly it appeared twice a month starting in February 1939. The club was also able to open an office downtown, managed by Adolph Cahn, which accepted advertisements for the paper.<sup>5</sup> *Aufbau's* profits, the paper announced in a special message, would be used to finance the club's welfare work.<sup>6</sup> The New York Department of State in Albany registered the club as a "Not-for-Profit Corporation" but does not have the date of registration on file.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/50, 22.12.1944, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> E de J, 26.11.1989, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Maier, pp. 28/29.

<sup>5</sup> A III/7, 1.6.1937, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> A IV/1, 1.12.1937, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Postcard 31.12.1992.



By the beginning of 1939, *Aufbau* had become an institution in the German-Jewish community. The paper was by then on a secure financial basis. New immigrants who needed guidance and sometimes information about events from the paper and help from the club arrived in ever growing numbers. The question arose: where to go from here? Two schools of thought had come into the open at the time of the ideological crisis, which, in the meantime, had become latent.

For Schlesinger, the long-time president of the club, *Aufbau* had to keep the character of a club bulletin, even if it published, in addition, valuable articles of major significance. The club's purpose was not to enter the commercial field; the paper's main tasks were education and publicity.<sup>1</sup> This was, of course, the voice from Klein-Kleckersdorf.<sup>2</sup>

Eric de Jonge, on the other hand, had a vision of *Aufbau* as the central organ and mouthpiece of all German Jews in the U.S.A. With a few changes in technical requirements, in style and by adding political content, *Aufbau* could become a true newspaper serving a greater circle than just recent immigrants mainly in New York City.

Hulse, the president of the press committee, took the initiative and chose de Jonge's idea, perhaps without knowing its origin. By chance, he had heard about Manfred George's

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/4, 1.5.1935, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 31.

arrival in New York in August 1938. Hulse, who had been the doctor of George's children in Germany, hired him to become editor of the paper on April 1, 1939.

### *Chapter III Restructuring of Aufbau*

#### *Manfred George*

George, born Manfred Cohn, was known as Manfred Georg, and later in the U.S.A. as Manfred George. He arrived in the U.S.A. in August 1938. The readers of *Aufbau* had the opportunity of meeting him on September 28, 1938, when he gave a lecture on Walter Rathenau at the club. The paper introduced George in these words:

Manfred George, who has worked for the Ullstein concern as one of their leading journalists, has put out the *Juedische Revue* [Jewish Review] at Prague, his last residence in Europe. He wrote biographies of Theodor Herzl, Ivar Kreuger and Walter Rathenau. As an active politician, he has been vice-president of the German Republican party. Close friendship linked him to Carl von Ossietzky, brutally killed by the Nazis.<sup>1</sup>

Such an introduction could be no more than a hint of the new editor's journalistic experience, his political credo and imaginativeness. He also spoke on New York radio station WEVD on November 5, 1938, on the tragic conditions of Jews whom the German government had deported because they were not citizens and could not go elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

George, still a 22-year-old student, started his journalistic career at the Berlin weekly *Deutsche Montagszeitung*. Beginning with book reviews, he became editor in 1915. At

---

<sup>1</sup> A IV/10, 1.9.1938, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A IV/12, 1.11.1938, p. 1.

Ullstein, beginning there in 1917, he contributed to the different types of newspapers: *Meinungszeitungen*<sup>1</sup> mass publications and tabloids. He began with routine assignments, became city editor and soon editor-in-chief of one of the minor papers of the publishing house, contributing at the same time to a Jewish and a Swiss paper.<sup>2</sup> George enlarged his journalistic experience when his employer sent him in 1920 to Breslau, capital of the Province of Silesia, and later to Dresden and Leipzig in Saxony, from where he reported the news to the papers in Berlin and managed the branch offices.<sup>3</sup>

In 1928, Ullstein appointed him co-editor of a newly-founded evening daily called *Tempo* as competitor to one of the Mosse papers of the same type. George made it into "a widely read *Boulevardblatt*<sup>4</sup> with a unique style along American lines." His own literary ambitions and journalistic work acquainted him with the up-and-coming young literati, several of whom began writing for *Tempo*. Their contributions helped to establish the success of the new paper.<sup>5</sup>

Between 1923 and 1928, George worked for the Mosse Publishing Company. His main job was to write reviews of theatre plays, books and films as assistant to the principal critic

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Frank C. Steiner, *Manfred George, his Life and Works*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 1977, pp. 7/8.

<sup>3</sup> Steiner, pp. 11/12.

<sup>4</sup> Tabloid.

<sup>5</sup> Steiner, p. 17.

for two of the concern's minor papers. His legal studies, for which he received a doctorate in law, enabled him to write about court cases. Many provincial papers reprinted his articles on legal and cultural events.<sup>1</sup> It was at Mosse that Carl von Ossietzky was his colleague.

Apart from his work for Ullstein and Mosse, George was a regular contributor to the *Weltbuehne*, the best known journal of the "left-wing intellectuals" in the Weimar Republic. George's first contribution, a poem called *Im Seuchenlazarett*,<sup>2</sup> appeared in 1915.<sup>3</sup> Between 1922 and 1930, *Weltbuehne* published twenty-eight of his articles. Most of them were only short stories of the human interest type appearing in a special section *Bemerkungen*.<sup>4</sup> But he also wrote on abortion,<sup>5</sup> Spain's future<sup>6</sup> and political prisoners.<sup>7</sup> George was considered to belong to the *Weltbuehne* circle and thus to be a left-wing intellectual.<sup>8</sup> They "saw themselves as part of the new elite, for which they felt qualified by their erudi-

---

<sup>1</sup> Steiner, pp. 12/13.

<sup>2</sup> In the Lazarett.

<sup>3</sup> *Weltbuehne*, vol. XI, Nos. 35/36, p. 915.

<sup>4</sup> Notes.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. XXII., No. 38, p. 449 and vol. XVIII, No. 1, pp. 7/9.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. XIX, No. 42, pp. 495/499.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. XXVI, No. 43, pp. 631/632.

<sup>8</sup> Istvan Deak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals, A Political History of the Weltbuehne and its Circle*, [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968], p. 240.

tion, their cosmopolitan view, their unsullied past and, above all, their firm socialist belief."<sup>1</sup>

George's journalistic career ended in Germany when the Nazis and their allies formed the government in January 1933. He left the country of his birth in October 1933, soon after the authorities had cancelled his German citizenship in September. He settled in Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he became editor-in-chief of a German-language weekly. He also worked as correspondent of a Swiss paper and the *Pariser Tageblatt*.<sup>2</sup>

In 1935, he started to publish a new monthly, the *Juedische Revue*. Czechoslovakia had a large Jewish population and Prague was one of the sites that many refugees had chosen as their new abode, so the new periodical seemed to have a good market. As in the case of *Tempo*, George succeeded in obtaining contributions from his friends. He himself was the main contributor.<sup>3</sup> That was the second time that George participated in the launching of a paper.

George left Prague in April 1938 for Paris, before the crisis over the Sudetenland fully developed and before the Munich Pact of September 1938. France was only a stopping-off place, though he worked for the *Pariser Tageblatt* during the

---

<sup>1</sup> Deak, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Steiner, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

few months of his stay.<sup>1</sup> Such an active journalistic personality as George would not miss the opportunity of writing about the Spanish civil war. His reports, which appeared in many papers, did not come from his desk in Paris but from the front with the loyalists.<sup>2</sup> At the end of July 1938, he left Paris, arriving in the U.S.A. in August 1938.<sup>3</sup>

As far as journalistic experience and adaptability to changing circumstances were concerned, the above description shows that *Aufbau* could scarcely have chosen a better leader to transfer it from essentially a club bulletin to a true newspaper. Another question was whether his personality, his political views and his style of writing fitted into the paper's set-up and the club's divided opinion about such a step.

As a critic of plays, films and books in Germany, George showed contempt for certain types; among them Steiner mentions authors of the Viennese school,<sup>4</sup> plays of escapist amusement<sup>5</sup>, erotic farces by German authors,<sup>6</sup> dramas as psychological documents,<sup>7</sup> works by American playwrights in general, with a

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 29/30.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Schnitzler, Hermann Bahr, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Steiner, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> Eugene O'Neil, p. 150.

few exceptions<sup>1</sup> and those based on Freud's psychoanalysis<sup>2</sup> as well as almost all American films.<sup>3</sup> Reviewing plays and films in these categories, George's language was "often highly vitriolic",<sup>4</sup> his tone coloured by "frequent sarcasm"<sup>5</sup> and his style marked by "impudent phraseology."<sup>6</sup> These excesses "were often at the periphery of good taste."

The main feature of George's personality, according to his biographer Steiner, was the almost inexhaustible energy and enthusiasm with which he did his work and pursued new projects.<sup>7</sup> George was also very outgoing and sought the acquaintance of people, especially those in the theatre and the film world and, above all, those who were movers and doers.<sup>8</sup> Steiner does not specify the exaggerations George used in his reviews for works and authors he disliked but it appears he was given to arrogance and superciliousness, elements that would most likely lead to conflicts at *Aufbau* and the club, where, according to de Jonge,<sup>9</sup> some personalities who had been

---

<sup>1</sup> Steiner, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> letter 14.11.89, p. 1.



"big shots" in Germany now had only the club for their ambitious activities.

Before 1933, George had published only a few political articles,<sup>1</sup> but this did not mean that he was uninterested in politics. While working at Mosse, he was co-founder, together with Ossietzky and other left-wing intellectuals, of the Republican Party of Germany early in 1924. They asked Fritz von Unruh, a pacifist writer and activist, to become party leader. George took over the post after the party did not win any seats in the election to the Reichstag on May 24, 1924, and most of the founders had left the party.<sup>2</sup>

The Republican Party of Germany was anti-Communist; its most prestigious member and candidate in the election was Carl von Ossietzky. But it had in common with the Marxists "the nationalisation of the coal and iron industry." The party otherwise supported the democratic Weimar constitution. Its program put the party "on the furthest wing of the bourgeois Left."<sup>3</sup> All the founders worked for Mosse's *Berliner Volkszeitung*, were personal friends, articulate and "a team of young radicals."<sup>4</sup> Radical thus would be the term most applicable to George's political ideas before 1933.

---

<sup>1</sup> Steiner, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Deak, pp. 57/58.

<sup>3</sup> Peterson, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Deak, p. 55.

He also shared the views that the left-wing intellectuals had of the U.S.A. in general. They found America's reality in the books of novelists who criticised or satirised its social conditions. Americans resembled Sinclair Lewis's Babbitt, Arrowsmith or his other protagonists, as well as Theodor Dreiser's female figures; business was as dirty, unhealthy and harmful as Upton Sinclair's descriptions of the Chicago stockyards.<sup>1</sup>

George's knowledge of America did not come solely from books and journals or from his imagination. He had visited the country in 1926 as press advisor to a commission of the Association of German Department Stores. The trip supplied him with material for several articles in German papers, for lectures on the radio and also for a little revue, *Oh! USA!*, written under the pseudonym Otto Brock and Julius Arndt with music by Paul Strasser and performed in Berlin about fifty times.<sup>2</sup>

The author defined a little revue<sup>3</sup> as "a mirror of the public mood and political affairs without dramatic requirements and suitable for the cabaret theatre."<sup>4</sup> He should have added: and satirising someone or something. In this case, it

---

<sup>1</sup> Deak, p. 88, and Weltbuehne vol. XXI, 5.5.1925, pp. 665/9.

<sup>2</sup> Steiner, pp. 13/14.

<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the big revue with its pomp and nudity.

<sup>4</sup> *Berlin am Abend*, 26.1.1927, from Steiner, pp. 114/5.

was "the bigotry, hypocrisy, record mania and capitalistic rapacity with which the United States is drenched."<sup>1</sup> A text or even a manuscript of the revue no longer exists.<sup>2</sup> American reporters in Berlin saw the revue as an expression against "American greatness and her distinctive qualities and powers." It was an opportunity to stage a little scandal.<sup>3</sup> The results: four articles and one editorial in the *Times*, an apology from the German Foreign Office and one from the author, as well as a moderation of the most offensive scenes. Even if he acknowledged in his declaration the existence of "admirable features of American life,"<sup>4</sup> George clearly shared the prejudice of his group toward the U.S.A.

The knowledge of George's activities in Germany and his motives explain Hulse's letter to him of January 22, 1939.<sup>5</sup> Hulse wanted George to confirm "his political neutrality." The chairman of the press committee must have had second thoughts about George's suitability for the job. How would this political radical, who had ridiculed many American institutions and customs, whose Zionist sympathies were revealed in his biography of Theodor Herzl and who considered shallow entertainment an abomination, be able to put out a paper without coming into conflict with the group of club members

---

<sup>1</sup> New York Times, 20.12.1926, p. 1, col. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Steiner, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> New York Times, 22.12.1926, p. 24, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Steiner, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 36.

who were satisfied with an extended club bulletin, who still upheld their patriotism as former German soldiers and who objected to Zionism?

We do not know George's reply to Hulse's letter. Its contents must have satisfied the chairman of the press committee, for George started to edit the issue of April 1, 1939. Neither Maier nor de Jonge remembers any objection raised against him. The group around the founders and President Schlesinger, according to de Jonge, bemoaned the demise of their club folder.<sup>1</sup> The only possible objection against George might have been the attempt to form a so-called "Citizens Society" within the club, but this occurred two-and-a-half years after his start.

The announcement appeared in *Aufbau's* issue of October 10, 1941, with the editorial disclaimer: "*Aufbau* has been asked to publish the following release", which sounds as if the editor did not agree with the contents. The new program, detailed in four paragraphs, did not differ much from *Aufbau's* existing one. However, membership was open only to those who had become American citizens. Of the signers, four belonged to the founders' group.

In de Jonge's judgement, the "Citizens Society" was a vehicle for Willi Guenzburger, one of the founders, to enter American politics. It was not directed against George, who by

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter, 26.11.1989, p. 4.

1941 had firmly secured his position.<sup>1</sup> After the original announcement, nothing more was heard about the "Citizens Society". The draft of young immigrants into the army and the war in Europe, Maier surmises, overshadowed everything else.<sup>2</sup>

George sat firmly in the saddle because the paper under his editorship was more successful than ever before. This was due to his editorial policy. George had the ability, as Lieselotte Maas called it, "to adjust to the special case situation of exile."<sup>3</sup>

*Aufbau*, a reading will show, does not contain any traces of his former excesses. The language was, in general, moderate and without abnormalities except in the fight against Nazis, Nazism and their cruelties.<sup>4</sup> The prejudices against certain authors and kinds of plays disappeared. George's review of O'Neil's *Ah Wilderness* was rather colourless, just a short description of the action, but it did not contain any objection against the concept.<sup>5</sup> George could not review the premiere of *The Iceman Cometh*, for he was in Europe at that time.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the write-up of Schnitzler's

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter, 26.11.1989, pp. 5, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Sich auf den Sonderfall Exil einzustellen, "Die Neue Weltbuehne und der Aufbau"* in Thomas Koehner et al., eds. *Exilforschung*, vol. 1, 1983 (Munich: edition text & kritik), p. 246

<sup>4</sup> A V/21, 15.11.1939, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/43, 26.10.1941, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> A XII/40, 18.10.1946, p. 11.

*Liebelei* was a long article, which did not sound genuine coming from a lifelong *Berliner*, who used to disdain Viennese *Schmus*.<sup>1</sup> It wanted to give the impression that an old Viennese had written it, someone who recalled with nostalgia what he had lost.<sup>2</sup>

Even most of Hollywood's mass products found George's approval. It was the war, he reasoned, that inspired the film industry with "artistic courage."<sup>3</sup> World events had added meaningful problems, although some of the studios remained untouched by the new spirit.<sup>4</sup> After the war, when many good European films reached the U.S.A. again, it was competition that forced Hollywood to improve its quality.<sup>5</sup>

And the U.S.A.? It was no longer a subject for satire and ridicule but the new homeland, not a land of exile or temporary refuge. Gradually, with growing knowledge of its political structure, George developed an admiration for his new homeland, in which Jews could live as Jews and did not have to rely on toleration or to hide behind an artificial formula such as "German citizens of Jewish faith". Jews were for him one of the ethnic groups of which the American population was constituted. Democratic principles held the

---

<sup>1</sup> Prattle.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/18, 2.5.1941, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/20, 14.5.1943, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> A IX/23, 4.6.1943, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/7, 21.2.1947, p. 13.

groups together, while freedom guaranteed in the Bill of Rights allowed far-reaching personal development. As future American citizens, the German-Jewish immigrants would not want to participate in the affairs of post-war Germany; their interest in the country of their birth would not go beyond keeping it as a peaceful and useful member of the world community. George offered this new self-identification to the Jewish readers of *Aufbau* in many articles. The paper would try, he wrote in the editorial on *Aufbau's* first anniversary as a weekly, to guide them from a world that no longer existed into the present of American bourgeoisie<sup>1</sup> and culture.<sup>2</sup>

In an article *Der Weg in die Freiheit*,<sup>3</sup> George investigated the significance of freedom in America, and how its application differed from that in Germany before 1933. While emancipation had apparently brought the Jews in Germany equal rights, it was in reality toleration and [grudging] admittance,<sup>4</sup> not true liberty. In the U.S.A., they would not suffer such impairment. The only limitation would occur when their own liberty would come into conflict with the liberty of others. The fight for freedom would never stop, for instance, in the field of social justice.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Buerkertum.

<sup>2</sup> *Gedankenwelt*, A VI/48, 29.11.1940, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The Road to Liberty.

<sup>4</sup> *Duldung und Zulassung*.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/36, 5.9.1941, p. 4.

George used a news item from London to write an editorial about the Jewish question. A solution, he thought, should be possible after the war. The London League of Nations Union had intended to contribute a suggestion about this problem but could not do so because the Jewish members of the sub-committee could not agree on the fundamentals. The first step in George's plan would be the general acknowledgement of the existence of a Jewish people,<sup>1</sup> which had nothing to do with the erroneous notion of a Jewish race. After that, three solutions would be possible: 1) the American solution of a nation of peoples,<sup>2</sup> 2) a Jewish state in Palestine and 3) a socialist community in Russia. Whatever the road taken, assimilation in its nineteenth century liberal guise had become obsolete.<sup>3</sup>

George's idea of the U.S.A. as a nation of peoples was in conflict with the so-called "Melting pot theory." In a three-part series of articles, *Amerikanische Juden am Scheideweg*,<sup>4</sup> he investigated its validity. No final decision, he contended, had been reached. The "melting pot theory" would prevail only when the U.S.A. stopped all immigration; for the newcomers would always keep the ethnic groups alive. The "melting pot theory" would not become a problem for the old-

---

<sup>1</sup> *einem juedischen Volke.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eine Nation aus Voelkern.*

<sup>3</sup> A IX/2, 8.1.1943, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *American Jews at the Crossroads.*



established Jewish community anyhow. They came to a country still in continual development, where it was possible to preserve their own ethnicity within the political structure of a democratic society.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the case, the notion of "the U.S.A. as a nation of peoples" was reality for George.

Germany no longer existed for George as homeland. This had become clear to him as early as 1933, after he had crossed into Czechoslovakia illegally during his flight from the Nazis. With the border behind him and the valleys of the *Riesengebirge*, the mountains separating the two countries, below him, he knew that for him to live in Germany would never be possible again.<sup>2</sup>

This idea became more and more acute when the discussion about German's future began. The Jews who came from German-speaking countries, George felt, should be made aware of themselves as members of the American nation and not as Germans. In Germany, Jews were subjected to a process of dissolution;<sup>3</sup> in the U.S.A., they would face a process of fusion.<sup>4</sup> The advantage, in ideological and other respects, was obvious.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/35, 27.8.1943, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Steiner, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Aufloesungsprozess*.

<sup>4</sup> *Einschmelzungsprozess*.

<sup>5</sup> A IX/2, 8.1.1943, p. 4.

He continued to spread this idea. In 1943, he wanted his fellow immigrants to follow his own decision. In an article *Eine ganz grosse Gefahr*,<sup>1</sup> he condemned those Jews, who, mostly within anti-democratic organisations, "attempt to revive dead European developments." *Aufbau*, he contended, propagated the idea of America as our new homeland; it was not a country for refugees who sought temporary shelter but for immigrants. This did not exclude the worry about Europe's future, which would be of great importance for the peace of the world and the fate of the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

George used the 10th anniversary issue of *Aufbau* to summarise his ideas about what the U.S.A. meant to him and the paper under his guidance. Life in his new homeland solved two existential problems. He no longer had to reside in one of the European nation states, where the Jewish presence caused "wearying uncertainties."<sup>3</sup> In the U.S.A., he could live consciously as a Jew, and *Aufbau*, rooted in Jewish nationhood, could appear as a Jewish paper. Secondly, the U.S.A. became for him and *Aufbau*'s readers a new home, in which they could enjoy the freedom of American citizens and a democratic *weltanschauung*. The U.S.A. was one of the countries where Jews could be themselves.<sup>4</sup> The other countries were Palestine and

---

<sup>1</sup> A Very Great Danger.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/16, 16.4.1943, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> zermuerbende Unklarheiten.

<sup>4</sup> ganz.

the U.S.S.R.<sup>1</sup> The title of the article was *Warum wir den 'Aufbau' machen.*<sup>2</sup>

Seven years later, when most of the German-Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. had decided to stay and had become American citizens, George discussed the process of integration in an article published in a booklet for the 10th anniversary of the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe Inc. He distinguished two kinds of integration. Economic, legal and social integration was essential for daily life. Thanks to the education, cultural interests and relatively better status of Central European Jews, this first type of integration occurred very fast and in a productive way.<sup>3</sup>

The second kind of integration was spiritual and was essentially an individual process. The immigrant reached this stage, some thought, when he understood *The New Yorker Magazine*, or the comics. George set the criterion at the understanding of the American political structure. Only after the newcomer "profoundly grasps the American pattern" of non-conformism drawing strength and zest from it, only then has he arrived in America."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This was written when the U.S.S.R. was an ally of the U.S.A., and Stalin needed Jewish soldiers.

<sup>2</sup> Why we Produce *Aufbau*, A X/51, 22.12.1944, pp. 17/18.

<sup>3</sup> Manfred George, "*Geistige Einordnung in die Neue Welt*", [Spiritual Integration into the New World], in Kurt R. Grossmann, ed., *Ten Years American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc., 1941-1951*, [New York: American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc. 1952] p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> George, pp. 82/83.

Some ideas of the American constitution, George concluded, were partly derived from biblical laws and the thoughts of the Jewish *weltanschauung*. Hence, the Jewish immigrants would become good Americans if they were guided by the ideas of the constitution "in their civic activities and in fulfilment of their public responsibilities."<sup>1</sup>

Such guidance was exactly what George tried to achieve in *Aufbau*, although it did not appear in any of the statements of policy. This aim and the admiration of the political structure overshadowed all doubts that he had or might have had about life in the U.S.A. Expressions such as "the world of ideas of the American constitution" and "American democratic ideas" frequently appeared in the articles quoted. It was only logical that as editor of *Aufbau* he would want to realise these ideas and ideals. The open discussion of issues in the public domain was an American institution that a newspaper could practise on a minor scale.

*Aufbau*, Maier stated in his interview, "gave room to every Jewish opinion, to every interesting contribution. The only ones not allowed were Nazi and Fascist kinds of propagan-  
da and any poorly written stuff, stuff that was not worth publishing. No radicalism of any kind was ever given room in *Aufbau* in my mind."<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, p. 44.

George himself, in a letter to the editor of the New York Times complaining that it had called *Aufbau* a German-American paper instead of an American-Jewish paper, declared one of his paper's aims was to "function as a non-partisan forum for the fair and legal discussion of current and controversial issues."<sup>1</sup>

In 1931, George had vowed to be a leftist writer, who always sided with the oppressed of the world.<sup>2</sup> In addition, his credo was still influenced by that of the "humanist intellectuals."<sup>3</sup> His values had not changed in the U.S.A. But admiration of the American political system eliminated all radicalism and arrogance in expressing his opinions. In American terms, he was a liberal with a small "l", a characteristic that applied also to *Aufbau*.

***The Assistant Editors, the Press Committee and the Advisory Board***

Even before George took over the editorship, *Aufbau* had passed the stage where a single editor wrote practically all its contents alone, as Jelenko had at the beginning. Assistants had to be hired to replace the voluntary helpers if the club bulletin was to be built up to be a real newspaper. The first writer hired by George was most probably Kurt Hellmer.

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/22, 28.5.1943, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsches Literatur Archiv* 75, 4525, 31.8.1931, taken from Groth, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 10.

His column *New Yorker Notizbuch*<sup>1</sup> appeared for the first time on May 15, 1939.<sup>2</sup> The masthead carried his name as assistant-editor for the first time on January 3, 1941. Hellmer was one of the most prolific writers for the paper. Apart from the column mentioned, he wrote reviews of books, films and plays, as well as about the results of investigations about Nazis and anti-Semites in the U.S.A. He was with *Aufbau* until 1952, when he left to open an international literary agency.

Vera Craener came next. Her first article, "May I help you?" appeared in the issue of July 1, 1939. Its contents informed the newcomers about organisations where they could find help. It also contained tips that would make life easier.<sup>4</sup> She became editor of the Woman's Page, which started in October 1940.<sup>5</sup> Before coming to the U.S.A. in 1938, she was a free-lance writer, who contributed short stories and essays to Ullstein's *Vossische Zeitung*.<sup>6</sup>

In September 1939, a short report on the difficulties of German refugees in France appeared in the paper under the heading *Emigrant oder Allemand?* and was signed L.W.<sup>7</sup> It was

---

<sup>1</sup> New York Notebook.

<sup>2</sup> A V//9, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> A XXVI/18, 24.4.1960, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> A V/12, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> A VI/43, 25.10.1940, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> A XXVI/18, 24.4.1960, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> A V/37, 15.9.1939, p. 18.

Ludwig Wronkow's first appearance in *Aufbau*. He never had the title of editor; he even declined to become one when Hulse proposed to appoint him to such a post in July 1940.<sup>1</sup> Yet his contribution to *Aufbau's* success was substantial, and he should not be omitted here.

Having had almost the same professional and political development as George at the *Berliner Volkszeitung* of the Mosse concern and in the Republican Party, Wronkow passed as a refugee through the same places, Prague and Paris, to arrive two months after his friend, in October 1938, in New York. George's professional tool was the printed word; Wronkow's the printed pictorial caricature.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning, Wronkow's savings permitted him to get acquainted with his new environment of New York without the pressure of having to look for a job. Finally, in July 1939, he joined *Aufbau* as circulation manager.<sup>3</sup> This position did not make use of his strong talent for journalistic caricature, but most probably, *Aufbau*, at that time, could not afford to pay the salary of a caricaturist. His duties included decisions about layout, makeup and graphics in the production of the paper. He also took the place of absent editors, contrib-

---

<sup>1</sup> DLA 2361/78, 26.7.1940, 2361/9, 14.8.1940, taken from Groth, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Bohrmann et al., eds. *Ludwig Wronkow*, Berlin-New York, [Munich: K.G. Saur, 1989] pp. 34, 53, 63, 93.

<sup>3</sup> Bohrmann, p. 94, Schaber, p. 197.

ucing ideas for improvements, constructed crossword puzzles<sup>1</sup> and wrote many short articles under pseudonyms or without signing them.<sup>2</sup>

In March 1940, *Aufbau* began to publish Wronkow's cartoons under the heading *Wochenschau des Aufbau*<sup>3</sup> on the last page. The readers must have liked them, for, when Wronkow resigned as assistant manager, *Aufbau* continued to publish the *Wochenschau*. It must have helped to uphold morale during a most trying time. One of his most famous cartoons was the big "V" with Hitler and Mussolini standing below the horizontal bars serving as gallows, first run in *Aufbau* on July 23, 1941. In a second drawing in 1945, the two leaders were hanging on the gallows.<sup>4</sup>

The comic strips appearing in the big American dailies, relatives of Wronkow's cartoons, were puzzling to many newcomers. After years, Hulse opined, they still remained meaningless to him. It was different with the children of the immigrants. But their parents, occupied with the needs of the family household, had no time to find the key to their understanding.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Bohrmann, pp. 94, 198.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Aufbau's Newswerk*, A VI/13, 22.3.1940, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Bohrmann, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/27, 4.7.1941, p. 7.



Wronkow, however, had taken the time to do so. After a year of study, he had absorbed the deeper meaning of seven. The strips belonged to America, he commented, and he who understood them, also understood America 100 percent.<sup>1</sup>

Wronkow's salary at the start in 1939 was \$15 per week. Raises brought it at the end of 1941 to \$37.50 per week, made up of \$20 for his work as circulation manager, \$16 for his cartoons and \$1.50 for editorial work. He then asked for another increase to \$60 per week but could obtain only \$45 per week.<sup>2</sup>

Joseph Maier, after finishing his studies at the university, had returned to *Aufbau* as full-time assistant editor in 1940. He could not obtain an increase from \$40 to \$50 a week as well as appointment as associate editor, which would have put him above the other assistant editors and as second in command. He left *Aufbau* subsequently.<sup>3</sup> To work for the paper at that time was no bed of roses. The work did not stop for Maier on Saturdays and Sundays. On many evenings, he had to visit theatres before writing the reviews. Interviews sometimes took place at unusual hours.<sup>4</sup> *Aufbau* was not, as the cases of Wronkow and Maier show, a generous employer. It probably could not afford to be otherwise, certainly not in

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/28, 11.7.1941, p. 24, for a different opinion see p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Bohrmann, p. 112, Groth, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Maier, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

the early years. George's salary at the start in 1939 was \$30 per issue<sup>1</sup> which came to \$15 per week, [but to \$30 per week if this condition still applied when the paper became a weekly on November 29, 1939. Nothing further is known about the editor's salary after *Aufbau's* success, but it was probably much higher. Other employees were also dissatisfied. There were conflicts but never a strike. Later, the employees joined the Newspaper Guild, and everybody received union wages.<sup>2</sup>

Even after leaving *Aufbau*, Maier continued to write the "Portion of the Week"<sup>3</sup> and the "Jewish Calendar" as well as other articles. His reports from the Nuremberg trial of the Nazi elite, where he worked in the office of the American prosecutor, were particularly worth reading.<sup>4</sup>

Another of the escapees, who was on the Nazi blacklist and who first found refuge in Prague, was Siegfried Aufhaeuser, former member of the Social Democratic party in the *Reichstag*, as well as president of the white collar union. He arrived in New York in May 1939,<sup>5</sup> first writing occasional articles for *Aufbau*, before becoming a regular contributor in the summer of 1940. His specialities were social and labour questions, but he also wrote on the economy. His name first

---

<sup>1</sup> DLA 75, 2871/3, taken from Groth, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Wochenabschnitt*.

<sup>4</sup> Further details about Maier, see pp. 24/25.

<sup>5</sup> A X/17, 23.4.1944, p. 7.

appeared in the masthead as assistant-editor on July 17, 1942<sup>1</sup> and for the last time on May 12, 1944.<sup>2</sup> Aufhaeuser lost this position because he had signed a statement of the newly-founded Council for a Democratic Germany, which claimed to speak for the German people. As supporter of this organization, Aufhaeuser could not serve as official representative of *Aufbau*.<sup>3</sup> Aufhaeuser returned to Germany in 1951,<sup>4</sup> one of the few of the *Aufbau* circle who did so.

The flight from France after the country's defeat in 1940 brought many journalists and writers to the U.S.A. and several of them became contributors to *Aufbau*. One who wrote regularly for the paper and often substituted for George should be mentioned here. Carl Misch was an editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* under Georg Bernhard and editor of the *Pariser Tageszeitung* after Bernhard's resignation.<sup>5</sup> Another escapee from Paris was Richard Dyck. He worked for Mosse's *8-Uhr Abendblatt* and, after 1933, for the *Pariser-Tageblatt* and *Pariser Tageszeitung*.<sup>6</sup> He came to the U.S.A. in 1941, to

---

<sup>1</sup> That, however, might not have been the day of his appointment for the names of the assistant-editors appeared there only if space was available. A VIII/29, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A X/19, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> For further details see chapter V.

<sup>4</sup> Groth, p. 331.

<sup>5</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, pp. 76, 78.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

*Aufbau* in 1943 and became assistant-editor in September 1946.<sup>1</sup> He was one of the main editorial writers during the post-war period. A third was Kurt Kersten, who, during the war, was stranded in Martinique. He did not come to New York and to *Aufbau* until 1946.<sup>2</sup> After participation in World War I, he turned to pacifism and became "a left-wing socialist if not a Communist". He wrote for left-wing papers and the *Weltbuehne*<sup>3</sup> but had lost his Marxist ideology on the flight from Paris.<sup>4</sup>

Other names which appeared in the masthead as assistant-editors were Therese Pol and Ruth Karpf. They held the position for a short time. Others wrote editorials from time to time but were not editors, for example Ludwig Marcuse, Kurt R. Grossmann, Hannah Arendt, Robert Lann and Heinz Eulau.

In addition to the editors there were two bodies that exercised formal influence over the newspaper's articles: the Press Committee and the Advisory Board. Created during the ideological crisis of 1935,<sup>5</sup> the Press Committee acted as legal publisher of *Aufbau*. Initially its chairman, Wilfred C. Hulse, seems to have been the sole member of the committee. The paper published the names of the members only on September

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/37, 13.9.1946, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, pp. 63/64.

<sup>3</sup> Deak, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, pp. 63/64.

<sup>5</sup> See p 32.

18, 1943. Among them were, strangely, Manfred George, Hans E. Schleger and Ludwig Wronkow, employees of *Aufbau*, whom the committee had to oversee. When Hulse joined the army in February 1943, Otto Strauss, one of the vice-chairmen, became acting chairman,<sup>1</sup> followed by Alfred Prager on May 18, 1945.

Groth reports about friction between contributors, the editors and the Press Committee in July 1940.<sup>2</sup> Contrary to these reports, Maier, who joined *Aufbau* a few months later, experienced smooth co-operation between Hulse and the editors. George and Maier had weekly conferences with Hulse in which the editors outlined their plans. "Hulse, at no time acted as a censor; he did not dictate any lines we had to follow."<sup>3</sup>

On May 16, 1941, *Aufbau* announced the inauguration of an "Advisory Board." The increase in circulation, the editors thought, brought a greater responsibility. Therefore, they asked personalities in the public eye who previously had shown interest in the paper to assist them in discharging their duty. The list consisted of seventeen names, of whom the best-known were Roger N. Baldwin, Albert Einstein, Lion Feuchtwanger, Nahum Goldman, Emil Ludwig, and Thomas Mann.<sup>4</sup> Death and new members changed the list from time to time. In April 1948, the board still had seventeen members. Those named above

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/9, 26.2.1943, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Maier, pp. 21, 24.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/20, p. 1.

were serving except Emil Ludwig. Among the newcomers, Leo Baeck, Congressman Emanuel Celler, Democrat of New York, Congressman Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, and Fritz von Unruh were the most prominent.<sup>1</sup>

According to Maier, "the 'advisory board' did not exactly advise." They were eminent people in the community and some were public figures. Their membership was like an endorsement, an expression of solidarity with the paper. They had no direct influence on *Aufbau's* contents, although their views were compatible with *Aufbau's*.<sup>2</sup> The board apparently never met in session.

### ***The Readers***

The only known sociological study that investigates *Aufbau's* readers is Lowenstein's *Frankfurt on the Hudson*.<sup>3</sup> It is a work limited to the German-Jewish immigrants who had fled from Nazi persecution and lived in Washington Heights, a district in the North of Manhattan, between 1933 and 1982. Their number was 20,000 or more.<sup>4</sup> The majority of them came from small towns in Southern Germany<sup>5</sup> and professed an orthodox religious belief.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/18, 30.4.1948, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, pp. 81/82.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Lowenstein, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

Of those German-born residents who responded to Lowenstein's mail survey, 74% "had read *Aufbau* regularly in the past or at present," while 3% named the *Jewish Way*, *Aufbau's* competitor. Since orthodox rabbis had denounced *Aufbau* as anti-religious or worse, and its rival was closely connected with Orthodoxy,<sup>1</sup> why was there such discrepancy?

The reason is simple: *Aufbau* offered the businessman a much wider advertising coverage, the newcomer a larger selection of suitable rooms to let and everyone a greater chance of finding relatives and friends through search ads. Moreover, *Aufbau's Familien-Anzeigen*<sup>2</sup> were much more numerous than those of its rival. But were *Aufbau's* readers in Washington Heights typical of all of the paper's readers?

Lowenstein himself replies to this question in the negative. "Washington Heights represents only one extreme of the spectrum of German Jewry."<sup>3</sup> Maier, in his review of the book, comes to the same conclusion. Unlike the majority of German Jews who used to live in big cities and who had become assimilated, the Jews of Washington Heights adhered to the habits and customs of their parents and grandparents. They had not migrated from the country to the towns, were less educated than the city Jews and also less prosperous. Religious and

---

<sup>1</sup> Lowenstein, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Ads announcing events in the family, such as births, engagements, weddings and deaths, as well as ads seeking a partner in marriage.

<sup>3</sup> Lowenstein, p. 19.

national traditionalism had kept them from striving for sophistication. They remained "kleinbuergerlich."<sup>1</sup>

Faced with the question "who then were the typical readers of *Aufbau*?" Maier replied: "*Aufbau* wanted to appeal to the greater German-Jewish immigrant audience,"<sup>2</sup> which meant that there was no such group, the spectrum was too wide. Because of the variety of interests and education, *Aufbau* had to follow the principle: *Wer vieles bringt, wird manchem etwas bringen.*<sup>3</sup> This was done without reducing the level of *Aufbau's* writing "to appeal also to the less educated."<sup>4</sup>

George wrote in the 10th anniversary issue: "The expellees from Europe to some extent wrote their newspaper themselves," referring to news items received from readers.<sup>5</sup> They also wrote the columns, "Letters to the Editor" and *Ueber den Aufbau*,<sup>6</sup> in addition to sending questions to the column *Briefkasten*.<sup>7</sup> And they were eager letter writers. Two out of three issues carried the "Letter to the Editor" column with two to three letters each, which probably was only a fraction

---

<sup>1</sup> Petty bourgeois, A LV/25, 23.6.1989, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, pp. 44/46.

<sup>3</sup> Faust, line 97 - "Give much, please many," translation by Philip Wayne.

<sup>4</sup> Maier, pp. 44/46.

<sup>5</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Readers write about *Aufbau*.

<sup>7</sup> Questions and Answers.



of the letters received; for *Aufbau* published only those of public interest.

The letters dealt with a thousand and one subjects. From simple reports about the numerous replies to search ads<sup>1</sup> to the difficult problem "The Jews after the War";<sup>2</sup> from a rectification of Mr. Gulbenkian's holding of oil shares<sup>3</sup> to the esoteric sounding "The Group as Upholder of Ideas."<sup>4</sup> These titles and explanations testify to the variety of topics appearing in this column. Before George took over the editorship, a few letters suggested that *Aufbau* become a true newspaper.<sup>5</sup> One kind of letter came from experts adding to or correcting articles previously published; for example "Witte and the Jews" expanded on an article by Richard Dyck.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes, the editor received so many letters that he published a summary of the opinions expressed in them.

*Aufbau* seems to have liked to publish letters from far-away places. Some came from the Ivory Coast,<sup>7</sup> Kenya,<sup>8</sup> Teheran,<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/7, 16.2.1945, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/29, 17.7.1942, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/27, 12.7.1947, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ideentraeger, A VIII/15, 10.4.1942, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> A I/11, 1.10.1935, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> A XI/30, 27.7.1945, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> A VI/19, 10.5.1940, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> A VII/11, 14.3.1941, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> A VII/14, 4.4.1941, p. 21.

Rolanda at the edge of the Brazilian rain forests,<sup>1</sup> Guayaquil, Ecuador,<sup>2</sup> and Tanganyika.<sup>3</sup> Articles from regular contributors whose contents apparently did not meet the editor's approval also found their place in this column. They came from Egon von Fischer Seekamp,<sup>4</sup> Kurt Kersten,<sup>5</sup> Kurt R. Grossmann<sup>6</sup> and Julius Bab.<sup>7</sup> Freedom of expression generally prevailed in the "Letters to the Editor" column, unless the contents of the letter had sent it into the editor's wastebasket.

*Ueber den Aufbau* contained mostly letters of thanks. People thanked the paper for having published articles of special interest to them, for being of help and comfort in difficult times and again and again for having found family members and friends through a search ad. Carl Sandburg expressed his appreciation for Julius Bab's article on the poet's literary works,<sup>8</sup> Pablo Hesslein, a former Catholic member of the *Reichstag*, at that time in Chile, and a reader of *Aufbau* for six years, congratulated the paper for its

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/34, 22.8.1941, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/24, 14.6.1940, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/46, 15.11.1946, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/5, 2.2.1945, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/38, 19.9.1947, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> A VIII/4, 23.1.1942, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> A VIII/5, 30.1.1942, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> A IX/38, 17.9.1943, p. 4.

unique achievements, in particular for its open-mindedness and justice towards Catholic issues.<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau's* favourite story about the thankfulness and loyalty of its readers concerns not a letter to the editor but a visit to the editor. Early in George's editorship, he received the visit of an elderly gentleman. He informed George that he had to undergo an operation with a 50% chance of survival. As a reader of *Aufbau* for many years, he felt it was his duty to thank the people who had given him so much satisfaction before he was unable to do so. Later George reported that the gentleman had survived the operation.<sup>2</sup>

### ***The Business Department***

*Aufbau* was, there cannot be any doubt, financially successful during the time that this study covers. It survived all its competitors that tried to win the ever growing flow of immigrants as readers and advertisers. The New York Secretary of State accepted it in 1937 as "Not-for-Profit Corporation," which would presumably not have been necessary, if the paper had no profits. How much they were, the financial statements the club had to prepare must have shown. Although the statements were distributed to the members attending the general meetings, none, it seems, has survived. Hence, only the sources of income can be shown.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/36, 7.9.1945, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 6.

*The Circulation and Volumes*

In the 10th anniversary issue, *Aufbau* published its own figures for the circulation of the ten years in the form of a small graph. They were

1939 at beginning..	7,500 to 10,500.....	at end
1940.....	10,500 to 11,500.....	
1941.....	11,500 to 26,000 <sup>1</sup> .....	

On September 12, 1941, *Aufbau* published that the "Audit Bureau of Circulation" [ABC] had accepted its application as a member. The membership in "ABC", the announcement explained, guaranteed to the advertisers the truthfulness of the figures for the circulation of the paper, which had become the twenty-first foreign language publication to be a member. It was also a sign that the advertising department had succeeded in propelling *Aufbau* into the big league of advertising media.<sup>2</sup> The following list shows the "average net paid circulation," that is without the papers that were not sold or given away for free, for the rest of the period as verified by ABC:

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/37, 12.9.1941, p. 5.

1st half 1941	18,054]					
2nd half 1941	23,904]	20-40	pages/issue,	average	27.22	
1st half 1942	26,766]					
2nd half 1942	25,848]	28-40	"	"	"	31.77
1st half 1943	25,724]					
2nd half 1943	26,264]	24-40	"	"	"	29.66
1st half 1944	28,348]					
2nd half 1944	29,820]	24-64	"	"	"	31.08
1st half 1945	24,194]					
2nd half 1945	26,020]	12-48	"	"	"	32.23
1st half 1946	40,914]					
2nd half 1946	41,964]	32-48	"	"	"	40.31
1st half 1947	41,738]					
2nd half 1947	41,418]	32-48	"	"	"	40.58
1st half 1948	33,275]	40-48	Jan/April	"	"	40.40
2nd half 1948	37,090]					

The war interrupted *Aufbau's* gradual growth. At a time when demand for the newspaper increased, the War Production Board reduced the supply of newsprint by 10% for the first quarter of 1943. By using smaller type, the paper could initially prevent substantial changes.<sup>2</sup> The allotment of newsprint must have become still worse; for *Aufbau* thought it expedient to publish an explanation on October 15, 1943. Without naming figures, it merely wrote of an alarming situation in the market. To preserve the great variety of reading material, the paper was forced to introduce a further reduction in the size of type and biweekly, instead of weekly, publication of announcements from the clubs and similar institutions, together with alternating appearance of chess problems and crossword puzzles and cuts to all reports as well

<sup>1</sup> ABC's audit reports August 1941, June 1942, July 1943, August 1944, July 1945, October 1946 and January 1950. Average page count calculated by author.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/9, 26.2.1943, p. 6.

as a better utilisation of the space available.<sup>1</sup> "The paper shortage," George wrote on March 31, 1944, to Hulse, who had joined the army and was stationed overseas, "is a great problem." Although George was able to get an extra allotment of 10 tons, he did not think that *Aufbau* could print more than 28 pages in each issue. George repeated this opinion in a letter of May 13, 1944.<sup>2</sup> The above table shows that George's estimate was too pessimistic.

As the war proceeded, news about it required more and more space. Following the liberation of Jews previously under control by the enemy, *Aufbau* started to publish long lists of their names, but also their requests to find relatives and friends, services the paper could not refuse.

From autumn 1943, the shortage forced the management to omit entirely a number of columns as well as activity reports from clubs and congregations. Later, advertisements had to be reduced in size and their publication often delayed. Even more importantly, *Aufbau* could not accept any new subscriptions. Requesters received a polite letter from the circulation department, ornamented with a cartoon by its manager, Ludwig Wronkow, showing a line-up of several persons before a sign "*Aufbau* - Sold out" and telling them that their name had been put on a waiting list.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/42, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Letters in possession of Mrs. Irene Ross, Hulse's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Bohrmann, p. 110.

Rationing of newsprint ceased at the end of 1945. A review of the circulation figures and number of pages during the time of restrictions does not show any adverse effect. The circulation in 1942 was at the 26,000 level. It was the same during the following three years, even somewhat higher in 1944. The only difficulty occurred in the first half of 1945, when one issue consisted of only 12 pages. The number of pages also remained at the level of 1942 for the years 1944 and 1945, but in 1943 it was slightly lower. All this suggests that *Aufbau* obtained extra allotments or purchased newsprint on the black market.

The free market for newsprint, starting at the beginning of 1946, did not improve the weekly's supply problem. Almost every number thereafter contained announcements of either the omissions of ads, the shortening of text or the cutback of whole issues.<sup>1</sup> The last of such announcements appeared on November 7, 1947.<sup>2</sup> In spite of *Aufbau's* complaints, the circulation jumped from the 26,000 level to the 40/41,000 level and the number of pages from 32 to 48. Even if the figures for 1948 seem to indicate an end of the growth period, the circulation was still above what it was when George became editor in 1939.

---

<sup>1</sup> e.g., A XIII/4, 25.1.1946, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/45, p. 1.

*Prices*

After the war inflation became a serious problem and *Aufbau* had to increase its prices to stay alive. A single copy cost 5¢ on April 1, 1939, a subscription of 24 numbers was \$1.00 and a one-year subscription was \$2.00. These rates remained in effect throughout the war. Subsequently, some increases took place. At the end of April 1948, the rates were as follows:

a single copy.....	10¢
U.S.A., Canada:.....	1/2 year \$2.50, 1 year \$4.50,
other countries.....	\$3.25.....\$6.00 <sup>1</sup>

*Advertisements*

Besides ads that served commercial purposes in the widest sense, *Aufbau* also carried so-called *Familien-Anzeigen*.<sup>2</sup> Until March 1939, the weekly only published *Familien-Anzeigen* of the club's members free of charge. After that date everybody could put such announcements into the paper for a fee. The new system started with two *Familien-Anzeigen*.<sup>3</sup> At the end of 1941, they occupied two full columns of one page.<sup>4</sup> The paper did not try to attract *Heirats-Anzeigen*:<sup>5</sup> the need must

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/14, 4, 4, 1947, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote 2 on p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> A V/20, 1. 4. 1939, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/49, 5. 12. 1941, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Matrimonial offers.



have been the cause of their appearance. The first one presented itself on February 9, 1940.<sup>1</sup> By the end of 1941, the number had swollen to nine, occupying three-quarters of a column.<sup>2</sup>

The *Familien-Anzeigen* attracted many readers to *Aufbau*.

The figures were as follows:

	<u>Obits</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>	
1st half of 1942	12.77	17.08	29.85	average per issue
2nd half of 1942	17.04	19.92	36.96	
1st half of 1943	15.58	25.54	41.12	
2nd half of 1943	17.12	22.93	40.05	
1st half of 1944	19.62	28.04	47.66	
2nd half of 1944	20.12	31.23	51.35	
1st half of 1945	28.92	35.65	64.57	
2nd half of 1945	39.93	39.96	79.89	
1st half of 1946	34.50	59.25	93.75	
2nd half of 1946	28.08	72.97	101.05	
1st half of 1947	25.08	68.15	93.23	
2nd half of 1947	22.85	62.38	85.23	
1948 till	31.5	24.00	65.17	
			89.17	

The reasons for the increase of the *Familien-Anzeigen* are quite obvious. The obituaries grew more numerous, first because the battles in Europe and the Pacific caused the deaths of an ever growing number of soldiers and seamen, whose deaths were announced in the paper. The second cause of the rise was the death of prisoners in the concentration camps. After obtaining a confirmation of such deaths, relatives often had obituaries inserted in *Aufbau*. The figures decreased after the war ended, but were still higher than in 1942, because the

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/6, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/49, 5.12.1941, p. 36.

Jewish immigrant population had grown meanwhile and could better afford to pay for the obituaries.

Family notices were, of course, not restricted to sad occasions. The growing prosperity of *Aufbau's* readership also encouraged betrothals, marriages and births, which were publicised in the notices.

If the variety of commercial ads was astonishing in the previous period, the diversity increased further after 1939. Advertising in *Aufbau* had a fourfold function: it acted as an announcement; it benefited the whole group of immigrants; it disclosed facts about the social status of the group; and it reflected some of the injustices inflicted on the Jews who remained under the control of their enemy.

For the first time, advertisers sought to buy and to sell businesses as well as seeking business partners. Small manufacturers, such as glove makers, portrait photographers, printers, bookbinders and umbrella makers, offered their products in growing numbers. This applied particularly to clothing made by tailors, shirtmakers, hatters, furriers and shoemakers. Whereas during the earlier period, the stores dealt mainly in food, furniture and clothing, now those selling books, office supplies, stamp collections, jewellery, optical goods and health supplies also advertised in *Aufbau*. The kind of services offered remained the same, but the number of competitors had increased to a great extent, as it had done in the fields of insurance, real estate and forwarding. Schools of all kinds, not only for English but also in many

trades, looked for pupils. Entirely new in this period were ads from legitimate theatres, cinemas, night-clubs, cabarets and similar places of entertainment, though still on a modest scale. The advertisements of hotels in the Catskills and other resort areas, had grown by leaps and bounds. The classified section, occupying about two pages by the end of 1941, had to add new headings, among them "Opportunities in Business," "Agents Required" and "Houses for Sale."

Whereas the facts of the previous paragraph give an insight into the status of settled immigrants or those at the stage of settling in the U.S.A., another kind of ad reflected on the fate of those left behind and persecuted by the Nazis. Lawyers, forwarders and shipping agents offered their services to bring relatives and friends to places of refuge. After the fall of France, the only route to the U.S.A. was via Russia and the Pacific Ocean,<sup>1</sup> until Portugal started to issue transit visas.<sup>2</sup> When a country relaxed the conditions for would-be immigrants, the ads relating to it multiplied. In 1940, Mexico did so, judging by the increasing number of ads. In 1941, it was Cuba. On December 5th, 1941, eleven advertisers offered to obtain visas for the island.<sup>3</sup> Most of the visa agents also offered to remit cash to countries under Nazi occupation, a service proposed by dealers in foreign exchange as well.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/24, 14. 6. 1940, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/28, 12. 7. 1940, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/49, p. 17.

When reports reached the U.S.A. that Jews still in Germany and Austria were in danger of starvation, numerous ads offering to send parcels of food appeared in *Aufbau*. This service became controversial after England imposed a blockade on Germany after the outbreak of war in September 1939.

The war caused some changes in the classified section. The ads offering furnished rooms now occupied the greatest space, a sign that families could afford their own apartments and that many young people were in the armed forces.

The improvement in the job market is shown in the following random samples:

	<u>Jobs offered</u>		<u>Employment sought</u>	<u>Ref. in <i>Aufbau</i></u>	
	<u>Classified</u>	<u>Display</u>	<u>Classified</u>	<u>Vol.</u>	<u>Pages</u>
10.7.1942	17	4	5	VIII/20	27, 29
14.8.	14	13	4	33	25, 27
25.9.	31	15	3	39	28, 29
9.10.	39	22	9	41	26, 29
27.11.	25	13	2	48	27, 30
4.12.	31	13	8	49	33, 37
6.1.1943	30	12	6	IX/2	26, 27
19.2.	28	34	4	8	25, 26
7.3	51	34	0	12	25, 26
30.4.	39	39	9	18	25, 26

Ads offering refuge in different countries ceased entirely during the war and those seeking customers for gift parcels were limited to soldiers as well as addresses in England and Palestine. As soon as the European countries became liberated, the latter service re-emerged, as demonstrated by the numerous ads in the paper. On April 6, 1945, seventeen firms advertised offers to send parcels with food, chocolate, cigarettes, tea, coffee, nuts and linen to France,

England, Italy, Belgium, Palestine, Africa, Russia and the soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau's* membership in ABC<sup>2</sup> must have encouraged national companies to advertise in the paper. Pepsi Cola started to do so on December 12, 1941,<sup>3</sup> irregularly followed by others throughout 1942. Heinz's first ad appeared on August 21, 1942,<sup>4</sup> and Consolidated Edison's on October 30, 1942.<sup>5</sup> Others to start in 1943 were Ford, Manhattan Trust, Book-of-the-Month Club and Esso.

After the war, ads offering to send gift parcels to all countries rose dramatically. This service had started to some countries during the war as soon as the military administration allowed it. Random samples show the following number of such ads:

8.2.1946.....	23
11.10.....	43
14.2.1947.....	38
16.3.....	46
8.8.....	36
3.10.....	43
30.4.1948.....	27

Among the ads on October 11, 1946, was one by CARE [Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe Inc.]<sup>6</sup> which was

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/14, pp. 16/17.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/50, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/34, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> A VIII/44, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> A XII/41, p. 29

founded by 24 relief organisations with the support and permission of official U.S. government institutions.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the gifts advertised before, some additional unexpected items, such as shoes, old clothing, dried potatoes, coal, coke, flints and material for filling teeth, demonstrate the extreme want of the DPs and even of the population outside the camps in Europe. These parcels must have helped to save many lives.

All this underscores the fact that *Aufbau's* advertising section was healthy, growing and financially rewarding, although the paper tried to create the impression that the shortage of newsprint imposed restrictions that were applied mostly to the advertisements.

#### *Lineage and Prices*

While *Aufbau* appeared twice a month between February 1, 1939, to November 15, 1939, ads covered from 45 to 50% of the space. Between November 29 and December 29, 1939, as a weekly, advertising space diminished to about 30%. For the year 1940 to 1944, *Aufbau* published its own figures: They were:

1940.....	300,000 lines
1941.....	550,000
1942.....	650,000
1943.....	725,000
1944.....	850,000

To illustrate their magnitude, *Aufbau* compared its lineage figures with those of well-known periodicals in 1944.

---

<sup>1</sup> A. XII/19, 10.5.1946, pp. 1/2.

Fortune.....	1,396,000	
Esquire.....	900,000	
Good Housekeeping.....	510,000	
Saturday Evening Post.....	1,812,000]	
Life.....	1,505,000]	for 11
Time.....	1,333,000]	months only
New York Times.....	955,000]	<sup>1</sup>

For the rest of the period, *Aufbau's* lineage figures were:

1945.....	980,600
1946.....	1,223,700
1947.....	1,295,600
1948 till April 30.....	389,500 <sup>2</sup>

The figures for the well-known periodicals for 1947 were:

Fortune.....	952,000
Esquire.....	917,500
Good Housekeeping.....	754,000
Saturday Evening Post.....	3,025,400
Life.....	2,638,500
Time.....	1,543,900
New York Times.....	1,472,400 <sup>3</sup>

The striking increase in lineage was accompanied by higher prices for advertisements. At the beginning of the war an ad of 15 words in the classified section cost \$1.00.<sup>4</sup> The basic price for *Familien-Anzeigen* - the width of one column [2 inches] and one inch high was \$2.50; larger ones were proportionately more expensive.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Counted and calculated by author, all figures are approximate.

<sup>3</sup> *Printers' Ink*, Jan. 30, 1948, pp. 112, 114, 116.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/50, 12.12.1941, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> A VIII/42, 4.9.1942, p. 36.

At the end of the reporting period, that is April 30, 1948, the rate for 15 words in the classified section was

for all ads.....	\$2.50
for job offers.....	3.00
for each additional 5 words.....	75
for jobs wanted.....	2.00
for each additional 5 words.....	.50

The basic tariff for *Familien-Anzeigen* had climbed to \$4.90 for an ad of the same size as at the beginning of the war.<sup>1</sup>

Rates for display advertisements were, according to the announcement in the masthead, only available on application. Increases similar to those for classified ads and for *Familien-Anzeigen* occurred, one must assume, for the rates of display advertisements but they were not published. The membership in ABC and the increased circulation would have justified them. However, *Aufbau's* tariff must have been on a lower level than those of the big magazines, such as *Life*, *Time* and the others.

In spite of the advertisement department's success, not everybody liked it. Martin Rosenbluth of the German-Jewish Representative Committee, affiliated with the World Jewish Congress, wanted to see nothing but articles in the paper, and thought it should become a purely Jewish weekly.<sup>2</sup> Fritz von Unruh, a member of *Aufbau's* advisory board, presented another kind of complaint about the advertising: As an expression of

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> A X/52, 29.12.1944, p. 4.



the pleasant parts of life, it was not in harmony with the tragedy of the time reflected in the editorial part.<sup>1</sup> Hans Schleger, the weekly's advertising manager, defended the practice:

*Aufbau's* growth would not have been possible without the co-operation of the advertisers, who saw in it the organ that they needed to establish a new livelihood.<sup>2</sup>

For a paper, whose sole reason for existence was to assist its readers in the reconstruction<sup>3</sup> of their lives and which was proud of its independence from other organisations,<sup>4</sup> an advertising section was an essential requirement to finance operations.

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/51, 22. 12. 1944, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Aufbau*.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/18, 1. 5. 1942, p. 4.

## CHAPTER IV: AUFBAU BETWEEN 1939 AND PEARL HARBOR

### *New Physical Layout and Increased Professionalism*

#### *The first Number under George's Direction*

*Aufbau's* issue of April 1, 1939, must have surprised some of the regular readers. Looking at the first page, they might have wondered if they had received the right paper. Although Brandl, the editor for the last two years, had taken leave in the last number, no previous notice had prepared readers for a shift of style by the new editor, Dr. Manfred George. At first glance, they would have seen a new title: *Aufbau - Blaetter fuer das Judentum - Herausgegeben vom German-Jewish Club, Inc.*<sup>1</sup> Aesthetically, the new arrangement had an advantage over the last rather sober and severe title, with the new heading covering only about two-thirds of the page's width. The right upper corner contained an announcement of a literary competition. The winner of a composition entitled *Mein schoenstes Erlebnis in U.S.A.*<sup>2</sup> would receive two tickets for the Thalia Theater, a cinema on 95th Street and Broadway. The old *Aufbau* had never used such publicity, not even when it had experienced financial difficulties in 1936. But the readers seemed to have approved of the change for a great

---

<sup>1</sup> *Aufbau - Journal for Judaism* - Published by the German-Jewish Club, Inc.

<sup>2</sup> My most interesting experience in the U.S.A.

number entered the contest.<sup>1</sup> In consequence, the paper would feature similar competitions every month.

The two articles on the first page were likewise unusual. They dealt with the daily news. The lead article by George himself - under the pseudonym Observer - had the provocative title *Wann kommt der Weltkrieg?*<sup>2</sup>, a question, by the way, the author did not answer. The events, he wrote, changed every day; any analysis required reservations; one must be careful. Germany had just seized Memel, Bohemia and Moravia. It had also already turned up the heat on Poland, whose independence Britain had guaranteed the day before. This declaration, followed by France's was thought to stop further aggression by Hitler. Although George did not know of Britain's guarantee when writing his article, it was plausible for him to consider that a European war might be in store but not a world war. The U.S.A. was strongly isolationist and restrained by laws. The heading was, therefore, exaggerated and sensational in its effect, or it may have been a veiled indication of the only way Germany could be liberated from Hitler and Nazism. The second article, also written by George, this time under "eo", disclosed the desperate attempts of Jewish refugees to find a port for their chartered ships under the title *Die Totenschiffe fahren.*<sup>3</sup> In

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/8, 1. 5. 1939, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> When will the new world war arrive?

<sup>3</sup> Ships of Death Stray on the Oceans. See Appendix 3.

sum, a new style, bolder than before, had entered *Aufbau*, or at least had taken over the first page.

Turning to the rest of the paper, the readers would discover that the changes there were less radical. The program of the club, its announcements and reviews, as well as the masthead, remained unchanged in setup and place. The same applied to makeup, print and format. *Aufbau* also still followed the principles of the club's statutes.<sup>1</sup>

But George's first number, and this was the most remarkable feature, brought news in the form of headlines, reports and articles, sometimes in a condensed manner, as well as items to help readers in their Americanization; both elements that had been neglected in the old *Aufbau*.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the new material appeared as columns, a journalistic device that enriched the quality and variety of the contents by offering divergent opinions about current problems.<sup>3</sup> Between April 1 and November 15, 1939, *Aufbau* was on the way to becoming a newspaper patterned after George's concept of an American-Jewish periodical written by immigrants for immigrants in German. By November 29, 1939, the transformation was completed. The time of the club bulletin had definitely ended.

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/31, 2.8.1940, p. 8.

*The Issue of November 29, 1939*

On this date, *Aufbau* not only became a weekly instead of a bimonthly but also adopted a new appearance and formulated its own editorial policy. De Jonge had had the dream that *Aufbau* eventually would speak as the organ of all Jewish refugees from Central Europe in the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> Letters to the editor had suggested that *Aufbau* should extend its coverage to become a true newspaper,<sup>2</sup> by becoming a weekly.

The edition of November 29, 1939 was the result of a necessary overhaul. The most important change was the adoption of a larger page size. *Aufbau's* previous format of 8½x11 inches grew to 13x18½ inches, the typical size of tabloids. This amounted to about 157% additional space, to which should be added the potential gain caused by the more frequent publishing schedule, depending on the number of pages compared with those in the issues before November 29, 1939. The revision also included less conspicuous modifications. Instead of the former three columns, five became the norm for each page, the top of which showed the date of the issue. Page 4, which previously provided space for the names of the club's directors, their announcements, reports and reviews beside the masthead, retained only the latter. The replacements were editorials and other articles. The club's items and programs moved to pages five

---

<sup>1</sup> A I/10, 1.9.1935, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> A I/11, 1.10.1935, p. 11.

and six. The type remained the same as before until the end of 1939. Then, large headings were offset by hardly legible print for some ads and columns. *Aufbau*, it became clear, had adopted a makeup similar to that of a regular paper.<sup>1</sup>

The same issue commemorated the paper's fifth anniversary with an article by Wilfred C. Hulse, *5 Jahre Aufbau*<sup>2</sup> It contained a statement of policy, which appeared in English translation one week later.<sup>3</sup> Shortened versions in English and German followed several times.<sup>4</sup> The declaration consisted of four paragraphs. *Aufbau* would, according to the beginning of the first one, "serve the interests of all immigrants from Central Europe and their merging into the life and society of the American democracy." But the rest of the paragraph limited this extensive task, since *Aufbau* called itself an American-Jewish paper. It could not, hence, fully serve those who would not want to remain in the U.S.A. once they could return to Central Europe, nor non-Jews, although the paper did not wish to discriminate against these two groups.

The second paragraph explained why *Aufbau's* language would remain, for the most part, German "for an indefinite time." Its space would always be open to creations of liberal German

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Five Years of Aufbau*. A V/22, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A V/23, 8.12.1939, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> A VI/1, 5.1.1940, p. 4; VI/21, 24.5.-1940, p. 4; VI/25, 21.6.1940, p. 4; VI/39, 27.9.1940, p. 4; and VII/20, 16.5.1941, pp. 1/2.

culture. To this should be added that *Aufbau* had just carried out an inquiry among its readers on the question of language: 65% of the replies favoured the prevailing practice; only 20% advocated more English.<sup>1</sup> After Germany declared war on the U.S.A., Hulse studied the question again, with the same result, because too many readers still had insufficient knowledge of English.<sup>2</sup>

The only thing new in the third paragraph was the declaration of the paper's fight against Hitlerism and all dictatorships. The ideological credo stated that *Aufbau* was liberal but "non-political" and would avoid politics and all quarrels about political questions of the day."

The challenge of Hitlerism and all dictatorships seems to contradict this declaration. What Hulse meant and what a reading of the paper confirms is that *Aufbau* would avoid party politics and the support of political parties. That he spelled "liberal" with a little "l" is one indication of this. George must have assured Hulse of "his political neutrality" before Hulse engaged him as editor.<sup>3</sup>

The stance was evidently appreciated by readers. In November 1939, Dr. Wilhelm Kleeman wrote in a letter to the editor: "I would not like to be without your paper, because

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/19, 15 10.1939, p. 25, V/24, 1.11.1939, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/51, 19.12.1941, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 36.

it is the only one in the world at this time that is free of party political view...."<sup>1</sup>

The fourth paragraph was largely superfluous, for it expressed only the wish that *Aufbau's* readers would accept the statement. The reprints, not the translation, did not contain the full text. Condensed into two paragraphs, they embodied the essential points without weakening the document. For the full text, see Appendix 5.

Naturally, the question arises what George thought about the statement, in particular the problem of politics in *Aufbau* and what principles he applied as editor. It seems that he approved Hulse's "Statement of Policy" in the abbreviated version. Without a direct reference, his comment on the result of a special election in a Manhattan district with a Jewish majority of working-class voters can be taken as a judgment. Three candidates ran for the seat, among them the leader of the U.S. Communist party, Earl Browder. The Communist finished third with a fraction of the votes his opponents, who were Jews, received. He had kept, George wrote, *Aufbau* free from politics and would do so in future. However, he considered it his duty to draw the readers' attention to events in politics that would be of interest to them. This election was such an event, and one can add, a confirmation of Hulse's renunciation of politics in the paper.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/20, 1.11.1939, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/7, 16.2.1940, p. 6.



In a review on the occasion of the newspaper's 25th anniversary in 1960 headed *Der politische Weg des Aufbau*,<sup>1</sup> Kurt Kersten, assistant editor at that time, argued that the risk of war forced the paper to enter the political arena. Before the outbreak of war, it acted as "experienced warner." During the war it regarded itself "in the service of the war effort" and after the war, it continued as an interested party in the various changes, political or otherwise.<sup>2</sup> This was a realistic description of the situation, in line with the definition that politics in the press is the expression of an opinion about government actions or non-actions or the endorsement, direct or indirect, of other opinions. It excludes the criticism of other opinions.

One channel through which politics entered *Aufbau* was the columns, which offered diverse opinions on subjects. Yet the editor found himself compelled to add:

We take this opportunity [in reference to a difference of opinion among readers about a subject in the column "The Sceptical Reader"] to state that *Aufbau* allows its selected columnists absolute freedom in expressing their opinion and that details of the columns *An den Rand geschrieben*, "The Sceptical Reader," *New Yorker Notizbuch* and *Zur Lage* do not always reflect *Aufbau's* view.<sup>3</sup>

Strange in this list is the inclusion of the columns *Zur Lage* and *An den Rand geschrieben*, because their authors were George

---

<sup>1</sup> *Aufbau's* Political Road.

<sup>2</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960; XXVI/19, 6.5.1960, pp. 4, 30.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/31, 2.8.1940, p. 8.

and Hulse respectively. They were the persons to set the editorial policy of the paper. These two columns, it seems, should not have been included.

Although the "Statement of Policy" did not set any priorities, subsequent articles discussed this point, resulting in some confusion. One editorial, unsigned but written in George's style, saw *Aufbau's* foremost task as helping the immigrants to integrate into American society without forgetting the tragic fate of the Jews who had not been lucky enough to escape from the Nazis. Hence, *Aufbau* had to report how the Nazis treated these unfortunates, even if the details might cause nightmares to both writers and readers.<sup>1</sup>

One year later, the priorities were no longer the same. Another editorial put the fight against the totalitarian powers in first place. Next in importance came the cultivation of Jewish tradition, Jewish history, and active endeavours of the Jewish communities without taking any position on their internal differences in ideology and practice. In third place followed the Americanization of Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. *Aufbau's* task was to guide them from a world that existed no longer into the American bourgeoisie and culture.<sup>2</sup> The war, George wrote after Hitler had invaded Poland, was also one of vital interest to the Jews; because their fate depended on its outcome.<sup>3</sup> It

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/24, 15.12.1939, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Buergertum; Gedankenwelt*; A VI/48, 29.11.1940, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A V/17, 15.9.1939, pp. 1/2.

was, therefore, only realistic that for a Jewish newspaper the fight against Jewry's enemies was of the uppermost importance.

### *Expansion of News Coverage*

*Aufbau* had started to publish general news on a limited basis, obviously gathered from other papers, domestic and international, when George took over as editor. In the number of October 15, 1939, the first news report, one from Paris under the title "*Juedische Freiwillige*"<sup>1</sup>, appeared with the mark of origin "JTA."<sup>2</sup> An editorial announcement explained:

The news in *Aufbau* is based on personal information, reports from our special correspondents and friends, releases from the official American agencies and offices, the excellent services of the JTA<sup>3</sup> from all parts of the world as well as from numerous other sources.

The editors, it added, tried to verify all reports, but those emanating from Europe were necessarily incomplete because of the censorship there.<sup>4</sup>

A perusal of *Aufbau* indicates that "personal information" must have come from members of the staff or from persons recently arrived in the U.S.A. and reporting on their escape from Europe. Regular commentaries on the news before the downfall of France arrived from Paris, London, Palestine and, less frequently, from countries under German control. These

---

<sup>1</sup> Jewish Volunteers.

<sup>2</sup> A V/19, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish Telegraph Agency.

<sup>4</sup> A V/19, p. 20.

items either did not name the source, giving only the author's initials, or were reprints from newspapers in other countries. After France's defeat, this kind of material became irregular. *Aufbau's* readers learned about events in occupied Paris and other parts of occupied Europe under titles such as "Secret Reports from Europe by a European Correspondent." Throughout the period, irregular news came from Central and South America, Shanghai, India, Manila and Switzerland. Lisbon played a special role after it became the only port of exit for emigrants travelling to the U.S.A. All these dispatches often arrived after great delay. *Aufbau* printed official American news releases when they were deemed of interest to immigrants and non-citizens. The "numerous other sources" were the daily American newspapers, which the editor and the writers used in the preparation of their articles.<sup>1</sup> The "friends" were, undoubtedly, readers of *Aufbau* and Jewish refugees around the world; in the 10th anniversary number George boasted that from the "friends" *Aufbau* could "publish news not available through the ordinary channels."<sup>2</sup>

While the correspondents' commentaries, the official American releases, the personal stories and most of the JTA's reports appeared in their original language, all the other material received had to be prepared for printing, being translated into

---

<sup>1</sup> Confirmed by Maier, p. 37, who added the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the Anglo-Jewish press and the Yiddish Press.

<sup>2</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 17.

German.<sup>1</sup> For many of them, George selected the form of columns. He himself wrote one called *Zur Lage*<sup>2</sup>. The column appeared in every issue and gave short accounts of the many events during the previous week, mostly in the field of foreign policy and the state of the war as seen by the writer. Supplementary news appeared in the column *Marsch der Zeit*<sup>3</sup>. There the items were very short and factual. This column did not survive 1943.

Information on American domestic policy was rather meagre, probably to avoid "all quarrels about political questions of the day."<sup>4</sup> The fact that most of the readers had not yet become citizens might also have played a role. The first column in this field, *Die Woche in U.S.A.*<sup>5</sup>, started only in March 1940. The first writer was H.O. Gernegross, followed by W.M. Citron and finally by George himself. The column lasted only one year and appeared without a regular schedule. Another column of similar contents began in January 1941. Its first title was *Rund um das Capitol*<sup>6</sup>, later *Amerikanisches Panorama*<sup>7</sup>, and it was written by Edward K. Knudsen, a freelance writer stationed in Washington, D.C. But it stopped after eight months and also

---

<sup>1</sup> Maier, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The Situation.

<sup>3</sup> March of the Time.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> The Week in U. S. A.

<sup>6</sup> Around the Capitol.

<sup>7</sup> American Panorama.

did not appear in all editions. In addition, the readers would find news in various columns that brought excerpts or summaries of articles from other papers or magazines.

News coverage of the economy started in special fields. The first number under George brought "Wall Street Telegram" by Dr. Walter Floersheimer, who later signed himself as "Merkur". The same issue contained Dr. Gustav Schulze's column *Grundstuecksmarkt und Kapitalanlage in New York*<sup>1</sup>. Occasionally, Floersheimer's and Schulze's columns together with some general economical articles took up an entire page under headings such as *Ratgeber auf dem Wirtschaftsmarkt*.<sup>2</sup> From March 1941 on, *Aufbau* published monthly the most important statistical figures of the Federal Reserve Board as well as data on prices of commodities, wages, cost of living, imports, exports, retail sales and so on under the heading *Der Weg der Wirtschaft*<sup>3</sup>. Siegfried Aufhauser, who had been president of the White Collar Union in Germany, added short commentaries to these statistics. Starting in August 1940, he also wrote two separate columns. One dealt with general social questions; the other - headed "Review of Labor" - reported on specific labor problems of the day. Aufhauser's columns also served to acquaint the readers with American institutions and customs.

---

<sup>1</sup> Real Estate and Capital Investments in New York

<sup>2</sup> Economical Advisor.

<sup>3</sup> The Economic Record.

To keep the readers informed about the scientific developments, *Aufbau* started on May 9, 1941, a section entitled "International Science"<sup>1</sup> with G.E. von Grunebaum of the Iranian Institute, New York, as editor and Josef Maier as editorial assistant; it was written entirely in English and was to appear quarterly. In an "Introductory Note," the editor explained the necessity of such a supplement by pointing out that a great number of scholars had come to America, which was on the way to becoming the cultural center of the Western World. However, after only three supplements had appeared, *Aufbau* had to abandon the idea. The interest among the readers was not big enough to warrant the expense.<sup>2</sup>

Two columns dealt with the local news. "Crosstown" by Busdriver appeared only a few times, but *New Yorker Notizbuch* or *New Yorker Tagebuch*<sup>3</sup> lasted the whole period. Its contents ranged from human interest stories to commentaries about Nazi propaganda in New York. The readers could learn much about American life in general as well as about what was going on in the city. The column *Wie wir hoeren*<sup>4</sup>, conceived as a gossip column, contained personal news about those who were in the public eye in Central Europe before the arrival of the Nazis. Frequently, reports of suicides or deaths dominated the

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/19, pp. 5/8.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> New York Notebook or New York Diary.

<sup>4</sup> The Grapevine.

contents. Mentions of successes were rare at the beginning but increased with time, an indication of spreading acculturation.

### *Aufbau's Special Tasks*

Aufbau's first task was to publish the programs of its owner, the German-Jewish Club. Two changes were remarkable: the club's growth and the moving of its announcements from the front to the middle pages. The increase in the membership caused geographical divisions as well as the foundation of new groups within the club. Branches had to be opened in Queens and uptown, while endeavours to found others were in progress. The club had a Labour Division, a Youth Group, an anti-Fascist Working Group, a Teachers' Group and a Businessmen's Forum. Other sections practising recreational activities collected stamps, sang in a choir, enjoyed arts, explored the city as well as the surroundings on outings, played bridge, chess and skat. The club operated day and evening nurseries and collected contributions for several purposes, of which the United Jewish Appeal and the Blue Dues<sup>1</sup>, a self-taxing scheme, were the club's favorites. The Immigrants' Conference maintained a board of arbitration and a guidance service. All of them published their announcements in the paper, in some numbers amounting to four pages. The sport page, now united with the club's programs, had grown to one-and-a-half to two pages by itself. The club must have been like a beehive.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Blaue Beitragskarte.*



The club program's usual place was on pages 5 and 6. Starting in the middle of October 1940, it moved to page 13 and up. Purely technical reasons might have been responsible for the change; yet it might have had a symbolic significance. *Aufbau's* success meant it no longer required the club's financial backing, but rather it could support the club's activities. The General Assembly of the club elected Manfred George as secretary for 1940, an office that he also kept in 1941,<sup>1</sup> no doubt a sign of *Aufbau's* importance to the club.

Another decision of its publisher also affected *Aufbau*. A campaign to change the name of the German-Jewish Club began on June 7, 1940, when an invitation to suggest another name appeared in the paper.<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered that Germany had started the offensive on the western front on May 10, 1940. Armand Eisner, New York, and Charles Hyll, Hollywood, won \$25.00 each for proposing "New World Club."<sup>3</sup> It took several general meetings to legalize the change. Subsequently, *Aufbau* had to rectify its flag and masthead.

Before 1939, *Aufbau* had published, on a limited scale, announcements from other Jewish clubs and similar organizations. Beginning April 15, 1939, it inaugurated a column *Aus anderen juedischen Klubs*.<sup>4</sup> Fellow clubs in Philadelphia,

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/25, 22.12.1939, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/23, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/4, 24.1.1941, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> From other Jewish Clubs, A V/7, p. 13.

Pittsburgh, Chicago, Newark, Baltimore, Miami, Milwaukee, Kansas City and Cleveland used this opportunity, as did several Zionist organizations.

On October 3, 1941 *Aufbau* announced<sup>1</sup> that the Jewish Club of 1933 in Los Angeles had decided to merge its bulletin *New World* with *Aufbau*, which had already introduced a supplement *Die Westkueste*<sup>2</sup> on September 5, 1941.<sup>3</sup> The great number of new readers in California and neighbouring states had prompted this move. The supplement would appear fortnightly, and its editor would be Ralph Nunberg,<sup>4</sup> who had formerly worked in the same capacity for a Berlin midday paper. This addition was a success for *Aufbau*, not only materially, but also in prestige and in its aim of becoming the mouthpiece of all immigrants from Central Europe.

#### *Introduction of a Feuilleton*

Although *Aufbau's* feuilleton was not confined to the bottoms of the pages and marked off by a rule, it conformed to Webster's definition.<sup>5</sup> It also served to fulfil the paper's self-imposed task of saving "the values of our

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/40, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The West Coast.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/36, pp. 13/15.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/33, 15.8.1941, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 10.

European past from destruction."<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau* reviewed stage plays by troupes of immigrant players in German, musical events of former European artists and books by authors still writing in German outside the Nazi empire. Because of its limited space, a newspaper is not the best place for literary prose, but serialized works, short stories and excerpts from novels are possible. *Aufbau* published Hermann Ullstein's *Aus dem Notizbuch eines Verlegers*.<sup>2</sup> in six instalments<sup>3</sup> and Anna Freud-Bernays's *Erinnerungen an meinen Bruder Sigmund Freud*<sup>4</sup> in four.<sup>5</sup> Oskar Maria Graf<sup>6</sup> and Alfred Hirschberg<sup>7</sup> were authors of short stories for the paper; Franz Werfel<sup>8</sup> contributed aphorisms, and Heinrich Eduard Jacob and Gustav Regler published excerpts from their recent works. Well-known authors who contributed to *Aufbau* in interviews and questionnaires included Thomas Mann, Ferdinand Bruckner, Stefan Zweig, Emil Ludwig and Martin Gumpert.

Finding quotations from the classics that applied to the situation of the day seems to have been a favorite game not

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 5.

<sup>2</sup> From the Notebook of a Publisher.

<sup>3</sup> Starting A VI/7, 16.2.1940, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Recollections of my Brother Sigmund Freud.

<sup>5</sup> Starting A VI/45, 8.11.1940, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> A V/14, 1.8.1939, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> A VII/13, 28.3.1941, pp. 5/6.

<sup>8</sup> A VI/1, 5.1.1940, p. 10.

only for the editors of *Aufbau* but also for some readers. Goethe's *Amerika, du hast es besser...*<sup>1</sup> is a well-known example.

*Aufbau* published at least one poem in almost every number, frequently three, four or five. Instead of listing all the authors, the names of those represented by three poems or more must suffice: Lessie Sachs-Wagner, Hilde Marx, Ernst Waldinger, Alfred Wolfenstein, Guenther Anders, Bertold Viertel, Mascha Kaleko, Ernst Marcus, Julius Bab, Ivan Goll, and Max Barth. Ultimately, the literary significance of the newspaper's poetry columns was considerable. Walter A. Berendsohn, the doyen of scholars in exile literature, has noted: "One could compile from the *Aufbau* an anthology of German lyrics of the emigration."<sup>2</sup> Cazden judged: "The general literary excellence of the paper ... makes the *Aufbau* an indispensable source for any literary or cultural history of the immigration."<sup>3</sup> Yet, *Aufbau's* greatest contribution in keeping German liberal culture alive was simply its decision to print the paper mostly in German, despite the growing hatred in the U.S.A. of Nazism.

*Aufbau* also undertook the task of building up an American feuilleton. In the field of the legitimate stage, it began with a list called *Interessantes Theater*, describing them in a few words. This led to reporting and reviewing pieces of particular

---

<sup>1</sup> America, thou 'art wiser..., A VII/8, 21.2.1941, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The Humanistic Front, part II, p. 210, quoted from Cazden, p. 70, note 31.

<sup>3</sup> Cazden, p. 63.

interest to readers, such as Hemingway's *Fifth Column*<sup>1</sup>, Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine*<sup>2</sup> and performances staged by Erwin Piscator's New York Theater school as well as other stage events in which former German thespians tried their luck in the new language. *Aufbau* also sent reviewers to big successes on Broadway, but did not exclude plays outside the "Big White Way", among them Negro and Yiddish plays. George reviewed the most important pieces himself; H.O. Gernegoss, Kurt Hellmer and Therese Pol covered the rest. In October 1941, Kurt Hellmer began to write regularly under the heading *Broadway Spiegel*<sup>3</sup> and later "Broadway Bulletin."

Musical events were also reviewed regularly in *Aufbau*. Opera was covered by Egon Benisch until September 1941. Artur Holde, former musical editor of the *Frankfurter General Anzeiger*, specialized in concerts and general musical events but also took over the opera reviews after his colleague's departure. Holde wrote the reviews and reports under various headings finally called *Musik in New York*. From 1941 it appeared every week. The contents dealt almost exclusively with events in which former European musicians were involved.

Book reviews followed the general scheme. The section began in a modest way, gradually expanding in thoroughness and number

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/13, 29.3.1940, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> VII/15, 11.4.1941, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Broadway Mirror.

of books reviewed. Basically, *Aufbau* chose three kinds of books: those written by emigré authors, those discussing Jewish problems and those explaining conditions in the U.S.A. American bestsellers or books by famous authors occasionally received the same attention. Among them were Hemingway's *For whom the Bell Tolls*,<sup>1</sup> Schulberg's *What makes Sammy run?*<sup>2</sup> and Saroyan's *My Name is Aram*.<sup>3</sup> Usually, several reviews appeared under headings like *Buecher in dieser Zeit*<sup>4</sup>, or *Das neue Buch*<sup>5</sup>, filling several columns to a full page or more. It is impossible to list the names of all the reviewers - they were too numerous - but George's turned up most frequently.

Among other reviews in the cultural field were those dealing with the fine arts. Erich Cohn-Wiener inaugurated art reviews by writing about the exhibition of art at the World Fair of 1939 in New York,<sup>6</sup> followed by Ludwig Wronkow's article on an exposition of immigrant artists in the Empire State Building.<sup>7</sup> Sporadic contributions appeared in the paper until July 1941, when B.F. Dolbin started a regular column called "Arts Events" under the pen name Ben Bindol. Similarly in August

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/47, 22.11.1940, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/20, 16.5.1941, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/17, 25.4.1941, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Books of this Time.

<sup>5</sup> The New Book.

<sup>6</sup> A V/17, 15.9.1939, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> A V/21, 15.11.1939, p. 14.

1941, Arthur Michel began to publish critiques of ballet performances. Earlier, between February and October, 1940, a regular column of record reviews had appeared, written by H. Gumprecht. In April 1941, *Aufbau* obtained its own hour of broadcasting, first on New York's station WHOM and then on WEVD. Part of the programs dealt with the arts. On April 5, 1941, for instance, Kurt Hellmer reviewed Hellman's *The Watch on the Rhine*, and Theo Goetz recited poems by Rainer Maria Rilke. April 12, 1941 brought a lecture on Jacques Offenbach and recitations from Schiller's *Don Carlos* by Ernst Deutsch and Theo Goetz.

Some of the tradition-minded readers of *Aufbau* might have objected to classifying the reviews of films under the general heading of "Feuilleton". However, it conforms to Webster's definition<sup>1</sup> and most of the reviewers also wrote about the theater and books. Visiting the cinema was the least expensive kind of leisure activity, which most newcomers could soon afford. It offered the additional benefits of relaxation and of a lesson in English. Hollywood was a place where many of the intellectual immigrants, film directors, actors, actresses, and musicians had found employment. It was, therefore, a must for *Aufbau* to report as comprehensively as possible about the movie capital and its products.

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 10.

Early in the period, the paper published a list captioned *Wohin ins Kino? Filme die wir empfehlen*<sup>1</sup> with the name of the film and its origin, separated into three classes: *Ernste Unterhaltung, leichte Unterhaltung und politische Spielfilme* or *Aktuell Politisch*.<sup>2</sup> Beginning in September 1939, their format became that of full-fledged reviews. They were even more detailed and thorough for films of artistic value. Examples are Chaplin's *The Great Dictator*,<sup>3</sup> *Grapes of Wrath*,<sup>4</sup> and Orson Well's *Citizen Kane*.<sup>5</sup> George bore the brunt of reporting; others were Gernegross, Therese Pol and Hellmer. In October 1941, Joe Gassner, a penname for Karl Jakob Hirsch, started to publish the column *Unter der Zeitlupe*,<sup>6</sup> outlining the news from the world of pictures outside Hollywood. *Aufbau's* feuilleton thus tried not only to keep alive the old cultural values but also to convey some sense of the new culture.

#### *Miscellaneous Reader Services*

Like many other newspapers, *Aufbau* carried "Letters to the Editor," "Questions and Answers" and "Chess Problems"

---

<sup>1</sup> Which Cinema? Films that we recommend.

<sup>2</sup> Serious Entertainment, Light Entertainment, and Fictional Films with political Background or Currently Political.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/42, 18.10.1940, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> A VI/9, 1.3.1940, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/23, 6,6,1941, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> In slow Motion.



columns. Besides Wronkow's weekly cartoons *Wochenschau des Aufbau*<sup>1</sup> the weekly carried cartoons by Sera, Bressler, Rae Maekers and others to acquaint the readers with a typical American feature. A column *Lachen Sie mit*<sup>2</sup> served mostly as filler.

In addition, *Aufbau* published columns that no other paper carried, because they were tailored to the needs of the immigrants. The most successful one was *Es werden gesucht*,<sup>3</sup> which began on May 1, 1939 with three items.<sup>4</sup> They grew so much that they covered half a page in very small, hardly legible print.<sup>5</sup> Emigration, arbitrary measures by the Nazis, restrictions of the receiving countries and, later, the war had separated families and friends. The column helped to unite them again or, at least, to locate their whereabouts. Others used the column to find relatives who had left the old country long ago in order to obtain affidavits from them.<sup>6</sup> For members of the club and subscribers to *Aufbau* the insertion was free at first; from January 1940, it cost them 10¢ each, while outsiders had to pay 25¢ from the beginning. From time to time, *Aufbau* printed

---

<sup>1</sup> *Aufbau*'s weekly Review.

<sup>2</sup> Laugh with us.

<sup>3</sup> We search for.

<sup>4</sup> A V/8, 1. 5. 1939, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> A VI/44, 1. 11. 1940, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> A VII/44, 31. 10. 1941, p. 32.

letters from users to show how efficient the search record was.<sup>1</sup>

To further promote communication between the immigrants and their relatives and friends overseas, *Aufbau* introduced in May 1939 a column *Ausgehende Ueberseepost*,<sup>2</sup> listing closing times for the mail to Europe and Palestine. After the outbreak of war in 1939 and the occupation of France in 1940, with postal traffic reduced, this information became very valuable. The first column *Es trafen ein*<sup>3</sup> appeared on March 15, 1939.<sup>4</sup> It was not a complete list but was based on notifications from the public.

In January 1941 the newspaper started a column *Wanderung und Immigration*.<sup>5</sup> It contained reports on possibilities of departing from Europe as well as entering countries of refuge.<sup>6</sup> Before that time, *Aufbau* published individual articles showing endeavours to open Cuba, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic to immigrants.

---

<sup>1</sup> e. g. A VI/44, 1. 11. 1940, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Outgoing Overseas Mail.

<sup>3</sup> New Arrivals.

<sup>4</sup> A V/5, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Migration and Immigration.

<sup>6</sup> A VII/5, 31. 1. 1941, p. 6.

The columns *Wir bauen auf*<sup>1</sup>, *Notizen fuer Alle*<sup>2</sup>, and *Wir geben Arbeit*<sup>3</sup> were, on the one hand, free advertising for the firms mentioned in them and, on the other, a defence against the reproach that the refugees took work away from native Americans.

For the same purpose, *Aufbau* offered American exporters and foreign importers the chance of doing business through the column *Aufbau and U. S. A. Exports*. Insertion was free, but in order to obtain a name and address the inquirer had to pay a fee of 50 cents. The first column appeared on January 10, 1941, with five items;<sup>4</sup> by December 12, 1941, 243 inquiries had appeared.<sup>5</sup> *Aufbau* did not indicate how many transactions resulted from this column.

One other column which appeared regularly should be mentioned here: "Going Places" was a list of "free and inexpensive lectures, concerts and other events" compiled by the Division for Social and Cultural Adjustment of the National Refugee Service. From time to time, *Aufbau* tried to develop other columns, but they did not last long. Among them were *Der*

---

<sup>1</sup> We are productive.

<sup>2</sup> Announcements for Everybody.

<sup>3</sup> We create working Places.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/2, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/50, p. 7.

*Landwirt*<sup>1</sup> by J.W. Pincus<sup>2</sup> and *Jubilæen*.<sup>3</sup> The latter had a comeback several years later.

All these columns, except those in the last paragraph, which did not arouse immediate interest or were merely reprints, had one thing in common: After George had started to edit *Aufbau*, they began on a small scale, developed in volume and frequency and still had not reached their potential at the end of the period in December 1941.

### *The Flag or Nameplate*

When revising *Aufbau* to his concept, George had the subtitle in the number of April 1, 1939, changed to "Journal for Judaism." This must have caused the impression of an extremely narrow program. As the paper's contents do not confirm this view and as the subtitle lasted for only a short time, it is probable that it was aimed against Brandl, the previous editor, who had stressed the German cultural commitment generally and had neglected specifically Jewish values. On November 29, 1939, *Aufbau* published a "Statement of Policy" and also changed the subtitle again. It read: "Serving the Interests and the Americanization of the Immigrants" with the addition: "Published weekly by the German-Jewish Club, Inc., 15 East 40th Street, New York City."

---

<sup>1</sup> The Farmer.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/5, 2. 2. 1940, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Milestones.

The next major alteration of the title followed on January 3, 1941.<sup>1</sup> The name *Aufbau* remained unchanged in size and type, but below it the translation "Reconstruction" appeared for the first time. The publisher's name became "New World Club" with a new address at 67 West 64th Street, New York City. Starting on January 24, 1941,<sup>2</sup> the translation "Reconstruction" appeared in white within a black square giving it a high degree of prominence. The nameplate showed "Member of Audit Bureau of Circulation" for the first time on September 5, 1941<sup>3</sup> and in the next number an "ABC" appeared in a hexagon below the name. On October 3, 1941, the translation "Reconstruction" disappeared without explanation from the title,<sup>4</sup> only to return on October 24, 1941.<sup>5</sup>

*Aufbau* used the space around the title for all kinds of promotions, especially after the paper became available in the newsstands.<sup>6</sup> One could find there the index, announcements of special events or new features, pictures of persons in the news or records achieved in the number of pages for an issue or in the circulation. The space also served to identify the paper. During the decisive battles in Holland, Belgium and France in

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/1.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/4.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/16.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/40.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/43.

<sup>6</sup> A V/23, 8.12.1939, p. 3.

the spring of 1940, when hatred against Germany abounded, *Aufbau* showed "American Jewish Weekly" there.<sup>1</sup> This was apparently not strong enough and the following week, it expanded to "American Anti-Nazi Weekly in German."<sup>2</sup> One week later, it became "American Jewish Weekly in German,"<sup>3</sup> remaining that, with interruptions, until May 1941. As early as July 1941, this space became full of patriotic admonitions, such as to buy savings bonds or to support defence efforts. After the U.S.A. became involved in the war in December 1941, these messages showed even greater urgency.

The tendency is obvious: The flag, as the most eye-catching part of the paper, should not cause offense to the public. English wording partly replaced the German, which took on less prominence.

### *The Masthead*

The nameplate and the masthead constituted the only parts of *Aufbau* that had fixed places. The latter's permanent position in the ever-changing makeup was on page four. The information it contained paralleled that of the flag in the title, the date, the volume, the number of the issue, the name and address of the publisher, the price of 5¢ for a single copy and later the declaration of membership in ABC. The masthead displayed, in addition, a more elaborate subtitle than the flag, namely "An

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/21, 24.5.1940.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/22, 31.5.1940.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/23, 7.6.1940.

independent weekly journal to serve the interests and Americanization of all Immigrants and to Combat Racial Intolerance." This remained there throughout 1940 and 1941, even after page one no longer carried it.

The masthead also showed Manfred George as editor and Hans E. Schleger as business, sometimes advertising, manager. Two numbers listed Kurt Hellmer and Josef Maier as assistant editors and Ludwig Wronkow as circulation manager.<sup>1</sup> Every edition set forth the subscription price of \$1.00 for 24 numbers and \$2.00 for one year. The advertising rates were available on inquiry. Beginning on May 30, 1941, the masthead carried the names of the members of the advisory board.<sup>2</sup>

During the first 2 3/4 years of George's editorship, *Aufbau* was a growing newspaper. Today's readers probably would not have been satisfied with its layout. Eager to cram the paper with as much material as possible - several announcements from the editor regretted that not everything on hand could be used because of lack of space - it had an overcrowded appearance. Print as small as 6 point in the text and 4 point for ads occurred rather often and was hardly legible.

Departmentalization was of minor importance when the paper consisted of 16, 32 or even 40 pages. *Aufbau* had no separate sections. It called some parts "supplement" and "section II," yet they were specious appellations. Individual articles were

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/1 & 2, 3, and 10.1.1941.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/22, p. 4. See also pp. 91/92.

spread all over the pages, and articles with similar themes were seldom kept together. The index, which would have allowed the reader to find his or her favoured reading, gave only a selection of the contents, and did not always list the page or was itself omitted entirely.

Most of the readers must have been content with *Aufbau* as it was, and the editor did not think that a change was necessary. Under the heading "To satisfy one and all is an order much too tall," he wrote:

It is of no basic significance whether the quality of paper is at present not as good as our readers might desire, whether this or that appears on the third or fifth page.

It is much more important that the 12,000 copies of *Aufbau* reflect our ideas, our anxieties, our reestablishment, the club's work as well as that of all the organizations that serve the immigrants: it is much more important that the advertising department enables hundreds of immigrants to integrate into the American economy, that dozens of regular and occasional contributors obtain their remunerations; that ideas aim at the successful rehabilitation of immigrants, who once had their established positions.<sup>1</sup>

Did *Aufbau* really not care about its appearance and readability, or had its organization lagged behind its growth in volume and circulation? The next chapters will try to answer this question, but first, a description of how *Aufbau* translated the ideas of the "Statement of Policy" into action.

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/24, 15.12.1939, p. 4.



## *The Ideas of Editorial Policy Realized*

### **Fight against Nazism**

#### *War or Peace*

An unnamed author, probably Eichenberg, at that time *Aufbau's* editor, predicted as early as 1935 that the European dictators would precipitate a world war.<sup>1</sup> Hulse, four years later, came to the same conclusion.<sup>2</sup> George, in his first lead article, saw Europe moving ever closer to war if it were not to be handed over to the dominance of the dictators.<sup>3</sup>

After Hitler had broken the Munich Pact in March 1939 by bringing the mutilated Czechoslovakian Republic under his control, and public opinion considered war imminent, *Aufbau's* hatred of Nazism should have added fuel to the flames, yet nothing happened. It was Hulse who had set the rules for *Aufbau's* editorial policy and recommendations to the readers during the prewar period. He thought this necessary in view of accusations and public warnings against refugees and Jews attempting to draw the U.S. government into the expected war. While admitting that the German-Jewish immigrants hated Nazism and probably harboured desires for revenge, Hulse offered two reasons why they should exercise utmost restraint privately and publicly: 1) to advocate war would be immoral, and 2) to

---

<sup>1</sup> A 1/10, 1.9.1935, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A V/3, 15.2.1939, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A V/6, 1.4.1939, p. 1.

avoid misunderstandings.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, *Aufbau* refrained from supporting any preventive war during the period in question.

After the outbreak of war, George offered another reason, namely that millions of fellow-Jews lived in the war zone and would be exposed to the vicissitudes of war. This was in the same article whose opening lines read as follows:

The world has now its war. The war that it wanted to prevent and which it did nothing to prevent. Egoistical social interests and an almost inconceivable stupidity in seizing the situation, on one side, megalomania, bloodthirstiness and a manic imperialism, on the other, have succeeded in turning Europe into a battleground.<sup>2</sup>

Initially, the U.S.A. declared strict neutrality in the war. But President Roosevelt also added that a war like that endangered the security of every other country and that he would not expect every American to remain neutral in his or her feelings.<sup>3</sup> In November 1939, Congress approved a revision of the neutrality laws,<sup>4</sup> followed by U.S. rearmament,<sup>5</sup> the 50 destroyers deal,<sup>6</sup> "active neutrality of non-belligerency,"<sup>7</sup> the lend-lease legislation<sup>8</sup> and the Atlantic Charter.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Missdeutungen*. A V/9, 15.5.1939, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A V/17, 15.9.1939, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> John M. Blum and others, *The National Experience*, part Two, (New York: Harcourt Brace Johanovich, Inc., 1977), pp. 670/1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 671.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 672.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 674.

<sup>7</sup> A VII/2, 10.1.1941, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Blum, p., 675.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 677.

Finally, actions by Japan and Germany forced the U.S.A. into belligerency.

*Aufbau* always commented on this development favourably. It gradually lifted its self-imposed restraint, since the government itself no longer adhered to strict neutrality. While restrictive laws still forced the government to hedge its explanations, *Aufbau* could speak freely about the consequences of the changes. George could write that this time it was also a Jewish war because Palestine was in the war zone, where Jews were in arms, and because the life of all Jews was in danger. It was an hour of destiny for Jewry.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Hitler's Agents in the U.S.A.*

Although *Aufbau* had refrained from discussing the possibility of a preventive war against Nazi Germany, the fight against its archenemy did not stop. In the previous period, the paper fought Nazism by attacking it directly, by supporting organizations specialized in this field and by reporting about its influence and activities in the U.S.A. *Aufbau* continued most of these policies.

One of the strategic aims when Hitler invaded his western neighbours' territory in May 1940 was "to strengthen those American forces calling for a restriction of U.S. foreign military engagements to the Western hemisphere." The "propaganda aimed at American public opinion would all work to this

---

<sup>1</sup> *Schicksalsstunde*. A V/17, 15.9.1939, pp. 1/2.

effect."<sup>1</sup> Naturally, *Aufbau* could not have had any direct knowledge of the secret plan. It could, however, divine its existence from the actions of the Nazi agents in the U.S.A.

Although *Aufbau* itself did not conduct investigative work<sup>2</sup> it collected and published reports from readers and other publications to contribute in bringing the underground activities of the Nazis to light and to alert other organizations and individuals to be on their guard. Thus, *Aufbau* published an article signed N.R.Sv.<sup>3</sup> under the title "Beware of Gestapo in U.S.A.," recounting the story of Mr. Lahn-Terri, who had managed to gain the confidence of the editor of the *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, a Los Angeles weekly, for which he formed a Speaker's Bureau. As a participant in the anti-Hitler underground movement, he related, he had left Germany in fear of being discovered. When trying to join the lodge itself, he became entangled in inconsistencies, dropping out of sight when he realized that he was under suspicion. The same article mentioned another case. A certain Lothar Mannheimer attempted to infiltrate the office of a Jewish former lawyer from Germany, who detected the fake immediately. The lawyer saw Mannheimer again in S.A. uniform at Yorkville.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Andreas Hillgruber, *Germany and the Two World Wars*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> probably National Refugee Service.

<sup>4</sup> A V/26, 29.12.1939, p. 4.

In a letter to the editor entitled *Wie deutsche Agenten in New York arbeiten*<sup>1</sup> reader J.J.C. reported the experience of an American friend in a New York bar. A young German tried to converse with the friend and other guests without succeeding. A few days later, the young German brought another German into play. They staged an apparently rehearsed plan that allowed the former to spread some propaganda against Britain.<sup>2</sup>

After the invasion of Norway in April 1940, during which the name of the Nazi collaborator Quisling became a general epithet for all traitors to their own country, George expected a new wave of hatred against all Germans in the U.S.A.<sup>3</sup> *Aufbau* was convinced that the U.S.A. had its own fifth column, a name given to the organizations of Quislings, and that one could find its members in anti-Semitic groups.<sup>4</sup>

When the German armies overran Holland and Belgium, the European fear of internal traitors and their fifth columns also seized the U.S.A. *Aufbau*, afraid that the British roundup of all German refugees might be repeated in the U.S.A., tried to ward off such a measure in an article headlined *Fluechtlinge - keine fuenfte Kolonne*.<sup>5</sup>

*Aufbau* published at the same time a pledge of loyalty to

---

<sup>1</sup> The Way German Agents operate in New York.

<sup>2</sup> A V/16, 1. 9. 1939, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/15, 12. 4. 1940, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A VI/16, 19. 4. 1940, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Refugees no fifth Column. A VI/21, 24. 5. 1940, p. 20.

the U.S.A. by the "Immigrant Conference 1939" of which the German-Jewish club was a member.

All these organizations are under obligation to keep their own ranks clear of all doubtful elements. They are determined and ready to participate in the defence and protection ... of the United States ... whenever the people and the Government of the United States will call upon them.

This excerpt represents the gist of the declaration, which, among others, Manfred George and Wilfred C. Hulse had signed.<sup>1</sup> Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, confirmed receipt of the declaration, calling it a "whole-hearted expression of co-operation."<sup>2</sup> No measures were taken against the immigrants at that time.

Exposing these manoeuvres was probably not sufficient to prove that they were part of a general plan. However, having caught the Nazis in their devious ways might have not only convinced *Aufbau's* readers but also strengthened their hopes that the enemy was defeatable at a time when the news brought nothing but its victories. Hillgruber's and other historians' findings, based on documents that became available after the war, have belatedly legitimated *Aufbau's* articles, of which only a few can be shown here. Two organizations acting as Nazi agents in the U.S.A. warrant separate examination.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/22, 31.5.1940, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/24, 14.6.1940, p. 3.

### *The Bund's Downfall*

The Bund was not a new subject to *Aufbau*.<sup>1</sup> Hitler's early successes must have emboldened Kuhn so much that he became careless. He not only organized the militant members in paramilitary units according to the German model but also reported details about Nazi enemies to his sponsor in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously using the dailies as a source, *Aufbau* reported on an investigation of the Bund by Thomas Dewey, the district attorney in New York City. The numerous establishments of camps of the Bund's youth group near American military and naval installations as well as the illegal behaviour of the Bund's S.A. during a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden were the reason for Dewey's action, which led to the indictment and conviction of Kuhn and two regional leaders. Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, the chief of the Nazi party foreign service, George gloatingly commented, had so far had no luck with spies and propagandists, but the editor feared that the destruction of the head of the hydra would not eliminate the danger from the Bund.<sup>3</sup>

This prediction soon proved to be correct. In October 1940, the publication reported the testimony of Wilhelm Kunze, the new *Fuehrer* of the Bund, before the Dies Committee, established by the House of Representatives to investigate Un-American Activities. Kunze asserted his organization had never been anti-

---

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 40, 46.

<sup>2</sup> EdeJ. 26.11.1989, p. 2. de Jonge learned of the latter activity from a non-Jewish college friend.

<sup>3</sup> A V/10, 1.6.1939, p. 9.

Semitic or racist except in self-defence. *Aufbau* then quoted from the periodical *Hour*, which had discovered that after Kuhn's arrest the Bund had decided to omit Jewish references in its papers. *Aufbau* checked one of them. Though nothing offensive appeared in the English text, the German part was riddled with racist remarks, a naive attempt to fool the American public.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The Staats-Zeitung's True Face*

The second institution serving the Nazi cause had been a previous target of *Aufbau's* accusations, sarcasm and contempt. After the *Staats-Zeitung* had condemned the German pogroms of November 1938, *Aufbau* hoped that the venerable New York German newspaper had mended its ways. Yet in February, 1940, *Aufbau* felt compelled to publish an article *Ist die Staats-Zeitung nazistisch?*<sup>2</sup> in which it dealt with numerous complaints from *Aufbau's* readers.

Leo Kober, for instance, found it obnoxious that the solution of a riddle was a saying of Julius Streicher, the arch anti-Semite and pornographer, in a paper that regularly contained the announcements of German-Jewish congregations. Kober posed the question: "What do the heads of these congregations think?" They should, *Aufbau* thought, follow the steps of a reader of the *Staats-Zeitung* who had asked it for the

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/42, 10.10.1940, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Is the *Staats-Zeitung* nazified?



address of *Aufbau*.<sup>1</sup>

In the literary field as well, the *Staats-Zeitung* tried to brainwash its readers, one of whom told of his experience in this respect. To his inquiry, why the newspaper never published any anti-Nazi authors but only those who could not hide their "blood and soil mentality," he received the reply that the paper obtained the novels from literary agents in Berlin without knowing the identity of the authors. *Aufbau* commented on this frank admission with the reminder that only Nazi junk could come from Berlin.<sup>2</sup>

Objections to the *Staats-Zeitung* not only came from *Aufbau's* readers but also from *Aufbau's* contributors. Johann Merz, for instance, listed several observations from American papers that clearly showed the Ridder paper's leaning toward National Socialism.<sup>3</sup> An article by an unnamed author criticized the editorials of Cincinnatus, who in the number of April 14, 1940, defended the Nazi invasion of Norway for the same reason given by the German government, namely because the English had mined Norwegian waters. The *Staats-Zeitung's* editorial at the time, however, did not mention that the preparations for the operation must have begun long before the British navy tried to stop the Germans with inadequate means.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/6, 9.2.1940, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/43, 25.10.1940, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/21, 14.5.1940, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A VI/16, 15.4.1940, p. 2.

Although one could not put the *Staats-Zeitung*, whose publisher and most readers were American citizens, in the same category as the Bund and Goebbels's propaganda and spy net, its open partiality for the Nazi cause justified *Aufbau's* attacks, which were actually on the moderate side. When Norwegian novelist Sigrid Undset, in an interview, called all Germans spies and fifth columnists, after the Nazis had occupied her homeland, and British author Somerset Maugham did likewise in an article in *Red Book*, *Aufbau* objected to extending the reproach to all Germans. The rage of the two against the ravaging of their respective countries was understandable, but such generalizations went too far. By encompassing both the guilty and the innocent, they tended to weaken instead of strengthen the just cause of the opponents of the Nazis. This especially applied to the Jewish masses, whose hatred for their slanderers could express itself only in clenched fists and unspecific accusations. "He or she who wants to hit the enemy must see him and call him by his name."<sup>1</sup>

#### *Jews under the Nazi Yoke*

In the fight against Nazism, *Aufbau's* weapons were too dull to aid the Jews under Nazi control; it could present the facts in the darkest colours on its palette and could threaten reprisals and retributions, yet *Aufbau's* editors must have known that all this would be of no avail. In the flush of their

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/5, 31.1.1941, p. 4.

victory, especially during the period under review, the Nazis disregarded warnings from the Western governments, since the former never thought that they would be held responsible for their crimes. What, then, was *Aufbau's* strategy in a fight that it had to wage regardless of the chance of success?

First of all, the editors of *Aufbau* had to convince some of their readers that the reports were true, neither pulled out of thin air nor even exaggerated. They published a story from a Jew about his transport ... to and his stay in the concentration camp Buchenwald under the title *Ein Bericht aus der Hoelle*.<sup>1</sup> The details were so horrid and the treatment of the prisoners by the SS so sadistic that *Aufbau* recommended that readers clench the teeth when reading the report. To underscore the writer's trustworthiness, *Aufbau* identified him as a former officer in the Imperial army during the First World War, who had received several medals for his service in the front line.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, several readers disputed the story or called it into question entirely. One W.L. described it as "the fantasy of a pathological mind." The published report, *Aufbau* replied, was one of several received. A comparison could not find any contradictions.<sup>3</sup> Four other publications, which obviously had no doubts about the authenticity, asked the

---

<sup>1</sup> A report from Hell.

<sup>2</sup> A V/13, 15. 7. 1939, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A V/14, 1. 8. 1939, p. 14.

paper for permission to reprint the story,<sup>1</sup> requests that must have been gratifying, even though the contents of the story were heartsickening.

When late in 1939 the British government released a White Book confirming all the Nazi brutalities in the concentration camps, *Aufbau* reported the event under the headline "At Last," an outcry simultaneously of relief and regret. The news brought relief, because it proved that *Aufbau* had not abused its journalistic trust and regret because of all the people who had to suffer in the camps.<sup>2</sup>

The situation of the Jews outside the concentration camps was also precarious. *Aufbau* published several appeals, the first one on September 1, 1939, by the Joint Committee of Jews in Germany to readers to make contributions from their blocked Mark accounts to the committee.<sup>3</sup> Since Nazi measures resulted in the total pauperization of the Jews left in Germany, the organization lacked the means to fulfil its tasks, especially the promotion of emigration.<sup>4</sup> This time nobody questioned the accuracy of the statement.

After the outbreak of the war, *Aufbau's* pages abounded with alarming news about the future of European Jews. George's

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/16, 1.9.1939, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> A V/20, 1.11.1939, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Sperrmark* - they were funds left in German banks by emigrants.

<sup>4</sup> A V/16 1.9.1939, p. 14, V/21, 15.11.1939, p. 1, VI/9, 1.3.1940, p. 16.

headline *Des ganzen Judentums Schicksal steht auf dem Spiel*<sup>1</sup> and Hulse's *Eine Kraftprobe bei der es um Sein and Nichtsein fuer den Einzelnen and fuer die Gruppe geht*<sup>2</sup> indicated the seriousness of the hour and of what was to come. Reports of Polish and German Jews maltreated, tortured, murdered or sent to concentration camps or ghettos in the East appeared steadily during this period.

As early as September 1940, George, in his column "The Situation," conjectured that the Nazis had a general plan of extermination for people they considered inferior. The Jews were among them. Indications showed that Poles and Czechs were likewise threatened.<sup>3</sup> Fifteen months later, *Aufbau* obtained, via two letters to the editor, the first knowledge of experiments with poison gas on young Dutch Jews and Jewish immigrants in the Mauthausen concentration camp. About 400 of 680 people had died in the experiment.<sup>4</sup> *Aufbau* also reprinted an article from the *New Republic* about the murder of 85,000 so-called "unfits" from September to November 1940 on orders by the Gestapo. Three hundred Catholic priests, who had protested the systematic euthanasia, paid for their courage by confinement

---

<sup>1</sup> The Fate of Jewry is at Stake. A V/17, 15.9.1939, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A Trial of Strength that will decide being or non-being for the Individual and the Group. A V/18, 1.10.1939, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/37, 13.9.1940, p.2.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/49, 5.12.1941, p. 6.

in concentration camps.<sup>1</sup> In spite of all this news of doom and destitution, *Aufbau* remained optimistic. Under the banner "You can't beat Hitler? You can!", it published the following appeal in English and German:

Deeply stirred, with fists clenched and hearts filled with anger, yet unable to do anything about it, millions of Jews and non-Jews the world over are condemned to witness the ever increasing rage of the Nazis against innocent men and women in Europe. Here we stand, with bitterness in our souls-and many losing their courage and moaning: "But what can we do to help?"

It continued with a recommendation to devote at least a half-hour daily to work in an organization fighting Hitler.<sup>2</sup> Three weeks later, it explained its position in an editor's announcement. The paper had the duty to document in its pages *der Zeiten Schande und Leid*<sup>3</sup> for the knowledge of a future better world.<sup>4</sup> Despite the generally unfavourable situation, *Aufbau* could, nevertheless, report some points scored by Nazism's enemies.

#### *The Dictators' Limits*

The world-wide boycott of German goods, *Aufbau* could report in 1935, was effective to such an extent that the German *Reichsbank*<sup>5</sup> had to admit its powerlessness. The official German

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/19, 9.5.1941, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/43, 24.10.1941, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> the time's disgrace and misery.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/46, 14.11.1941, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Central Bank.

statistics of exports, "Medicus" wrote in 1939, confirmed that nothing had changed in this respect. He complained, however, that physicians, among them many Jews, prescribed German-made medicines, though the same products were available from other countries.<sup>1</sup> The English blockade after September 1939 stopped most medical supplies; the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.A. in December 1941 cut off supplies completely.

A similar situation developed in the supply of pictures from the battlefields in Europe before December 1941 for American newspapers and magazines. They could be taken only by German photographers, while the trade was in the hands of mostly Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. Letters to the editor in *Aufbau* reproached these immigrants for unethical behaviour. But in this case, a boycott could not be effective<sup>2</sup> because the demand was too strong and *Aufbau* could not do anything.

The sending of food parcels to relatives and friends in Europe provoked an attempt to introduce another kind of boycott. Although the motive was undoubtedly to help these people and not Hitler's war economy, the question could be raised whether such shipments would be wise in view of the stakes involved. So many letters to the editor argued for and against the boycott, sometimes in abusive and emotional language, that *Aufbau* decided to publish only abstracts. The main argument put forward by the anti-boycotters was that the recipients would

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/15, 15.8.1939, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/11, 19.4.1940, p. 11. VI/20, 19.5.1940, p. 11.

die of starvation if the help was cut off. Those who advocated the boycott were willing to sacrifice these unfortunates in order to achieve victory.<sup>1</sup>

At first, *Aufbau* adopted a neutral stance.<sup>2</sup> But it soon changed its position. After February 1, 1940, it no longer accepted ads from firms offering the service of supplying food parcels to persons in Central Europe. The duty of defeating the Nazis had become more important than that of supporting relative and friends.<sup>3</sup> The outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.A. ended the dilemma, for all traffic stopped between the two countries.

After the fall of France, an editorial in *Aufbau* under the title "SOS! SOS!" deplored the fate of many anti-Nazis who had taken refuge in that country and now sat in a trap. The paper named a few of them and hoped that they could find shelter through the Red Cross.<sup>4</sup> Their situation worsened when article XIX of the Armistice required the French authorities to hand over many prominent former German subjects. Remarkably, almost all of these endangered anti-Nazis arrived safe and sound in New York or other secure places. Of those on *Aufbau's* list, only Theodor Wolff, the former editor of the

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/20, 1.11.1939, pp. 19/20 & VI/10, 8.3.1940, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A V/21, 15.11.1939, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/8, 23.2.1940, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> A VI/25, 21.6.1940, p. 4.



*Berliner Tageblatt*, was unable to escape.<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau* waited a whole year, after the rescue operation had ended, before publishing the whole story. The initiative for the action came from the Jewish Labor Committee in the American Federation of Labor. Its president, William Green, obtained an assurance from the State Department that all endangered refugees would receive a visitor's visa for which Green, in the name of the federation, issued the moral and financial guarantee. Dr. Bohn, president of the German-Jewish Congress for Democracy, went to France to conduct the operation on the spot. The list submitted to the State Department contained 130 names. Dr. Bohn and his team found about 90% of these persons, and they were able to make their way to the U.S.A. via Lisbon.<sup>2</sup>

Parallel to the action of the AFL, Varian Fry, a Harvard graduate and publisher of the New York periodical *Living Age*, organized his own operation to bring the stranded anti-Nazi intellectuals out of France. Carl Misch, who was one of them and then became an editorial writer for *Aufbau*<sup>3</sup> told the story about Fry's action. In August 1940, Fry arrived in Marseilles with a list of persons he wanted to help. It was much longer than Dr. Bohn's. Misch mentioned several hundreds, among them Lion Feuchtwanger and Franz Werfel. A year later, Fry was

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/26, 26.6.1940, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/32, 15.8.41, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 89.

arrested and expelled from France. But his courageous action had rescued many and, given time, could have saved many more.<sup>1</sup>

After the fall of France, the only active theatre of operations on land was in North Africa. There, an Italian army, later reinforced by German units, tried to overrun the Suez Canal. It was a seesaw battle stretching over hundreds of miles of desert. Whenever the Axis powers succeeded in approaching the canal or when the Italians in September 1940 began their air attacks on Palestinian cities, demands for the creation of a Jewish army became urgent.

Palestinian-Jewish volunteers formed their own cadres, but they served under the British colours.<sup>2</sup> What the Jewish Agency for Palestine demanded was a Jewish army comparable to the armies of Poland, Norway, and other countries occupied by Germany, that is, one under its own officers and flag. This army should be open not only to Jews in Palestine but also to those in countries where they were not liable to service in the national military force.<sup>3</sup>

*Aufbau* supported the demand of the Jewish Agency in different ways. It proudly published reports about the exploits of individual Jewish soldiers as well as about battles in which Jewish units fought the enemy.<sup>4</sup> The paper also published

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/36, 5.9.1941, p. 8; *Die Zeit* No.48, 18.11.1989, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/38, 20.9.1940.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/43, 25.10.1940, pp. 1/2; VI/44, 1.11.1940, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/20, 16.5.1941, p. 4; VII/24, 13.6.1941, p. 5; VII/38, 18.9.1941, p. 4.

articles by Pierre van Passen, "a distinguished American author,"<sup>1</sup> and by Colonel John Henry Patterson, the commander of the Jewish Legion in the First World War,<sup>2</sup> who warmly supported the establishment of a Jewish army. For George, such a creation would become the body in which everyone who had no other opportunity could play a part in the fight against the Nazi enemy. George dreamt of a monument that would be erected years later in Eretz for the unknown Jewish soldier, representative of the Jewish army, who had helped free the world from Hitler.<sup>3</sup>

Hannah Arendt, whose contributions to *Aufbau* focused on Jewish questions, saw in the demand for a Jewish army an expression of vitality inherent in the Jewish people. It was also an open indication that the Jews wanted to defend themselves under their own name to eliminate the possible impression that they did not want to lift a finger. Their own army would likewise help the Jews forget their inferiority complex, which had developed when they were powerless against their enemies. Arendt appealed to the common people to demand a Jewish army and not to leave it to the wealthy alone.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of the period in December 1941, the military situation in the Middle East was highly precarious. Field Marshal Rommel, the Desert Fox, was again on the attack and

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/30, 25.7.1941, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/46, 14.11.1941, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/43, 20.10.1941, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/46, 14.11.1941, pp. 1/2.

advancing towards Egypt. Still the British government refused consent for the formation of a Jewish army.

When Germany invaded the U.S.S.R. in June 1941, *Aufbau's* first worry was the fate of the 5 million Jews living in the combat area. Its hopes were expressed in a cartoon by A.Qo. showing Hitler entering a bus with the destination: "Moskva-Leipzig-Waterloo" and the caption: "He did not miss the bus...."<sup>1</sup>

George, in his lead article, predicted German victories at the beginning and Russian withdrawals, but he did not expect the Russians to be forced into an early capitulation as a result of ideological indoctrination, nor the subsequent increase in the fighting strength of the Russian armies.<sup>2</sup> The editor did not evaluate the new strategic situation created by Germany's move. But he had written just a few weeks earlier about Rudolf Hess's flight to Scotland, which, George thought, was an official German peace mission to Britain. "There is no doubt that the Nazis will be beaten if the war continues." He named as reasons the coming superiority in war material and the present search by the U.S.A. for military bases close to Europe, particularly in Africa.<sup>3</sup> This was at a time when America was neutral in the European conflict and *Aufbau* had to exercise utmost restraint in questions of war and peace.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/26, 27.6.1941, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/26, 27.6.1941, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/22, 30.5.1941, p. 4.

*The U. S. A. and the War*

Several articles took up Roosevelt's remark about individual attitudes in the question of U.S. neutrality in the war that had started in Europe in 1939.<sup>1</sup> Felix Frankfurter, associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, for instance, explained the reason in a clear and concise way: under the heading "Our Neutrality," he contended that no thinking American could be truly neutral unless he or she opposed the principles of America's democracy.<sup>2</sup>

The first step to translate America's sympathy for Britain and France into action, namely the revision of the stringent American neutrality laws, did not evoke much comment in *Aufbau*. George thought it a foregone conclusion that the Democratic majority in Congress would pass the law without difficulties.<sup>3</sup> When the revision became law in November 1939, *Aufbau* did not even mention the fact.

In support of American rearmament after the Nazis opened the western front by invading Belgium and the Netherlands, *Aufbau* used not only its own arguments, but also quoted excerpts from American dailies, among them an article in the *New York Herald-Tribune* by Walter Lippmann, whom *Aufbau* introduced as a close confidant of Roosevelt. Hitler, Lippmann wrote, had first invaded other countries to bring all Germans into one

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> A V/18, 1.10.1939, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> A V/17, 15.9.1939, p. 5.

empire. The Fuhrer then invaded countries with non-German populations, followed by a declaration that his next aim was the destruction of the British Empire. Who could believe that Hitler would then be satisfied? America should not feel secure anymore, for it might also be on the list. If Hitler defeated the Anglo-French allies, and all indications were that they could not recover from the reverses incurred, the result would be no peace in our times. To meet this perilous situation, America must rearm without loss of time to become a nation prepared for any contingency. Full support for the president's endeavours was necessary. *Aufbau* added that the immigrants would help their fellow citizens unstintingly.<sup>1</sup>

A month later, *Aufbau* published a full-page ad of the "Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies" demanding that the American government help the Allies by sending them planes, guns, ammunition and food under the heading "Stop Hitler Now." The ad was expressly endorsed by the paper.<sup>2</sup> *Aufbau* devoted much space in one form or another to the subject "Help to Britain," always stressing that Britain also contributed to the U.S.A.'s own protection.<sup>3</sup> In the first issue of 1941, George added the argument that, in the opinion of experts, England had only 90 to 120 days "to withstand alone the attacks"

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/20, 17.5.1940, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/24, 14.6.1940, pp. 3, 12.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/41, 11.10.1940, p. 4; VI/46, 15.11.1940, p. 2; VI/47, 22.11.1940, p. 4; VI/49, 6.12.1940, p. 4; VI/50, 13.12.1940, p. 6; VI/51, 20.12.1940, p. 2; VI/52, 27.12.1940, p. 2.

of the Nazi war machine.

After Roosevelt's speech announcing further measures to assist England, the editor even posed the question: "When will the U.S. position of 'active neutrality of non-belligerency'<sup>1</sup> change to an even more decisive state?"<sup>2</sup> He did not have to wait long. Under the big headline *USA greift ein*<sup>3</sup> *Aufbau* could announce one week later the tabling of the Lend-Lease Bill without claiming any causal connection. The essential parts of the bill, the weekly had no doubt, would pass into law.<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of June 1941, *Aufbau* summarized a particularly warlike exchange of speeches between Roosevelt and Hitler. America would fight, the former announced, to protect its merchant ships outside the actual areas of combat and to secure the delivery of war material to Britain as well as to prevent the Nazis from occupying strategic Atlantic islands. Hitler replied that German warships would sink all shipping in firing range within the declared war zone, which Germany had pushed westward as far as Greenland. *Aufbau*, accepting the New York *Herald-Tribune's* interpretation, saw in the president's provocative speech an attempt to seize the initiative so that Germany would not surprise the U.S.A.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/2. 10.1, 1941, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> USA takes Action.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/3, 17.1.1941, pp. 1/2.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/23, 6.6.1941, p. 5.

Although American occupation of Iceland and the Nazi invasion of Russia had altered the strategic, diplomatic and tactical conditions by the summer of 1941, an unsigned editorial in *Aufbau* complained that no concrete actions had followed the excellent words of Roosevelt's speech.<sup>1</sup> Almost as an answer to this disappointment, the signing of the Atlantic Charter showed *Aufbau* that the American government had not been idle. In the analysis of the charter's contents, Herbert Weichmann found that it expressed the democracies' aims of war rather than those of peace. For him, in addition, declarations were not sufficient to bring about Hitler's downfall; harsher actions were required.<sup>2</sup> This seems to have been a guarded way of saying that in the paper's opinion America's active participation was necessary to defeat Germany.

#### *The Isolationists and the War*

When Hulse recommended that *Aufbau* and the immigrants should use caution in their utterances about the U.S.A.'s involvement in the expected war, one of his reasons was the reproaches raised by representatives of the America First Movement. Even though Hulse did not refute the accusations in his article, this did not mean that *Aufbau* would leave them unchallenged all the time.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/28, 11.7.1941, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/34, 22.8.1941, p. 4.



Hulse himself took the opportunity to explain *Aufbau's* attitude towards American isolationism in reply to an article by Anne Morrow-Lindbergh in *Reader's Digest* of January 1940, at the time of the Russo-German Pact. The two countries had conquered the Polish Republic and partitioned it. The Lindberghs were known for their anti-Communist attitude, their visits to Hitler, from whom they had accepted decorations, and their support of American isolationism.

Anne Morrow's article began with the translation of a Chinese poem, *The Prayer for Peace*. Hulse affirmed his agreement with the thoughts of the prayer, but he objected to three points, namely that 1) the resistance against German expansion was not based on a cause worth fighting for, 2) the potential and true danger for Europe was Russia, whose "hordes" could only be prevented from over-running Europe by a united continent including Germany, and 3) the only means of dealing with Hitlerism was to exorcise it since it was a "spirit". To do so, Germany must be at peace, even if it would be "not much more than an armed truce."

Hulse's rather tame retort consequently depicted Morrow's *Prayer for Peace* as one for an armed truce, which would undoubtedly lead to another war. It was not a new idea, but a rehash of the British attempts at appeasement, which tried to get rid of one devil by involving the help of another. The result was that Hitler could secure his position in Germany, usurp the neighbouring states one after the other, and bring

ruin and disaster to their people, among them Jews unable to emigrate.<sup>1</sup> Hulse did not find it necessary to refute the absurd argument of Hitler's exorcism.

In the frame of introducing well-known columnists to its readers, *Aufbau* selected an article by Westbrook Pegler that dealt with accusations by two leading isolationists: Henry Ford and Charles Lindbergh. Both had vaguely mentioned an obscure power that was trying to drag the U.S.A. into the war because of the profits expected from it. After investigating the motives of various groups, including the Jews, that the two isolationists might have had in mind, Pegler concluded that he could not fathom any non-American power that would have an incentive such as making money from the war. But, on the other hand, Nazi Germany had admitted that it was in the war to profit from it.<sup>2</sup>

Another reprint headed *Jews and this War*, this time from an editorial in the *New York Daily News*, dealt with whispering campaigns that held Jews responsible for the adoption of the Lend-Lease bill. The *Daily News* analyzed the congressional votes and found that the supporters of the bill came mostly from the South, where the spirit of the Klu Klux Klan prevailed. Among the leaders advocating the acceptance of the bill was only one Jew: Sol Bloom. Although the Jews wanted justifiably to see Hitler defeated, to single them out as engineers of the law

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/26, 29.12.1939 pp. 7/8.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/27, 5.7.1940, pp. 1/2.

"is simply to talk against the facts of the case."<sup>1</sup>

After proclamation of the Atlantic Charter, hints and innuendos about its inception became open accusations. In a speech in September 1941 at Des Moines, "Lindbergh declared that the three most important groups who have been pressing the country towards war are the British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration."<sup>2</sup> Thereupon, *Aufbau* requested several public personalities, such as Thomas E. Dewey, New York district attorney, Roger N. Baldwin, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union, Henry Smith Leiper, Federal Council of Churches, Freda Kirchway, editor of *The Nation*, James H. Sheldon, chairman of The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, and George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, to give their reactions to Lindbergh's incrimination of the Jews. All condemned it as abuse, caused by prejudice and adoption of the anti-Semitic line, full of viciousness, dangerous, perverted and fallacious. *Aufbau* also published an answer from newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst, who called the speech "unwise, unpatriotic and un-American," as well as one from Dorothy Thompson, who suggested that Lindbergh "ought to be ashamed of himself."<sup>3</sup>

These few examples should elucidate *Aufbau's* tactics when it came to dealing with such delicate problems that implicated its own integrity; it left the defence to others. The

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/14, 4. 4. 1941, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Blum, pp. 677/8.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/38, 19. 9. 1941, pp. 1/2.

paper refuted accusations that were obviously ridiculous in themselves.

On March 21, 1941, after Congress had passed the Lend-lease legislation, *Aufbau* interpreted this event as the end of the policy of isolation.<sup>1</sup> In any case, George could headline his review of November 14, 1941: *Der Ring um Hitler schliesst sich.*<sup>2</sup> Although the war situation did not yet warrant such an optimistic view after Japan's opening of hostilities, *Aufbau* could proclaim under the banner headline "United we stand!" in English and eight other languages:

The hour of historic importance has struck for America. In the struggle over which shall prevail in this world right or wrong, freedom or tyranny, the United States of America has taken her stand. Confident in the justice of its cause, a united and determined nation has answered the treacherous assault of the Japanese Empire by a call to arms.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Curing Harm caused by Nazism*

A continuing concern for *Aufbau* was the psychological damage done to immigrants by their expulsion from their native countries. Most of them would not otherwise have left their homelands. This situation created special problems to which there were no easy solutions. Dr. Max Gruenthal described the issues in an article called *Seelische Anpassung in der*

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/12, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hitler's Envelopment gets Tighter. A VII/46, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/50, 21.12.1941, p. 1.

*Emigration.*<sup>1</sup> [sic] The forced emigration, wrote Dr. Gruenthal, produced in some a psychic pre-stress, which those who left their homeland voluntarily never had to fear. The symptoms were depression, spells of fright and abnormal distrust, which were agonizing for the sufferers but objectively harmless since they would not lead to mental disorders. Persons to whom profession, employment, business, possessions or the environment in the old country had given a sense of security and thus a mental equilibrium could be hard pressed to make the necessary adjustment since they could no longer rely on their former base of security. This applied particularly to elderly immigrants for whom the new language as well as the different manners and customs were also a handicap. To overcome the difficulties, Gruenthal advised, one must try not to distort one's personal situation and fall prey to the feeling that there was no exit out of the labyrinth. To develop the required adaptivity, it would be necessary to assess coolly one's own abilities and then to study how a meaningful integration in the existing setting might be achieved.<sup>2</sup>

Hulse, who was a medical doctor and specialized in psychoanalysis,<sup>3</sup> realized more than two years before Gruenthal how difficult it was for the individual newcomer to judge the facts for him or herself and then to select the appropriate

---

<sup>1</sup> Psychological Adjustment after Immigration.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/32, 8.8.1941, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A XXVI/18, 27.4.1960, p. 7.

steps. He had for some time devoted the column "Marginal Notes" to this problem. Referring to the statutes of the club and the tasks that *Aufbau* had set for itself, Hulse wanted to facilitate the transition from the old to the new world for the elderly immigrant. The cultivation of mental attitudes, he thought, would make acclimatization more easy and be more important than any practical economic and professional advice. Following the recommendation of American friends simply to forget the past and to concentrate on the future might be feasible for the younger set, but elderly persons with their ties to the old world, its culture and the relatives still there needed time and support.<sup>1</sup> To this end, Hulse wrote many articles for *Aufbau* under such titles as: "The Sense of Life,"<sup>2</sup> *Nicht den Kopf verlieren*,<sup>3</sup> and *Soziale Probleme der Immigration*.<sup>4</sup>

A related phenomenon was the high number of suicides among the immigrants. That of Ernst Toller, the expressionist playwright and pacifist, occasioned Hulse to review this subject. Analyzing previous cases of suicide, he concluded that those having achieved prominence and distinction as well as the sensitive and emotional persons<sup>5</sup> felt uprooted and forsaken in the new environment. They were therefore liable

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/6, 1 4.1939, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A V/11, 15.6.1939, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Never say die. A V/12, 1.7.1939, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Social Problems of the Immigration. A VI/12, 22.3.1940, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *die seelisch fein Abgestimmten*.

to choose the extreme solution. The Jews were not the only ones who suffered from the chaos of the times. Everybody must remain at his or her place to fight for a better future with all the strength at his or her disposal. Hulse recommended that the intellectuals for whom life had lost any meaning heed philosopher and psychoanalyst Alfred Adler's advice, namely not to ask what made life worth living for themselves but for the others.<sup>1</sup> In an attempt to aid persons with suicidal tendencies, Hulse published a series of articles dealing with experiences in his psychiatric practice.

The first such article, entitled *Die Hilfe suchen muessen helfen*,<sup>2</sup> reviewed cases in which persons with various problems impeded the solution by their own attitude. One showed ingratitude, others unalterable pessimism, too much self-pity or extreme demandingness, whereas one could not hide laziness. Thousands were modest, industrious and eager to adapt to the circumstances, but a few hundred could not. They later overflowed the organizations with their complaints.<sup>3</sup> In a subsequent article, Hulse discussed the suicide of a young woman and proposed a plan. Such acts borne out of despair and despondency were preventable. The community and each individual were responsible for their prevention. He appealed to those immigrants who had already found a place in the new society

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/10, 1.6.1939, p. 5; V/11, 15.6.1939, pp. 9/10.

<sup>2</sup> They who seek Help must cooperate.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/1, 5.1.1940, pp. 3/4.

to be a brother or sister to those who had difficulties.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from this specific plan, which elicited many letters to the editor, *Aufbau* tried to counteract Nazi propaganda and defamations in a general way. The most striking admonition came from Berlin rabbi Leo Baeck, who was the representative of the Jews still in Germany and whom the Nazis would later send to Theresienstadt. The rabbi reported from a visit to the communities in the south and west of Germany, where he was glad to see the reserves of strength and the common sense of the Jewish people in spite of the depressing circumstances.<sup>2</sup> This was before the outbreak of the war and before the deportations. *Aufbau* did not add any comment, but the meaning was clear: if the Jews in Germany managed to keep going, the readers of the paper should not grumble about their fate.

Another method of alleviating anxiety and apprehension was the publication of statements by German and American gentiles showing their contempt for Hitler and Nazism. Oscar Maria Graf's *Die Juden stehen nicht allein*,<sup>3</sup> which appeared during the battle of France when all seemed lost, must have had a stimulating effect.<sup>4</sup> Other contributors were Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, Fritz von Unruh, the Austrian Catholic Ernst Karl Winter and Thomas

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/3, 19.1.1940, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> A V/15, 15.8.1939, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The Jews do not stand alone.

<sup>4</sup> A VI/21, 24,5,1940, p. 14.



Mann. Emulating one of her husband's famous speeches, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt warned: "We must not let ourselves be moved by fear in this country." *Aufbau's* headline was: "Mrs. Roosevelt: Why be afraid?"<sup>1</sup>

### **Aufbau, a Jewish Paper**

*Aufbau* was a Jewish paper from the beginning. It was the bulletin of a Jewish club, brought Jewish culture to the readers and strengthened their Jewish consciousness. However, the early editors interpreted this mandate in different ways. Two stressed Zionism, another German-Jewish nationalism, and the fourth "was in the middle."<sup>2</sup> Hulse's "Statement of Policy of November 29, 1939" essentially confirmed the original rules.

A year-and-a-half later, George found it necessary to elaborate on this policy. Under the title "A Jewish Newspaper Today" the editor asserted that *Aufbau* would never endorse a solely Jewish orientation; its mandate addressed itself to the entirety of the central-European immigrants, regardless of religious and political beliefs. *Aufbau* would neither stoop to arguing petty parochial issues nor to participating in the intrigues of individuals or organizations. Enjoying the liberties of the U.S.A., it was in a position to bring into relation the events in the world, with their effect on Judaism. The paper should also form a link between all those who had

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/22, 29.11.1939, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> EdeJ, letter 14.11.1989.

to leave their homelands; it should participate in the great struggle against the aggressors and kindle hope and confidence in the sufferers of their brutal and relentless onslaught. *Aufbau* would end the discrimination against the Jewish communities in the East, previously committed by the West European Jews. Its guidance in all activities would be Jewish ethics and devoutness.<sup>1</sup> Finally, *Aufbau*, as an American paper, with readers and writers who were future American citizens, could not remain unperturbed about events in the new homeland. Among *Aufbau's* sorrows were anti-Semitism and wide-spread prejudice against every newcomer to the U.S.A.

#### *Intolerance in the U. S. A.*

The immigrants did not come to a prosperous America. The New Deal of 1933 had relieved the worst effects of the great depression of 1929-30, but the economy was still in recession.<sup>2</sup> The situation deteriorated again in 1937-38,<sup>3</sup> and full recovery occurred only after the changeover to war production in 1941-42.<sup>4</sup> The dismal economic situation gave rise to all kinds of reformers who believed they possessed the key to prosperity.<sup>5</sup> Among them were anti-Semites and xenophobic rabble-rousers, both claiming that the new immigrants took jobs away

---

<sup>1</sup> *Glaebigkeit.*

<sup>2</sup> Blum, p. 683.

<sup>3</sup> Blum, p. 650.

<sup>4</sup> Blum, p. 683.

<sup>5</sup> Blum, pp. 642/43.

from the old inhabitants.

In its defence against anti-Semitism, *Aufbau* used the same technique as in the fight against isolationism:<sup>1</sup> it left the task mostly to gentiles. In the case of "job-stealing" *Aufbau* used official figures to show that during the early Nazi period the German and Austrian allotments never were fully used and that critics omitted the figures for persons who did not remain in the country.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion that could be drawn from the statistics was that, unfortunately, not enough Jews left Germany and Austria for the U.S.A. when it was easy to emigrate and when there was still room under the quota. One must doubt whether these figures made any impression on the critics. Such persons also disregarded the fact that immigrants often created new jobs, which *Aufbau* wrote about in the columns "We Create Working Places" and "*Aufbau* and U.S.A. Exports."

In the fight against anti-Semitism, *Aufbau's* preferred authors appear to have been members of the federal government. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, considered that this brand of discrimination came from the anti-democratic European countries; he regretted that it could advance in America and believed that its cause was the government's inability to fulfill the economic requirements of the masses. An improvement in this respect would also result in a decline

---

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 169/170.

<sup>2</sup> A V/13, 15. 7. 1939, pp. 1/2.

of anti-Semitism.<sup>1</sup> U.S. Solicitor General Robert H. Jackson delineated three remedies in "How to Save America from anti-Semitism." The diversity of the U.S.'s minorities and the tradition as "tolerant Democracy" would eventually succeed in preventing alien ideas such as anti-Semitism from gaining a permanent foothold. The third cure was in accord with that put forward by Interior Secretary Ickes: the government was determined to better the general economic condition.<sup>2</sup> *Aufbau* reprinted an interview from the *Ladies' Home Journal*, in which First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt rectified the distorted and farcical picture of the refugees as arrogant intellectuals who inundated the country, thus described by the interviewer without further details. She had met many of them, she replied, and had never encountered an immigrant of that description.<sup>3</sup>

The subject of anti-Semitism attracted many occasional contributors. Two examples must suffice. Kurt Blumenfeld, the former president of the German Zionist organization, wrote *Die Ueberwindung des Antisemitismus*.<sup>4</sup> All attempts to defeat anti-Semitism were in vain. The only solution would be the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.<sup>5</sup> The second,

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/11, 15.6.1939, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A V/12, 1.7.1939, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/22, 30.5.1941, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Conquest of anti-Semitism.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/43, 24.10.1941, pp. 13/15.

titled *Feinde neben uns*<sup>1</sup> did not name the author. It listed 20 anti-Semitic organizations in New York, all more or less influenced by Father Charles E. Coughlin, the Catholic "radio priest of Royal Oak, Michigan."<sup>2</sup>

A few times *Aufbau* had to reprove anti-Semitic remarks in publications usually free from them. *Time's* report about a premiere ended: "...implemented by the rich, well-furred European refugees who are increasingly noticeable in Manhattan's smart spots!" A reader asked the paper whether Jews were among these refugees, to which T.P.<sup>3</sup> replied: "So what! If they succeeded to save more than a toothbrush, why should they have no fun?"<sup>4</sup>

#### *Reconciliation between Eastern and Western Jews*

The group to which these refugees belonged was not free from practising discrimination itself. Hulse admitted that the German Jews had not treated the eastern European Jews as their brothers before the Nazi era.<sup>5</sup> Hans Lamm, who devoted his articles especially to the Polish Jews suffering under the brutal and inhuman occupation by the Nazis, held "immeasurable arrogance" responsible for

---

<sup>1</sup> Enemies beside us.

<sup>2</sup> A V/6, 1. 4. 1939, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Therese Pol.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/44, 31. 10. 1941, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> A V/10, 1. 6. 1939, p. 5.

the German Jews' attitude.<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau*, for its part, was determined not to continue the old practice but rather to co-operate with the American Jews of eastern-European origin. Hulse set the editorial policy after he had attended a common Seder service. Dr. Joachim Prinz and Dr. Lazar Wallerstein were the initiators, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, the leader in prayer, and Meyer V. Manischewitz, the host. Hulse found it very important that *Aufbau* fostered the integration of German-Jewish immigrants into American Jewry without them having to abandon their own culture. The readers, he recommended, should attend the meetings of the Noah Benevolent Society, which had accepted the task to work for this purpose.<sup>2</sup>

George followed Hulse's footsteps. Basing himself on the "Bulletin of the Central-European Jews in Palestine," which had reported on frictions between the two groups in the future state, George thought that a reconciliation was imperative if both groups wanted to survive the difficult time from which both suffered. He praised the American organizations of the eastern Jews, which had understood the necessity of co-operation. They had opened their relief agencies, all their institutions and, particularly, their cultural life to the newcomers, who had the opportunity to learn from their brothers' self-assertion, self-respect, piety and familial pride. Each

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/14, 5.4.1940, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> A V/7, 15.4.1939, p. 5.

individual would have to find the way for himself.<sup>1</sup>

Reports on interviews by Josef Maier with two editors of Yiddish newspapers in New York reflected *Aufbau's* good intentions in promoting reconciliation with the "estranged brothers." David L. Meckler, editor-in-chief of the conservative and orthodox *Jewish Morning Journal*, and Hillel Rogoff, managing editor of the social democratic *Jewish Daily Forward* saw in the new German-Jewish immigrants a great enhancement of Jewish and American life and welcomed the co-operation with them.<sup>2</sup>

The reaction to *Aufbau's* lead in the question of reconciliation was not positive on the part of all German-Jewish immigrants. Reader Dorothy Tucker congratulated the paper on its attitude, but she found that not all German refugees followed *Aufbau's* example. Some people displayed the same old arrogance against eastern Jews in public places and in such a way that everybody could hear it. *Aufbau* responded that it had condemned this attitude often enough.<sup>3</sup>

### *Jewish Tradition and History*

*Aufbau* abounded with contributions written by theologians. Starting on June 1, 1939, Rabbi Felix Aber wrote a commentary on the "Portion of the Week."<sup>4</sup> Later, the Jewish calendar was

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/31, 2.8.1940, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/30, 25.7.1941, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/10, 8.3.1940, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A V/10, p. 8.

added and put into a section *Aus den Gemeinnden*,<sup>1</sup> which often covered two pages with announcements from 15 to 25 religious bodies. Rabbi Max Julius Bach and Professor Joseph Maier followed Rabbi Aber as authors of the commentary.

*Aufbau* commemorated and honoured the Jewish holidays with special articles. On September 19, 1941, the paper began a fortnightly supplement, "The Jewish World," devoted to the knowledge and study of Judaism. Apart from treatises, studies and essays of an ideological, religious, historical and social kind, the supplements regularly contained the columns *Juedische Chronik in U. S. A.*<sup>2</sup> and *Kurzberichte aus Palestina*,<sup>3</sup> both written or compiled by Maier, who also started "The Watchman" in November 1941. In it Maier commented on Jewish problems and events. His aim in all the writings for *Aufbau* was to educate the readers.<sup>4</sup>

On December 27, 1940, *Aufbau* published ten replies it had received to a general inquiry from Jewish intellectuals and artists about the role their group would have to play in the education and inner renaissance of American Jews at a time when Jewry was spread all over the world. *Aufbau* formulated three questions:

---

<sup>1</sup> From the Congregations.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish Chronicle in U. S. A.

<sup>3</sup> Short Reports from Palestine.

<sup>4</sup> Maier, p. 46.



- 1) Have you gone through an essential development as a Jew - religious or national - during the last seven years?
- 2) Do you feel to-day - personally or in your work - more attached to Judaism than before?
- 3) What is, in your opinion, the solution for the present Jewish situation?

Albert Einstein, in a short statement, replied: "I am a national Jew. I regard the growth of Jewish self-assertion as being in the interest of Jews as well as of non-Jews." Emil Ludwig, who was brought up as gentile, wrote that he reconverted to Judaism after the assassination of Walter Rathenau in 1922 and had 't publicly announced. Professor E.J. Gumbel of the School for Social Research did not believe that the Jewish question could be resolved; he would not like to occupy himself with unsolvable problems. Franz Werfel posed his own question: "How shall we understand it?" And the "it" referred to almost everything that had led to the prevailing situation. His statement amounted to a declaration of faith in Judaism, but it was not a reply to *Aufbau's* question. Bruno Frank was the only one who replied to at least one question, namely the third question. He recommended a return to the past. "The fermentation of the European people through the Jewish spirit and blood was for me always a positive fact."<sup>1</sup>

One can conclude from these responses, and this also applies to those not discussed here, that the Jewish intellectuals and artists were not suited, willing or interested in playing a role in the future leadership of Jewry, a thought

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/52, 27.12.40, pp. 1/4, 9/10.

also expressed by Friedrich S. Brodnitz in a letter to the editor.<sup>1</sup>

This section cannot close without mentioning a Jewish specialty, not limited to this faith but carried on with great zeal and efficiency: fundraising for good purposes. *Aufbau* appealed to its readers in several such drives, collected contributions and published results. For the United Jewish Appeal of 1940, the paper acknowledged receipts of practically \$5,000.<sup>2</sup> To help the less fortunate immigrants, *Aufbau* published an appeal from the Relief Organization "Blue Membership Card" to all Jews for regular monthly contributions. Operated by unpaid volunteers, the new organization would supplement the work of the existing interconfessional Selfhelp, founded late in 1939 to assist all German emigrés.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Friedrich S. Brodnitz gratefully described the various actions by American Jewish organizations to help refugees from Central Europe.<sup>4</sup>

### *Zionism, still a Sensitive Subject*

Although not a member of a Zionist organization,<sup>5</sup> George, early in his life, had become sympathetic to the Zionist cause, the foundation of a Jewish state in Palestine. *Aufbau* reflect-

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/1, 3.1.1941, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/5, 31.1.1941, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> A V/23, 8.12.1939, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A VI/8, 22.2.1940, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Maier, p. 1.

ed this sympathy. The paper vigorously protested against the White Paper on Palestine of 1939, which practically renounced the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and limited the immigration of Jews to a trickle<sup>1</sup> at a time when thousands of Jews had to flee from Germany. *Aufbau* supported the demand of the establishment of a Jewish army stationed in Palestine.<sup>2</sup> At this early stage, three correspondents, Robert Weltsch, C.Z. Kloetzel and Hans Lichtwitz, reported the news from Palestine apart from the JTA. One cannot easily overlook, furthermore, all the articles by Zionist leaders. Nahum Goldman had four published, Dr. Stephen Wise five, Chaim Weizmann five, and Kurt Blumenfeld five.<sup>3</sup> Mention of Zionism also occurred in columns by Maier,<sup>4</sup> and in a few editorials. In addition, Palestine received thorough coverage in *Aufbau's* news reports and analyses.

But was this work in accordance with the tasks the weekly had set for itself? In the "Statement of Policy of November 29, 1939," Hulse had written in the first paragraph: "It is a Jewish paper, intended to preserve the tradition of Judaism." "A fundamental idea of the Jewish faith," Hulse had stated before, "is the belief in the appearance of the Messiah who will lead Jewry from the dispersion back to their original

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/10, 1. 6. 1939, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Maas, pp. 86, 109, 108 and 79 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 182.

country."<sup>1</sup> The difference between this tradition and the aims of Zionism is obvious.

Indeed, George and Hulse argued about "their differing political beliefs," but this "only added to their friendship."<sup>2</sup> Neither did their differing views on Zionism cause any difficulties in determining the contents of the paper, for, according to Maier, they "got along very well."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, de Jonge, although no longer connected with *Aufbau's* production by this time, contended later that George disregarded the guidelines of the club's press committee.<sup>4</sup>

In 1939-40, Zionism was still not fully accepted by some of the members of the club as a subject for their paper; two incidents showed it. *Aufbau* was astonished when, at a meeting of the club, opposition came from part of the audience when the chairman announced a lecture by Kurt Blumenfeld about "The Jewish Problem after Hitler's Downfall." The paper attributed the disapproval to the choice of the subject, most probably a misjudgment. *Aufbau* had discussed a similar topic before without, apparently, any protest.<sup>5</sup> The opposition probably came from the *Deutschjuden* who objected to the choice of Kurt Blumenfeld, a well-known Zionist leader, as lecturer.

---

<sup>1</sup> III/12, 1.11.1937, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Letter 18.1.1995 from Mrs. Irene H. Ross, Hulse's daughter, to the author.

<sup>3</sup> Maier, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> EdeJ, 26.11.1989, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> A V/22, 29.11.1939, p. 7.

The attempt to found "The Citizen's Society" within the club was the second incident.<sup>1</sup> De Jonge commented on the announcement as follows: "The Citizen's Society appears to have been another faction in the German-Jewish Club. I do not think that it was a revolt against *Aufbau*. With the exception of three signatories,<sup>2</sup> all the others were oldtimers."<sup>3</sup> At another spot, de Jonge characterized the "oldtimers" as "Treudeutsch,"<sup>4</sup> who "would have voted for Hitler if they would have been permitted to do so." "Treudeutsch" also implied that the person was an anti-Zionist.

The events in Europe at this early stage had converted Palestine into something more than a "Jewish national home," in the words of the Balfour Declaration. It had become a place of survival for many. George knew how to express this cry for help. This claim did not need to be substantiated: "A tree grows, a flower smells sweet and a person wants to be in the homeland to develop into a full personality."<sup>5</sup> Or when reporting on a meeting of the Junior Hadassah in Boston, George wrote: "Rabbi Joshua Liebman expressed what inspires

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> He gave the names.

<sup>3</sup> EdeJ, 26.11.1989, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> An equivalent of *Deutschjuden*, that is nationalistic Germans of Jewish faith.

<sup>5</sup> A VI/12, 22.3.40, p. 1.

all Jewish hearts: the demand for a little piece of earth."<sup>1</sup>  
This little piece of earth was, of course, in Palestine.

## Americanization

### *What Kind of Americanization?*

Dorothee Schneider has blamed *Aufbau* for not publishing enough about American topics in its early years and thus failing to help its readers in their Americanization.<sup>2</sup> Nor did *Aufbau's* contents in later years - her thesis reached from 1934 to 1944 - satisfy her. The paper's recommendations "how to become American hardly ever got beyond the do's and don't's [sic] in everyday's situation" and were "not described in any substantial way."<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Moss found that "*Aufbau* never clarified ... in any exact terms" "what Americanization meant and involved."<sup>4</sup> The terms and the meaning of "Americanization" can be found in any dictionary. *Aufbau* described, analyzed and substantiated the process as well as indicated the result.<sup>5</sup> However, this was not uniform, which may have confused the two authors.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/48, 28.11.1941, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Schneider, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Moss, *Aufbau: The Americanization of an Immigrant Newspaper and Its Readers*, (Unpublished Thesis for the Honors Program in the Department of History, Indiana University, May 1971), p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Webster's definition is on p. 50.

Hulse, who had devoted his column "Marginal Notes" especially to this problem, began in 1937 to write about cultural assimilation, of which Americanization is one special kind. He contended that Jewry in the course of its history had gone through several periods of assimilation in which it had adopted valuable cultural traits from the host country. Some Jews, enticed by the prevailing religious creed, were lost to Judaism forever; others, strong in their faith, found their way back to the original source, purified and reconciled. Hulse rejected Zionism. Its brand of idolatry of nation and people<sup>1</sup> was repulsive to him. Hence, after having gone through the recent west-European assimilation, the future of the surviving Jews must lead them to religious Judaism.<sup>2</sup>

In another article, Hulse defined the meaning of Americanization for the European Jews who had escaped from Nazism: It was the process of getting accustomed to life in the U.S.A.<sup>3</sup> with the aim of merging quickly into American Jewry without abandoning previous cultural values.<sup>4</sup> This means that he rejected the "melting pot" theory for the Jewish refugees from Nazism; for it was a fact that the great majority of American Jews came from East Europe and that they adhered to the social and cultural life of their ancestors. Hulse, however, preached always that in the secular realm the immigrants owed loyalty

---

<sup>1</sup> *Staat und Volk*.

<sup>2</sup> A IV/12, 1.11.1938, pp. 1/3.

<sup>3</sup> *das Einleben*. A V/6, 1.4.1939, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> A V/7, 15.4.1939, p. 5.

to the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> This message was clear and unambiguous, but it was not the only one.

George advocated still another kind of Americanization. He wanted the immigrants "to grow into the American bourgeoisie and the American intellectual world."<sup>2</sup>

Such inconsistencies are almost unavoidable where the main representatives of a newspaper write their own columns. This must have been one of the reasons why *Aufbau* published a disclaimer of responsibility for opinions expressed in their columns.<sup>3</sup> The disclaimer does not apply to this case. Hulse's opinion appeared in an essay requested by Brandl, the editor at that time, and in the official "Statement of Policy of November 29, 1939," George's in an editorial. It shows, however, that Americanization was discussed, analyzed and treated in a thorough manner and was not limited to a listing of do's and don'ts.

#### *Freedom, the Reward of Americanization*

If Hulse and George disagreed about the kind of Americanization the immigrants should strive for, they agreed on what made Americanization worthwhile in a higher sense.

Hulse used the celebration of Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays to ponder what the immigrants had sought in the

---

<sup>1</sup> For instance A V/5, 15.3.1939, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Hineinwachsen in das amerikanische Buergetum und die amerikanische Gedankenwelt*. A VI/48, 29.11.1940, p. 4; no author given, but the style is undoubtedly George's.

<sup>3</sup> For the full text see p. 119.



U.S.A. as far as the essential foundation of American democracy was concerned and what they actually found. In spite of fifteen years of republican and democratic experience, the newly arrived immigrants - especially the elderly - were still imbued with political habits acquired under an authoritarian state; they expected to find the American system typified by many useless speeches and without efficient results. They found instead a presidential system that could implement its important programs without impairing the personal and political freedom of individuals. Hence, Hulse liked the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup>

To demonstrate his attachment to the new homeland, George used similar arguments. He called his avowal *Der Weg in die Freiheit*.<sup>2</sup> In Europe, even before Hitler, genuine freedom for Jews did not exist; it was toleration and admittance.<sup>3</sup> In America freedom was theoretically absolute for the individual unless he or she infringed on the freedom of another person, which did not preclude the fact that interested parties battled about the concept of freedom in the field of social justice. To gain deeper knowledge about what freedom meant to the American mentality, the immigrant would have to become absorbed in the country's history and the principles of its constitution.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/9, 1.3.1940, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *The Road to Freedom*.

<sup>3</sup> *Duldung und Zulassung*.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/36, 5.9.1941, p. 4.

*Aufbau* could not, of course, run full courses in these areas, but it published many articles. In the second issue of his editorship, George had a list of recommendations under the title "What shall I read? - A Short Guide for Beginners." It contained only newspapers, journals and magazines.<sup>1</sup> Hulse added other publications in the next number,<sup>2</sup> followed by a compilation by Steffi Kiesler, the head of the German and French Department of the Public Library of New York City, with the title "Short Introduction to American Thought and Life." It contained the titles of about 50 items organized under headings such as education and language, American history, biographies, and belles lettres.<sup>3</sup> Even before this series, one on the "History of the Jews in America" by Kurt Bachrach had run from April to September 1939.<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to list all the individual articles and series that dealt with the American way of life, but the following exemplify the range: "Made for a People of many Nations" by Justice Felix Frankfurter, "The Fourth of July" and "Democracy vs. Dictatorship" by Hulse, "This is America" by Eddie Cantor, and several series on "America Jewish Profiles," "Jewesses", "Federal States" and "American Cities."

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/7, 15. 4. 1939, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A V/8, 1. 5. 1939, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A V/9, 15. 5. 1939, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Starting A V/6, 1. 4. 1939, p. 8.

What practical conclusions did *Aufbau* draw from theoretical considerations? One concerned military service. When the U.S. government introduced a law requiring obligatory service in the armed forces, the paper urged the immigrants not only to register for the draft, which was compulsory for those who had obtained their first citizenship papers, but also to manifest true loyalty to the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, *Aufbau* called upon the immigrants to apply for work in the defence industry, after the paper had secured information from the War Department that the law did not generally bar them from employment there.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, *Aufbau* joined other Jewish immigrant organizations in sending "Declarations of Loyalty" to the President when public opinion turned against aliens or other events offered the opportunity. When a panicked fear of a fifth column swept the country, the organizations sent the first of these professions of allegiance.<sup>3</sup> The second followed the President's speech on May 27, 1941, in which he proclaimed an "Unlimited National Emergency"<sup>4</sup> and the third after Pearl Harbor and Germany's declaration of war.<sup>5</sup> In general, the recipient of these declarations, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, played a special role in the life of the Jewish immigrants and thus also for *Aufbau*.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/38, 20.9.1940, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/30, 25.7.1941, pp. 1 & 18.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/22, 31.5.1940, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/23, 6.6.1941, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A VII/51, 19.12.1941, p. 5.

*Franklin D. Roosevelt, the idol*

The admiration for the President in *Aufbau*, which most of the authors who have written about the paper stressed, was not uniform during the period under review. One can distinguish three periods. From April 1939 to the beginning of the election campaign in July 1940, no special enthusiasm for Roosevelt's presidency found expression in the paper. It praised his good intentions in having initiated the Conference of Evian in 1938 to find a solution for the problem of the refugees and then in reconvening the executive committee in November 1939 in Washington. It printed his speech with the pretty slogan "Let us lift a lamp," but one can also read between the lines feelings about the futility of the exercise.<sup>1</sup> Kurt Hellmer's gossip column "New York Notebook" described in sentimental terms the Roosevelt family's celebration of New Year's Eve in 1940,<sup>2</sup> but that was not all. The immigrants and *Aufbau* probably had a rather unfavourable opinion of Roosevelt at this time. His negative reply to the question whether he would help to increase the quota for refugees from Germany after the pogroms there in 1938<sup>3</sup> as well as his government's declaration of neutrality after the outbreak of war in Europe were hardly calculated to make him popular among German Jews.

The unfavourable opinion began to wane during the

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/19, 15.10.1939, p. 10; V/20, 1.11.1939, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/2, 12.1.1940, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Manfred Durzak, ed., *Die deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945 (The German Exile Literature 1933-1945)* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jr. 1973), p. 146.

presidential election campaign in 1940. *Aufbau* ran many articles about the process and the prospects of the candidates. One of the editorials compared American election campaigns, which were conducted in a fair manner, with those in Europe, which were not fair because of their wild accusations and personal defamations.<sup>1</sup> These articles and others did not favour either of the candidates; others did.

S. Aufhaeuser, the paper's specialist in the field of labour and social relations, wrote about the activities of the two central trade union organizations in the election campaign. The American Federation of Labor [AFL] as well as the Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO] had submitted proposals for the platforms of the two parties, which Aufhaeuser enumerated. Neither union had named the candidate of its choice. However, some of the affiliated unions had done so. Aufhaeuser did not mention any that had declared for Willkie, but he did name two that preferred Roosevelt, a clear indication of his and *Aufbau's* choice.<sup>2</sup>

George emulated Aufhaeuser. After reviewing the polls, the situation in the doubtful states and the attitude of the German-Americans in a strictly objective way, he ended with the private opinion that Roosevelt was the better choice because of the success of his government and the substantial

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/43, 25. 10. 1940, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/33, 16. 8. 1940, p. 2.

content of his speeches.<sup>1</sup> In the last issue before the election, George came somewhat more into the open. He praised F.D.R.'s foreign policy and thought that the votes of Labour would be the decisive factor.<sup>2</sup>

What moved Aufhaeuser and George to declare *Aufbau* for Roosevelt, albeit not for everybody to see at first glance? The situation in the European war was desperate. England and the Empire alone faced, at that time, the war machine of Germany and its allies. Although it had won the Battle of Britain, it was threatened with starvation on account of shipping losses at sea as well as the apparently inevitable loss of the Suez Canal. And another onslaught from the air was expected for the following spring. It had become clear that Roosevelt would not allow Germany to defeat England without having done all in his power to extend the U.S.A.'s help to the battered island; Willkie's intentions, on the other hand, were uncertain.

For *Aufbau*, Roosevelt was thus the key person and the symbol for stopping Hitler. At that time the paper could not take a position openly, first because of the still strong isolationist movement and, second, because of its own guidelines. When a reader inquired whether the rumour was true that *Aufbau* favoured Willkie, the paper replied that it was strictly neutral in its reports because it had been

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/43, 25.10.1940, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/44, 1.11.1940, p. 5.

non-political all the time.<sup>1</sup>

After Roosevelt's election, *Aufbau* did not need to restrain itself further in expressing its admiration for the man who wanted to use his power and who possessed the will to resist Nazism. *Aufbau* saw in him not only the potential saviour of democracy in the world but also of Jewry. Moreover, he was the elected president of all Americans. To support his endeavours was patriotic and non-political.

Today, it is embarrassing to repeat the expressions of idolatry and hyperbolic praise heaped upon the President in *Aufbau*. But nobody should ridicule *Aufbau* for these panegyrics without mentioning at the same time the paper's reason for the exaggerated praise. However, two writers of emigré literature have done so, and the two were, not surprisingly, German.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the precarious situation in Europe, George had probably another reason for allowing excessive admiration for Roosevelt into his paper. The New Deal was for *Aufbau* a social-economic safety valve, which should be further developed.<sup>3</sup> Roosevelt had already created, in the frame of the New Deal, the basis of a social system with the Social Security Act, which Congress had passed in 1935.<sup>4</sup> *Aufbau's* admiration for

---

<sup>1</sup> A VI/45, 8.11.1940, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Radkau, pp. 73-74 & Hans Albert Walter, *Deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1950, Band 4 Exilpresse*, (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), pp. 595-7.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/14, 5.4.1940, pp. 7/8.

<sup>4</sup> Blum, p. 645.

Roosevelt contained, therefore, most probably also praise for him as a prime mover of social justice, a goal for which George and Aufhaeuser had fought in Germany.

At the end of 1941, *Aufbau* had followed the program it had set for itself in the "Statement of Policy" of November 29, 1939, along general lines. Some of its performances seemed to be contradictory. It had not yet succeeded in presenting a newspaper easy to the eye and pleasant in appearance. *Aufbau* had also not yet become a forum for open discussions of issues in the public domain.<sup>1</sup> George developed this idea only after 1941. But the inspiration may have come to him after having read Justice Felix Frankfurter's "Made for a People of Many Nations," in which he wrote: "If one faith can be said to unite us as a people, surely the ideal that holds us together beyond any other is our belief in the moral worth of the common man, whatever his race or religion."<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau* continued to serve its readers' needs in economic and social fields as well as in the coverage of daily political news and its interpretation of events. The paper's basic attitude that the U.S.A. had become the immigrants' new homeland inspired Francisca Rubin to write a poem entitled *The new Homeland*, whose fourth verse read:

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> A V/24, 15.12.1939, p. 1.



Thou homeland new greetings to thee  
thou who doest blossom in liberty,  
thou glorious land, thou guarantee  
of justice, peace and equality.

The author received a letter of appreciation from the First Lady and a medal from Governor Herbert Lehman of New York.<sup>1</sup>

Although the situation in the war was still in favour of the Axis powers, the combination of unconquered England and Russia together with the U.S.A.'s productive capacity and fresh manpower gave *Aufbau* and its readers hope for a better future.

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/23, 8.12.1939, p. 10.

## CHAPTER V: AUFBAU AND AMERICA'S WAR 1941-1945

### *New Statement of Policy*

The war that "brought profound changes to American society"<sup>1</sup> did not leave *Aufbau's* editorial policy unaffected. Even before September 1939 Hulse had insisted that if the United States went to war against Nazi Germany the German-Jewish immigrants in America must actively support the war effort of their new country wherever needed.<sup>2</sup> Hulse's demand naturally applied to *Aufbau* as well, and the paper announced this responsibility in mid-December after Hitler had declared war on the United States. Support for all government measures to win the war would take precedence over all other matters. This would mean allotting less space to features that had previously enjoyed preference and omitting some altogether. *Aufbau* expressed confidence that readers would understand this decision.<sup>3</sup>

These guidelines were formalized in a new "Statement of Policy" published in early January, 1942, in English only.<sup>4</sup> *Aufbau* wanted to show, one must assume, its American character at a time when hatred of Germany abounded.

---

<sup>1</sup> Blum p. 683.

<sup>2</sup> A V/9, 15.5.1939, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/51, 19.12.1941, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/2, 9.1.1942, p. 4.

The new statement consisted of eight sentences. The wording of the first one about the paper's purpose remained almost unchanged from that of November 29, 1939.<sup>1</sup> Two others dealing with its pursuit of American and Jewish interests paraphrased the previous statement. The remaining five revolved around the relations of the immigrants and of *Aufbau* with their new homeland, the U.S.A. One repeated the immigrants' and the paper's desire for Americanization. Another mentioned the break with the past, but omitted, however, the part in the former statement that spoke of saving the old European values from destruction by the Nazis. A third expressed the immigrants' and the weekly's belief in America and its future as well as their confidence that they could contribute to the development of their new homeland.

The remaining sentences dealt with the war effort and were almost identical with George's reaction to Germany's declaration of war.<sup>2</sup> The immigrants and *Aufbau* pledged lasting loyalty to the President of the U.S.A. and the American people, total co-operation in the war efforts "shoulder to shoulder" with their future co-citizens, as well as full commitment of their material and spiritual abilities until victory was achieved.<sup>3</sup>

The language of the new "Statement of Policy" borrowed

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/50, 12.12.1941, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 6. The statement was repeated in A IX/7, 12.2.1943, and X/19, 12.5.1944, p. 4.

to some extent from the vocabulary of the 4th of July speakers, using such patriotic expressions as "Star-Spangled Banner," "glory" and others. It is obvious that the writer considered *Aufbau's* and the immigrants' participation in America's war efforts the most important issue during the years of the war, overshadowing Americanization and the Jewish problems. Consequently, the examination of how *Aufbau* translated theory into practice should begin with its treatment of the war efforts.

### *Winning the War*

#### *Our Boys and Girls in the Army*

Among the activities that advanced the U.S.A.'s capacity to wage war, *Aufbau* considered service in the army or navy by Jews in general and recent immigrants from Central Europe in particular the most important contribution. There were two reasons for this attitude. First, in his article discussing the beginning of the Second World War, George declared that, although the Jews had not caused its outbreak, it was a Jewish war, because its outcome would decide the fate of all the Jews.<sup>1</sup> Yet it could not be a Jewish war without a Jewish army<sup>2</sup> or, if that realization would prove impossible, without strong contingents of Jewish combatants in all the armies opposing Nazi Germany.

---

<sup>1</sup> A V/17, 15.9.1939, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 160.

Second, George, who had volunteered in the German army during the First World War and had been seriously wounded,<sup>1</sup> must have remembered how the Nazis and their friends had unjustly vilified the Jews during and after the war. The anti-Semites called the Jews dodgers, grafters and black marketeers<sup>2</sup> who, moreover, had thrust the dagger into the back of the undefeated German army in 1918. Although George never expressly confirmed these thoughts, the concern that *Aufbau* devoted to "our boys in the army" indicates that some such recollection must have been on his mind. He wanted to remove any basis for a recurrence of such slander during and after the Second World War.

It was surely no accident that after Pearl Harbor *Aufbau* began to publish a series by J. George Fredman, National Editor of *The Jewish Veteran*, called "Jews in the First World War." The first article presented statistics showing that the percentage of Jews in the Allied forces as well as in those of the Central Powers was more than double their respective share in the population at large. As for casualties, the Jewish proportion equalled the percentages of other participants.<sup>3</sup> The other four articles gave still more detailed figures, in particular for the U.S. army.<sup>4</sup> If this harking

---

<sup>1</sup> *Current Biography* (Bronx: H.W. Wilson Co.), 1965, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Drueckeberger, Schieber und Schwarzmarkthaendler.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/1, 2. 1. 1942, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/3, 16. 1. 1942, p. 21; VIII/5, 30. 1. 1942, p. 17; and VIII/15, 10. 4. 1942, p. 17.

back to the past was meant to stimulate the new generation to participate, other items in the paper indicated that such stimulation was hardly necessary.

In a preview called "1942 - Year of Sacrifice," Hulse reported that numerous immigrants inquired from *Aufbau* how they could help to defeat Hitler. Although the answer was service in the army, navy, Red Cross or Civilian Defence, all that *Aufbau* could, at that time, counsel was patience; the administrative preparations for admitting non-citizens were not yet completed, but the time would come when everybody was needed in what would be a long war. The eagerness of these immigrants, Hulse interpreted, came from their motivation. After the long uncertainty about America's position, immigrants felt "now, at last now, something must be done, but immediately and decisively."<sup>1</sup>

Two new regulations, published in *Aufbau* on March 27, 1942, cleared up the situation. Most of the recent immigrants from Germany had automatically become "enemy aliens" at the outbreak of war in 1941. As such, they could not join the armed forces. One of the regulations allowed these immigrants to volunteer for the army or navy. The second new regulation provided the possibility for those who had joined the forces before the war to become American citizens at once and under conditions easy to comply with, a development welcomed by the weekly.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/1, 2.1.1942, p. 9.; VIII/4, 23.1.1942, p. 4.

*Aufbau's* reporter, inquiring about the reason for the first regulation, received the following explanation from the representative of the Selective Service Administration: It was the dissatisfaction of many "enemy aliens" with their classification and their ardent desire to join the forces as active fighters. The interviewer started the report with "Aliens of enemy nationality, join the Army!"<sup>1</sup> The official's statement implied already that the young immigrants did not need encouragement from the outside to volunteer in the American armed forces. Their own experience and the fate of their relatives, friends and co-religionists who could not escape from Europe provided their motivation.<sup>2</sup>

It was, therefore, no surprise that *Aufbau* praised the young men who fought in the front lines, risking their lives and health for the new homeland and the survival of their ethnic group or religious community. Their willingness to die for a good cause would establish the record of the Jews' and the immigrants' share in the defence of the country.

The first feature dedicated to Jewish and immigrant soldiers was a series of pictures of the latter called "Our Boys and Girls in the Army." It began in January 1942 with the two pictures<sup>3</sup> and continued throughout the war. Usually the descriptions contained name and rank only. After the soldiers

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/13, 27.3.1942, pp. 1, 5.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/7, 13.2.1942, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/1, 2.1.1942, p. 3.

had been in combat, the captions sometimes also included special feats as well as decorations and promotions received.

For such honours, the paper also had a separate column, called *Helden unserer Zeit*.<sup>1</sup> The first one pictured nine heroes, one of whom was the bombardier of a plane that sank a Japanese battleship and others who had shot down several enemy planes. Some had been killed in the first days of the war; they all had received medals. *Aufbau* regretted that not all who deserved to be honoured could appear in this column.<sup>2</sup>

Since all dailies published the promotion of high officers, *Aufbau* had the idea of honouring the ordinary GIs, "our boys in the army." The title was to be "Private, Corporal, Sergeant."<sup>3</sup> Two weeks later, the first list containing fourteen names appeared.<sup>4</sup> In 1945, a separate page headed "This is the Army" also announced these promotions. The weekly depended on information from the soldiers themselves, their relatives or friends.

*Aufbau* not only wrote about the soldiers and their lives but also published letters from them. Sgt. Walter Schoenstedt wrote about the do's and don'ts in the army.<sup>5</sup> Fred Forscher from Vienna recommended service in the army to those who

---

<sup>1</sup> Heroes of our Time.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/34, 21. 8. 1942, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/29, 17. 7. 1942, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/31, 31. 7. 1942, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> A VIII/1, 2. 1. 1942, p. 3.



wanted to quickly become Americanized; the army was the best melting pot.<sup>1</sup> As a response to the question "Why do we fight?" Sgt. Leon Askin recalled that in 1940 he was in Europe behind barbed wire. Thousands shared the loss of liberty with him. Everybody then wanted to fight Hitler. He was satisfied to now have this opportunity.<sup>2</sup> That last letter explained better than anything else the motivation for joining the armed forces.<sup>3</sup>

Inevitably, there were also fallen soldiers to be honoured. How did *Aufbau* perform this task? The first fatality reported in the paper was that of Sgt. Justin Seitenbach, 23 years old, who came from Bavaria. He found his death as bombardier of a Flying Fortress stationed in North Africa. Hellmer wrote a lengthy obituary, which the paper placed on page 1 together with a picture of Seitenbach and two of his brothers.<sup>4</sup> The next victims paid tribute to were George Wolf, 27, and William Herz, 19. Therese Pol wrote the stories of their lives and deaths.<sup>5</sup> In 1944, when fatalities multiplied, *Aufbau* published only pictures with a short caption, or sometimes only an announcement in the regular obituary section. In the latter case, *Aufbau* added a special frame and

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/5, 30.1.1942, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A X/5, 4.2.1944, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See also p. 205

<sup>4</sup> A IX/23, 4.3.1943.

<sup>5</sup> A IX/50, 10.12.1943, pp. 1/2.

the words *Pro Liberate*. Thus in September 1944, the pictures of four fallen soldiers and ten special obits appeared.<sup>1</sup> In the tenth anniversary number, *Aufbau* published a list of the names of 78 immigrants who had arrived after 1933, rendered conspicuous by a dark border and the heading, "They Died for Their Country" followed by "This is the first list of *Aufbau's* readers who ... made the supreme sacrifice for their new homeland and liberty."<sup>2</sup>

At the end of 1944, no official statistics of Jewish participation in the defence of the U.S.A. existed. *Aufbau* contributors Tania Leshinsky and Michael Wurmbbrand had, at the beginning of the year, undertaken to arrive at unofficial figures. Their report's banner headline read: "1.5 Million Jews fight in the war - 500,000 from U.S.A. - 14% of all immigrants liable to military service under arms." These were minimal figures, the writers added, since great care was taken in the compilation. The U.S. Director of Records thought that, judging by partial results, the percentage of Jews in the forces would be greater than the general average.<sup>3</sup>

#### *The Home Front and "Our Boys"*

*Aufbau's* support for the American war effort also reached to the civilian sector. Parents would, the paper was certain,

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/35, 1.9.1944, pp. 17/18; X/37, 15.9.1944, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A X/2, 14.1.44, pp. 1, 6.

correspond with their children in the forces and would send them parcels with books and food not in the military diet. But the weekly also knew that many young immigrants who served in the forces had come alone to the U.S.A They would miss the solicitude that the more fortunate enjoyed. The paper, offering to fill this gap, asked for names and addresses of such soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

The warm response to the appeal led to the formation of "Our Boys' Club" under the management of Vera Craener, editor of *Aufbau's* "Women's Page." Soon it looked after about one hundred soldiers. To fill the task, the new club needed more members, as well as books, journals, candies and cash contributions.<sup>2</sup> The flow of letters gradually assumed gigantic proportions. When it could no longer be maintained, the girls of the "Boys' Club" started a column, "V-Mail from Home" at the end of 1943. The flow of individual letters, which still continued, could be reduced.<sup>3</sup> The column appeared regularly in 1944 but only a few times in 1945.

Another column spinning out soldiers' tales was "Jews in Uniform." It began in December 1942, and appeared about 30 times in 1943, petering out in 1944. Featuring stories of human interest, the column's authors - Ben Samuel and Paul Kresh - tried to touch the hearts of *Aufbau's* readers. For

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/1, 2.1.1942, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/31, 31.7.1942, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/53, 31.12.1943, p. 9.

instance, they told of the sergeant-major who had taken over work at Christmas time so that Christian servicemen could go on leave.

All the columns about servicemen discussed up to now were supposed to be placed on one page headed "This is the Army," edited by Kurt Hellmer. Sometimes the page contained a feature story by a well-known writer, sometimes special reports about soldiers who had come from Central Europe. Sometimes the columns appeared separately; sometimes they formed part of the page. Their place apparently depended on the space available. Although "our boys" enjoyed all preferences, there were limits. In this case, it was the newsprint shortage.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The Home Front and the Immigrants*

Joining the armed forces was not the only way to serve the war effort. Hulse called upon all immigrants to participate according to their abilities. The motive should be not only gratitude for having received asylum but also the common interest in defeating the dictators. Refusal to co-operate was in fact inexcusable.<sup>2</sup> A similar appeal by George was entitled *Ueberlege und Handle*<sup>3</sup> "Help producing guns, ships, planes!" and "Buy war bonds yourself and urge others to do likewise!" were the most urgent messages of this article.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 99/101.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/1, 2.1.1942, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Think and Act.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/19, 8.5.1942, p. 3.

By 1942, the demand for workers in the defence industry had increased such that the War Production Board [WPB] found it necessary to step in. It asked *Aufbau* to remind its readers that the industry was open to non-citizens.<sup>1</sup>

While immigrants who wanted to accept work in the defence industry had merely to apply to existing factories, those who intended to participate in voluntary work to support the war effort often had difficulties being accepted. An organization to represent them therefore proved necessary. In 1942, *Aufbau*, together with the Immigrants' Conference and the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe<sup>2</sup> founded the Immigrants' Victory Council [IVC]. An appeal for members, covering nearly a whole page and headed "Immigrants, America needs you!" called upon all immigrants to fill the needed places with the same spirit as their sons, brothers and husbands had joined the armed forces. It listed five purposes of IVC: 1) Centralization of the immigrants' war efforts, especially in Civil Defence; 2) intensification of the previous work; 3) close co-operation between authorities and immigrants, 4) training of recruiting officers for the Civil Defence Volunteer Office [CDVO]; and 5) mobilization of all immigrants for the most efficient service.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/23, 5.6.1942, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/14, 3.4.1942, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/27, 2.7.1943, pp. 2/3.

At times IVC had to fight for the admission of non-citizens to these volunteer organizations. Dr. Kurt Glaser, executive secretary of the council, explicitly mentioned that the Civilian Defence Corps and the City Patrol Corps occasionally posed difficulties. According to Glaser, the overall performance of the immigrants in the civilian war effort was commendable. Some received medals for more than 500 hours of voluntary work as recruiting officers, another contributed a remarkable 4000 hours in the Air Warden Service. Others served record times in the various War Loan campaigns. The percentage of immigrants who donated blood more than eight times was far above the national average. Besides the satisfaction of having helped their new homeland in a difficult situation, Glaser mentioned two kinds of dividend arising from this work. The good achievements of the immigrants and their patriotism came to the knowledge of the authorities, thereby helping to destroy previous distorted pictures of them. While it was formerly almost impossible to come in social contact with Americans, the close teamwork of these groups brought people of all origins together.<sup>1</sup>

Some wartime auxiliary services could be rendered only by immigrants from the enemy countries. Two kinds of these services can be distinguished: those initiated by *Aufbau* and those where the paper acted on behalf of the government or one of its agencies.

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 54.

One of the latter type was the request from the WPB that *Aufbau* remind its readers to take up jobs in the defence industry. The next request was for all kinds of maps and guidebooks for travel and motoring in Europe. If the owner knew the location of important manufacturing and communication centres as well as of main traffic intersections, he should mark them on the maps. The government was willing to pay for the material or return it after use. *Aufbau* admonished readers to search all closets, trunks and bookcases and to offer up whatever could be found as another sign of loyalty.<sup>1</sup>

The government received about a thousand items, as well as numerous indications of weak points in the defences of the enemy. The idea for this action came from a 15-year-old boy, who by a stroke of luck had unexpectedly found the ear of a high official. These maps must have helped the generals in their planning, for repeats of the request appeared from time to time.<sup>2</sup> "A high official, possibly the same one who got the project under way," told *Aufbau*, "Your readers did a swell job, continue the good work."<sup>3</sup>

Early in the war, *Aufbau* started a most ambitious undertaking in support of the war effort: the gift of a fighter airplane to the government. With a banner line and under the slogan "America's Enemies are our Enemies" the paper appealed

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/47, 20.11.1942, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/17, 26.4.1943, p. 3; IX/35, 27.8.1943, p. 28; and X/19, 12.5.1944, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/20, 14.5.1943, p. 7.

in English and German to all immigrants for contributions towards the purchase. The plane was to serve as "a token of our loyalty and would, therefore, bear the name "Loyalty". A separate organization was to carry out the plan.<sup>1</sup> That required hard work, enthusiasm and sacrifice at a time when most immigrants had barely begun to rise on the social ladder.

On July 3, 1942, *Aufbau* could announce the successful termination of the drive.<sup>2</sup> In November, it published a picture of the handing over of a cheque for \$49,500 to the Secretary of War for Air Lovett together with a photo of the cheque itself.<sup>3</sup> A week later, the paper published a copy of a certificate thanking the immigrants for their "patriotic and generous gift."<sup>4</sup> This was followed later by a report about the transfer of a Curtiss Warhawk Fighter Plane [P40F] to the U.S. Army Airforce, represented by Brig. General Willis P. Taylor, which took place on Sunday, March 21, 1943, at New York's LaGuardia Field. Elisabeth Bergner, onetime idol of Berlin and Viennese theatre fans, named it "Loyalty", wishing that it would contribute to defeating the enemy. In the lead article, George realized that the cost of this one plane was merely "a drop in the ocean of expenses for the war," but asserted that the gift was to be seen as a symbol of duty that put the immigrants in one camp with America's fighting

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/15, 10.4.1942, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/27, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/45, 6.11.1942, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/46, 13.11.1942, p. 35.



millions.<sup>1</sup> The official campaign ended with a reception by Vice-President Wallace.<sup>2</sup>

After the war, *Aufbau* received the incomplete log of the "Loyalty", which recorded that it had belonged to a squadron in the Mediterranean theatre of war, had completed 57 missions under different pilots and, apart from reparable damages, had remained in fighting condition. The main pilot was First Lieutenant Henry B. Perry from Thomasville, Georgia, who took "Loyalty" up 26 times.<sup>3</sup> Later reports increased the missions to 108, of which Perry had flown 40, and also related the plane's fate: a scrap pile in Naples, Italy.<sup>4</sup> *Aufbau* and the New World Club invited Perry to speak about his experiences flying "Loyalty".<sup>5</sup> The evening was described as "democracy in action." Perry, an Afro-American, introduced by a rabbi and speaking before a Jewish audience, recounted how he had loved the plane and how he could rely on its machinery.<sup>6</sup> Reading the story of "Loyalty," one can feel the pride and satisfaction exuding from the lines of *Aufbau*.

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/13, 26.3.1943, pp. 16/17.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/48, 26.11.1943, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/16, 20.4.1945, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/23, 8.6.1945, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A XI/25, 22.6.1945, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> A XI/27, 6.7.1945, p. 25.

### *"Enemy" Aliens*

An important backdrop to the "Loyalty" campaign was the dispute over the status of "enemy aliens." The Smith Act of 1940, supplemented by a Presidential order of January 20, 1942, required that all aliens from countries at war with the U.S.A. had to register with the government and prove their identity.<sup>1</sup> Although the requirement did not affect immigrants from Austria, it did apply to immigrants from Germany, as well as from Italy and Japan.<sup>2</sup> Thus, most of *Aufbau's* readers had become "enemy aliens," a classification they deeply resented.

Attorney-General Francis Biddle recognized that the policy created some problems and acknowledged the loyalty of most so-called "enemy aliens." He urged that Americans should treat them without prejudice and encourage them to perform patriotic deeds. Despite the classification, the U.S. government would respect their freedom if they, in turn, respected American laws; it would even protect them against discrimination. Biddle concluded: "If we create the feeling among aliens and other foreign born that they are not wanted here, we shall endanger our national unity."<sup>3</sup>

In response to the Attorney-General's statement, the Immigrants' Conference, an association of all anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist refugee organizations, denounced the new measure:

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/15, 10.4.1942, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/5, 30.1.1942, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/51, 17.12.1941, p. 1.

"We must frankly say that those among us who have been chased from their native country are anguished that the law has marked us 'enemy aliens.' For us this war is not one between nationalities. It is a fight between liberty and democracy against oppression and barbarism."<sup>1</sup> *Aufbau* received many letters expressing indignation about the classification. George, in an attempt to calm the situation, told them not to worry; it was merely a technical grouping without suggesting disparagement or humiliation. The authorities, he claimed, had hinted that a reclassification might occur after the questionnaires filed with the registration had been checked.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau's* issue of April 10, 1942, contained some news indicating that such a review was in the offing. It also brought the appeal for contributions to buy a fighter plane.<sup>3</sup> This was surely not a mere coincidence. The campaign to purchase the "Loyalty" must be seen as a protest against the classification of all immigrants as "enemy aliens." The following sentence in the appeal underscores the connection unmistakably: "Technically many of us are called 'enemy aliens' now - but we know and America knows that actually we are not 'enemies' but loyal partners."<sup>4</sup> The campaign, therefore, was not simply an act of collecting money for a good

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/3, 16.1.1942, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/8, 20.2.1942, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 214 & f.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/15, p. 1.

cause. Its purpose was to draw attention to the unfairness inflicted upon the immigrants. A protest through sacrifice, but nevertheless a protest. And as it happened a protest without success. No change took place. Once more, George expressed the immigrants' dashed hopes. His editorial under the heading "Why no Reclassification?" went unheeded.<sup>1</sup> So did an appeal by the president of the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Rudolf Callman.<sup>2</sup> As naturalization continued during the war, the problem eased greatly, at least quantitatively. The new citizens were as free in every respect as their fellow Americans.<sup>3</sup> When Germany surrendered in May 1945, the remaining "enemy aliens" should have become regular immigrants. When this did not happen, letters of complaint again started to reach *Aufbau's* office. In August 1945, the U.S. government at last withdrew some of the restrictions pertaining to travelling<sup>4</sup> but the stigmatic classification "enemy alien" remained.

### ***The German Problem***

The persecution of the Jews by the Nazis before the war turned into a campaign of genocide during the war. So long as the Nazis controlled Europe from the Volga to the Pyrenees, all *Aufbau* could do was threaten revenge and reprisals. With

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/40, 2.10.1942, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/37, 10.9.1943, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/45, 5.11.1943, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/33, 17.8.1945, p. 3.

the gradual liberation of the occupied territories and Germany's imminent defeat, the threats lost their emptiness. Plans to free the survivors became realistic. Likewise discussions about how to punish the war criminals, what to do with Germany after victory and how to prevent the recurrence of Nazism filled many pages of the paper. First, however, a look at *Aufbau's* continuous fight against Hitler's helpers in the U.S.A.

#### *A "Fifth Column"*

After Pearl Harbor, the FBI put many Nazi agents behind bars, but others remained at liberty and could covertly help the enemy. In its original meaning, no fifth column existed in the U.S.A. Sympathizers of Nazism, supporters, spies and even saboteurs could try to obstruct American war efforts, but what was missing to justify the designation "fifth column" were the four columns of invaders. Hitler's initial policy was to keep the U.S.A. out of the war;<sup>1</sup> the megalomaniac dictator intended to leave the conquering of America to the following generation.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless *Aufbau's* supplement "The West Coast" contained a section headed "The Fifth Column." Written by Joseph Roos, it reported on the many crackpots and cranks dealing in hatred of blacks, Jews and foreigners in general. Roos characterized many of their fabrications as "textbooks of

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Hillgruber, pp. 50, 53.

treason," which, undoubtedly, had come from the Nazi propaganda ministry.<sup>1</sup> Roosevelt and three Jewish advisors, along with Winston Churchill, one of these crackpots claimed, had concocted the plan to attack Pearl Harbor during the conference that produced the Atlantic Charter.<sup>2</sup>

Hellmer, whose column "New York Diary" from time to time brought similar disclosures, used the expression "Sixth Column" for the Nazi spy network in the U.S.A. As a special feature, he reported the case of Carl Emil Ludwig Krepper, a member of the network whom the FBI had caught. On this occasion, Hellmer also disclosed several details about the network, most of whose members had been trained in a school in Berlin.<sup>3</sup>

### *Fellow Travellers*

Fifth and Sixth Columns could not prevent German defeat; nor could the "Bund" and the *Staats-Zeitung*, whose sympathy for Nazism was a thorn in *Aufbau's* side, especially after the outbreak of war. The *Bund's* situation became so precarious that it had to continue some of its activities under the name "Rhenish Palatinate Men's Choir." When the FBI discovered that some German saboteurs, who had landed from a U-boat off the East Coast, had support from the *Bund*, it arrested 116

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/30, 23.7.1943, pp. 13/14.

<sup>2</sup> A X/10, 10.3.1944, pp. 19, 22.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/1, 5.1.45, pp. 1/2.

members of the two organizations.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, the *Bund's* name appeared in *Aufbau* only in connection with crackpot organizations.

The *Staats-Zeitung*, on the other hand, managed to survive the war. The hostility between the two German-language papers continued. When Louis P. Lochner, in an article for the Associated Press, described *Aufbau* as lukewarm "towards the Committee for a Democratic Germany," "because refugees should become U.S. citizens and not bother about the future of Germany," the *Staats-Zeitung* omitted the second part, thus creating a false impression of its opponent.<sup>2</sup>

The *Staats-Zeitung's* defence of Marshall Petain, whom, it considered, de Gaulle's government should not have indicted, was chastised by *Aufbau* as an expression of anti-republican pan-Germanism. According to the *Staats-Zeitung*, the Vichy president had acted realistically out of the belief that Hitler would win the war; he had merely followed the principle of *Erfuellungspolitik*<sup>3</sup> a clear allusion to the Weimar Republic and the Treaty of Versailles. The irony is that the *Staats-Zeitung* used to condemn Weimar's *Erfuellungspolitik*, as had the Nazis. With obvious relish and in large print, *Aufbau* published the victorious outcome of a

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/28, 10.7.1942, p. 4; VIII/38, 18.9.1942, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/1, 5.1.1945, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Policy of fulfilment.

lawsuit for libel by Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, pacifist, refugee, politician of the left and archfoe of Prussian militarism, against Victor Ridder, publisher of the *Staats-Zeitung*. The defendant had to pay \$100,000 in damages.<sup>1</sup>

### *Punishment of War Criminals Proposals*

Most interested in bringing war criminals to justice were the governments in exile of the countries invaded by the Nazis. *Aufbau* reported the conclusion of a pact between nine such governments in which they agreed to take the necessary steps after the war. Readers of the paper wanted the Jews to join the pact. George found this idea justified but believed its realization had to wait until one institution could speak for all the Jews.<sup>2</sup> Russia did not sign the pact, though various statements in important journals indicated the country's adherence to the same policy.<sup>3</sup>

In fact the U.S.S.R. started proceedings against war criminals before the end of the war. *Aufbau* reported about one at Kharkov against members of the Nazi party. A witness in this trial was a Colonel Heinrich, a prisoner of war and member of the Nazi party for many years, who testified that in the fall of 1942 a conference of Nazi VIPs had decided upon the extermination of all superfluous population in the

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/25, 22.6.1945, p. 2, XI/26, 29.6.1945, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/5, 30.1.1942, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/42, 15.10.1943, p. 4.



occupied territories by means of poisonous gas.<sup>1</sup>

The U.S.A. and the United Kingdom also declared a policy of punishment of war criminals after the war. Roosevelt warned Nazi leaders several times that they faced prosecution.<sup>2</sup> Lord Simon, in the British House of Lords, differentiated between the misled masses and the Nazi leaders; only the latter could expect punishment.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, London established the "Allied Commission to Investigate War Crimes." Its field of activity covered only the crimes committed by the Nazis in the invaded countries, not those in Germany itself, nor against their own citizens.<sup>4</sup> This limitation led to the resignation of the British chairman Sir Cecil Hurst. The American representative, Herbert C. Pell, who was to succeed him and who also favoured a general investigation, resigned for similar reasons.

*Aufbau* sided with Pell. A struggle for the general application of human rights should not be limited for purely formal reasons, said George, who asked bluntly: Did the allied governments want the Nazi crimes against German Jews to go unexpiated or did they really think that the Germans themselves would punish their criminals?<sup>5</sup> One week later,

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/2, 14.1.1944, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/35, 28.8.1942, p. 2; VIII/45, 6.11.1942, p. 4; IX/32, 6.8.1943, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/45, 6.11.1942, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A IX/49, 1.12.1943, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A XI/5, 2.2.1945, pp. 1/2, and an interview with Sydney Silberman, p. 3.

*Aufbau* reported that the two governments had lifted the restriction and the commission would also investigate the Nazi misdeeds against German Jews and anti-Nazis.<sup>1</sup>

To make certain that the London Commission would fulfill its task, Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York tabled a resolution requesting the president to appoint a commission to act as a watchdog. George hailed this idea but thought it more important to have decrees prepared in advance for application by the army penetrating into Germany. Still more important would be a definition of who was a war criminal.<sup>2</sup> The question of definition had occupied George before: Should the term cover only the persons who had committed the crime itself or also those who had made it possible in the first place? The editor wanted the definition to cover the latter. He had in mind Hjalmar Schacht, former president of the German Reichsbank, then economic czar during the preparations for the war. His economic policy had enabled Hitler to conduct an aggressive foreign policy.<sup>3</sup> George had also written earlier, "a large section of the German people had actively and passively taken part in the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis."<sup>4</sup> Thus he wanted a definition in the widest sense. Not all agreed with him. Hulse, the chairman of the press committee, in contrast, wanted only the individual held responsible for the harm he

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/6, 9.2.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/13, 30.3.1945, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A X/35, 1.9.1944, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A X/24, 16.6.1944, p. 2.

or she had caused subject to punishment.<sup>1</sup> This view was also that of Roosevelt and Lord Simon. They thought that the number of culprits would be small in comparison to the total population<sup>2</sup> which meant a narrow definition of who was a war criminal. The readers' participation in the debate was lively and widespread. Most pleaded for a wide definition. It must be mentioned in advance that conditions after the war necessitated the application of a very narrow definition. More about this will follow in the next chapter.

### *The Ludwig-Tillich Debate on Postwar Germany*

Another issue to be solved by the Allies - the treatment of postwar Germany - was even more contentious and provoked heated exchanges in *Aufbau* between factions of refugees. The controversy began with a speech by Emil Ludwig<sup>3</sup> held on July 4, 1942, at a conference on "Win the War-Win the Peace" in Los Angeles. After having paid tribute to the ideas of the U.S. Constitution, he compared it with constitutional development in Germany. In Ludwig's opinion, the German predilection for order as the basic idea prevailed over the concept of personal freedom in the former. Consequently, the Germans willingly accepted the rule of a bellicose clique<sup>4</sup> that could guarantee order. The Weimar Republic, after having legally

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/28, 10. 7. 1942, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/45, 6. 11. 1942, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> Kriegskaste.

established the principle of freedom for all, had failed, not because of the Treaty of Versailles, but because the "boss" system had been removed. The Germans wanted authority and cheered the arrival of a new master even more tyrannical, bloodthirsty and racist than the losers of the war. The adoration and support of Hitler was the most legitimate expression that such a people could give of themselves. The main aim of the Allies should be the creation of a world organization that would prevent future assaults of rapacious nations and would watch over the basic equality of all races. All countries should guarantee the lives of their citizens and should reduce the difference between the poor and the rich.

To prevent Germany from again becoming a menace to the other countries, Ludwig proposed the following steps: 1) to allow only foreigners to bear weapons within the country after it was purged of all Nazi traces; 2) to place Allied German-speaking experts in every school and ministry to control the education process and 3) to appoint a foreign protector and foreign ministers to govern the country for some years with the support of the most dependable Germans. The country could elect representatives for the same period, but they would have only an advisory and legislative capacity. The application of the three points would not, in Ludwig's opinion, enslave the German people.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/30, 30.7.1942, pp. 5/6.

Paul Tillich, professor at the Union Theological Seminary, who left Nazi Germany in 1933,<sup>1</sup> replied to published excerpts of the speech in the *New York Times*. He compared the level of Ludwig's speech with that of slanderous anti-Semitic pamphlets that did not necessitate a reasoned response. All decent Jews in America should condemn this speech. Unjustified generalizations did not prove anything. As for Ludwig's three points, Tillich had only one word: "silly." The theologian admitted that Germany must be occupied after the Allies' victory, but, to work out the details would be the task of serious politicians who would disdain a psychology à la Ludwig.<sup>2</sup>

In a second article, Tillich regretted having called Ludwig a Jewish writer and having asked for his condemnation by Jews, for he did not write for the Jews but for himself. Tillich, however, upheld his objection to Ludwig's method of generalization, also used by the most vulgar anti-Semites, whom he, Tillich, had always opposed. His response was also meant as a warning to his Jewish friends. As much as he understood their anti-German feelings in view of the Jewish sufferings, these sentiments should not dictate their thoughts. Tillich was particularly worried that Ludwig's ideas would reach the German internal opposition. He and his friends' shortwave broadcasts to Germany assured these people

---

<sup>1</sup> Roeder/Strauss, p. 764.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/29, 17.7.1942, p. 6.

that the Allies wanted to destroy Nazism but not the German people. They would no longer believe us, if they learnt about Ludwig's ideas.<sup>1</sup> Ludwig's rejoinder did not add any new arguments.<sup>2</sup>

Many regular contributors and readers of *Aufbau* participated in the debate, and the paper could not publish them all. The controversy was furious but also unbalanced. Ludwig received full support only from Foerster.<sup>3</sup> Foerster was somewhat more careful in his formulations. For him Hitler was not "the most legitimate expression of the German people" but the "Germany of today was, in its life and actions, essentially identical with Hitlerism." As for the bellicose character of the Germans, Foerster had more quotations and proofs than Ludwig.<sup>4</sup>

Heinz Pol, a regular contributor to *Aufbau*, suggested that Tillich should have refuted Ludwig's arguments, which would have been an easy task, and should not have separated the German refugees into two racial camps. Hannah Arendt, a columnist of *Aufbau*, who usually was scientific in her articles, based her condemnation of Ludwig's speech on personal arguments.<sup>5</sup> Alfred Kantorowicz, employed at the

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/32, 7. 8. 1942, pp. 7/8.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/33, 14. 8. 1942, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/31, 31. 7. 1942, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

international news department of CBS,<sup>1</sup> particularly objected to Ludwig's remark that "Hitler was the most legitimate expression of the German people" by reviewing the results of the last free election in Germany, in which the Nazis scored less than 50% of the votes and by citing the great number of opponents of the regime in the concentration camps. S. Marck agreed with Tillich's criticism of Ludwig.<sup>2</sup> Berthold Viertel, writer, poet and stage director, reproached Ludwig as well as Tillich for having given vent to their feelings without restraint. Carl Landauer, Professor of Economics at the University of California, characterized Ludwig's three points as a most impossible program, for a people deprived of the right of self-determination would never be eager to strive for freedom. In the same issue, *Aufbau* outlined the opinions expressed in the letters to the editor. In contrast to the professional writers, a majority of the amateurs sided with Ludwig on the question of the German people's character. But practically all of them found Ludwig's three-point program unworkable.<sup>3</sup>

George himself did not take a position in the debate, although two editorial remarks promised that a comment would follow.<sup>4</sup> They were probably written by Maier, who, with George

---

<sup>1</sup> Groth, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/32, 7.8.1942, pp. 7/8.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/36, 4.9.1942, pp. 5/6.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/31, 31.7.1942, p. 6; VIII/32, 7.8.1942, p. 7.

on vacation, was in charge of the editorial office.<sup>1</sup> Asked later why George did not publish a comment upon returning from vacation in September, Maier could not recall the details.<sup>2</sup>

George might have disregarded the promise in the editorial remarks for several reasons:

1) The main purpose of giving the Ludwig-Tillich debate so much space was *Aufbau's* aim to serve as a forum for discussions of issues in the public domain.<sup>3</sup> For this, the paper's own opinion was not necessary.

2) In September, after George's return, other issues were probably in the limelight.

3) The author of the editorial remark on August 7, 1942, had expressed *Aufbau's* basic view: "We are of the opinion that the German problem seemed to be essentially a European problem."<sup>4</sup>

4) Hulse, as representative of the publisher, had published the paper's opinion.<sup>5</sup> It was a reply to an article by Alfred Kerr, the former theatre critic of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Wie war es? Und wie wird es sein?*<sup>6</sup> A people that

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/32, 7.8.1942, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, pp. 70, 76.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/32, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Definition of "editorial" in *Webster Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, p. 396: a newspaper or magazine article that gives the opinions of the editors or publishers.

<sup>6</sup> How was it? And how will it be?



allowed criminals to determine their fate for almost ten years, Kerr contended, should not have the privilege to govern themselves. Unobjectionable outsiders<sup>1</sup> should conduct the executive powers for a limited time. Kerr himself released *Aufbau* from all responsibility for publishing his opinion,<sup>2</sup> presumably on account of the radical view and the sharp language. Primitive human instincts, Hulse admitted, demanded revenge for inflicted harm. These instincts would not differentiate between the perpetrator who had caused the damage and the group to which this person belonged. A higher political order, such as a democracy, must base the solution of the problem on the principle of cause and effect. Only the guilty individual should be responsible for the harm he or she had caused and be subject to punishment. Hence, for Hulse the question was "What shall we do with the Germans?" and not "with Germany?"<sup>3</sup>

Hulse's reply to Kerr appeared in a series called "The Lost Son," in which he took a position in the Ludwig-Tillich debate. Hulse found fault with both writers. They spoke of only a new Germany, whereas the American politicians wanted to create a new world after the war. For Hulse, this would begin with the abolition of all national states, first in Europe, then in the rest of the globe. He realized the

---

<sup>1</sup> Sittliche Aussenmaechte.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/19, 8.5.1942, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/28, 10.7.1942, p. 6.

difficulty in carrying out the idea, but it would be something new and good as well as in accordance with moral principles and a great step forward in the history of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

5) On August 14, 1942, *Aufbau* published an interview with Louis Adamic, a member of *Aufbau's* Advisory Board, entitled "In Re: *Two-Way Passage*," with the subtitle: *Eine Idee, die sich Bahn bricht*.<sup>2</sup> George had reviewed the book previously when it had appeared in 1941 and had clearly endorsed its basic idea, which he quoted from the book as follows:

After the war, something must be done with Europe... Why should there not be a European federation accomplished under American guidance? We want the European Revolution, a democratic revolution, the American Revolution extended to Europe. We all came from somewhere, from many lands. That was the passage here. Now we have to go back. That is the passage back. We have to take to Europe our accumulated American experience.<sup>3</sup>

Adamic foresaw a postwar Europe famished, devastated and in despair. It would have lost, to a great extent, its intellectuals as well as been poisoned by Nazi ideas. To help the demoralized people of Europe in the reconstruction of their homelands, the U.S.A. must send experts overseas. Best suited for this service would be U.S. citizens from the European nations, carefully selected and well trained, but not necessarily of the first generation. The helpers should be able to propagate the advantages of democracies and advocate

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/31, 31.7.1942, p. 9; VIII/33, 14.8.1942, p. 5.; VIII/34, 21.8.1942, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> An idea that forges ahead. A VIII/33, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/42, 18.10.1941, pp. 1/2.

the formation of a continental federal system. They would, consequently, not only assist in the reconstruction but also in the creation of a new Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The interviewer asked Maier whether the facts given under 2) to 5) might have been the reason not to comment on the Ludwig/Tillich debate. This he confirmed indirectly.<sup>2</sup> Maier himself warned in his column "The Watchman" against letting revenge be the guideline for treatment of Germany after victory.<sup>3</sup>

#### *The U. S. Plan for Germany*

Half a year later, another discussion about Germany took place in *Aufbau*, after *The American Mercury* had published Kingsbury Smith's article "The Government's Plan for Postwar Germany."<sup>4</sup> Apart from short term measures, such as Germany's total disarmament, the establishment of a military government by the Allies, and the punishment of war criminals including all Nazi party leaders, the plan provided in the long term for permanent changes such as "the decentralization of the German nation." It also said that "the dismemberment of Germany as a political and economic unit is being considered."<sup>5</sup> *Aufbau*

---

<sup>1</sup> Louis Adamic, *Two-Way Passage* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), pp. 285/273.

<sup>2</sup> Maier, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/3, 15. 1. 1943, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *The American Mercury*, April 1943, pp. 391-400.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 399.

entitled its lengthy summary *Nach der Niederlage: Teilung Deutschlands*.<sup>1</sup> It would have been more appropriate to headline it "After Defeat - Decentralization of Germany, possibly Dismemberment." The paper sent several prominent anti-Nazis a five-part questionnaire, which concentrated on the respondent's opinion about Germany's dismemberment after the war and its decentralization.

*Aufbau* published ten answers, all from members of the former Weimar coalition or its supporters. Only seven answered the question of dismemberment in a way clear enough to leave no doubt about their opinion. All seven, Ludwig among them, opposed dismemberment of Germany. The reasons for keeping Germany undivided were, among others, the maintenance of a German general culture in contrast to a Prussian culture of militarism, its naturally grown political and industrial development and the prevention of a revanchist nationalism that the aspiration for reunification would certainly create.<sup>2</sup> Several of the respondents wanted a united Germany to be part of a European federation as security against a third world war. On the question of decentralization, some saw this as the equivalent of dismemberment and, therefore, rejected it. A majority advocated the retention of a federal system but, at the same time, the dismemberment of Prussia.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> After Defeat: Dismemberment of Germany. A IX/15, 9.4.1943, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> Rosenfeld, Seger, Karsten.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/16, 16.4.1943, pp. 8/9; IX/17, 23.4., pp. 5/6, IX/19, 7.5.1943, pp. 5/6.

*Aufbau* doubted the existence of a fixed and final American program for Germany. It surmised that Smith had formulated the vague ideas of the officials in charge of this problem in the State Department.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Smith himself called it "a blueprint ... as it is shaping up in the minds of the official planners in Washington."<sup>2</sup>

The paper used the occasion, however, to express its fundamental attitude towards Germany after the war. *Aufbau's* writers and readers, George asserted, saw America as their new homeland. They could not have the same interests as those for whom the U.S.A. was simply a country of temporary refuge and who wanted to return to their old homeland after liberation from the Nazis. *Aufbau*, as an American paper, cared, of course, for Europe's future, which would determine the peace in the world and, hence, the fate of all Jewry.<sup>3</sup>

The weekly repeated this declaration in the next number in slightly different words and also commented on the question of Germany's future from the American point of view. It was essentially a warning not to repeat the mistakes made after the First World War, which had enabled Germany to soon again become a power to be reckoned with. To prevent such a situation the U.S.S.R. and the Western powers should agree on spheres of interest so that Germany, weak or strong, would not

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/15, 9.4.1943, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *The American Mercury*, April 1943, p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/16, 16.4.1943, p. 4.

be used by one side or the other to gain an advantage in the old-fashioned balance of power game.<sup>1</sup>

### *Aufbau versus Political Emigration*

When early in 1942 free movements against the Axis countries began to form among the refugees in the free world, *Aufbau* published the following declaration in English and German:

#### *Aufbau* and Free Movements

*Aufbau* serves as a platform and rallying point for all the immigrants in their struggle against the enemies of the United States, gladly affords space and opportunity of expressing to organizations dedicated to the war against Germany, Italy and Japan.

In publishing their programs and releases, *Aufbau* in no way identifies itself with the special aims and purposes of these groups or movements. As an American weekly, the general policy of *Aufbau* is determined exclusively by American interests and is expressed in the editorial section of the paper.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau's* option for America brought it into conflict with the refugees who had left their homeland for political reasons and who intended to return after the Nazis' defeat. *Aufbau* spoke for the Jews who had fled from Europe for religious or racial reasons and who, in the majority, considered themselves immigrants and who intended to remain in the U.S.A.

Founded in early 1944 in New York, the "Council for a Democratic Germany" published an appeal, which listed as its main aim the conclusion of a just peace. The council claimed

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/17, 23.4.1943, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/9, 27.2.1942, p. 7.

to speak for the German people, who were prevented from expressing their opinion. Among the signers of the appeal was Aufhaeuser, *Aufbau's* assistant-editor.<sup>1</sup> His name still appeared in the masthead on May 12, 1944, but that was for the last time.<sup>2</sup>

In the same number, George explained the reason for the omission in an editorial *Am Scheideweg*.<sup>3</sup> Those for whom the U.S.A. was a temporary refuge and who would want to return to the fatherland would take one road; those for whom the U.S.A. had become the new homeland would take the other road. "*Aufbau* is," George insisted, "an American paper and the organ of the immigrants and not of the group of exiles." This was a fundamental question. *Aufbau* did not want to create the impression that persons who until then had written editorials in the paper and now supported the council spoke for the immigrants in any way.<sup>4</sup> Although George's editorial did not mention Aufhaeuser's name, it was clearly directed against him. In his correspondence with Hulse, who had joined the army, George called the conflict with Aufhaeuser "a very unpleasant affair."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/18, 5. 5. 1944, p. 7. See also p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> A X/19, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> At the Crossroad.

<sup>4</sup> A X/19, 19. 5. 1944, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> 13. 5. 1944.

In this case, it was only an internal conflict. After the discussion about Germany's future had started, conflicts between those who hoped to replace the Nazi government and *Aufbau*, which supported the American war efforts, American interests and war aims of the Atlantic Charter, became unavoidable.

On the left of the political spectrum, the *Neue Volks-Zeitung*, "the only representative of the German working class in America"<sup>1</sup> and operated by former German Social Democrats, complained that *Aufbau* and others did not send a representative to a meeting which was to prepare a protest against the intended cession of East Prussia to Russia, one of the many rumours at that time.<sup>2</sup> What the paper thought about this complaint appeared in another article of the same issue: "Isn't it astonishing to these sensitive friends ... that the mere possibility of the loss of East Prussia causes so much excitement? East Prussia is for the reorganization of Europe such an unimportant territory."<sup>3</sup>

Another subject of conflict was Russia. For the *NVZ*, Russia was another archenemy, even after it had become an ally of the Western powers. *Aufbau* welcomed Russia as a partner of the coalition that would defeat Germany, as it had in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Groth, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> A X/11, 17.3.1944, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 3.



First World War, and as a country that recognized a Jewish nationality.

Although the language in the controversy over political emigration was not always gentle, the factions were not enemies. Aufhaeuser could no longer speak for *Aufbau*, but his contributions to the paper continued undiminished. Gerhard Seeger, editor-in-chief of the *NVZ*, still belonged to *Aufbau's* writers. This applied also to others who had signed the announcement of the "Council for a Democratic Germany" or were members of similar organizations. Among the better known were Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, Max Brauer and Kurt Rosenfeld. *Aufbau* had promised in the disclaimer of February 27, 1942 to be a platform for the free movements, which was a task the paper considered its duty.

Supporters of political emigration of the right, however, never tried to make use of this offer. *Aufbau's* publications against these groups indicated that the paper would not have accepted contributions from these opponents of Nazism.

The activities of the rightists did not escape the attention of the U.S. government. These groups, Francis Biddle, U.S. Attorney-General revealed, had lately tried to influence decisions the American government would have to take at the war's end. They also appealed to the public for material and moral support, and fought among themselves in public. Such actions, if they did not cease, would force the Department of Justice to apply the provisions of the Foreign Agent Registration Act to protect the public from foreign

propaganda.<sup>1</sup> George interpreted Biddle's statement as an admonition: "The more peace approaches, the sharper the fights among the European groups will become." The interests of the immigrants who came to U.S.A. to stay for good and those who sought temporary shelter, George stated again, were bound to clash. *Aufbau* has served and will continue to serve "as bridge to the U.S.A. and not to Europe. If the paper wrote about European events, it would be from the view of an American or a would-be American."<sup>2</sup>

In January 1944, Thomas Mann, in a speech broadcast to Germany and reprinted in *Aufbau*, denied the refugees from Hitlerism the right to influence the U.S. government in the question of Germany's future.<sup>3</sup> George, referring to Mann's broadcast, feared that the activities of these German refugees had raised mistrust on the American side and produced the slogan of a "Pangerman Conspiracy" in the U.S.A. This development might create difficulties for all who had come from Germany.<sup>4</sup> In a second article, George showed anxiety about the possible application of the Foreign Agents Registration Act to his paper and the consequent loss of its credibility. Leftists among the German refugees, therefore, must initiate steps to stop the reactionaries from gaining influence in

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/12, 19.3.1943, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A X/1, 7.1.1944, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A X/2, 14.1.1944, pp. 7/8.

determining Germany's future. The reactionaries, George contended, were only interested in reconquering the power and predominance they had possessed in earlier years.

Up to that time, neither Mann nor George had named the Germans of the "conspiracy." George now identified the circle around Gottfried Treviranus, the former Conservative member of the Reichstag as well as the German Officers' Committee in Russia. For *Aufbau*, these rightwingers, representing the Junkers and the industrialists, were just as much enemies of democracy as the Nazis.<sup>1</sup>

This point of view determined George's reaction to the news of the attempted assassination of Hitler on July 20, 1944. Though actually having no reliable information, George expressed the hope that Nazis and Junkers might destroy one another in this apparent internal struggle; for that would free Germany from militarism and shorten the war.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, the paper published various versions obtained from other publications or derived from Nazi announcements that appeared to be credible. One of them, falling into the latter category, was the possible existence of a "large latent opposition." Previously, the whole affair was thought a big fake.<sup>3</sup> For *Aufbau*, the Junkers, or the military clique, was not a party with which to negotiate peace. In such event, Prussian

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/4, 28.1.1944, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A X/30, 28.7.1944, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A X/33, 18.8.1944, pp. 1, 8.

militarism would sooner or later rise again in Germany.

That the time had not yet come to talk peace was not only *Aufbau's* opinion but also that of the Allied statesmen, endorsed by Thomas Mann in a shortwave broadcast to Germany. The war should not end, Mann said, before complete destruction of the German war machine was achieved, in other words before a clear and undeniable military defeat. Anything else the Nazis would only use as a breathing space. They would spread a new "legend of the stab in the back" as well as the self-deception of the "army undefeated at the front."<sup>1</sup>

#### *Nazism after Defeat*

The question of whether the Nazis would try a comeback after defeat occupied *Aufbau* as early as October 1943. Preparations had begun, the paper claimed, in Germany itself and abroad with the building up of underground organizations, such as secret societies, sport clubs and military schools. The future organizers had disappeared from political life or had assumed jobs as lowly officials so that they would not be suspicious to the enemy.<sup>2</sup> Their training took place under the NAPOLA system,<sup>3</sup> the highly secret institutions where the elite of Hitler Youth received their training. *Aufbau* believed it saw in an article of the Berlin *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/1, 7.1.1944, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/43, 23.10.1943, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> NationalPOLitische ErziehungsAnstalten - national, political, educational institutes.

a confirmation of this fact.<sup>1</sup> It also commented on the *New York Herald-Tribune's* naming of three well-known Nazis as co-ordinators of the *Napola* scheme,<sup>2</sup> whereas, according to its own information, Himmler himself looked after this task.<sup>3</sup> Although the idea of a Nazi revival was, and still is, a nightmare for all Jews, *Aufbau's* campaign against it should be seen in the context of vivid war-time fears.

### *Germans and Jews*

"V-E Day: 5 Years, 8 Months, 7 Days of War," was the headline of George's article celebrating the victory over Germany. After denouncing the new German government's lame excuse for having signed the instrument of unconditional surrender "on account of the material superiority of the opponents" but approving its admission that it was the world's most hated country. George continued: "It [the world] knows that hatred never can be the basis for a future, which we all want to improve. Firmness and justice are the surest support of a democratic world." The Germans have to prove that they want to join the concert of all people. They must realize that their situation is self-inflicted and must try "to find an inner and outer form of freedom that allows them to re-acquire gradually their own human rights after having acknowledged the

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/50, 10.12.1943, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A X/6, 11.2.1944, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A X/7, 18.2.1944, p. 4.

general principles. Until then, the world must act as guardian, which it will be glad to abandon, when the time is ripe."<sup>1</sup>

No better summary of how *Aufbau* treated the German problem is possible than the personal observations by Rabbi Max Gruenewald, which appeared in July 1944. As it is very long, excerpts must suffice. Its title was "Jews and Germans," but it could also read *Aufbau* and Germans. The advancing Allied armies, Gruenewald began, bring more and more evidence that the German government has gone through with its intention of exterminating the Jews. No doubt, it committed the crime. He then continued:

If I summarize all that I have heard from Jews, ... I have hardly noticed any sentiments of hatred and revenge. Jews have lamented, protested, knocked at all doors, demanded the punishment of the persons in charge, have fought and still fight in the theatres of war and in the underground, Jews have not demanded that Germany cease to exist or that its nationals be indiscriminately punished. I have still not participated at one single of the numerous meetings about the postwar period in which not one or several have risen to defend the German people against the supposition of its collective guilt.

As I know the Jews, they will hasten to name those who had helped to save them - often under risk of their own life.

Future historians will find it difficult to discover an importunate pressure of Jews in the chorus of revenge. They demand that the responsible persons for and the culprits of the crimes committed be brought to normal trial.<sup>2</sup>

In 1939, at the beginning of his editorship, when the first

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/19, 11.5.1945, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A X/30, 28.7.1944, p. 15.

alarming reports came from Germany, George wrote "*Laut oder Leise ? Von Hass, Liebe und grossen Worten*"<sup>1</sup> It was a quasi-apology to, and explanation for, the readers who had found some of *Aufbau's* expressions too violent, or its tone too strong:

But we live in a damned ungentle time. And one should not whisper when one must curse. One must dive into the depth of the vocabulary and scoop up from the primitive consciousness words of hatred and sentiment. No, we will no longer continue the previous pussyfooting if our enemies hurt us. Particularly, not in our new country that has become what it is through hard work and not theories. We know also that there is no love without hatred.<sup>2</sup>

## **The Jewish Problem**

### *Jewish Survival and the Rescue of Jews from Nazi Europe*

*Aufbau's* statement of policy of 1941 retained its earlier self-definition as a Jewish newspaper. But what did this mean in the years of "the greatest disaster in Jewish history?"<sup>3</sup> In a series of four articles entitled "Jews 1942," Hulse hinted at an answer. Responding to isolationist articles published by three co-religionists in the *Saturday Evening Post*, he reviewed the current situation of Jewry in the world and reflected on the future. The separation, voluntary or

---

<sup>1</sup> Loud or quiet? Of Hatred, Love and Rough Words.

<sup>2</sup> A V/21, 15.11.1939, p. 15. excerpts.

<sup>3</sup> Manfred George, "Das groesste Unglueck des juedischen Geschichte", A VIII/49, 4.12.1942, p. 3.

enforced, in the diaspora produced not only heterodoxies<sup>1</sup> but also sufferings of all kinds. But even direct persecutions had not caused as many apostates as the allurements of the new environment. In the past, Jewry had always recovered from persecutions and human losses. "Thus we can assume a similar process of regeneration in the present time." Judaism and Jewry will survive this disastrous epoch, but the old concentrations<sup>2</sup> are gone forever. Whether the historically young Jewish national movement will replace them after postwar conditions have stabilized, only time will tell. First, it is necessary to rescue as many Jews as possible from persecution by their enemy.<sup>3</sup> Hulse's reference to the Jewish-national movement and the function of a possible point of concentration for Jewry represented a clear change of mind. Previously his utterances were distinctly anti-Zionist.<sup>4</sup>

At about the same time George reported on a meeting of the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe on the editorial page, an indication of his formal approval. He praised the federation's work, in particular its endeavour to find new ways to pursue Jewish policies, especially the solution of the Palestine problem, which should take preference.

---

<sup>1</sup> Besonderheiten.

<sup>2</sup> Kraftzentren.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/16, 17.4.1942, p. 6; VIII/17 24.4.1942, p. 4; VIII/18, 1.5.1942, p.4; VIII/19, 8.5.1942, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 185.



Thus in April 1942, Hulse and George had moved closer to common support of Zionism at least in the sense that both recognized its central importance for a Jewish paper. At the same time they also agreed that the cause of the Jews under Nazi rule must come first under the current circumstances.

In late 1941, the prospects for rescuing Jews from Nazi Europe were even slimmer than before the U.S.A.'s entry into the war. After the British White Book of 1939 had confirmed the inhuman conditions in the concentration camps, the Polish government in exile did the same in *The Black Book of Poland* for the events in its country. Kurt R. Grossman reviewed the book in *Aufbau*, characterizing it as "no light reading." The book documented in words and pictures a long list of misdeeds in full detail from October 6, 1939 to June 30, 1941. The Polish Ministry of Information, responsible for the publication, called the Nazi activities a systematic attempt at de-Polonization to make room for German colonists. One part of the book dealt with the terrible situation of the Jews, their humiliations, massacres, expropriations and cramming into ghettos.<sup>1</sup>

The Polish government in exile supplemented the book with information about a new order from SS leader Himmler to halve the number of Jews by the end of 1942. A special group of the SS had been formed to execute the order. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress, obtained confirma-

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/43, 23.10.1942, p. 4.

tion of Himmler's plan for extermination from the State Department. The paper added: "This, unfortunately, authenticates in its full tragic extent the reports in *Aufbau*, obtained from various sources.<sup>1</sup>

The only organization that could have helped the Jews under Nazi control at that time was the International Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland, but it failed to do so. Kurt R. Grossmann demanded the fulfilment of its duties in respect to the interned Jews. In a long article in *Aufbau*, Grossmann disproved the Nazi claim that the Red Cross had no right to take care of the Jews in the concentration camps because they were there for reasons of security based on domestic policy.<sup>2</sup> It took the International Red Cross about 50 years to admit that it could have done something for the Jewish inmates of the camps.<sup>3</sup>

Until about the end of 1942, the fortunes of war were on the side of the Axis powers. All that could be done under these circumstances was to commiserate with the unfortunates. The large American Jewish organizations set December 2, 1942, as a day of mourning and of prayer for the victims of Nazism requesting the Jewish institutions in the other free countries to show their solidarity.<sup>4</sup> For *Aufbau*, this day was an occa-

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/48, 27.11.1942, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/48, 26.11.1943, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *The (Montreal) Gazette*. 18.2.1989, p. A/14.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/49, 4.12.1944, p. 3.

sion for reminding the readers of their duty to support the American war efforts.<sup>1</sup> The following week, it could report that the day of mourning was observed not only by Jews, their organizations and the Jewish press in 20 countries but also by many gentile counterparts.<sup>2</sup>

The progress in the fight against the Nazi enemy in early 1943 and the beginning of the freeing of Jews held in detention must have given impetus to a movement attempting to liberate the hapless inmates of camps behind the front lines. In March 1943, a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden in New York adopted a resolution to this effect.<sup>3</sup> So did the U.S. Congress.<sup>4</sup> An editorial in *Aufbau* applauded both actions.<sup>5</sup>

At last, the governments could no longer disregard these protests. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, and Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, decided to hold a conference in Bermuda.<sup>6</sup> The outcome was more than meagre. The delegates considered the main point, namely the liberation of Hitler's hostages, as hopeless and did not even discuss it. They decided to transfer 4,500 Jews from Bulgaria to Palestine as well as to establish a Refugee Clearing House, later called

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/50, 11.12.1942, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/10, 5.3.1943, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A IX/11, 12.3.1943, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> A IX/16, 16.4.1943, p. 2.

the Refugee Board, which *Aufbau* called the conference's only positive results.<sup>1</sup>

Two moderately sized projects were successful: one freed about 3,000 Jews from the lion's den; the other brought about one thousand Jews stranded in Italy to safety. In April 1944, *Aufbau* published an article, "Free Havens for Refugees, a Plan for the Transition Period." "Free Haven" meant a zone in which the immigration laws of a country would not apply. John W. Pehle, Director of the War Refugee Board, had proposed the concept and urged that the United States set an example.<sup>2</sup> The idea was supported by both *Aufbau* and the World Jewish Congress.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter President Roosevelt accepted the proposal, and in August 1944, 982 refugees, who had wandered from land to land, on the run for eleven years, arrived in the free haven in Fort Ontario, New York.<sup>4</sup> They became the darlings of *Aufbau* and members of the club, symbolizing hope and faith - no other interpretation is possible - that a similar treatment would be given to all other Nazi victims when released. *Aufbau* collected money, books, games, sporting equipment and magazines for Fort Ontario. It published a full page of pictures, interviewed many of the refugees and let them use the column "International Search Center" free of

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/18, 30.4.1943, pp. 1/2; X/5, 4.2.1944, pp. 2, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A X/16, 21.4.1944, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A X/17, 28.4.1944, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A X/32, 11.8.1944, p. 1.

charge.<sup>1</sup> The paper also published all the refugees' names, as well as a letter of thanks to the president from one reader who found his parents among them.<sup>2</sup> Not everybody was as enthusiastic as *Aufbau*. The perennial enemies of the refugees: Senator Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina and the columnist Westbrook Pegler, objected to this humanitarian deed.<sup>3</sup>

As gratifying for Jewish morale as the Fort Ontario action was, the release of 1,200 inmates from Theresienstadt to Switzerland was more important, since they escaped a certain death. The extraordinary feat was not accomplished by a government agency but by a private organization, the Vaad Hatozalah,<sup>4</sup> a section of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the U.S.A. and Canada. The successful negotiator was the former Swiss Councillor Jean M. Musy, who contacted Himmler himself.<sup>5</sup> No further details became known. *Aufbau*, which obtained the story from the *New York Times*, called it a "fantastic work of rescue" executed with diplomatic skill."<sup>6</sup> Later, *Aufbau* asked, "How could the Vaad succeed?" Something extraordinary had to be tried, not only for the release but also for the placing of the prisoners after the rescue. The

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 3, 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> A X/33, 18.8.1944, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Emergency or rescue committee.

<sup>5</sup> A XI/7, 16.2.1945, p. 3; XI/8, 23.2.1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

rabbis of the Vaad had worked very hard, and they succeeded not only in the case of Theresienstadt but also for 1,675 inmates at Bergen Belsen. Although not expressed directly, a reproach against the official Jewish organizations appeared between the lines.<sup>1</sup>

While the Nazis apparently released these prisoners without any consideration - maybe in the hope of buying good will for the day of reckoning - the Gestapo had previously attempted to exchange 400,000 inmates for opening up the blockade of raw materials in short supply. It threatened to accelerate the extermination in the camps should the blockaders reject the offer. This the Allied did after consultation with representatives of various Jewish organizations. Deals with war criminals, using blackmail, were out of the question.<sup>2</sup>

The survival of one person inspired special joy amongst the staff of *Aufbau*. When the news of Rabbi Leo Baeck's liberation from Theresienstadt reached the paper, it reminded its readers that the rabbi had chosen not to emigrate but to share the fate of his fellow Jews, who considered him their leader in dark times.<sup>3</sup> Baeck had insisted on leaving the camp as the last Jew. He was, as Hulse described him in an interview in France, "the symbol of the unbroken spirit, who wants

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/18, 4.5.1945, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A X/30, 28.7.1944, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/20, 18.5.1945, p. 3.

to live and to work for a better future."<sup>1</sup> For many of the Jews who had experienced the trauma of the concentration camps, this future did not lie in their former homelands.<sup>2</sup>

### *The New Tendency*

Previously, Palestine had been the place for survival chosen by many. At the end of the war, Eretz <sup>3</sup> Israel became the most desirable refuge for the surviving Jewish masses in Europe. *Aufbau's* previous sympathy for the aims of the Zionist movement turned to an open support of the Zionist program.

In a series *Juedische Zukunft nach dem Kriege*,<sup>4</sup> Aufhaeser<sup>5</sup> wrote: "To sustain their status as a people and to benefit from international law, Jews cannot dispense with an autonomous homeland. Palestine is in historical and cultural respect world Jewry's central spiritual and religious expression of will<sup>6</sup>, their country, their commonwealth." The recognition of Palestine as the core of Jewish life in the world must not exclude their right to seek, according to their free will, settlement and livelihood in other countries.<sup>7</sup>

At about the same time, George followed with a similar

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/28, 13.7.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/20, 18.5.1945, p. 15; XI/24, 15.6.1945, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> the country.

<sup>4</sup> Jewish Future after the War.

<sup>5</sup> At that time he was still assistant-editor; see p. 235.

<sup>6</sup> Willenszentrale.

<sup>7</sup> A IX/29, 16.7.1943, p. 13.

declaration in a series called *Amerikas Judentum am Scheide-  
weg*.<sup>1</sup> He combined it with a review of the proceedings during  
the first meeting of the American Jewish Conference from  
August 29 to September 2, 1943, whose delegates the whole  
Jewish population of the U.S.A. had elected, lending it the  
nimbus of a Jewish parliament. The aim of the conference was  
to find a uniform guideline for 1) obtaining a constitutional  
position for the displaced Jews, 2) securing their admission  
to all member countries of the UN, and 3) most important,  
establishing a Jewish commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> George, in his report,  
dealt with the last point.

He hoped for the incorporation of the Jews into a  
reasonable world system as well as their acknowledgement as  
a people with a state in Palestine. Although not elaborating  
on further details of his vision, he contended that the  
sacrifice of the war would not make sense without this change.  
Hence, the Jews and all other people had the right and duty  
to declare their demands. George pronounced the first meeting  
of the American Jewish Conference a success, since all  
resolutions had passed unanimously, astonishingly even the one  
on Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards, the American Council of Judaism,  
associated with the anti-Zionist American Jewish Committee,  
retracted its positive vote. In response, George attacked

---

<sup>1</sup> American Jewry at the Crossroad.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/35, 27.8.1943, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/37, 10.9.1943, p. 13.



them, calling them "escapists," who lacked trust in themselves, who had lost touch with the masses of their origin and who, instead, relied on their international material assets as well as "false and fragile assimilation" to withstand severe tests.<sup>1</sup> These were strong words, but explainable by German Jewry's horrible experience. In any case, George's article was a message putting *Aufbau* without reservation and restraint into the camp of Zionism, this time without objections from members of the club.<sup>2</sup>

### *Fight for a Jewish State*

*Aufbau* entrusted Michael Wurmbrand, who had previously contributed occasional articles and who was an expert in this field, with the task of writing about this struggle. He reported on the Zionist campaign: 1) to have the White Paper of 1939 cancelled altogether; and 2) to obtain agreement from Britain and the U.S.A. for the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Point 1) was more urgent to achieve, since all Jewish immigration into Palestine would stop after 1944, thus thwarting the hope of the displaced Jews waiting for visas.<sup>3</sup> As this article appeared on the editorial page, it must be seen as having *Aufbau's* endorsement.

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/39, 24.9.1943, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 30, 186.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/43, 22.10.1943, p. 4.

Subsequently, *Aufbau* published a petition to the U.S. government by the American Zionist Emergency Council, a body established to carry out Zionist aims.<sup>1</sup> The first news of a new Palestine plan developed by the British government appeared in November 1943.<sup>2</sup> Wurmbrand called the development encouraging.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of 1944, London leaked details of the new plan for the partition of Palestine, which it wanted to be seen as a replacement for the Balfour Declaration of 1917. In Wurmbrand's words, it was the result of following "the line of least resistance." The Jewish Commonwealth would be allotted a greater share geographically, but it would also lose valuable territories in the north previously improved by Jewish settlers and occupied by them. *Aufbau* expected changes to the first draft after intervention by the U.S.A., the efforts of the Zionists to improve the conditions and Russia's collaboration, which the paper thought were necessary for a solution. *Aufbau's* anxiety also appeared in an editorial note: "The new year started so promisingly, will it bring a solution to the Jewish problem that has not been more burning than today?"<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/41, 8.10.1943, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/48, 26.11.1943, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A IX/51, 17.12.1943, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>4</sup> A X/1, 7.1.1944, pp. 1/2.

*Aufbau's* question did not receive a positive reply. The first disappointment occurred in the U.S.A. *Aufbau* had great hopes for a resolution proposed in February 1944 in both houses of the U.S. Congress to bring about the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, which the paper called "a great event of far-reaching significance for the fate of Jewry in the whole world."<sup>1</sup> Hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee went well until General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, proposed to postpone the decision for military reasons. For *Aufbau* this was a turn for the worse, but military reasons had, of course, precedence.<sup>2</sup>

In an editorial on April 7, 1944, George conceded that "the new Balfour Declaration" had become law with many unfavourable aspects for the Jews: it provided only a quota of 20,000 new immigrants while hundreds of thousands waited on the outside; further applicants had to obtain the Arabs' consent, and it also limited Jewish purchases of land. George judged the situation sad. But he also thought the fight for Palestine by no means finished: the new White Paper would end in the garbage in the not too distant future.<sup>3</sup>

*Aufbau* found that hope was confirmed with Roosevelt promised to do all he could to get the Democratic platform to favour the opening of Palestine to an unlimited immigration

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/5, 4.2.1944, pp. 2, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A X/10, 10.3.1944, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>3</sup> A X/14, 7.4.1944, p. 4.

and colonisation as well as to implement a policy leading to a free Jewish Commonwealth if he were re-elected.<sup>1</sup> He was, of course, but his promise remained unfulfilled. *Aufbau's* commentator, Richard Dyck, predicted that the fight for Palestine would continue but withheld comment on Roosevelt's manoeuvre.<sup>2</sup> The solution to this problem had, as *Aufbau* had previously assumed, to wait until the end of the war, even though a great number of displaced Jews in Europe were ready to settle in Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

### *A Jewish Army*

Parallel with the endeavour to establish a Jewish state ran the effort to obtain British consent for the formation of a Jewish army in the Palestine Mandate. Both were markedly unsuccessful, for Britain clearly did not want to aggravate its relations with the Arab states. But at the end of 1941, Rommel had again begun a new offensive and calls for a Jewish army proliferated and intensified.

This time Irgun, a particularly radical splinter group that did not shrink from terrorism, organized an especially efficient campaign for a Jewish army. Yet public opinion was mixed over support for the drive. *Aufbau*, too, was in doubt. George, on the other hand, took a positive stand arguing that this demand was just and that Weizmann and all other Zionist

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/42, 20.10.1944, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A X/16, 21.4.1944, p. 4.

leaders backed Irgun's request. Furthermore, a separate and inspired Jewish fighting force was needed to prevent the success of a German pincer movement from the Balkans and Tripoli.<sup>1</sup>

George's position was not shared by all. Hannah Arendt, in a letter to the editor, characterized Irgun's drive as an attempt to gain the upper hand in the Zionist movement. For her, Irgun's members were Jewish Fascists, who did not merit support. Finally, she criticized the main Zionist movement for having lost the initiative on such an important point.<sup>2</sup> Other letters to the editor disagreed with Arendt's assessment.<sup>3</sup>

In the end, despite the well-organized campaign, an appeal to the United Nations by influential American gentile politicians and a direct approach to Churchill by American Zionists, Great Britain did not budge from its original refusal.<sup>4</sup>

Irgun pledged to continue its efforts, first through propaganda and later through political pressure. Other groups could not agree on a common plan in the fight for a Jewish army.<sup>5</sup> The General Zionists under Weizmann trusted England to eventually allow a few regiments to fight under Jewish command

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/4, 23.1.1942, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/10, 6.3.1942, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/11, 13.3.1942, p. 8; VIII/13, 27.3.1942, p. 4; VIII/14, 3.4.1942, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/28, 10.7.1942, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> A VIII/22, 29.5.1942, pp. 1, 6.

and flag.<sup>1</sup> For Arendt, this subservience meant the Jewish Army's burial.<sup>2</sup> However, she was too hasty in her judgment. Nahum Goldman, who was to succeed Weizmann as president of the World Zionist Organization 14 years later, pledged to continue the fight for a Jewish Army, "a demand so simple and elementary that it did not need lengthy arguments." *Aufbau* printed in full the speech on the editorial page, a clear sign of the paper's endorsement.<sup>3</sup>

At last, in September 1944, the English government allowed a Jewish brigade with Jewish officers and with a Star of David on uniform epaulettes to be formed within the forces of the British Commonwealth. In an unsigned editorial "A Historical Moment," the author grandiloquently compared this development with the Maccabean revolt that freed Judea from Syria in the 2nd century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Arendt was less enthusiastic, as the title of her article indicated: "From the Army to the Brigade - a small fulfilment but nevertheless a fulfilment." She recounted the story of the five last years that it took the Jewish Agency to achieve its demand.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, *Aufbau* did not miss any news about the brigade.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/20, 15.5.1942, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/21, 22.5.1942, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/30, 24.7.1942, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A X/39, 29.9.1944, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> A X/40, 6.10.1944, pp. 15/16.

<sup>6</sup> For Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, the brigade's greatest accomplishment occurred after the war, when the members formed the core of the future Israeli army. (Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, "Ideological Evolution" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, reprint, no editor given, *Zionism* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House Ltd., 1973) p. 50). Of course, that development was precisely the reason why Britain had for so many years refused to allow a Jewish army.

### *Jews and Arabs*

Britain's attitude was, undoubtedly, determined by the hostility of the Arab countries towards the Jewish ambitions for a Jewish army and a Jewish state. Relations with the Arabs would, therefore, play an important role in the fight for statehood. Hence, *Aufbau* welcomed a lengthy analysis by Hannah Arendt on this subject. The paper, in an editorial note, did not agree with all details but found her arguments "valuable," "honest" and "based on sound reasoning."

A Jewish home in Palestine, she presupposed, would never find Arab approval, particularly if an Arab federation consisting of Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan (now Jordan), Egypt and Saudi Arabia, at that time under discussion, came into being. Britain would support such a federation and disregard all Zionist protests. The Zionist leadership, adverse to all radical demands, would certainly reject such plans as the establishment of a binational Jewish Commonwealth within the Arab Federation, as proposed by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, the rector of the Jewish University in Jerusalem. The same applied to the plan of the Revisionist Zionist movement, namely the exchange of the Jewish populations in the Arab countries for the Arab populations in Palestine.

Arendt's own solution provided for a federation with a constitution that foresaw peaceful settlements in national conflicts. Her preferred federation was, the British Commonwealth of Nations as constituted by the Statute of Westminster of 1931, not the British Empire, a colonial empire. In

Palestine, Jews and Arabs alike would be equal members of a larger system safeguarding the national interests of both. The question of who should rule whom became meaningless. She did not exclude others, such as a Mediterranean federation or a federation of European peoples.<sup>1</sup> Arendt's plan remained unrealized, but it is remarkable how she anticipated the use of the federation as a political tool in the postwar world.

Just as unconventional and unsuccessful as Arendt's scheme, was one presented in *Aufbau* by Doris Raskop, a member of the Council on Jewish-Arab Co-operation. According to her, British military strategy and commercial interests, quite apart from the Middle East's importance as a source of the all-important oil, would never allow a large increase in Jewish population in Palestine, for that would lead inevitably to self-government and independence. The Zionists could also not expect support from the U.S.A., whose interests coincided, to a great extent, with those of the British. However, the economic and social interests of Arab and Jewish workers were the same. Jewish mass immigration was, therefore, feasible in co-operation with the Palestine Arabs. Organizations such as the Palestine League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and others, worked for gaining a foothold not only among the labourers but also in the middle classes as well as among the peasants and the intellectuals. This endeavour had good prospects for success, since the new Jewish immigrants had brought along

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/51, 17.12.1943, pp. 15/16; IX/53, 31.12.1943, p. 15.



skills for a Western-style civilisation. This, combined with a newly-created Arab bourgeoisie, who had accumulated wealth during the war, would allow the establishment of new industries, when the machines for them became available. This new social class would replace the old feudal society and with it xenophobia and insularity. The author concluded: "A progress that rested on the common needs of the Jewish and Arab masses could lead to social improvement and political independence for both groups."<sup>1</sup>

#### *Discrimination During the War*

While the difficulties in securing a state in Palestine during the war were insurmountable, the conditions for Jews in the U.S.A. improved, in particular for the new immigrants, although they had to cope with the vicissitudes caused by the war. The depressed economic situation before the war had produced a large number of so-called reformers who preached anti-Semitism and whose main arguments were directed against the newcomers, who allegedly took jobs away from the native population. In general, it had become easier to find work. When it became evident that the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice could not totally eliminate discrimination against Jews, aliens, blacks and other minorities, Roosevelt

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/4, 3.11.1944, p. 17; X/13, 1.12.1944, p. 24.

ordered the establishment of a new committee with greater authority.<sup>1</sup> Another important factor in reducing discrimination was the press's and radio's frequent admonishments to exercise national unity.<sup>2</sup> This all meant that the professional anti-Semites saw the ground under their feet cut away.

For example, Henry Ford, whose *Dearborn Independent* had since 1924 propagated a wild anti-Semitism, promised in a letter dated Jan. 7, 1942, to the Anti-Defamation League to drop any agitation against the Jews. As he did not expressly retract his former accusations, *Aufbau* asked in its heading "Henry Ford, is he converted?"<sup>3</sup> The paper, likewise, headlined "The Ku Klux Klan, has it gone underground?" when it abandoned its national organization.<sup>4</sup> The anti-Semitic association of prewar times, Hellmer concluded, still existed; it was just lying low.

Judging by the frequency of reports, one must conclude that two kinds of anti-Semitism continued during the war: desecration of synagogues and cemeteries, as well as the assaults in the streets against the Jews who could not defend themselves. They became so bad that the City of New York offered a reward for catching the perpetrators.<sup>5</sup> Cardinal

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/23, 4.6.1943, p. 3; IX/24, 11.6.1943, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/45, 6.11.1942, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/3, 16.1.1942, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A X/23, 9.6.1944, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> A X/2, 14.1.1944, p. 5.

Francis Spellman, Archbishop of New York, found it necessary to speak out against race hatred,<sup>1</sup> and Governor John E. Dewey of New York publicly condemned anti-Semitic outrages.<sup>2</sup>

*Making Good (Restitution)*

In 1942, *Aufbau* received many letters from readers, suggesting that the paper should put the demand for reparation for German Jews on its program. George thought the time not yet ripe.<sup>3</sup> Two years later in 1944, he accepted an article from Dr. Hugo Marx, who had received funds from an unnamed source for the study of this problem from the legal side but also from that of natural sensitivity. He accepted the formula used by Hermann Rauschning, former lord mayor of Danzig and disillusioned Nazi, in *The Revolution of Nihilism*,<sup>4</sup> who had called the financial measures against the Jews "expropriations without indemnity of a part of the nation and its brutal robbery of all rights."<sup>5</sup> Restitution, Marx concluded, was a just and natural matter based on international law. This referred to the assets of institutions and individuals as well as to the damages to life and health

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/3, 21.1.1944, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A X/4, 28.1.1944, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/5, 30.1.1942, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Entschädigungslose Enteignung eines Teils der Nation und seine brutale Beraubung allen Rechts.

caused by the various Nazi measures.<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau* also published an article by Dr. Siegfried Moses, whom the paper presented as the chairman of a commission dealing with the special problem at a meeting of the World Jewish Congress attended by representatives of all important organizations of the free countries. Moses also was the author of *Jewish Postwar Claims*, "a comprehensive and systematic description" of the subject. His commission considered as legitimate a "collective claim of the Jewish people as an entity." In addition, Moses gave details how Marx's individual claims and those of the Jewish institutions could be realized and secured. Part of the reparations should be used to benefit the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

### *Americanization*

#### *The Successful Immigrants*

As the war did not allow civilian mass movements across the oceans, immigration into the U.S.A. had practically ceased after 1941. No new candidates to whom *Aufbau* had to explain the rudiments of the American way of life arrived from Europe. The paper now had the opportunity to deal with social and political intricacies without having to go back constantly to basics. But George called the immigrants' participation in the American war effort the task for the near future. To go beyond

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/2, 14.1.1944, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A X/49, 8.12.1944, pp. 1/2; X/50, 15.12.1944, pp. 1, 16.

that point would conflict with *Aufbau's* principle not to support any political party, American or Jewish.<sup>1</sup>

Another factor that reduced *Aufbau's* role in the Americanization of its readers was self-education. Vera Craener, the editor of the woman's page, described the adoption of American conditions in life style and intellectual value in an article with the title "Women Readjust - a Page of Glory in the History of Immigration" in *Aufbau's* 10th anniversary number. "First," she wrote, "everything was difficult." One could not get accustomed to the language, the furnished rooms and the fight for jobs. The capabilities of the European women did not seem to match American requirements. Some then discovered that this was not necessarily so; the readjustment was not so difficult after all. Others went to school again to learn a skill in demand and, of course, English. Many women worked very hard, even in occupations once despised. The incentive often was to help their husbands to gain admission to their previous professions. Gradually, the situation improved. "Success stories" emerged; some obtained academic lectureships and others established their own businesses. When meeting other immigrants, the question was no longer "Do you work?" but "What do you work at?" The better and regular income allowed the purchase of good books and visits to the theatres, providing new sources of cultural enjoyment.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/18, 1 5.1942, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A X/51, 22.12, 1944, p. 26.

Professor Julius Hirsch, formerly at the Berlin University and Business School, later advisor to the Office of Price Administration at Washington, D C., painted a similar picture from a man's perspective. At the beginning, the men experienced more difficulties than the women. Merchants and academics fitted even less into the American structure than the housewives. But with energy, the men and the women, among them even older generations, achieved adjustment, helped, of course, by the war economy. Immigrants opened 529 businesses, mostly of a new kind, giving occupation to practically 9,000 people. Scientists also could gradually find a place in their special field, thanks often to Alwin Johnson and the New School of Social Research. Johnson never would have been able to assemble so many first-class professors for the new university, had not the Nazis chased them from their homelands. The only trouble was that they did not remain very long with him. Other institutes hired them as soon as their abilities became known.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The New Americanization*

Typical of the change was the title of the English language course carried by *Aufbau*. Titles such as "Say it in English," "Practical English" or "1000 Words American" [sic] were now out of fashion. From March 1944 it became "How good is your English?" written by Anne Polzer. At the same time, one can see that the number of articles in English increased

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

in comparison with the previous period, although German articles still predominated.

Articles in English were numerous enough to induce a journal specialized in linguistic usage to research them and to report about its findings. *American Speech* gave *Aufbau* a "grade" of "excellent" but added that, at times, a writer's mother tongue became apparent. The author then listed a great number of "teutonisms" in "sentence length, rhythm, structure and word order." He also found wrong usage of words that were similar in German and English but had different meanings. Frequent combinations of English and German words made it necessary for the reader to be acquainted with both languages.<sup>1</sup>

Readers must have been able to cope with the increase in English articles; at least, *Aufbau* did not publish any complaints in the "Letters to the Editor" column. Hulse, who had previously advocated the retention of German, had joined the army in November 1942 and could no longer plead his case. His column "Marginal Notes," especially devoted to the acculturation of the new immigrant, had also ceased with his call-up. But *Aufbau* still published some items that assisted the readers in their Americanization.

When the Department of Justice, through Columbia University, started a program to educate immigrants to become citizens, Therese Pol, a frequent contributor, admonished

---

<sup>1</sup> His complaint covered some neologisms. Julius G. Rotenberg, "The English of *Aufbau*," in *American Speech*, vol. XIX, 1944, No. 2, pp. 97/102.

readers to take these courses; even if they thought they didn't need them.<sup>1</sup> The paper distributed booklets explaining the Bill of Rights issued by the U.S. Information Service.<sup>2</sup> It also printed excerpts from the radio play "We hold These Truths" in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Bill of Rights.<sup>3</sup> As the new citizens were supposed to know the national anthem, *Aufbau* helped them by printing the text.<sup>4</sup> Alfred Prager, *Aufbau's* legal expert, commented not only on the many new regulations caused by the war but also on subjects that would be of interest to citizens, such as "To Sit on a Jury,"<sup>5</sup> "Interpreter for the Court,"<sup>6</sup> and, in a series of four articles, "Have you been a witness?"<sup>7</sup>

The extent to which *Aufbau* saw its task in giving counsel to its readers regarding their Americanization can be seen from a letter by George to Heinz F. Eulau.<sup>8</sup> The editor-in-chief wanted an article for *Aufbau* naming and discussing ten to fifteen books of history, literature and so on, describing "the facts of American intellectual life." The

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/21, 21.5.1942, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/1, 2.1.1942, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/3, 16.1.1942, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> A VIII/8, 20.2.1942, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> A X/43, 27.10.1944, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> A X/8, 25.2.1944, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> A X/22, 2.6.1944, p. 5 to X/27, 7.7.1944, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 90.



choice should have in mind as reader a former European, literate and highly educated, who would not have the time for long studies. Eulau responded with two articles; the first recommended eighteen books of history, politics, philosophy, culture, sociology and biography,<sup>1</sup> and the other twenty novels.<sup>2</sup>

Surpassing the previously-mentioned presentation in completeness, thoroughness and volume, Julius Bab painted a picture of the American literary scene from the 18th century to the present for *Aufbau's* readers. Bab, formerly literary reviewer and theatrical critic for Berlin liberal newspapers and journals as well as author of several books on the German theater and the first biography of George Bernard Shaw in 1910, wrote 28 articles under the title "Characteristics of American Literature," appearing from October 1942 to October 1944. The first seventeen dealt with one author each followed by compilations under the headings "Today's Novelists," "New American Lyricists" and "New American Dramatists." All told, he presented 64 authors.<sup>3</sup> and George's twelve reviews of detective novels.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/46, 17.11.1944, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> A X/48, 1.12.1944, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/40, 2.10.1942, p. 8 to X/43, 27.10.1944, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> A IX/36, 3.9.1943, p. 27 to X/23, 9.6.1944, p. 22.

## *Going Back*

*Aufbau's* attitude to the question of whether Central European Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. should return or not after the war was never ambiguous. Both the "Statements of Policy" of November 29, 1939 and January 9, 1942, left no doubt about this point: "This paper is to serve the interests of all immigrants from Central Europe and their merging into the life and society of the American democracy." The statutes of the newspaper's official sponsor were also explicit: "The purpose of the club is the development of its members to good American citizens...."<sup>1</sup> When anti-Semites in the U.S.A. used the argument that refugees should not receive any support because they would not remain after the war, *Aufbau* found it necessary to reiterate its position clearly and forthrightly. To this must be added George's gradual perception of the U.S.A. as one of the countries where Jews could live as Jews.<sup>2</sup>

George was not the only writer for whom Germany was no longer his homeland. Replying to the allegation that the recent refugees would return to their homelands after the war, Hulse wrote as early as August 1941: "A homeland that does not exist any more, that has been killed, defiled, destroyed and to which one cannot return unless in one's dreams."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 76/77.

<sup>3</sup> A VII/32, 8.8.1941, p. 7.

For his part, George admitted that some refugees in the States who had fled from the countries conquered by the Nazis might wish to return after their homelands had become free again but certainly not the German Jewish newcomers. Not more than 2% of them, he estimated, might want to go back, and these were mostly former politicians. The German Jewish immigrants, he insisted, had assimilated into the American way of life. Many of their children were in the armed forces or were married to Americans.<sup>1</sup>

Jewish commentators were not alone in believing a return impossible. This position was also upheld by Reinhold Niebuhr, professor at the Union Theological Seminary and one of America's most influential Protestant theologians. Niebuhr's article, "The Jews after the War" in the *Nation*, was reprinted in *Aufbau*, which called it one of the best analyses of the modern Jewish problem. Niebuhr thought that the Jews could not return to their former homes. An impoverished Europe could not accommodate them, while the removal of the racial hatred against them and the reinstatement of their former rights required time. Niebuhr then tried to analyze the Jewish problem as it had existed before Hitler, who had aggravated it. The Jews were for the theologian a "nationality," which meant a group that had an ethnic and cultural basis. They were, of course, free to assimilate, but they must also have the right to survive as a people. Given this right, Niebuhr

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/50, 10.12.1943, p. 5.

opined, a broad acceptance of the Zionist program would occur in time.

In a second article, Niebuhr outlined the practical consequences of his analysis. He named the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis, as one who had embodied his idea. Brandeis was a great American contributing his sense of justice - a special Jewish gift, in Niebuhr's opinion - to the national life. But he was also a Zionist out of the belief that all people have the right to self-development. Niebuhr realized how difficult it was for Britain to carry out the promise of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, but, and this was how he closed the article, the Jews were the first and main victims of Nazism. This fact itself demanded more than the restoration of the *status quo ante*.<sup>1</sup>

### ***A Newspaper in Wartime***

#### ***Practical Problems***

The war affected not only editorial policy but also the makeup of the paper in the widest sense. The main criterion for the choice of what to publish was the question whether it would serve the American war effort. This meant in practice the extension of news coverage, the creation of new columns pertaining to the war efforts, the inclusion of special features and the omission or curtailment of others deemed less vital.

Did supporting the war effort include the printing of war

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/9, 27.2.1942, pp. 17/18; VIII/11, 13.3.1942, pp. 15/16.

propaganda? If this meant taking instructions from the U.S. government for the publication of articles defending the participation in and conduct of the war, the answer is no. No such intervention seems to have been made, probably because it was not necessary: the newspaper's support of U.S. policy was clear to everyone. For *Aufbau*, World War II was also a Jewish war in its aim, namely the destruction of Nazism.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, critics have reproached *Aufbau* for exhibiting an artificial superpatriotism but never for spreading government propaganda.

As mentioned before, the main practical problem caused by the war was the shortage of newsprint.<sup>2</sup> But there was another problem: the wartime introduction of censorship. Although this censorship was self-administered, *Aufbau*, as all other papers, had to observe guidelines established by the head censor for the press, Byron Price of the Associated Press. Violators, mostly small papers, received rebukes from the Office of Censorship.<sup>3</sup> There was never any indication that *Aufbau* ever received such a reprimand. It probably never had to be admonished, for it acknowledged the necessity of censorship during the war and welcomed Price as a reasonable censor.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/18, 1. 5. 1942, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 99/101.

<sup>3</sup> Emery, p. 606.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/52, 26. 12. 1941, p. 7.

The complexity of modern warfare, a part of which is propaganda, caused *Aufbau* to unintentionally misinform its readers. In the last months of the European war, from January to April 1945, the weekly published reports about the conditions within the remaining Nazi empire by a correspondent who signed off as K.K. and who monitored foreign shortwave broadcasts of the National Broadcasting Company in New York, N.Y. The title of the first report was *Enthüllte Nazi Geheimnisse*<sup>1</sup> with the subtitle *Hier spricht der Atlantik Sender*<sup>2</sup> and *Der Rundfunk, den die Deutschen am meisten hassen*.<sup>3</sup> The contents of this article and the following ones described Nazi misdeeds, the Allied bombing attacks, the dissatisfaction of the population and similar information that the Nazis would never publish. The reports seemed to leave no doubt that the operators of "Atlantik" were anti-Nazis inside Germany.<sup>4</sup> In fact, unfortunately for *Aufbau*, "Atlantik" was the work of the British Secret Service, originating in Britain.<sup>5</sup>

#### *Reporting on War and Politics*

As a weekly, *Aufbau* was not in the business of keeping its readers supplied with the very latest, hottest news: that

---

<sup>1</sup> Exposed Nazi Secrets.

<sup>2</sup> Station Atlantic speaking.

<sup>3</sup> The Broadcasting Station the Germans hate most.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/1, 5.1.1945, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Lawrence C. Soley, *Radio Warfare* (New York: Praeger, 1989) pp. 96, 163.

was the task of the dailies. Papers such as *Aufbau* sought to evaluate, analyze and comment on the news. JTA was still the only wire service used by the weekly.

But *Aufbau* also created a totally new column with straight news. It began to appear in the first number of 1942 under the title *Marsch des Zeit*<sup>1</sup> with the subtitle *Eine Chronik der wichtigsten Weltereignisse*.<sup>2</sup> In March 1943, this column merged with George's *Zur Lage*.<sup>3</sup>

In the field of news coverage, *Aufbau* added a few other features during the war, the most important of which was the German translation of Walter Lippmann's column in the *New York Herald-Tribune* that appeared in *Aufbau* under the title *Heute und Morgen*.<sup>4</sup> George introduced his colleague as "one of the few political authors who really know what happens in the backrooms of world politics and whose publications the leading statesmen, politicians and other personalities of the public life in the U.S.A. read and pay attention to. Lippmann's friendly relations with the President are well-known."<sup>5</sup> The column appeared whenever it was of interest to *Aufbau's* readers, almost every week.

---

<sup>1</sup> March of Time.

<sup>2</sup> A Chronicle of the most important events in the world.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Today and Tomorrow.

<sup>5</sup> A IX/12, 19. 3. 1943, p. 28.

A second innovation was a purely military column - *Strategische Probleme dieses Krieges*<sup>1</sup> - written by Adolf Caspary, a former regular contributor to Swiss and German journals of military studies. Caspary's column appeared prominently on one of the first pages starting on August 27, 1943. With the end of the war, the column stopped.

Another new column may be mentioned here, although it had more human interest than news value. *Aufbau* started to publish Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's *Aus meinem Tagebuch*<sup>2</sup> in 1945. Previously, the weekly had published several messages from, interviews with and articles by the late president's wife, all dealing with the fate of the immigrants or the people persecuted by the Nazis. This must have given the readers a feeling of security seeing that the highest circles of the U.S.A. were interested in their problems. *Aufbau* introduced Mrs. Roosevelt's column, which also appeared in all outstanding American dailies, as facilitating the reader's understanding of important events and problems.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, *Aufbau* published dozens and dozens of individual articles commenting on the problems of the war and its consequences. It is impossible to list all the authors.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Strategic Problems of this War.

<sup>2</sup> From my Diary.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/21, 25.5.1945, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> They are all listed in Lieselotte Maas's *Handbuch der deutschen Exilpresse 1933-1945*.



### *Other News Coverage*

The extended coverage of political and military news, together with the shortage of newsprint, caused a considerable reduction in economic and social news. Yet even with the cutback, Aufhaeuser was able to several times condemn the inflation caused by the war boom.<sup>1</sup> Practically every issue still had the Women's Page. In issues commemorating important events, the Women's Page had to give up its space entirely and by the end of the war, the "page" consisted of only the lead article by the editor, Vera Craener. For a period Hellmer's *New York Notizbuch* continued to supply the readers with local news. The war also introduced an anti-Nazi element to the column. On May 22, 1942, the column celebrated its third anniversary by reprinting several of the highlights.<sup>2</sup> Its swan song appeared on December 11, 1942, without giving any reason for its elimination.<sup>3</sup> Hellmer seemed to have taken a long break for Christmas and then turned to other tasks.

*Wie wir hoeren*, on the other hand, did not share the fate of *Notizbuch*; it appeared throughout the war usually in normal print and almost unchanged in character. The reports about suicides gradually shrank to zero, while those about successes and about American personalities increased.

---

<sup>1</sup> A VIII/41, 9.10.1942, p. 3; IX/53, 31.12.1943, p. 4, for instance.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/21, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> A VIII/50, p. 7.

Throughout the war, correspondents abroad - naturally only in allied and neutral countries - reported news of prominent persons as well as of cultural events. *Londoner Notizen*,<sup>1</sup> written by various authors, appeared most frequently with Paul Marcus [PEM] as the major contributor. Other reports came from Switzerland, Brazil, Cuba, Chile and occasionally from Sweden, Spain, South Africa and Australia.

From September 1944 on, *Aufbau* published political reports from London by a Swiss journalist, Dr. W.W. Schuetz, under the title *Englische Briefe*.<sup>2</sup> When visiting the continent, he also sent reports from Paris<sup>3</sup> and Germany.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Feuilleton, the Soul of the Paper*

Neither war nor shortage of newsprint reduced appreciably the cultural and artistic sections, attesting to the importance of the feuilleton to *Aufbau's* self-definition. However, it was able to cope with the overall reduction of space by allotting less space to each article. Thus, Max Osborn complained: "The space allotted to me is very scarce." Literary experts may argue that the necessity to be concise probably improved the quality.

---

<sup>1</sup> London Notes.

<sup>2</sup> English letters.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/6, 9.2.1945, p. 3; XI/7, 16.2.1945, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/20/24, 18.5.1945 to 15.6.1945.

*Aufbau* still reviewed most of the theatrical premieres, especially those of Russian playwrights. Since the Soviet Union had become a comrade in arms, everything connected with that country aroused great interest in the United States.

The book review section was one of the few that grew during the war. The new publications of European authors residing in the free countries and American bestsellers no longer had preference.<sup>1</sup> The selection of books for review became more balanced.

And *Aufbau* still found space for a great number of poems; almost a hundred authors were represented. Of those with three or more poems previously, all with the exception of Ernst Marcus<sup>2</sup> again appeared in this period. New ones were Elow, Oskar Maria Graf, Hans Sahl, Gertrud Urzidil, Marianne Eisner, Jacob Picard, Paul Mayer, Alfred Kerr, Franz Werfel, Frederic Torberg, Fritz von Unruh and Else Lasker-Schueler. A few of the poems were in English, one was in Yiddish and one in French.

Equally numerous were the short stories or excerpts from new novels. It is impossible to list them all. During the war, *Aufbau* published two works of fiction and one reportage in instalments. *April im Oktober* by Franz Werfel ran in twelve issues from April to July 1942; Lion Feuchtwanger's novel *Der Tag wird kommen* began in July 1942 and ended in June 1943

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 130.

after 47 instalments. The reportage was Miriam Berg's *Tagebuch aus dem Warschauer Ghetto*<sup>1</sup> running from September 1944 to January 1945 and edited by S.L. Schneiderman.

The section also discussed dozens and dozens of monographs on individual literary figures, and ran commemorations on anniversaries, deaths or other such occasions. Lists, under titles such as "Newly Published," "New Books," and "Books of Interest" kept readers informed about the book market.

Events in the fine arts were also not neglected during wartime. Noteworthy is the observation by *Aufbau's* art critic Ben Bindol on a new trend that began to spread in New York:

Abstract and non-objective arts seem to advance by leaps and bounds. The majority of the galleries, by the mainly commercial nature of their enterprises, are obliged and apt to sense this trend as well as the art consumer's readiness to appreciate and buy what hitherto has been the exclusive domain of a few modern-minded museums and art collectors, and are lately giving predominant shelter and encouragement to the leftest wing of arts.<sup>2</sup>

### *Aufbau's Special Tasks II*

The necessity of allocating less space to the announcements of the New World Club<sup>3</sup> and other clubs must have been the most painful decision of *Aufbau's* management, since the paper originated as the bulletin of the club. As the immigrants in growing numbers became United States citizens,

---

<sup>1</sup> Diary from the Warsaw Ghetto.

<sup>2</sup> A X/14, 7.4.1944, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 126.

*Aufbau* introduced the column *Eingebuegert wurden*,<sup>1</sup> which began on June 11, 1943.<sup>2</sup>

Another new column was *An Alle* with the subtitle *Wichtige Mitteilungen fuer die Leser des Aufbau*.<sup>3</sup> The first column, which appeared immediately after the outbreak of the war, contained admonitions, such as not to speak German in the street and to always have one's registration card. It also discussed such subjects as: first papers, air raid alarms, civilian defence and the use of cameras.<sup>4</sup> The column ceased to appear at the end of 1943.

*Aufbau* continued to publish its "search" column.<sup>5</sup> The war added a new kind: the Nazis sent whole populations to ghettos or concentration camps, where they were either killed or finally liberated by the Allies. Lists of survivors became available and were published by *Aufbau*, as were other types of lists. These can be divided into the following categories:

- 1) Lists from countries with which communication during the war was possible.
- 2) Lists from countries after retreat of the occupiers and
- 3) Lists of letters or inquiries from individuals under Nazi control and after liberation.

To the first category belong the lists of the persons interned by the French Vichy government. Their names filled

---

<sup>1</sup> Our new Citizens.

<sup>2</sup> A IX/24, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Important Announcements for *Aufbau's* readers.

<sup>4</sup> A VII/50, 12.12.1941, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 135.

23 lists. Many of them, as well as those interned in Italy, were able to escape to Switzerland. *Aufbau* published 22 lists with their names. Others showed Czech Jews deported to Theresienstadt and those who fled to Sweden and Palestine.

Lists of category 2) became more numerous as more territories were freed by the Allied armies, although, very often, they could rescue only a few of those interned. The flow began with reports from North Africa, followed by reports from Italy, France, Belgium, Holland and even from the East,<sup>1</sup> as well as twelve lists of liberated Jews from Theresienstadt and Auschwitz. They did not include the prisoners the Nazis released from Theresienstadt before the end of the war thanks to the efforts of the Vaad hatohzelah.

During the war, the International Red Cross also functioned as a post office. It delivered letters from persons in countries at war with one another. The Red Cross compiled lists of such receivers whose addresses were incorrect. *Aufbau* published 45 lists from October 22, 1942 until May 4, 1945. According to the Red Cross, 50 to 60% of the receivers were found via these lists.<sup>2</sup>

Other lists had the names of persons living in the U.S.A. who were being sought by relatives or friends released from

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/35, 1.9.1944, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 22.

concentration camps. These requests came from all over Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The profusion and complexity of the lists caused *Aufbau* together with the "Self-help of Emigres from Central Europe Inc." to establish the "American Search Center" under the slogan "Who is Where?"<sup>2</sup> It was meant to concentrate efforts for bringing together people whom war and persecution had separated and to ascertain the destiny of those who had perished. The first step often was the publication of the person's name in *Aufbau*. If this should be without result, the second step would be an individual investigation by "Self-help." The fee for the publication was 40¢ for the paper's subscribers and members of the club, 50¢ for others. The fee for the investigation depended on the work involved.<sup>3</sup> Although the response was more than satisfactory, the plan did not stop the publication of individualized inquiries for missing persons.

The first ads of this kind appeared in *Aufbau* before the end of the war, in March, 1945.<sup>4</sup> Their numbers grew and grew, like an avalanche, and 50 to 80 of them in the following issues was the norm. Here is a typical sample:

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/10, 9.3.1945, p. 10; X/29, 21.7.1944, p. 25 and several others.

<sup>2</sup> Later called the "International Search Center."

<sup>3</sup> A IX/9, 25.2.1943, p. 28; IX/10, 5.3.1943, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> A IX/12, 23.3.1945, p. 19.

Information wanted about  
VALENTIN MEYER  
born 30.3.1861, Krefeld  
last at Theresienstadt  
EMILIE MEYER  
born 7.5.1859, Krefeld  
last at Theresienstadt  
Please send information  
XXX

One of *Aufbau's* special tasks was taken on as the result of George's idea to use the paper as a forum for discussions of issues in the public domain.<sup>1</sup> The first forum dealt with the Ludwig-Tillich debate described earlier. The weekly also introduced modifications of this idea. Instead of publishing several opinions on a subject for which it had received several contributions, it selected one view typically "pro" and another one typically "contra" on the issue. This method was used in the case of Arnold Bergstraesser, former German politician and professor at Heidelberg University, in the U.S.A. professor at California Scripps College, who was suspected of co-operation with the Nazis.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau* used another variation even before George had developed his new idea. To show the democratic character of his paper and solidarity in the fight against totalitarianism, George preferred to publish contributions by authors of various nationalities in the same number. For example, in the paper's first number as a weekly, Senator James M. Mead of New York contributed "Land of Hope," Thomas Mann *Takt und*

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> A VIII/27, 3. 7. 1942, p. 4.



*Geduld*<sup>1</sup> and Edward Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, *Keine Angst fuer Europa*.<sup>2</sup>

### *Two Deaths and the End of the War*

Neither of the leaders of the opposing coalitions were alive when peace came to Europe. While Roosevelt's death caused dismay and sadness, Hitler's suicide was the occasion for joy. *Aufbau* printed on page one a poem by Fritz von Unruh full of irony, relief and disdain, berating the fallen dictator for his evilness. A mounted policeman in New York opined, as quoted by *Aufbau*: "It would have been good news twelve years ago, now it is too late," and a Shakespearean quotation, also printed by the paper, was used to compare Hitler to a dog.<sup>3</sup> In George's obit he was the "biblical non animal."<sup>4</sup>

*Aufbau*, despite several disappointments, admired Roosevelt as the saviour of democracy and Jewry. As in 1940, the paper supported FDR's re-election in 1944, not openly but again obliquely. After the president's victory, George wrote an enthusiastic article about the result. The American people voted for Roosevelt despite their aversion to a fourth term, because his abilities had succeeded in giving America the

---

<sup>1</sup> Tact and Patience.

<sup>2</sup> No Fear for Europe. A V/48, 29.11.1939, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/18, 4.5.1945, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/19, 11.5.1945, p. 2.

leadership of the world. He must use the same competence "to finish the war and establish peace."<sup>1</sup> Death, unfortunately, prevented him from fulfilling this expectation. George compared the sad event with the decease of one's father. Roosevelt was for the escapees from Nazism the shore that saved and the roof that protected them. He was the "father of the immigration." At the end, the editor appealed to all who admired and respected the late president to support his successor, Harry S. Truman.<sup>2</sup>

In his obituary, Thomas Mann praised Roosevelt for having understood, as the sole leader of the anti-Nazi coalition, the warnings of the exiles, their experiences and their hopes. Stephen S. Wise compared the late president with Lincoln: People thought of them as immortals while still alive; both were victors without seeing the final victory.<sup>3</sup> For Walter Lippmann, Roosevelt had early enough recognized the fatal thrusts, coming from the outside and inside, directed at the country. His genius designed the measures to rid the nation from these perils. Fate did not give him sufficient time to solve all problems. The people followed him instinctively. They trusted him, even if he did not always find the right solution.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/45, 10.11.1944, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/16, 20.4.1945, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

*Aufbau*, furthermore, published a speech prepared by the late president, which he had not been able to deliver. It had a typical FDR title, "Face the Future Unafraid."<sup>1</sup> The paper also contained excerpts from his previous speeches,<sup>2</sup> an obituary by Fritz von Unruh,<sup>3</sup> a poem by Margot Moser<sup>4</sup> and several recollections to show that a great man had passed away, to whom the paper and readers wanted to pay their last respects. Such an occasion also called for the introduction of the new president and a preview of his policies by Dyck,<sup>5</sup> Harold R. Moskowitz and Walter Lippmann.<sup>6</sup>

Only 25 days after Roosevelt's death, April 12, 1945, Truman informed the public of Germany's unconditional surrender on May 7, 1945. George's editorial celebrating the end of war in Europe consisted mostly of showing Germany, without expressing any feelings of rancor and revenge, how it could again join the civilized world.<sup>7</sup>

His response to the end of the war in the Pacific was similarly sober and measured. George's article originated a few minutes after Truman had announced Japan's surrender over the radio, and while the jubilation coming from the street

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> A XI/17, 27.4.1945, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> A XI/16, 20.4.1945, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 243/244; A XI/19, 11.5.1945, p. 2.

still rang in his ears. This event brought to his mind three basic ideas: 1) The enthusiasm of the masses was proper, because the Allies had fought a just war; 2) Confucius's saying that "The victory is less important than the preservation of peace" was justified, but the fight for a better world would have to continue; and 3) the victors should beware of disagreement among themselves. George closed the article saying: "Let us hope that from the firm determination of all the people of good will, from the rubble and smoke and also from the memory of countless graves surge the oath 'Never again war!'"<sup>1</sup>

Peace demanded a re-organization of *Aufbau's* operations. An announcement by the circulation department on September 15, 1944, requested readers to send names and addresses of relatives and friends all over the world who did not subscribe to the paper. They would receive copies of *Aufbau* as samples when peace arrived and rationing of newsprint had ended. *Aufbau* wanted to become a link to all Central Europeans exiled by the Nazis.<sup>2</sup> Soon after full postal service was established with France,<sup>3</sup> the circulation department made a similar request, especially aiming at relatives and friends in that country.<sup>4</sup> In the summer of 1945, *Aufbau* began to set up its

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/33, 17.8.1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A X/37, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/4, 24.1.1945, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/14, 6.4.1945, p. 17.

own net of correspondents in the liberated countries. Leo Stahl, whom the paper introduced as the prewar correspondent of the Voss Newspapers and an expert in French affairs, started his activities from Paris<sup>1</sup> and Fritz Rothgiesser from Amsterdam, Holland.<sup>2</sup>

The plan for this expansion originated during the war. On the occasion of *Aufbau's* 10th anniversary, George concluded his article, "Why we publish *Aufbau*" with these words:

*Aufbau's* principal task is still to come during the approaching years. Then it will not only more deeply root here as an American-Jewish organ but also expand into the liberated countries.<sup>3</sup>

In other words, *Aufbau* wanted, as the circulation department had expressed it before, to be the link for all Central Europeans exiled by the Nazis.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/30, 27. 7. 1945, pp. 1, 17.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/35, 31. 8. 1945, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A X/51, 22. 12. 1944, p. 18.

## CHAPTER VI: A NEW BEGINNING

### *The Unwritten Statement of Policy and Basic Changes*

Contrary to the practice in previous periods, *Aufbau* did not publish a statement of policy at the beginning of the post-war period even though the last such declaration, issued on January 9, 1942, and dealing mostly with the paper's war efforts, had clearly become outdated. The new events required the application of different principles. And *Aufbau's* readers had also undergone a development that called for a change in editorial policy and general structure.

In 1942, many *Aufbau* readers, most of them Jewish refugees from Central Europe, were considered "enemy aliens." Only a few had become citizens. The majority were poor, unestablished and fearful of the future. By the end of the war many had become naturalized or had started the formalities, were gainfully occupied, socially assimilated and spiritually integrated.

The Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, established in 1944, undertook the first investigation of the group's social development. The title of a pamphlet summarizing the committee's findings *The Refugees are now Americans*<sup>1</sup> expresses the change in one short sentence. About half of the group, the final report specifies, had obtained

---

<sup>1</sup> Maurice R. Davie & Samuel Koenig, (New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1945), p. 1.

citizenship papers, about 95% overall wanted to remain in the U.S.A. and all were devoted to democratic principles.<sup>1</sup> It was obvious that the great demand for employees in many fields during the war helped the refugees to find work.<sup>2</sup> Their standard of living at least equalled that before the Nazi takeover, although not all had reached their former social status.<sup>3</sup> The greatest difficulty, according to many refugees, was the language. This was due, the authors surmised, to their exactness.<sup>4</sup> Nothing was said about the many immigrants in the armed forces.

Later studies generally confirmed the findings of the 1944 committee. In Strauss's opinion, however, the new language was no great problem thanks to the good schooling of the refugees.<sup>5</sup> Their Americanization came when they joined the American Jewish community.<sup>6</sup> Lowenstein, in his monograph, agreed with Strauss. The immigrants had no difficulty in speaking, understanding and reading English, and they had become Americans as part of the American Jewish community.<sup>7</sup> To this may be added the opinion of a non-sociologist. Earl

---

<sup>1</sup> Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America - Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1947), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Strauss, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Lowenstein, pp. 125/6, 252.

G. Harrison, U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in 1945, characterized the refugees from Nazism as "acculturating fastest and most productively among all the waves of immigration during the last decades."<sup>1</sup>

What applied to all Jewish immigrants from Central Europe in the U.S.A. was also valid for *Aufbau's* readers. They no longer were refugees and immigrants but Americans. Their mouthpiece, *Aufbau*, no longer needed to exercise restraint on certain occasions as it had done previously. It could present the group's demands and its own arguments with vigour and without embarrassment.

*Aufbau* must have had a program for the postwar time, even if it did not publish one. The only plan that appeared in the paper was a drive for new readers in countries that could not be supplied during the war.<sup>2</sup> Taking these aims into account and judging from the trend in the articles of opinion that appeared from September 1945 to May 1948, the statement of policy could have read as follows

- 1) This paper is to serve the interests of all Jewish immigrants from Central Europe in all countries in which they have found a new home.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> George, p. 80. The booklet edited by Grossmann contained this article by George on the spiritual integration of the immigrants, commented before. See p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/14, 6.4.1945, p. 17; XI/1, 4.5.1945, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Taken over from the previous statements of policy with the following changes: Instead of referring to all immigrants from Central Europe, the new statement limits the service to all Jewish immigrants only. Most of the gentile refugees returned to their homelands after the war. The new statement omits *Aufbau's* task to help the immigrants in their acculturation, since most of them no longer needed this assistance. See pp. 267 and 292, appendices 4 and 5.



- 2) It is an American paper in its political attitude without adhering to any party program. It is produced in the U.S.A. and determined to defend the principles of American democracy<sup>1</sup> which guarantee best the preservation of peace and the prevention of conditions that caused the recent world war.<sup>2</sup>
- 3) The cosmopolitan character of our readers, however, requires the use of German as the main language and of a structure similar to that of German newspapers,<sup>3</sup> but without adhering to any one political view only.<sup>4</sup> We shall endeavour to act as a forum for open discussions of subjects in the public domain<sup>5</sup> and to give room to all non-radical interesting opinions. The interests of our readers also call for a variety of subjects with stress on those of liberal German culture.<sup>6</sup>
- 4) It is also a Jewish paper.<sup>7</sup> The mass destruction of our brothers and sisters, the desperate situation of the displaced survivors and the unsatisfactory progress in the creation of a Jewish homeland forces us to adopt a more energetic attitude than previously without supporting radical and violent solutions.<sup>8</sup> We will keep a watchful eye on organizations in Germany that caused the calamities in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Only the last part of the second sentence is new.

<sup>2</sup> The balance of the second item represents the lesson learnt from the events that led to World War II: for dictators, war was "a political instrument, a continuation of political relations by other means." (a shortened definition by Karl von Clausewitz); for modern democracies, war must have a just cause. See p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> German as the main language became more important after the war than before. *Aufbau* began a drive to win readers in countries that could not be supplied during the war, among them non-English speaking countries.

<sup>4</sup> George's and Hulse's articles are the most striking example of offering more than one view. Their opinions differed, for instance, on the subjects of Zionism - see p. 185 -, Americanization - see p. 189/90 -, who is a war criminal? - see pp. 224/5 - and inflexibility of Jewish orthodoxy in doctrine - see p. 405.

<sup>5</sup> It was George's idea that *Aufbau* should act as a forum for open discussions of subjects of interest in the public domain, after he had become an admirer of the American constitution and democracy. See p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>7</sup> Continued from previous statements.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 141, 246, 250, 399-403, 409, & 421.

first place as well as on any groups or persons anywhere that have similar aims.<sup>1</sup>

A change of basic nature occurred in this period. It concerned the question: who spoke for *Aufbau*? An editorial announcement on August 2, 1940, reminded readers that certain columns "do not necessarily always reflect *Aufbau's* view," since the columnists have "absolute freedom in expressing their opinion." Among these columns were one each by Hulse and George himself.<sup>2</sup>

First on September 20, 1946,<sup>3</sup> then on September 19, 1947,<sup>4</sup> the masthead contained the following announcement: "The individual editorial columns of *Aufbau* are regularly written by...." In 1946 and 1947, the names were Wilfred C. Hulse, Heinz Eulau, Carl Misch and Ludwig Marcuse. Hans Jacob's name appeared in 1946 only, and in 1947, the names of Kurt Kersten and Alfred Prager were added. The editor-in-chief, Manfred George, as well as assistant editors Richard Dyck and Kurt Hellmer, and also Robert Lann, whose lead articles in the supplement "Trade and Economy" often extended and deepened the economical ideas expressed elsewhere, should be added by virtue of their positions. These writers' articles not only appeared on the editorial page but also in the rest of the paper and in the supplements. The new rule extended the group

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/31, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/38, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/38, p. 4.

of who could speak for *Aufbau* and clarified this question also for the past. Naturally, these writers could express independent ideas. But this had to be clear from the text or especially stated as such.

### *A Newspaper in Peacetime*

#### *The Makeup during Transition*

The war and the persecution of Jews by the Nazis had ended, but it took some time before the consequences of both events could be overcome. This influenced the choice of what to publish. For example, *Aufbau* cancelled the columns written by Alfred Caspary and Walter Lippmann shortly after the end of the war. They had been introduced at the beginning of the war. Caspary, however, still wrote a few articles on the wars of the future, based on the lessons recently learned.<sup>1</sup>

The paper also discontinued "Our Boys's Club" and "This is the Army." But since the "boys" had become "veterans," *Aufbau* introduced the column "Veterans Forum," edited by Curtis J. Hoxter. The first column appeared on November 23, 1945, then irregularly throughout the period.

Likewise, the column "We search for" appeared during the whole period. This was still one of the paper's proudest achievements. Letters from advertisers still poured in reporting about relatives and friends found listed in the ads, as well as about others not listed. *Aufbau* published many of

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/14, 4.4.1947, p. 3, for instance.

these letters. However, these people were, without doubt, in the minority. The majority of the persons in "We search for" had perished in the concentration camps. That was the reason why one of the prosecutors in the Nuremberg trials presented *Aufbau's* issue of November 23, 1945, as proof of the disappearance of so many inmates of the camps.<sup>1</sup>

Random counts of these ads show that their number per issue amounted to 50 to 60 from September 1945 till June 1946, 100 and more from July 1946 to June 1947 and 50 to 80 from July 1947 to May 1948. This indicates that these inquiries had reached their peak and were on the decline at the end of the period. The rate for insertion in this column rose from \$1.50 to \$2.00 for every name on February 14, 1947.<sup>2</sup> The tragedy emanating from these inquiries was surely the inspiration behind Margarethe Voss's poem *Suchanzeige*, published in *Aufbau* in late 1947.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from its own search column, the paper published similar inquiries from several social organizations. Among them were the International Red Cross, the National Refugee Service, the National Council of Jewish Women and others. Their frequency followed the trend of the paper's own column.

The same also applied to the lists received from Jewish organizations working in Europe among the survivors of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Schaber, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/7, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/50, 12.12.1947, p. 44.

death camps. From September 1945 to September 1946 such lists appeared in almost every issue. From October 1946 to April 1947, none was in the paper but they started again in May 1947, though fewer in number. Their contents were also different.

The old classification<sup>1</sup> was no longer valid. Most of the new lists contained the names of survivors living in geographical units, such as Jews in Berlin, in Vienna, in camp Deggendorf. The next most frequent category was lists of persons in the U.S.A. sought by survivors, e.g. "Children in Europe Seek."

Many of the lists published after May 1947 were of a financial kind, such as "Claims on Confiscated German Assets" and "Accounts of Jews in Great Britain." All these lists, though in very small print, took up much space. They were treated as a service to the readers for which the paper received no remuneration.

In 1947 and later, another kind of search action made its appearance. The heading of the ads usually read: *Zeugen gesucht*.<sup>2</sup> Persons who had experienced Nazi misdeeds or observed them should come forward to testify in criminal proceedings. For instance, O. Winter of Elland, England, wanted to see justice done for murders committed by SS-men in

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Witnesses sought.

the Dachau concentration camp.<sup>1</sup>

Inquiries searching for missing persons<sup>2</sup> paid for and inserted by the searcher should be discussed here, since their purpose was the same as that of *Aufbau's* column "We search for," although all other characteristics were those of an ordinary ad. A random count shows that 30 to 80 ads appeared weekly from September 1945 to June 1946, and only 15 to 25 in the remainder of 1946. In 1947 and the first five months of 1948, their number was mostly under five, often even zero, an indication that relatives and friends had become aware of most of the missing persons' fates.

#### *The Correspondents Abroad*

Peacetime allowed *Aufbau* to build up a network of foreign correspondents who reported about the events in their countries more or less regularly. During the war, direct reports from the outside were scarce and uncertain. At the end of the war, *Aufbau* had begun to appoint new correspondents in Paris and Amsterdam as well as in London to report about political news.<sup>3</sup> Other appointments followed. Dr. Immanuel Birnbaum, a former correspondent of *Vossische Zeitung* in Warsaw, did the same now for *Aufbau*. So did Wolfgang Bretholz in Ankara. He had once been the editor for domestic

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/9, 28.2.1947, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 280.

affairs of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Max Krell, formerly an editor for the Ullstein concern, reported for *Aufbau* from Florence, Italy.<sup>1</sup> In Tel Aviv, the paper acquired four correspondents: C.Z. Kloetzel, a former travelling reporter with the *Berliner Tageblatt*; Hans Lichtwitz, a former private in the Jewish Brigade;<sup>2</sup> Ernst Mandowsky, who, in *Aufbau's* early days reported from Zurich;<sup>3</sup> and Robert Weltsch, the editor-in-chief of the erstwhile central German Zionist organ *Juedische Rundschau*.<sup>4</sup> To the list should be added Dr. Max Beer, who became *Aufbau's* correspondent at the United Nations early in 1946.<sup>5</sup> On September 12, 1947, *Aufbau* announced the appointment of Dr. Rudolf Kalmar in Vienna, the assistant-editor-in-chief of the daily *Das neue Oesterreich*.

Most of these correspondents, like the majority of the weekly's readers, were refugees. This fact suggests that they were chosen intentionally to uphold the principle of *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*<sup>6</sup> expressed by George.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XXVI/18, 28.4.1960, pp. 67, 70.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/18, 4.5.1945, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A V/17, 15.9.1939, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Jewish Review. A XI/38, 20.7.1945, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/12, 22.3.1946, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> community of fate, e.g. between writer and reader.

<sup>7</sup> A/51, 22.12.1944, p. 17.

The paper did not appoint a correspondent for Germany, apparently by design. Nevertheless, *Aufbau* was full of stories about the events in Germany, which sometimes were reprinted in American dailies.<sup>1</sup> How was that possible without a local representative?

Several of *Aufbau's* correspondents, contributors and friends visited Germany and reported about what they saw, experienced and investigated. Among them were Bretholz, Weltsch, Schuetz, Hans Habe, a novelist and major in the U.S. army and former head of American publications in Germany, and Josef Maier, at that time assistant to the American prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials.

Interviewing persons returning to or visiting the United States was another method for gaining information about what was happening in Germany. A frequently used source was Major Judah Nadish, Eisenhower's Jewish advisor. Occasionally, *Aufbau* printed releases from the Overseas News Agency [ONA]. The paper also published a letter to the editor by a German woman on the front page under the heading *War alles vergebens?*<sup>2</sup> The paper commented: "This letter says more than hundreds of reports in the newspapers."<sup>3</sup> With such sources, *Aufbau* achieved a coverage of events in Germany appropriate for a weekly without the service of local correspondents.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/1, 4.1.1946, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Was all in vain? - namely the defeat of the Nazis and the denazification.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/28, 12.7.1946, p. 1.



### *Additional News Coverage Abroad*

With the staff of foreign correspondents, the reports from JTA and rewritten material from the dailies,<sup>1</sup> *Aufbau* had the basis for coverage of foreign news. While the items taken over from JTA were straight news, the correspondents filed eye-witness reports, sometimes spiced with their comments. As during the war, *Aufbau* concentrated on events in the West with a few exceptions.

Thus Heinz Eulau and Owen Lattimore wrote a few articles about events in the East, as did Harold Ickes in his column. Palestine, although situated in the Middle or Near East, should be considered a Jewish problem, outside geographic location.

*Aufbau's* editors also travelled abroad to collect news directly. Thus, George attended the opening of a Zionist drive in Mexico City and used the opportunity to interview President Miguel Aleman. Articles about this visit and other observations appeared in six instalments after his return.<sup>2</sup>

On September 6, 1946, *Aufbau* announced that the editor-in-chief would go to Europe for several months. The result was a series of eight articles, as well as *A Glosse am Rande*.<sup>3</sup> Ten more reports appeared within weeks after George's return

---

<sup>1</sup> Maier, pp. 36/37.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/25, 28. 6. 1946, pp. 5/6 to XII/34, 23. 8. 1946, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Passing commentary.

in early December 1946.<sup>1</sup> He had visited seven countries. Conspicuously absent were Berlin and other places in Germany. This, as well as the failure to appoint a correspondent for his former homeland and the publication of the letter from the German woman,<sup>2</sup> are indications of what the editor thought about developments in Germany.

Among the individuals abroad sending reports to *Aufbau*, Harold J. Laski, president of the executive of the British Labour Party, took first place. Until early 1947, his contributions appeared regularly, almost like those of a correspondent. Naturally, in them he praised the actions of his party, such as its new social legislation,<sup>3</sup> and condemned Churchill's proposal for a European Union.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of 1944, *Aufbau* began a column called *Scheinwerfer auf*,<sup>5</sup> which often carried reprints from other periodicals in the foreign field of interest to the readers. Two of them were Irving Brand's "Anti-semitism in Poland," first published in *PM*<sup>6</sup> and Kurt Schoenlank's *Das Maerchen von*

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/50, 13.12.1946, pp. 1/2 to XIII/7, 14.2.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/7, 15.2.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/5, 31.1.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>5</sup> Searchlight on.

<sup>6</sup> A XII/1, 4.1.1946, p. 2.

*der deutschen Erneuerung*<sup>1</sup> from Basle's *National Zeitung*.<sup>2</sup>

The main event during this period for *Aufbau* was the fight for a Jewish home in Palestine and the related situation of the DPs. For news on the latter, *Aufbau* relied on the releases of the American Military Government<sup>3</sup> and the Jewish relief organizations.<sup>4</sup> For reports on the events that led to the proclamation of the State of Israel, *Aufbau* put many writers into action - its own staff, correspondents and contributors, and also allocated more space than ever before given to a single cause.

#### *Other News Coverage*

After the war, *Aufbau* expanded its coverage of domestic American news. The telltale sign of this expansion was the reprint in German, translated by Mary Graf, of the column "Yes and No" by Harold L. Ickes, the former Secretary of the Interior, in the *New York Post*. The first article was accompanied by a basic declaration - "My Program," as it was called - that forbade all editors to change any word; he alone would bear the responsibility for the contents.

A few of Ickes's subjects were "John L. Lewis, Dictator," accusing the leader of the miners' union of holding the

---

<sup>1</sup> The Fairy Tale of Germany's renewal.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/5, 1.2.1946, pp. 7/8.

<sup>3</sup> for instance A XII/15, 12.4.1946, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> HIAS as one - A XII/16, 19.4.1946, p. 6.

country to ransom,<sup>1</sup> *Die Nichtwaehler sind schuld*,<sup>2</sup> in which Ickes complained about the small participation in American elections<sup>3</sup> and *Fort mit Bilbo*.<sup>4</sup> Bilbo was a senator from Mississippi, a well-known foe of Blacks, Jews and other minorities. The Senate impeached and eventually expelled him. Ickes's column ran throughout the period but by late 1947 and 1948 no longer appeared every week.

While *Aufbau* had never dared to show disapproval of any measures under the Roosevelt administration, it was not uncritical of Truman's. *Wohin steuern wir?*<sup>5</sup> was the title of two articles expressing worry and uncertainty about the president's domestic policy,<sup>6</sup> but they were not the only ones. An exception was the occasion when Truman presented a budget in 1946 that was to the paper's satisfaction. The editorial was headed "Bravo, Mr. President!"<sup>7</sup>

The new interest in domestic politics seems to have been a reflection of at least some of its readers. One of the founders of the New World Club, Willi Gunzburger, wanted "to make American political hay" through it, as Eric de Jonge,

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/21, 24.5.1946, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The non-voters are guilty.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/32, 9.8.1946, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Be off-Bilbo, A XII/44, 1.11.1946, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Where are we Bound?

<sup>6</sup> A XI/44, 2.11.1945, p. 2; XII/46, 15.11.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>7</sup> A XII/4, 25.1.1946, p. 4.

one of the early editors, expressed it.<sup>1</sup>

In the field of commerce, finance and industry, a new supplement *Welt der Wirtschaft*<sup>2</sup> took the place of "Trade and Economy," which had been discontinued during the war. The main subject of the revived section was the economy of the U.S.A. in general and inflation in particular. But it also investigated the situation of individual industries, such as the Construction Market<sup>3</sup> and the Steel Industry.<sup>4</sup> The supplement from time to time printed the column "Wall Street Telegram," now written by Walter David. The first supplement appeared on June 30, 1946. The author of the leading articles was Frederick W. Borchert until Robert Lann became editor in August 1946. The paper introduced the latter as a former editorial writer for the *Prager Boersen Courier* for 14 years.<sup>5</sup>

### *Supplements and Columns*

*Welt der Wirtschaft* was not the only new supplement. "From the World of Women," curtailed during the war, was restored to its previous format, still under the editorship of Vera Craener. The supplement "The West Coast" continued as before and added reports from San Francisco by Peter Fabrizius. Paul Schiller temporarily wrote the main article,

---

<sup>1</sup> E de J, 14.11.1989, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The World of Economy.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/19, 9.5.1947, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/32, 8.8.1947, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Prague Financial Newspaper. A XII/36, 23.8.1946, p. 8.

which he called "Hollywood Diary." Friedrich Porges took over from Schiller on January 1, 1947, changing the title to "Man-about-Hollywood."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to reviving and expanding long-established sections, *Aufbau* tried to introduce new material. The idea behind the launching of the "Young People's Column" must have been the wish to extend its own lifespan by recruiting new young readers. "The foreign language press," *Fortune* found, "will die of itself with the passing of the ... first generation immigrants...."<sup>2</sup> Could this fate be at least delayed? *Aufbau* must have thought so. It hired Annemarie Ettinger as editor of the column because she represented the type of person the column was directed at. She was born in Vienna, was 20 years old and was a student at Hunter College.<sup>3</sup> The weekly's experiment failed, following *Fortune's* findings that "children of immigrants ... seldom read their parents' native language...." In all, a mere five articles appeared in the column.<sup>4</sup>

Another short-lived column was Heinz Eulau's "Life around the Corner." He wanted to write about people, what they thought and feared, where they fell short and what pleased them. He compared his aim with that of Fred Allen, at

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/2, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> November 1940, p. 104

<sup>3</sup> A XII/27, 5.7.1946, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/27, 5.7.1946, p. 8 to XII/38, 20.9.1946, p. 33.

that time a well-known stand-up comic, whose radio hour featured four imaginary typical Americans expressing their opinions about the weekly news in interviews with the host. Only two articles used this scenario.<sup>1</sup> A few more followed but they were purely political reportages about events, not people's opinions.

A later series of five articles came closer to Eulau's idea. A recent immigrant, Ernst W. Michel, recounted many meetings with Americans in their daily life. Michel, a German Jew who had survived confinement in a concentration camp, was told on arrival in the U.S.A. to settle in a small place if he wanted to become a real American. He followed this advice, travelled a lot to find the right place and eventually chose a little town in Michigan, where he worked for the local newspaper.<sup>2</sup>

### *Feuilleton*

Book reviews were at least as numerous as before. The layout and selection remained unchanged,<sup>3</sup> but Italian and German books were added, after they became available. Therese Pol, interviewing Carlo Levi on his first visit to the U.S.A., commented on the recently published *Christ stopped at Eboli*.<sup>4</sup> Oscar Maria Graf reviewed Eugen Kogan's *Der SS-Staat*,

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/16, 18.4.1947, p. 5; XIII/19, 9.5.1947, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/23, 6.6.1947 to XIII/33, 15.8.1947, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/22, 30.5.1947, p. 19.

calling it "the most important book published in today's Germany."<sup>1</sup>

An article by John D. Miller reported about the establishment of a new press in Germany by the Psychological Warfare Division at Eisenhower's request. The assignment went to the then Captain Hans Habe and T/S Joseph Wechsberg, both writers, originally from Hungary and Czechoslovakia respectively. They had a free hand except for the stipulation that the newspapers should contain straight news, avoiding all propaganda. Eventually, the two started ten newspapers in different West German cities, including one in Berlin, all edited by German-speaking refugees. *Aufbau* could headline the article: *Emigranten leiten Europas groessten Zeitungskonzern.*<sup>2</sup>

Despite the growth of book and press reviews, the other traditional parts of the feuilleton shrank. No *roman-feuilleton* appeared in the post-war period at all, as against three during the war. What was the reason for the omission? Lack of suitable material? Lack of interest on the part of the readers? Or adjustment to the American milieu? No indication can be found in the paper itself. It certainly was not rejection of what later would be called exile literature. The paper did publish excerpts from Bruno Frank's novel *Chamfort* on the occasion of the first anniversary of the author's

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/25, 20. 6. 1947, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Emigrants manage Europe's largest press group. A XI/39, 28. 9. 1945, pp. 1/2.



death,<sup>1</sup> a novelette *Geister*<sup>2</sup> by Arnold Zweig,<sup>3</sup> as well as Lion Feuchtwanger's own comment about the genesis and meaning of his historical novel *Waffen fuer Amerika*.<sup>4</sup>

The publication of poems also declined noticeably. The number of authors was about the same as previously, but most of them were represented by only one poem. Whereas during the war 24 authors had three or more poems in *Aufbau*, the count was only eight thereafter. All of these poets were on the previous list, except one writing in English under the pseudonym Sagittarius, who contributed eleven poems, more than anybody else. *Aufbau* must have chosen these political and satirical poems for the mystery about the author, his or her spreading popularity in England and the U.S.A., as well as the hard-hitting arrows shot by the archer.<sup>5</sup>

To make up for this deviation into English literature, *Aufbau* brought an eminent representative of exile literature to public knowledge, when she was still hardly known. The author was Nelly Sachs, who subsequently received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1967. Gabriele Fritsch-Vivie paid tribute to her in an article in *Aufbau* in 1991, mentioning

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/34, 23.8.1946, pp. 7, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ghosts.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/41, 11.10, 1946, pp. 20/21.

<sup>4</sup> Arms for America. The title of the English edition is *Proud Destiny* - A XIII/37, 12.9.1947, pp. 12, 17.

<sup>5</sup> English translation for the constellation Sagittarius - Webster, Encyclopedic Dictionary, 1983, p. 1260 - A XII/36, 6.9.1946, p. 40.

that the weekly had published two of her poems shortly after the war.<sup>1</sup> This is correct. On April 26, 1946,<sup>2</sup> before publication of her first collection of poems, *Aufbau* published *Verse des Mitleids*<sup>3</sup> and on July 12, 1946,<sup>4</sup> *Chor der Waisen*,<sup>5</sup> both, as the titles indicate, dealing with the haunting feelings caused by Shoa. Not mentioned in the 1991 article was a contribution by Nelly Sachs, written at *Aufbau's* request, on Swedish cultural life with special regard to the position of refugees. She mentioned many persons, including Prince Eugen of the royal family, who had arranged the flight of quite a number of endangered persons, protected them on arrival in Sweden and taken a stand against the Nazi brutalities in spite of the risk of German invasion, which explains the title *Tapfere Schweden*.<sup>6</sup> It should be mentioned that Nelly Sachs was a close relative of George's.

Otherwise, literary monographs and reportages were as frequent in this period as before. Walter H. Perl reported on a visit with Thomas Mann in California, during which they discussed Mann's current work, the literary situation in postwar Germany and the news about the German immigrants in

---

<sup>1</sup> A LVII/49, 6.12.1991, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/17, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Verses of Compassion.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/28, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Choir of the Orphans.

<sup>6</sup> Brave Swedes. A XII/33, 16.8.1946, p. 14.

New York.<sup>1</sup> Kurt Pinthus contributed a short biography of Carl Zuckmayer, whom he characterized as "a friend of life."<sup>2</sup>

The reviews of plays on the New York stage were as numerous as before. *Aufbau*, not having the manpower and resources of the dailies, had to select the performances to be reviewed. Russian playwrights no longer enjoyed the preference of theatregoers.<sup>3</sup> The paper's new favourites were English companies on tour, the plays of the American Repertory Theater and the Dramatic Workshop, as well as plays in German.

The latter were possible thanks to the foundation of the "Players from Abroad" in 1942 by impresario Felix Gerstman. The company presented two to three plays annually with actors and actresses who belonged to the elite in pre-Nazi Germany and Austria. It started its activities with performances of Ibsen's *Ghosts*, not easy fare, but for many immigrants full of memories of stagings in the "good old days." Thus George's critique was not only devoted to the performance in New York but also to the ones he had seen in Europe. He closed the review by paying tribute to Gerstman, "whose unflagging passion for the theatre had brought back, for a few hours, a great past into the present."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/35, 30.8.1946, pp. 20/21.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/52, 31.12.1946, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/14, 5.4.1946, p. 13.

That George's review reflected the feelings of many recent German-speaking immigrants, the production of Goethe's *Faust* demonstrated most vividly. Gerstman had scheduled nine performances,<sup>1</sup> but public demand added nine more.<sup>2</sup> This time Kurt Pinthus was the reviewer. His write-up resembled George's. He also thanked Gerstman for having added another *Faust* to his previous record of about twenty in 45 years. "The enthusiasm of the spectators was tremendous; many of the former Berlin first-nighters had tears in their eyes," was Pinthus' sentimental observation.<sup>3</sup>

The music section, still under the editorship of Arthur Holde, could have demonstrated a similar kind of nostalgia, when Richard Tauber, who resided in Britain, came to New York for a guest appearance in Lehar's *Das Land des Lachelns*.<sup>4</sup> Yet Holde's review, in contrast to George's and Pinthus's, was sober and to the point.<sup>5</sup> Holde's review must have disappointed the ladies. When they were young, Tauber had the same attraction for them as Sinatra for American women during the war.

Holde's predilection for former European musicians and the classical and romantic repertoire was still reflected in

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/45, 7. 11. 1947, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/5, 30. 1. 1948, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/40, 5. 12. 1947, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Yours is my Heart.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/37, 13. 9. 1946, pp. 11, 14.

his reviews. It was, of course, also possible that the artists who had found refuge in the U.S.A. formed an essential part of the practising musicians in New York. North America had accepted, Holde found, more of them than any other country. The accompanying list showed about 300 names.<sup>1</sup>

Dolbin's column "Arts Events" changed its name to *Welt der Kunst*<sup>2</sup> in 1947 and later in the same year to just *Kunst*. Willi Wolfradt became a regular contributor. Former Ullstein art critic Max Osborn also contributed regular articles. Two of his subjects were *Entartete Kunst*,<sup>3</sup> the name the Nazis had given to works of artists they disliked.<sup>4</sup> and "Chagall."<sup>5</sup> When Arthur Michel, the ballet critic, died in November 1946, Lucy von Jacobi and some of the staff took over his assignment.

The number of films produced in the postwar period must have increased considerably, for *Aufbau* reviewed more films than before. The paper had to employ additional reviewers, whose initials do not allow an identification. *Aufbau* reviewed not only serious and valuable films, such as *Lost Weekend*,<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, pp. 49, 51.

<sup>2</sup> World of Arts.

<sup>3</sup> Degenerated Art.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/41, 12.10.1945, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/17, 27.4.1946, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> A XI/49, 7.12.1945, p. 11.

and *The Spiral Staircase*,<sup>1</sup> but also light French comedies with chic and charm,<sup>2</sup> operettas with music by Oscar Straus, Franz Lehar or Victor Herbert. Classical detective stories<sup>3</sup> also found approval from *Aufbau's* reviewers. In addition, the paper reported the opening of new cinemas in New York specializing in European films. Imports of British films had never stopped, but now French and even the first Italian and German films entered the U.S.A. *Aufbau* seems to have given some preference to reviewing these European films.

To sum up, peacetime allowed *Aufbau* again to increase circulation, which had had to be cut back due to the shortage of newsprint during the war. Advertising lineage had grown during the war but took a mighty leap thereafter.<sup>4</sup> That must have led to increased income, even though the space allotted was less than before, due to the extended news coverage. Peacetime led to a consolidation of the paper's financial basis and its structure, but also to complications in the editorial policy as a consequence of the shift of the centres of power in the world.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/6, 6, 2, 1946, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/41, 11. 10. 1946, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A XIV/19, 7. 5. 1948, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 109.

*Aufbau and the U. S. A.*

**Foreign Policy**

*U. S. S. R.*

In its evaluation of U.S. policies towards Russia, *Aufbau's* guideline was the prevention of war between the wartime allies. Alliances between two or more powers to defeat a common enemy, the weekly knew from historical experience, had never continued after the achievement. To sustain even friendly relations between the two countries with such opposing structure would be difficult. Their relationship should be governed not by hatred, but by common sense. It would be a tragedy, if they found no other solution but armed conflict.<sup>1</sup>

During the war, *Aufbau's* main concern was the defeat of Nazi Germany without regard to what conflicts might arise afterward. Immediately after Hitler's invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941, George quoted Churchill approvingly: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend irrespective of the antagonism of Bolshevism and capitalism."<sup>2</sup> During the war, *Aufbau* worried more about the Jews caught in the war zone and, naturally, about whether the Russians would withstand the impact of the unexpected German onslaught<sup>3</sup> than about what might happen in the future. This attitude intensified after Germany had

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/28, 12.7.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/26, 27.6.1941, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1; VII/27, 4.7.1941, p. 1.

declared war on the U.S.A. America and the U.S.S.R. were now comrades-in-arms against a common enemy.

After the fortunes of war had turned in favour of the Allies at the end of 1942, *Aufbau* took a more critical look at Russian actions. Aufhaeuser expressed some astonishment on the editorial page about the inclusion of generals and officers in Russian captivity in the National Committee for a Free Germany [NKFD]. Their manifesto, Aufhaeuser conceded, might encourage revolt among the German people, in particular the top brass, who must have known that the war was lost. However, the Allied aim was not only to destroy the Nazis but also "the Prussian military clique." For this, German generals were not trustworthy men, a thought also expressed by President Roosevelt.<sup>1</sup>

The paper did not conceal that the meetings of the statesmen from both sides were not always harmonious, especially concerning the question of a second front in Europe.<sup>2</sup> After the landing in France on June 6, 1944, George assessed the prospects of peace. The U.S.A., Russia and England would have to protect and guarantee the peace, not merely "a balance of power" constellation. Such an arrangement would only be possible if existing differences, caused by their different structures, did not come in the way of a Russo-American

---

<sup>1</sup> A IX/39, 24.9.1943, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For instance A VIII/25, 19.6.1942, p. 3.



friendship after the war.<sup>1</sup>

Changes in Russian policies had removed many of the causes of concern regarding Communist aggression before the war. Stalin had liquidated Comintern, abolished the aim of socialist world revolution and lifted the ban on Western Communist parties joining popular front governments. He also used nationalistic appeals in the war efforts. The discussions in Teheran, Aufhaeuser was hopeful, would allow continued co-operation after the war.<sup>2</sup>

These hopes proved illusory in the gradually developing Russo-American conflict, which in 1947 became known as "the cold war." *Aufbau's* attitude on this issue underwent changes, with three distinguishable phases, namely:

- 1) The paper stubbornly insisted on continued co-operation with Russia and blamed England for attempting to draw the U.S.A. into war with Russia.
- 2) George became doubtful about Russia's aims during a European voyage and
- 3) *Aufbau* began to support the government's "get tough with Russia" policy.

Reviewing the Conservative Party's defeat in the British election of July 1945, George wrote about the difficulties American diplomats had experienced with Churchill's plans to secure an independent postwar Europe and with the continuation of British imperial policies, especially in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. The new British government under Clement Attlee, the editor was convinced,

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/23, 9.6.1944, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A X/2, 14.1.1944, p. 4.

would change this policy.<sup>1</sup>

George, trying to explain why no peace treaty had yet been signed, ascribed it to a conflict among the three leading nations. England fought for its empire, which it saw threatened. Russia, without having recovered from the war, sought, as George expressed it, "to exploit the fruits of its victory at the last moment," infringing on the British sphere of interest. The United States could not come to an agreement with Russia about zones of interest, which meant that the Russians tried to extend their sphere beyond the *cordon sanitaire* the Western powers had to accept if they did not want war with Russia. In this situation, *Aufbau* put the blame on England. The British Empire was an anomaly in the postwar world. It had two possibilities: to become a member of a true world commonwealth or to align itself with one of the big powers.<sup>2</sup>

When George had analyzed Russo-American relations shortly after the end of the war in Europe, which had reduced the number of superpowers to two, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the postwar future had looked rosy. Superpower cooperation would secure the peace of the world. The peacefulness of the American people, without whose consent no American government could go to war, was for the paper self-understood. Russia needed peace for the reconstruction of its

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/31, 3.8.1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/9, 1.3.1946, pp. 1/2.

destroyed territories for many, many years, as well as American help. Hence, peace in the foreseeable future would be secure if in the conduct of their relations reason and facts prevailed, rather than ideology.

George, in the same article, also expressed his pleasure with the position taken in *Reader's Digest*<sup>1</sup> by Stanley High, who had come to the same conclusion as *Aufbau's* editor. High set as preconditions for co-operation Russia's renunciation of unlimited expansion and of propagation of revolutionary Communism in other countries,<sup>2</sup> The inclusion of these preconditions in his own article leaves no other interpretation than that they had also become George's.

This optimism prevailed in a review of a conference of the three foreign ministers in Moscow at the end of 1945. Byrnes, the U.S. Secretary of State, George found, tried to follow Roosevelt's prescription for peace in the world: the Big Three had to guarantee it in the present and for a long time to come. The three ministers had not yet solved any pressing problems but had, at least, agreed on how to proceed, namely through co-operation in the United Nations.<sup>3</sup> Only one month later, on February 9, 1946, Stalin publicly declared war on the capitalistic system in a speech which the West interpreted as signalling the final breakdown of the

---

<sup>1</sup> July 1941.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/28, 13. 7. 1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/1, 4. 1. 1946, p. 4.

wartime alliance. The following month, Churchill, at that time leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons, delivered his famous "Iron Curtain Speech" at Fulton, Miss. in the presence of President Truman, outlining the steps the West should take to show opposition to Russian expansion.<sup>1</sup>

"To get tough with Russia" was the American reaction to these events, uttered by speakers for the opposition such as Arthur Vandenberg, senator from Michigan, and John Foster Dulles, the future secretary of state, seconded by Byrnes, who added the threat that the U.S.A. would fight, if the U.S.S.R. infringed on the principles of the Atlantic Charter.<sup>2</sup>

George needed four articles to analyze and interpret the new events. Stalin's speech was for him not the final breakdown of the wartime alliance but "an example of diplomatic skill." Nothing had actually changed; all it intended was to obtain concessions from the West. That Stalin sought a peaceful solution proved his acknowledgement of the United Nations as a world arbitrator.<sup>3</sup>

Churchill's speech was for George an attempt to have the U.S.A. and England adopt the old "balance of power" policy and recreate the previous *cordon sanitaire* system. Both failed before 1939 and were not suitable to preserve peace either in

---

<sup>1</sup> Blum, p. 716.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/10, 8.3.1946, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/13, 29.3.1946, p. 3.

Europe or the rest of the world. Truman's presence during the speech, George believed, was not an approval of the speech - the President still followed the Roosevelt policy - but the result of being "led down the garden path." It would be important that American, not British, ideas became the foundation of Western relations with the U.S.S.R.<sup>1</sup>

Vandenberg's and Dulles's demands were rejected as mere "rhetoric." They failed to give any details about their "get tough with Russia" policy. "Russia has the right of security," George contended vaguely, "in the frame of geographic necessity,"<sup>2</sup> without saying what this meant in concrete terms.

If conflicts between the superpowers arose, George recommended that Truman and Byrnes should follow Roosevelt's practice: direct discussions with Stalin. A tough U.S. policy would intensify Russia paranoia and lead the U.S.S.R. to seek security in further expansion. This must be avoided. Even before his Fulton speech Churchill was well-known to be devoting his time to the fight for an Anglo/American anti-Communist front. Should he succeed, further Russian expansion would become inevitable and would eventually lead to war.<sup>3</sup>

*Aufbau* and George adhered to the defence of the policy of Russo-American co-operation at all cost through almost all of 1946. Henry Wallace, the former vice-president under

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/11, 15.3.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/10, 8.3.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/12, 22.3.1946, pp. 1/2.

Roosevelt, proclaimed similar views, as shown by this excerpt from one of his speeches on September 12, 1946:

We are reckoning with a force which cannot be handled successfully by a "Get tough with Russia" policy.... I believe that we can get co-operation once Russia understands that our primary objective is neither saving the British Empire nor purchasing oil in the Near East with the lives of American soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

To forestall the reproach of being Communist or a fellow traveller, George asserted again and again that his political ideal was the American democracy and that the preservation of peace alone directed his attitude.<sup>2</sup>

An extended trip to Europe from September to November 1946 must have given George the opportunity to review in his mind his attitude about U.S.A./U.S.S.R. relations from an angle different from that at his desk in New York. The first doubt about the sincerity of Russian willingness to co-operate appeared in George's first article after his return. The American Communist Party had published guidelines on how to penetrate the Jewish masses and gain them for its cause. After having achieved this, the next target would be the American Jewish Congress and the Zionist movement. George saw in this strategy a revival of the prewar missionary work of Comintern to spread Communism around the world, which Stalin had stopped during the war. That measure, he said now, was a suspension for practical political reasons and not a cancellation. Although disappointed by this move, the editor did not draw

---

<sup>1</sup> Blum, p. 719.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. A XII/20, 17.5.1946, pp. 1/2.

any consequences.<sup>1</sup> Abandonment of the prewar agitation by Comintern was one of the preconditions George set for adhering to the policy of co-operation with Russia and the rejection of the "get tough with Russia" policy. This article was also the opening of the second phase in *Aufbau's* position in the question of Russo-American relations.

A second article raised the doubts about Russian aims even higher. They were contained in the last article in the European series dealing with its political conditions,<sup>2</sup> headed *Die grosse Angst*.<sup>3</sup> "Europeans west of the river Oder," George found, "reject Communism." On the other hand, "the imperialistic element in Marxism has been deferred at the moment, without renouncing its ultimate goal." And what did the Europeans want? A system between the Russian and the American interpretation of democracy, several interlocutors told George. One praised the form practised by the British government in its internal affairs.<sup>4</sup> His European trip, it is obvious, gave George a new view of Russian policy.

Soon, the consequences of the new realization found their concrete expression. Britain no longer played the troublemaker in Russo-American relations. British and American world political interests became the same and created an entity

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/48, 29.11.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> The very last one dealt with Palestine.

<sup>3</sup> The great Fear.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/6, 7.2.1947, pp. 1/2.

"that calls itself rightly the 'United States of America and Great Britain.'"<sup>1</sup>

Under the heading *Das alles ist erst ein Anfang*,<sup>2</sup> George approved the Truman Doctrine with the words: "Under conditions as they are, the support of Greece is necessary, but which Greece?" George answered his own question by applying, in essence, what he had learned during his European trip: a Greece with a democratic government similar to the British and not as it existed at that time - a government with an incompetent king and his corrupt clique.<sup>3</sup> In other words, George wanted the American government to intervene in internal Greek affairs.

The Truman Doctrine was the active translation of the "get tough with Russia" policy. George realized this, yet nonetheless approved of the doctrine. He adopted the judgment of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*: "One thing is clear: there is no return. The fight for power in the world between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. has definitely begun."<sup>4</sup>

Likewise clear was George's break with Wallace's Russian policy, which the former vice-president upheld in a speech in London, England. While others derided him, George paid him the greatest tribute for his work in the past. However, times had

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/11, 14.3.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> That all is only the Beginning.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/12, 21.3.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/13, 28.3.1947, pp. 1/2.



changed. America had not succeeded in modifying the Russian policy nor in confining its expansion. Wallace's judgment was, therefore, one-sided.<sup>1</sup>

The next step of the U.S. government in defending Europe peacefully against further Russian penetration was the Marshall Plan, proclaimed by the Secretary of State on June 5, 1947. *Aufbau*, it seems very strange, did not comment immediately, only six weeks later. George, in an article on the fathomlessness of the Russian policy, accepted the necessity of the plan without any reservations as "the last attempt of the mobilization of peaceful self-help." He only regretted Russia's refusal to be a beneficiary. Had Stalin accepted this role, both systems could have existed in peace together.<sup>2</sup>

As we know now, no hot war broke out between West and East, just a long period of nerve-testing moves by both opponents, each trying to gain an advantage over the other. A concomitant was the wrangle over Germany, a situation similar to what had happened after World War I and, *Aufbau* feared, with the potential for the same tragic consequences. This was not the only problem: Americans often become too sentimental when others get into difficulties through no fault of their own. This caused the American army, in George's view,

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/17, 25.4.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/30, 23.7.1947, pp. 3/4.

to have been ill-qualified as an occupation force in Germany after the war.<sup>1</sup>

### *Germany*

George's article after VE-day outlined how the Allies should treat Germany. After a period in which Germany would have to cleanse itself from all traces of Nazism under the supervision of the victors and sincerely adopt the rules of democracy, the new Germany should join the community of nations without discrimination and prejudice. Firmness and justice, not hatred, should be the basis for the policy.<sup>2</sup>

The official American policy, developed from plans of the Allies during the war and at Potsdam, met *Aufbau's* expectation for the first period. The U.S.A., Britain, France and Russia were to occupy, administrate and supervise Germany, each in a separate zone, with an Allied Control Council in charge of general issues. "The objective of the occupation included disarmament, denazification and the encouragement of libertarian ideals."<sup>3</sup>

Such were the theories. What happened in reality? The Americans - and *Aufbau* dealt mostly with the events in the American zone - at first took their task as occupiers very seriously. They formed their own denazification courts, forbade fraternization with Germans and co-operated with the

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/41, 12.10.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/19, 11.5.1945, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Blum, p. 714; A XII/17, 26.4.1946, pp. 1/2.

other occupying powers in the military courts that were to try the Nazi leaders. But this eagerness did not last for long. As early as January 1946, the Political Division of the American Military Government thought it wise to transfer the denazification courts to the Germans themselves.<sup>1</sup> For its part, the ban on fraternization could not be upheld on account of the willingness and attraction of the German *Fraeuleins*, on one hand, and of the predilection of the GIs, on the other.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, the American army newspapers were full of complaints about members of the military government who had succumbed to Nazi propaganda. The risk of infecting the ordinary GI with the same poison was real. Therefore, *Aufbau* supported Morgenthau's suggestion of withdrawing American soldiers from Europe as soon as possible.<sup>3</sup>

Morgenthau allowed *Aufbau* to publish his speech given before the American Academy of Politics and Social Science at Philadelphia in April 1946, which the paper called "significant" and headlined "Germany remains the Problem." The AMG executed America's aims for the defeated Germany, Morgenthau's personal investigation ascertained, only "hesitatingly and half-heartedly." The cause of this indifference had its origin in Washington. It was more important, the argument went, to

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/46, 15.11.1946, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/41, 12.10.1945, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1/2.

give priority to the reconstruction of Germany and to tackle the destruction of Germany's war potential later. This was for Morgenthau a pretext; the true reason lay much deeper. Such a policy on Germany might lead to a repetition of the events after 1918; that is, the revitalization of German militarism and World War III.<sup>1</sup> The true reason for sparing Germany's war potential, which Morgenthau did not name, was, of course, to preserve it for a war against Russia.

In the spring of 1947, Hans Habe<sup>2</sup> wrote a series of five articles for *Aufbau* with the heading "America's Defeat in Germany," a summary of a book about the shortcomings of the AMG. Though one of its important tasks was to bring democracy to the Germans, Habe found it had not done much. Children still used Nazi textbooks, the demand of adults for the AMG's *Neue Zeitung* could not be satisfied because of the ordered reduction of its output, and the desire of the intellectuals to get acquainted with modern American thought was condemned to frustration because the AMG did not allow the importation of foreign books.<sup>3</sup>

It was, therefore, not astonishing that in the estimation of the AMG's Investigation Division the number of Nazis in 1947 was about the same as in 1945 and that of anti-Nazis had decreased from 10% in 1945 to 3% in 1947. For Habe, the cause

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/17, 26.4.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/14, 4.4.1947, p. 17.

of these results was the failure of the denazification process, the neglect to influence German public opinion and the failure to support the anti-Nazis. The employment of Nazi experts in the atomic and jet propulsion fields in the U.S.A. was, Habe thought, a great danger to Germany's demilitarization and disarmament, since they could return to Germany sooner or later. Habe also worried that the production of iron and steel was only a little lower than during the war.<sup>1</sup>

While the AMG's negligence and incompetence was responsible for the failure to achieve the U.S.A.'s aim for a defeated Germany, the dealings of some American soldiers weakened their country's prestige among the German population. Their crookedness - stealing, plundering and appropriating anything not nailed down, as well as their operating of the black markets in food and goods, and their using cigarettes as currency - aroused the ire of the majority of the Germans. These people were unable to pay the high, illegal prices and suffered, therefore, from hunger and cold. As a consequence, the U.S.A. became the least popular occupying power.<sup>2</sup>

While Habe's and Morgenthau's revelations were partly new to *Aufbau's* readers, those about denazification, demilitarization and the existence of a strong Nazism were a repeat of complaints published by *Aufbau* previously. On the other hand, the paper had also published accusations not mentioned by Habe

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/12, 21.3.1947, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/13, 28.3.1947, p. 3.

and Morgenthau. Foremost among them was the anti-Semitism still prevalent in Germany. It showed up in the neglect by AMG and the German local governments of the penniless Jews who had emerged from hiding or returned from the camps. Two protests to illustrate the situation appeared in *Aufbau* in November 1945. The American Federation of Jews from Central Europe Inc. sent a memo to Judge Simon H. Rifkind, advisor to General Eisenhower, with suggestions about how the unbearable situation of these Jews could be improved.<sup>1</sup> Emanuel Celler, member of the House of Representatives for New York, accused the AMG of doing nothing for the displaced Jews, leaving the impression that it was continuing the Nazi persecution.<sup>2</sup>

And how did the mass of the German population take the sufferings that went with the defeat? George investigated this problem in an article entitled "Danger in Germany." Some, he found, confessed their own guilt publicly. But these people, like Pastor Niemoeller, were religiously or conservatively inclined; others were severe with themselves and their conscience. However, such persons were few. The masses did not feel any guilt; on the contrary, their plight obliged the victors to help them. Some even dared to show resistance towards the occupation forces.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/45, 9.11.1945, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/46, 16.11.1945, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/4, 25.1.1946, pp. 1/2.

George thought he recognized in this defiance a premonition, though still uncertain and unripe, of Germany's growing role in European politics. He reminded his readers of the utterance of a Nazi general that defeat carried the seeds of a final victory. George found this statement in a book by Saul K. Padover, a former secretary of Ickes. George thought that this model might be applicable to the situation in the spring of 1946. The Russians had established a socialistic quasi-state in their zone. If the Western allies did not undertake something to counter the Russian move, the Eastern zone would become "a magnet for the other zones."<sup>1</sup>

Two weeks later, George again wrote about the German problem under the title "Between East and West." He warned the powers against letting Germany become a "major chessman in the game of chess" being played between Russia and Britain,<sup>2</sup> or the problems that occurred after 1918 might happen again.<sup>3</sup> But this was only one aspect of the German question.

Two months later, Russia launched its first attempt to bring all of Germany into its sphere of interest. George likened it to "throwing a bomb" into the preliminary peace talks. Molotov's main points were: 1) Unity of Germany, 2) internationalization of the Ruhr district, and 3) no peace treaty at present. Some politicians in the Eastern zone whose

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/18, 3. 5. 1946, pp. 3/4.

<sup>2</sup> This was at a time when he still believed in a Russo-British conflict only.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/20, 17. 5. 1946, p. 1.

democratic inclinations were not in doubt nevertheless accepted Molotov's plan because it provided for a united Germany. The same reason, George contended, would attract all patriotic Germans in the Western zones. On the other hand, George knew that the Western allies would accept such a plan only with the inclusion of the Russian zone, a condition objectionable to the Russians. The Molotov Plan had, therefore, only propaganda value. But it was, nevertheless, dangerous for the Western allies, because it could increase the disgruntlement of the population in their zones. The first countermeasure of the Western allies was the announcement of the economic integration of the U.S. and British zones.<sup>1</sup>

To prevent the separation of the Russian zone from Germany, George suggested one week later the creation of a federal state without a central government but with an economical and cultural linkage,<sup>2</sup> a plan never mentioned again.

This was not surprising, for, shortly thereafter, the U.S.A. announced its own plan in a speech by Byrnes at Stuttgart, Germany, on September 6, 1946. The Secretary of State wanted the other occupying powers to join the U.S.A. in offering Germany a chance to form a central government as soon as possible. In addition to announcing in rough outlines the terms of a peace treaty, whose main point was the promise of a united but denazified and demilitarized Germany, Byrnes said:

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/29, 19. 7. 1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/30, 26. 7. 1946, p. 2.



It is not in the interest of the German people or in the interest of world peace that Germany become a pawn or a partner in a military struggle for power between the East and West.<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau's* comment came from Carl Misch, since George had left on his European trip. "Courting Germany" was Misch's title, an indication that he did not share Byrnes's opinion. Germany had become both pawn and partner, because the speech sought to win it over, thus bringing it into the struggle. The situation which allowed Germany to manipulate East against West and West against East was a tribulation for itself, Europe and the whole world. It seemed, however, that Germany enjoyed this role as desirable partner, though it could bring misfortune to Germany as it did once before.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau* continued to monitor and to publish stories about developments in Germany, for which it considered itself especially qualified due to the origin of its writers and their connections in their former homeland. In an article "Our Task for 1947," the unnamed author listed the conflict between East and West and "a Germany with all indications of a Nazi comeback" as facts that would not allow an optimistic prediction for 1947.<sup>3</sup>

After the lifting of the "Trading with the Enemy Act" early in 1947, George strongly recommended that former German

---

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, 7.9.1946, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/37, 13.9.1946, pp. 1/2. This refers to the Russo-German Treaty of 1922 at Rapallo.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/1, 3.1.1947, p. 4.

Jewish businessmen not take advantage of this opportunity. Doing business with Germany under present conditions would be a political message: *Es geht um das Ansehen der Juden*.<sup>1</sup> Businessmen who had no such scruples might deal "directly or indirectly with the murderers of their parents or perhaps even with the future murderers of their children." Business with Germany should be postponed to the time when its peaceful intentions had been established beyond any doubt.<sup>2</sup> Not all of the paper's readers shared George's ideas as some letters to the editor demonstrated. But the majority supported George. Such extended presentations of different opinions in the "Letters to the Editor" column must be considered an essential part of the tasks *Aufbau* had set for itself. George's antagonistic attitude towards postwar Germany showed up in even more pronounced form in his position on the next important issue.

Reviewing an article in *Commentary*, the monthly of the American Jewish Committee, "Is every German guilty?" by Paul W. Massing, an anti-Nazi gentile who fled his land of birth after discharge from a concentration camp, George also discussed his feelings about West Germany's participation in the Marshall Plan as a beneficiary, a subject on which he had not commented previously.<sup>3</sup> After the Germans responsible for the start of the war and for the criminal offenses committed

---

<sup>1</sup> The reputation of all Jews is at stake.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/10, 7.3.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 327.

during the war had received their just punishment, Germany became the former enemy for the Allied statesmen. The Marshall Plan was a measure dictated by logic and circumstances.

Not so for Jews, most of whom had lost at least one member of the family or a friend because of the Nazis. They could not look at the help given to Germany without being able to suppress their anger and resentment. The feelings against Germany hurt even more when they read about how so many Nazis were able to evade punishment and occupy positions of importance. In principle, "we Jews have nothing to do with German politics," but "we think it also wrong not to care about Germany."<sup>1</sup>

Reverting to the German problem two weeks later, George asked the questions: How can the U.S.A. help Germany to take care of itself without strengthening, at the same time, its military potential; and should we not first help those countries that suffered so much during the war at German hands? This was in an article whose headline was "Atmosphere of Pogroms in Germany" and in which George reported the pun making the rounds in Germany: "Under the sun of the American democracy we get browner and browner."<sup>2</sup>

Naturally, there were no answers. But these examples show to what extent the subject of Germany haunted George. The delay in commenting on the Marshall Plan was caused by the deep dilemma it raised. As a loyal American citizen, he had

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/29, 18.7.1947, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Brown was the Nazi colour. A XIII/31, 1.8.1947, pp. 1/2.

to approve of the aid to West Germany to prevent it from becoming a Russian satellite; as a Jew, he had to condemn it, because it benefitted a country that could not rid itself of Jewry's archenemy, Nazism. Germany was for George still a leper which no Jew dared touch. This explains why he skirted Germany during his European trip, and why he advised Jewish businessmen not to deal with Germany.

George's attitude towards Germany at that time was not at odds with the viewpoint of most German Jewish immigrants. In Washington Heights, "the growing feeling of identification with America" brought "a radical rejection of all things German" not stopping after the war. Lowenstein also quotes editorials from *Aufbau's* competitor, *Jewish Way*, expressing the same abhorrence.<sup>1</sup>

Was the revival of Nazism after 1945 just in *Aufbau's* and George's imagination or was it reality? The majority of the members of the NSDASP, disappointed and miserable, according to Karl Dietrich Bracher, gave up politics. However, the most fanatical ones adhered to their convictions. In 1946, former Nazis founded the *Deutsche Rechtspartei*,<sup>2</sup> which, under the regulations of the AMG, had to disguise its true aims. As late as 1952, the High Court for the Protection of the Constitution ordered the liquidation of the party as a continuation of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Lowenstein, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> German Party of the Right.

old NSDAP.<sup>1</sup> Yet by 1952, Germany's development into a democratic and constitutional state had become a fact. *Aufbau's* and George's apprehension of a Nazi comeback had proved unjustified in the end. Intentional and fortuitous steps had ensured that history would not repeat itself.

### *Domestic Policy*

#### *The New Deal and the Fair Deal*

When introducing his first measures forming part of the New Deal, Roosevelt had entered, in his own words, on "a new and untried path."<sup>2</sup> These actions added government intervention to the concept of the free market. For Aufhaeuser, at that time assistant editor of *Aufbau*, the New Deal was foremost an emergency package, but it was also "a social-economic safety valve," which should be expanded.<sup>3</sup> George, who did not belong to any political party but sympathized with the German Social Democratic Party,<sup>4</sup> must have agreed with Aufhaeuser's analysis. The question was whether the New Deal and the trend of a manipulated economy would survive Roosevelt and the boom during the war and the expected postwar expansion.

Eulau described Truman's message to Congress in September 1945 as "the most comprehensive plan of the federal government

---

<sup>1</sup> Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Deutsche Diktatur* (The German Dictatorship), (Frankfurt: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 1988), pp. 509/10.

<sup>2</sup> Blum, p. 636.

<sup>3</sup> A VI/14, 5.4.1940, pp. 7/8.

<sup>4</sup> Maier, p. 1.

to secure the functioning of the American economy" next to Roosevelt's New Deal. It was, however, not a continuation of the late president's work, which was after all an *ad hoc* program. Truman's plan had its own merits and was intended as long term policy.<sup>1</sup> It was also an expansion of the type suggested by Aufhaeuser five years before.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of careful planning, the changeover from war to peacetime economy did not always function smoothly. George reproached Truman, something he never would have done to Roosevelt, for demobilizing too fast and lifting war controls too soon.<sup>3</sup> The editor repeated his rebukes a month later. Truman should have done more to prevent the Republicans and southern Democrats from watering down the bills for full employment and health insurance. On the other hand, George praised the political wisdom of the British Labour government, which had realized the necessity of social legislation in the postwar world, even though he disapproved of their actions in the case of Palestine.<sup>4</sup>

When the Republicans gained majorities in both Houses in the midterm elections of 1946, Eulau interpreted the loss not as a rejection of Truman's New Deal, but as an objection to the corrupt Democratic machine, especially the bossism of Pendergast in Kansas City, where Truman began

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/37, 14.9.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A VI/14, 5.4.1940, pp. 7/8.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/43, 26.10.1945, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/48, 30.11.1945, p. 5.

his political career.<sup>1</sup>

The Republican majorities did not last long. In the election of 1948, the Democrats not only regained both Houses, but, surprisingly, Truman also won the White House. In his State of the Nation address, the president presented his economical and social program, now called the "Fair Deal." George was most favourably impressed. He thought it further reaching than Roosevelt's New Deal, promoting external and internal peace.<sup>2</sup>

### *Immigration*

The plight of the Jewish DPs caused *Aufbau* to participate in various relief actions. The goal was to find places where the DPs could settle permanently. For *Aufbau* and the DPs themselves, this country was Palestine. The paper, in accord with its pro-Zionist attitude, strongly supported attempts to obtain concessions from the British government. But it also tried to open the doors for them in the U.S.A.

In August 1945, *Aufbau* published an article on the editorial page under the title "What will become of the German immigration quota? - The gates must remain open for the victims of Nazism." It contained the testimony by Dr. Rudolf Callman, chairman of the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, before the Immigration and Naturalization Investigating Committee. His main points concerned the

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/46, 15.11.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XV/2, 14.1.1949, pp. 1/2.

destitute situation of the DPs and their psychological difficulties remaining in Germany. In particular, those with relatives and friends in the U.S.A. should be admitted.<sup>1</sup>

At about the same time, the president sent Earl Harrison, U.S. representative on the intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, to Europe to investigate the situation of the DPs. His report was said to have left Truman "deeply moved."<sup>2</sup>

Next, *Aufbau* published a report about suggestions the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe had sent to Simon H. Rifkind, Eisenhower's advisor on Jewish questions, on how to improve the situation of the DPs. Among them was the opening of American consulates in Germany that could issue visas for would-be immigrants.<sup>3</sup> Congressman Emanuel Celler demanded the same measure in a mass meeting in New York on November 10, 1945.<sup>4</sup>

At the time these demands were made, the U.S. government had not yet decided whether the DPs could come to the U.S.A. under the German immigration quota. An article pleading for the admission of the refugees in Fort Ontario<sup>5</sup> reminded the government that the U.S.A. had taken only a few of the small number of DPs who had succeeded in finding a permanent home and that Washington should open up the legal possibility that

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/32, 10. 8. 1945, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/38, 21. 9. 1945, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/45, 9. 11. 1945, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/46, 16. 11. 1945, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 251.



these people could become immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

Then, on December 28, 1945, *Aufbau* could at last publish Truman's directive that the ministries should issue monthly 3900 visas to DPs in Europe and refugees in Fort Ontario, N.Y. within the existing quota regulations. Dyck thanked the president for this most generous action in the name of the Jewish people on both sides of the ocean. The figure was to include Jewish and gentile DPs.<sup>2</sup> Later publications spoke of 39,000 per year and not 3,900 per month.<sup>3</sup>

On March 8, 1946, *Aufbau* could report the opening of six American consulates in Germany, two of them with authority to issue visas.<sup>4</sup> On March 22, 1946, followed the news that the Hebrew Immigration Aid Service had filed the first applications for visas for DPs<sup>5</sup> and that the consulate had issued fifteen on April 19, 1945.<sup>6</sup>

The first 867 DPs admitted under the Truman directive arrived in New York on SS Marine Flasher, probably on May 16, 1946. *Aufbau* reported the arrival on five pages with a welcome message by George, an editorial by W.C. Hulse, a description of the landing by Dyck, articles by Vera Craener, Lubinski and

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/49, 7.12.1945, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/52, 28.12.1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/38, 20.9.1946, p. 4, for instance.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/10, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/12, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> A XII/16, p. 6.

Michael Wurmbrand, as well as pictures and other details. In an appeal in the same number, the paper asked its readers to take in those DPs who had no relatives in the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> *Aufbau* and the New World Club also opened an information centre for the newcomers.<sup>2</sup>

Not everybody was as enthusiastic as *Aufbau*. In a radio discussion about reform of the immigration legislation between Earl Harrison, Dean of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, and Senator George L. Radcliffe of Maryland, the latter did not want to change the laws but rather to apply them strictly and not allow additional quotas. Dyck supported Harrison, who thought an extra quota of 50,000 visas for DPs was both justified and within a liberal interpretation of the existing regulations.<sup>3</sup> Others, however, agreed with Radcliffe. Senator Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia complained that most of the DPs came from Communist countries and thus represented a potential political danger to the U.S.A. Moreover, there were also too many Jews among them. The Senator, Hulse sarcastically remarked, apparently regretted that these Jews had survived the Nazi terror.<sup>4</sup>

Not as successful as the Truman directive was a bill tabled by Congressman William G. Stratton of Illinois, which

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/21, 24.5.1946, pp. 1, 6, 8, 48.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/22, 31.5.1946, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/38, 20.9.1946, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/2, 10.1.1947, p. 4.

provided for the admission of 400,000 DPs during four budget years as a temporary emergency measure. Hulse pleaded for acceptance of the bill and noted that the president also supported it.<sup>1</sup> Although it was moved by a Republican, its chances of becoming law in a Congress with Republican majorities were very poor. The main speaker, Democratic representative Ed Gosset from Tennessee, said: "We have no obligation towards the DPs. This is our country."<sup>2</sup> The discussion continued well into 1948, by which time the name of the bill had changed, the number had been reduced to 100,000 and the only persons admissible were Balts and farmers, no DPs.<sup>3</sup> Both Dyck and George had long given up all hopes of seeing the Stratton bill passed.<sup>4</sup>

#### *The House Committee on Un-American Activities*

During the Cold War, right-wing politicians fomented the fear of Communist infiltrations into American institutions. In January 1945, Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi succeeded in reactivating the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which had been out of business during the war.<sup>5</sup> Among the persons who came under suspicion were refugees from Europe and later DPs, a matter of concern to *Aufbau*.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/21, 23.5.1947, p. 1; XIII/22, 30.5.1947, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/24, 13.6.1947, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A XIV/11, 12.3.1948, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/32, 8.8.1947, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origin of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 258.

Radio was the committee's first field of investigation. Dyck reported on the editorial page under the title *Der Schuss aus dem Dunkel*<sup>1</sup> the committee's request to examine the manuscripts of six commentators. All of them were known as liberals; two had already ceased their programs, among them Hans Jacob, a frequent contributor to *Aufbau*. This was, in Dyck's comment, an infringement on freedom of speech by reactionaries, who believed they had a free hand to enforce their opinion on the public.<sup>2</sup>

After the investigations of the committee had progressed somewhat, Hellmer wrote a more ample report in two parts under the title *Rechtsruck im Rundfunk*.<sup>3</sup> He named thirteen commentators with liberal leaning, whom stations in New York, in Chicago and on the West Coast had dropped or whose air time was greatly reduced. Among them were such well-known personalities as Orson Wells, Quentin Reynolds, Henry Morgenthau Jr. and James Roosevelt. On the other hand, the stations extended the air times of conservative commentators so that the latter were on the air 3½ times longer than their liberal colleagues. This ratio was unacceptable to Hellmer. The regulations of the Federal Communications Commission [FCC] obliged the stations to provide politically balanced news and comments. Many of the leftist commentators, the stations retorted, had no commercial

---

<sup>1</sup> The Shot from the Dark.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/45, 9. 11. 1945, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A Turn to the Right in Broadcasting.

sponsors to keep them on the air. To reverse the trend, eleven liberal organizations founded the "Progressive Citizens of America" for the purpose of taking up complaints with the FCC. Hellmer closed his articles by asking the readers to write letters of complaint to the stations involved.<sup>1</sup>

The main target of the committee, however, was the film industry, which employed many writers, artists, actors and actresses after their flight from Germany. George reviewed its investigations under the title *Ist unser Film kommunistisch?*<sup>2</sup> His answer was: Yes, perhaps 1% of its employees. But they do not set the policy; the great moguls, the Mayers, Goldwyns, Warners and the large banks do, and they hardly spread Communist ideas. However, the 1% of Communists have the right of free speech without which no democracy can exist. At the end, George quoted from a speech of the president of the Union of Film Actors, Ronald Reagan, who, in essence, had said the same as George.<sup>3</sup>

Of the refugees who appeared before the committee, *Aufbau* discussed only the case of the brothers Eisler, both former members of the German Communist Party. Hanns was a composer of incidental music for films in Hollywood and of Communist songs; Gerhardt lived in Long Island, N.Y. with obscure means

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/1, 3.1.1947, p. 7; XIII/2, 10.1.1947, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Is our film communistic?

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/44, 31.10.1947, p. 4.

of support.<sup>1</sup> Sister Ruth Fischer, converted from pro- to anti-Communism, charged before the committee that Gerhardt was a secret agent for the Russian government and the FBI. George put the main fault on the Russian government, which, in spite of publicly announcing that it had dissolved the Comintern, secretly continued its activities, even during the war. Peace between the nations would be better served without such clandestine acts.<sup>2</sup> On October 3, 1947, *Aufbau* reported that the committee had recommended the deportation of Hanns Eisler.<sup>3</sup> Gerhardt left the U.S.A. stealthily for the Russian zone in Germany.<sup>4</sup>

### *Economic and Social Policies*

*Aufbau* wrote about all kinds of economic and social issues, from the U.S.A.'s export trade, the fur business, and affordable rents to health insurance. Probably the biggest problem of the time was inflation. *Aufbau's* support of Roosevelt's New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal identified the paper as an opponent of the traditional free enterprise system. It deemed intervention by government necessary to protect the working classes and promote social justice.

These principles determined *Aufbau's* attitude towards

---

<sup>1</sup> Walter Goodman, *The Committee*. (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1968), pp. 104/5, 184, 190.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/7, 14.2.1947, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/40, pp. 19/20.

<sup>4</sup> Goodman, p. 193.

inflation, at least at the beginning of the period. George pictured it as "the fever that besets so many heads."<sup>1</sup> He and *Aufbau's* other writers must have known the feeling produced by the uncertainty about the purchasing power of money from one day to the other because they had gone through the German inflation from 1918 to 1923. Its cause was, of course, different from that of the American inflation, but the effect was the same.

George was particularly radical in his judgment of the cause. As he saw it, greed motivated the manufacturers to exploit the sellers' markets in maximizing their profits, forcing the prices to go up all the time. To stop the inflationary trend but also to prevent the "boom and bust" periods inherent in the capitalistic system, as well as to create full employment, government planning must supplement private initiative. He demanded in particular a "regulated wage policy together with a reasonable price policy."<sup>2</sup> However, a majority of Republicans and southern Democrats in Congress watered down any bill proposing such ideas or rejected it entirely. From late 1945 until the end of 1946, Heinz Eulau dealt with the question of inflation. He, too, blamed the big industries for the continuous inflation.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/39, 28.9.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 1/2; XI/43, 26.10.1945, p. 2; XI/45, 9.11.1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, A XII/17, 26.4.1946, p. 4; XII/21, 31.5.1946, p. 3.

As a consequence, strikes became daily events. One important one at General Motors was explained to *Aufbau's* readers by the union's vice-president, Walter Reuther. Inflation was the central problem. The main demand of the union was an increase of the basic wages by 30% with the proviso that the corporation would not hike its prices above the level of 1942. According to Reuther, GM could meet these requests and still increase its dividends. The company, however, initially rejected both demands.<sup>1</sup>

The union's general position was supported, as Eulau noted, by a report on "Wages-Prices-Profits" that had been recently completed by Robert Nathan, an economist supporting the New Deal. Nathan found that the industry could absorb a general increase of 23% in wages without having to change prices.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, Reuther's union won the strike and Eulau praised the new idea that contract negotiations should also include a company's pricing policy as a means of curtailing the inflationary spiral. Every progressive economist, Eulau claimed, approved of it.<sup>3</sup> But Eulau's opinion was weakened by the one-sidedness of his sources. *Aufbau* should have also published the opponents' point of views, for without them, readers could not form their own opinion.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/5, 1.2.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/52, 27.12.1946, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/14, 5.4.1946, p. 3.



On the other hand, when Truman presented an anti-inflation program known under the slogan "Production is our Rescue," Eulau opposed it. His argument was: All capitalism wants is profits irrespective of the size of production. Experience has taught that big business always prefers to increase prices and keep production low, while at the same time limiting the competition, as shown by the history of monopolies.<sup>1</sup> Eulau obviously did not know that the latter had been illegal in the U.S.A. since 1890.

Eulau denounced as premature Congress's abolition of the Office of Price Administration (OPA), a war agency, in April 1946. In the same article, he mentioned Reuther's demand for further increases of wages if the cost of living advanced substantially.<sup>2</sup> A conference between unions and employers to find a *modus vivendi* for the problem of wages and prices had previously collapsed.<sup>3</sup> And so the spiral of inflation went on and on and on. George's and Eulau's notion that employers alone were to blame for this development was neither well-proven nor justified.

Robert Lann, who became the main writer for the supplement *Welt der Wirtschaft* in August 1946,<sup>4</sup> also took on the question of inflation. His approach differed greatly from that

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/8, 22. 2. 1946, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/17, 26. 4. 1946, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/46, 16. 11. 1945, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 307.

of his predecessors. Lann analyzed the events scientifically and pronounced his opinion without ideology and prejudice. Many of his articles demonstrated why inflation was bound to continue.

One of the early ones was a reply to Reuther's announcement that his union would demand further wage hikes. This, Lann contended, would be inflationary by itself. But if workers increased their productivity, which, in most big industries, was lower than before the war, employers could afford to pay the increase without hiking their prices.<sup>1</sup>

The consuming public was also a factor that could counteract the rising prices. But it had become psychologically accustomed to them, while purchasing eagerness and power had remained brisk. People no longer haggled or went for the best price.<sup>2</sup>

Government spending was yet another factor behind inflation. Its direct loans to other nations created additional purchasing power in the U.S.A. and thus inflation, whereas those granted by commercial banks would not have the same effect.<sup>3</sup> The government allowed the destruction of agricultural crops to prevent commodity prices from falling, while on the other hand, its purchases of farm products for export drove prices up. Government budget deficits were another

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/43, 25.10.1946, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/36, 5.9.1947, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/10, 1.3.1947, p. 27.

contributor to inflation.<sup>1</sup> The worst offender was the law forcing the government to guarantee to the farmers 90% of the purchasing power in 1911 to 1914. Because of the spiral caused by wages and industrial prices, the increases in the price of agricultural products were automatic.<sup>2</sup>

Yet in spite of denouncing the dangers of inflation, Lann could not support the proposal of Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and New Dealer, to introduce credit restrictions. In Lann's opinion, the measure would have stopped inflation effectively, to be sure, but it would have also caused a deep depression as in 1920, 1929, and 1937. The price was thus too dear.<sup>3</sup> The president must have agreed with Lann's judgment, for he let Eccles go.<sup>4</sup> The time to act against inflation had become inopportune by the end of 1947. Lann remarked that no government and no party would dare to endanger what people considered "the sweet inflation" before the election in 1948.<sup>5</sup>

Another item illustrates *Aufbau's* changing posture in the social field. The passage of the Taft-Hartley bill over the president's veto signified for right-wingers the elimination of the worst features of the New Deal and similar legislation, whereas for the liberals it represented a setback in social

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/21, 23.5.1947, p. 8; XIII/39, 24.9.1947, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/36, 5.9.1947, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/51, 19.12.1947, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> A XIV/8, 20.2.1948, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/51, 19.12.1947, p. 11.

progress. Dyck's report on the new law was a purely factual description expressing no objection, regret or protest.<sup>1</sup> The only slight criticism came from Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York,<sup>2</sup> nothing from George or Eulau. The support of radical solutions to economic and social problems was clearly no longer *Aufbau's* editorial policy. This move to the political centre was more in accord with one of *Aufbau's* primary tasks, namely to lead the readers from a world that no longer existed into the American way of life and style of thought.<sup>3</sup>

#### *FDR, the Idol Still after His Death*

Franklin Delano Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945. *Aufbau* wanted the new administration not only to use the late president's diplomatic methods but also to continue his policy of seeking co-operation with the U.S.S.R., although the weekly eventually had to realize that Russian revival of ideological world domination through Comintern made co-operation impossible. *Aufbau's* admiration for Roosevelt neither vanished nor diminished.

For many years after 1945, *Aufbau* annually commemorated Roosevelt on his day of decease. In 1946, Siegfried Marck wrote the main memorial article. Under the heading *Der Menschenfreund*, he praised FDR as the man "der schoepferischen

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/26, 27.6.1947, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/27, 4.7.1947, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 13.

Kompromisse".<sup>1</sup> FDR had tried to find a balance between the traditions of capitalism and individualism and the socialism of the awakening labour force. His foreign policy was aimed at uniting or combining America's interests with those of the whole world under the banner of democracy in defiance of the totalitarians.<sup>2</sup> The same issue also brought a poem by Thea Wittner *Er und wir*. In it, "He" was "the Moses of our days,"<sup>3</sup> the "Hebrew Patriarch and Lawgiver." In one month after Roosevelt's death, the births of 18 boys were announced in *Aufbau's Familien-Anzeigen* and nine of them were given the name of Franklin,<sup>4</sup> certainly a sign of Roosevelt's popularity among the readers.

In 1947, Dyck honoured the late president on the second anniversary by interviewing the Viennese-born artist Oskar Stoessel, who had had the assignment of etching a portrait of Roosevelt. "The President," the artist said, "was my prettiest, but also my most restless model." He was full of kindness and liveliness, showing at the same time interest in the technical details of the etcher's work.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> of the creative compromises.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/15, 12.4.1946, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 3, He and We.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/15, 11.4.1947, p. 32.

For the third anniversary in 1948, *Aufbau* published the chapter *Als Roosevelt starb*<sup>1</sup> from Leo Lania's novel *Die ungehoerte Melodie*.<sup>2</sup>

Even in 1955 and 1960, *Aufbau* did not forget its idol's decease. For the tenth anniversary, the weekly re-printed Thomas Mann's article that had first appeared on April 20, 1945.<sup>3</sup> In 1960, it contained excerpts from the "Four Freedoms Message" sent to Congress by Roosevelt on January 4, 1941.<sup>4</sup>

Another of *Aufbau's* tributes to the late president was establishment of the "Franklin D. Roosevelt Award" on the first anniversary of his death. The award was to be given to an American who "in the tradition of the humanitarian and democratic philosophy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt has performed outstanding work for the welfare of immigrants in America and for their integration into the democratic life of the country in the course of his activity for the year." The prize consisted of \$1,000 each year.<sup>5</sup> The first award went to co-winners Earl G. Harrison, then dean of the Pennsylvania Law School, "for his work as Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization" and Joseph H. Smart, director of the Fort Ontario Relocation Camp "for having made the

---

<sup>1</sup> As Roosevelt died.

<sup>2</sup> The non-audible Melody. A XV/15, 17.4.1948, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> A XXI/13, 1.4.1955, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> A XXVI/16, 12.4.1960, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/15, 12.4.1946, p. 1.

inmates feel secure and happy."<sup>1</sup>

In countries where the population cannot express their true opinion about the government in elections, it is often said that they vote with their feet; that is, they flee or try to flee from that country. Similarly, readers of *Aufbau* showed their opinion about the late president by participating in "pilgrimages" to his grave at Hyde Park, New York, arranged by the club. The first one took place on May 26, 1946. Four hundred and fifty people expressed their esteem of, and gratitude to, the late president by participating in this visit. They had a look at the Roosevelt Library and the mansion, and then they stood silently and with reverence before the grave, while the club's president laid a wreath. A heavy thunderstorm during the return trip could not mar the experience of the "pilgrimage."<sup>2</sup> Two more such pilgrimages followed in 1946, two in 1947, and one in 1948. As late as 1960, *Aufbau* announced such a visit for April 1.<sup>3</sup> One week later, the ad appeared again, this time with the addition *Ausverkauft*.<sup>4</sup> For the immigrants who read *Aufbau*, Roosevelt remained the unforgettable saviour of Jewry and democracy.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/18, 3. 5. 1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/22, 31. 5. 1946, pp. 25/26.

<sup>3</sup> A XXVI/14, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Sold out*.

### *The Dangers of the Atomic Age*

George started his lead article on August 10, 1945, as follows: "The sixth of August of the year nineteen and forty-five will live on and on in human history as hardly any other day in the history of this planet." In other words: it was the beginning of the atomic age. During the three years that followed, *Aufbau* published dozens and dozens of articles on this subject by George himself, his assistant editors, scientists and other contributors. *Aufbau's* position on this momentous question is seen in George's important articles and those of scientists who followed the weekly's method of presenting to the readers varying opinions on the same problem.

In the article quoted above, George did not express any view about the consequences of using atomic energy for destructive purposes. He was certain only that the atomic age would shake up the existing ideas, attitudes and ways of living in politics, medicine and science. He hoped that the U.S.A. would not misuse its monopoly but would use it to help realize the eternal brotherhood of men.<sup>1</sup>

On October 5, 1945, the editor-in-chief posed the question of what should be done when other nations are able to build their own atomic bombs. According to a military expert, the U.S.A. could maintain its monopoly for only about five years. There will be only one answer, George stated: An

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/32, p. 1.



agreement must be reached about "the administration and protection of the process of production of atomic bombs." Next, an international security service, which should be established, would be given responsibility for monitoring any misuse of the bomb.<sup>1</sup>

Nine months later, Max Beer reported from the United Nations that Bernard Baruch, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Commission, had presented a plan to the general meeting that would allow the use of atomic power only for peaceful purposes. A new authority within the UN would obtain "the monopoly of the control of the raw material as well as the application of atomic power for peaceful purposes only," together with the imposition of sanctions against violators and the abolition of the great powers' right of veto in this matter. After acceptance of these conditions, the U.S.A. would share its secrets on how to produce atomic bombs with other nations and destroy its own stock of bombs.<sup>2</sup> In the next issue, George expressed his full approval of the Baruch Plan. In addition, he reported about a Russian counter-proposal that would declare the possession of all atomic weapons a crime, as well as about an article in *Pravda* announcing that the U.S.S.R. never would give up its right of veto. With this knowledge, George regretfully predicted defeat for the Baruch

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/40, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/25, 21.6.1946, p. 9.

Plan.<sup>1</sup> Eventually, the Security Council of the UN would have to decide the fate of the plan. The Russian veto there turned George's prediction into a fact. *Aufbau* never reported about the Acheson-Lilienthal Report, on which the Baruch Plan was based.

On the occasion of the U.S.S.R.'s reinstatement of the Comintern in 1947, George reverted to the Baruch Plan. The work of the Comintern, the editor opined, was an expansion of Russia's sovereignty. This must lead to an intensification of the antagonism with other countries and increase the risk of war. The Baruch Plan, were it accepted, meant willingness to give up a part of American sovereignty to eliminate the risk of atomic war.<sup>2</sup>

This was not good enough for Albert Einstein who was, as *Aufbau* called it, "one of the authors of the atomic bomb." In an interview in *Atlantic Monthly*, on which Hellmer commented on *Aufbau's* editorial page, Einstein noted that atomic energy was not a new problem. The basic difficulty was the existence of sovereign states with too much power, which made war inevitable, an opinion with which Hellmer agreed.<sup>3</sup>

Another of Einstein's utterances appeared in the *New York Times*, which *Aufbau* reprinted in German under the headline

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/26, 28.6.1946, pp. 3/4.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/41, 10.10.1947, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/44, 2.11.1945, p. 4.

*Die Welt muss neu denken lernen.*<sup>1</sup> The atomic age has changed mankind's living conditions. A failure to adapt to them could bring general perdition. A world authority, perhaps a world state, ought to be the answer. America now has a monopoly of atomic power, but that certainly will not last for ever. No defence exists at present against atomic bombs despite fantastical suggestions and most likely one will not be found easily. To prevent atomic war permanently, competition between the nations must stop and be replaced by co-operation. As long as governments rely on military power, we are using obsolete methods in a world that has fundamentally changed.<sup>2</sup>

Commenting on Einstein's message after it had appeared in the *New York Times*, Ludwig Marcuse found many good ideas in it but doubted whether the great man had really written anything new. The abolition of competitive diplomacy and replacement by co-operation deserved praise, but it would be very difficult to base diplomacy on moral principles. Nevertheless, Marcuse urged Einstein to use his prestige to find a solution of this problem on a practical basis.<sup>3</sup>

Einstein was not the only scientist whose knowledge the readers of *Aufbau* could share. Professor James Franck, Nobel Prize Laureate for physics in 1925, discussed the possibility of using atomic energy for medical purposes. The rays emitted

---

<sup>1</sup> The World's Thinking must be renewed.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/38, 20. 9. 1946, pp. 1, 6; XII/39, 27. 9. 1946, pp. 5/6.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/32, 9. 8. 1946, p. 4.

by the split atom, he thought, although very dangerous, could be used in the treatment of diseases. Isotopes produced in the process could be used for the same purpose. Some day, Franck hoped, science would find a method to include cancer in these treatments.<sup>1</sup> The possibility of using atomic energy for industrial purposes and as a replacement for traditional power sources was also discussed. Dr. Henry H. Leisher, a former member of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut in Berlin reported on the attempts of the Fairchild Airplane Corporation to develop an airplane engine using atomic energy. Other American companies were working on similar projects to exploit the head start they enjoyed.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau* also published a series of articles by Norman Cousins about the dangers of the atomic age. The publisher of the *Saturday Night Review of Literature* had suggested the same measures as Einstein.<sup>3</sup> In the editorial introducing the articles, *Aufbau* mentioned that some politicians advocated the immediate sharing of the secrets of atomic bomb production with other nations. However, the weekly did not publish anything from representatives of this suggestion. *Aufbau* must have found this solution too radical, perhaps too dangerous.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/30, 26.7.1946, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/6, 7.2.1947, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/40, 5.10.1945, pp. 5/6.

## *Aufbau and Germany*

### **Nazism after Defeat**

#### *Is Nazism Dead?*

The articles of Morgenthau and Habe<sup>1</sup> were for *Aufbau* an indication of the U.S.A.'s inability to take its task as an occupying power of Germany seriously. The continued existence of Nazism was the consequence. Actually, Byrne's speech in Stuttgart, Germany, on September 6, 1946,<sup>2</sup> was the announcement of an important reversal of American policy on Germany caused by Russian intransigence. The main features of the new policy were the fusion of the U.S., British and French occupation zones and the transfer of limited political and economic independence to the Germans themselves in the united territories.

*Aufbau* could not support this change, for it signalled that Germany had become the "past enemy." The Allies had defeated Germany, the criminal leaders who had started the war had been punished, and now real peace should prevail. However, the statesmen who were responsible for the new policy lacked the "powerful emotions" of the Jews, everyone of whom had lost at least one member of the family and who themselves often had been victims of Nazi persecution. For them the new policy provoked "astonishment and resentment." Should they accept the government's decision or continue to protest against the

---

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 329/330.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 334.

Nazis, their archenemies? George asserted, as he had done before, *Aufbau's* disinterest in German politics, but insisted it would be wrong to disregard any Nazi resurgence. *Aufbau* would neglect its duty if it did not report Nazi wrongdoings.<sup>1</sup>

The weekly's complaint was based on the following reasons:

- 1) Nazis still were in important positions;
- 2) Nazi propaganda still was in circulation and it was effective;
- 3) Many incidents occurred as a consequence of No. 2); and
- 4) Nazis and supporters of Nazism were being given too mild a punishment by the Denazifying Courts.

One field where Nazis continued their work after 1945 was the administration of justice, according to Maximilian Scheer, whose article the Overseas News Agency distributed and *Aufbau* published. Judges who had applied the Nazi laws even if these were draconic and against the principles of human rights were nonetheless deemed suitable to serve in the same capacity under the Allied military governments. This was the argument presented by several colleagues of one accused judge as well as others in the legal profession whom the British authorities consulted. In this case, the judge under investigation was known as "the hangman of the Ruhr district," a sobriquet he had acquired as the president of the Regional People's Court, created by the Nazi regime to deal with political enemies. What happened in this case, Scheer concluded, must have applied to all other juridical districts

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/29, 18.7.1947, p. 2.

also.<sup>1</sup> According to Tom Bower, "Neither the British nor the Americans ever removed one German judge because of a Nazi past or as a result of his judgments."<sup>2</sup> Other judges also treated Nazis mildly, not at all commensurate with the crimes they had committed. *Aufbau* reported the case of two SA officers who had murdered a Jew in 1938. The court accepted their defence that they had acted on orders from their superiors as extenuating circumstance. These superiors, the reporter added, were awaiting their own trial in Nuremberg.<sup>3</sup>

Another fertile ground for Nazi followers was in the universities.<sup>4</sup> It took the university in Erlangen two years to present a list of Nazis on its staff, and then, only after the military government had threatened stiffer actions.<sup>5</sup> In the meantime, of course, the Nazi professors could spread their poison. A professor who, as secretary of the Prussian Academy of Science, had attacked and abused Einstein in 1933, was able to become president of the Vienna Academy in December 1946.<sup>6</sup>

Other similar cases that the weekly disclosed dealt with

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/23, 7.6.1946, p. 2. *Aufbau* did not report whether the British military government accepted the testimony of the German witnesses, and I have not been able to find what the British military government decided in this case of Dr. Josef Hermann.

<sup>2</sup> *The Pledge Betrayed* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1982), p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/23, 6.6.1947, p. 9; XIII/24, 13.6.1947, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/21, 24.5.1946, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/15, 11.4.1947, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> A XIII/18, 2.5.1947, p. 25.

the commanding officer of the police in Hanover, who tried to organize his force as a *Schwarze Reichswehr*,<sup>1</sup> one of the sources of Hitler's private army before 1933,<sup>2</sup> and a group of persons whom *Aufbau* called *die Unueberwindlichen*.<sup>3</sup> These were people who in the Weimar Republic had been *Weimarians*, under Hitler were Nazis and during the occupation were friendly with the occupiers and often worked for them.<sup>4</sup>

That many Germans supported an ideology that led their country to its severest defeat can be attributed to efficient indoctrination. But that was not all that kept Nazism alive; neo-Nazi groups added their propaganda. The existence of such an underground movement was documented in an article by Dr. Samuel Gringauz, president of the Council of Liberated Jews. The council's legal department had uncovered secret guidelines that instructed followers to provoke conflicts between Jews and the Allied armies but to avoid easily traced incidents with Jews, particularly open attacks.<sup>5</sup> A private commission that investigated the Nazi underground specified some of the means used to spread the Nazi message: namely personal contact, rumours and threats against active anti-Nazis.<sup>6</sup> Bella

---

<sup>1</sup> the secret cadres of the army in the Weimar Republic.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/26, 26, 6, 1946, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> insurmountable ones.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/30, 25. 7. 1947, pp. 1/2; XIII/32, 8. 8. 1947, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/44, 31. 10. 1947, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> A XIII/7, 7. 2. 1947, p. 4.



Fromm, a former Ullstein journalist, corroborated the last point. Visiting Germany, she spoke to a pre-war acquaintance who campaigned against renewed Nazism. He showed her a note that had been nailed to his door a few weeks earlier; it threatened him with death if he continued his anti-Nazi work. He also handed Fromm memos of his observations of the neo-Nazi underground.<sup>1</sup>

Other reports argued that this underground was not secret at all. Its members were easily recognizable: They all had shaven their hair, wore jackboots and displayed Nazi emblems, such as swastikas and Nazi eagles.<sup>2</sup> The old anti-Semites, Reinhold Wulle and Richard Kunze, who in some way had come into conflict with Hitler's party and thus avoided the Nuremberg trial,<sup>3</sup> founded new *voelkliche*<sup>4</sup> parties.<sup>5</sup>

The new and old propaganda, together with the poor living conditions, were the main reasons why the common people could not be won for the cause of democracy. *Aufbau* received many letters from Jews and gentiles in Germany in this regard. Most of them described the conditions at the writer's place of work. Any defence of democracy was rejected

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/16, 16. 4. 1948, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/32, 7. 8. 1946, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York, Schocken Books, 1981) pp. 230, 239.

<sup>4</sup> racist.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/33, 15. 8. 1947, p. 19.

by almost all fellow employees. Under Hitler, the disgruntled employees argued, one at least had something to eat. Explanations that it was the Führer who had caused the deplorable situation remained without effect.<sup>1</sup> One Jewess with one gentile parent added: "To live in Germany is painful."<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, the occupiers could not prevent furtive actions committed under cover of darkness, where the Nazis could show their "heroism." The few synagogues, cemeteries and other community centres left undamaged after the pogroms in 1938 were their main aim. *Aufbau* published numerous reports about such vandalism; one is sufficient to illustrate the extent of these actions. In the British occupation zone in 1947 alone, 26 cemeteries were desecrated.<sup>3</sup> George, in his comment, called this statistic "a sign of the German soul." The reason for this barbarism, some claimed, was the presence of Jewish DPs, but there were only two DP camps in the British zone.<sup>4</sup>

It was not only in Germany that this post-war spree of hatred erupted. The same happened in other countries once occupied by the Nazis. *Aufbau* published reports of anti-Semitic incidents in Hungary, Slovakia, Austria and even Spain and France. In Poland the "incidents" took the form of

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/30, 25.7.1947, p. 24; XIII/22, 30.5.1947, p. 9, for instance.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/11, 12.3.1948, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XIV/7, 13.2.1948, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A XIV/8, 20.2.1948, p. 3.

pogroms. One at Kielce which led to the deaths of 39 Jews was caused by a boy who had played hooky for a few days. Jews had kidnapped him -that was the explanation for his absence - to kill him and to use his blood for ritual purposes, a "fairy tale" disproved long ago, but believed by the villagers. Less bloody pogroms documented by Polish Jews, who had fled to Italian DP camps, made Poland almost *judenrein*.<sup>1</sup>

In Germany, the denazifying process should have removed the harmful influence of all Nazis. But as early as January 1946, the Americans became weary of the task and transferred it to the Germans themselves.<sup>2</sup> The German courts started their work in March 1946 without having received clear guidelines. Consequently difficulties soon arose and anti-Nazis refused to undertake the responsibility, compelling the German authorities to pass a law that made service on the courts obligatory for the legal profession. As a former president of one of the courts reported, the whole process then became a "farce."<sup>3</sup>

The weekly published dozens of cases in which proven Nazis escaped scot-free or with a ridiculously mild punishment. One of the worst of them was the case of a former minister in Hitler's first cabinet, Kurt Schmitt. He was fined 15% of his assets but was also granted probation,

---

<sup>1</sup> without Jews. A XII/28, 12.7.1946, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/36, 5.9.1947, p. 10.

which meant in effect an acquittal.<sup>1</sup>

Included in the many cases *Aufbau* reported were those against persons of the theatre and music world as well as writers, who were of special interest to the paper and many of its readers. The Nazi propaganda machine had tried hard to use prominent artists and writers for its purpose. For *Aufbau*, it was a bitter pill to learn that actors, former favourites of the readers on the Berlin and Vienna stages, had allowed themselves to represent caricatures of Jews à la *Stuermer* in Nazi propaganda films.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the world-renowned conductor Wilhelm Furtwaengler, and in this case only, *Aufbau* gave the word to both sides, printing the essential parts of Furtwaengler's speech before the denazifying court. The main reason why he continued to work under the Nazi regime, Furtwaengler explained, was his desire "to present German music with German musicians to devotees of music." It would have been against his nature "to leave Germany in its direst destitution" and that would have been seen as *schimpfliche Flucht*.<sup>3</sup> He resisted Nazi excesses where possible, a phrase that in this or a similar form he used several times. Since Furtwaengler indirectly attacked gentiles who had emigrated -for instance, he attacked Thomas

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/42, 17.10.1947, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A VII/27, 4.7.1941, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> shameful flight.

Mann directly - *Aufbau* chose Fritz von Unruh to present that side. It was their basic belief in Nazi immorality, Unruh noted, that forced him and his fellow-emigrants to leave Germany. There was no "dire destitution" in Germany until defeat became obvious; on the contrary, Nazi Germany was riding high after its many victories. If Furtwaengler had really tried to resist, he would not have conducted Beethoven's 9th symphony, the high song of the brotherhood of all mankind, on the Führer's birthday as late as 1942. Unruh doubted Furtwaengler's claim that he rejected Nazism from the beginning. "He who merely greets him," Unruh quoted at the end from St. John, "participates in his evil deeds."<sup>1</sup> Furtwaengler, as well as other artists and actors, were acquitted of all charges.

Early in 1948, General Clay, the commander of the American occupying force, put an end to the "farce" of the denazifying courts for all practical purposes. For Hulse, it was a defeat of the Americans in their attempt to democratize Germany.<sup>2</sup> The strategy of the emerging "cold war" could not consider Jewish sentiments.

### *Atonement in Nuremberg*

Because of the ineffectiveness of the denazifying courts, many of the lower echelons of the Nazi hierarchy escaped the punishment they deserved; not so the bigwigs. The top four had

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/16, 18.4.1947, p. 1, 10.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/14, 2.4.1948, p. 7.

committed suicide, three at war's end and one before the judgment could be executed; the remaining twenty-two had to stand trial before the international military tribunal sitting in Nuremberg. Twelve were condemned to death, among them one in absentia; seven received prison terms for crimes against the peace, the laws of war and/or humanity, as well as conspiracy to plan aggression; and three were acquitted, among them former finance minister Hjalmar Schacht.<sup>1</sup>

*Aufbau* reported the tribunal's proceedings in great detail. In addition to the regular reports of special correspondent M.v.L., Robert Weltsch and Robert Jungk contributed occasional stories, and Joseph Maier added several articles dealing with his work for the court. The weekly also published articles by its own staff and reprints from the dailies to give the readers a full picture.

More important is the question of what *Aufbau* thought of the trials. At their beginning, George established his position in two fundamental articles: *Der Sinn von Nuernberg*<sup>2</sup> and *War Nuernberg noetig?*<sup>3</sup> The Nuremberg trials must be seen as one step to the introduction of a world government whose coming the atomic age has made inevitable. By establishing the juridical principles of "offenses against humanity" and "aggressive war instigation" as international crimes, the

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 224; A XII/40, 4.10.1946, p. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of Nuremberg.

<sup>3</sup> Was Nuremberg necessary?

American prosecutor has created the basis for international co-operation to replace the idea of "an exaggerated glorification of patriotism." The Allied prosecutors formulated the new concept of "organized guilt" against that of *Gesamtschuld*,<sup>1</sup> deeply resented by those it affected. Only fellow-travellers and those who adopted a *laissez faire* attitude towards Nazi crimes would be covered by the new rule. A guilty verdict for the accused before the court would, in George's opinion, also condemn those with "organized guilt,"<sup>2</sup> a point of view Hulse would not have shared.<sup>3</sup> George's second article answered the question in its title affirmatively. The judgment would become a document of historical significance for all times. Had the Nazis won the war, no court would have rendered judgment. They would have shot their opponents without any formalities whatsoever.<sup>4</sup>

After the end of the first trial, Misch, in the absence of George, wrote the lead article. The judgment satisfied him for the most part. The deniers of all humanitarianism have had their day in court, a right they refused to grant to their victims. Misch's criticism covered some of the acquittals and the prison sentences. "The court punished inhumanity in war but not actions that made war possible." In spite of this

---

<sup>1</sup> Guilt of all Germans.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/43, 26.10.1945, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/49, 7.12.1945, p. 2.

disapproval, Misch opined that the judgment should point the way towards better international relations.<sup>1</sup>

As usual, *Aufbau* gave space to different opinions. In this case, Dyck reported the gist of a speech by Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, for whom "a spirit of revenge" dictated the proceedings in Nuremberg. They disregarded the basic legal principle whereby one could not be convicted for offences covered by laws made after the fact. Dyck called Taft's opinion "an incredible attack," disproven by Judge Richard Jackson, the American prosecutor, in the statement of the case against the accused made at the beginning of the trial. Jackson stressed that the new international law would be applicable not only to Germans but to all people and countries. Hence revenge was not a motive.<sup>2</sup> Although acknowledging the good intention of the court and praising it for introducing the legal concept of "crimes against humanity," Emil Ludwig nonetheless headlined his objection "Miscarriage of Justice in Nuremberg." Not a trial, but moral education of the German people was necessary; its leaders had, for centuries, indoctrinated the nation in a martial spirit, promoting aggressiveness and making wars. The punishment meted out in Nuremberg, in his opinion, would only cause the Germans to adhere to their old ways.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/40, 4.10.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/41, 11.10.1946, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/42, 18.10.1946, p. 5.



In an article written before the judgment was rendered, Professor Karl Jaspers, Rector of Heidelberg University and an anti-Nazi, compared the different situations of World War I and II. The historians could not agree on which country had started the war in 1914; Nazi Germany did so without any doubt in 1939. The Treaty of Versailles accused the entire German people as criminals; the Nuremberg court, by contrast, would try specific individuals for the specified crimes listed in the indictment. Some Germans felt offended by these proceedings and insisted on the kind of chivalry which had governed previous wars and peace treaties. But it was Hitler who first disregarded all laws of war, committing genocide and other inhumanities. These Germans also objected to the failure of applying the legal principle of *poena sine lege*.<sup>1</sup> "Humanity, the rights of men and natural rights, as well as the idea of freedom and of western democracy, predetermined the laws by which criminals could be judged," Jaspers commented on other objections, ending with the vision of a new world order emanating from the trial and leading to the recovery of Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Habe, whose article also appeared before the judgment, called the trial a flop and gave several reasons why it would not achieve its aims: 1) to punish the main Nazi criminals, no large show trial was necessary; 2) it was to convince the

---

<sup>1</sup> Senator Taft made the same objection; see p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/45, 8.11.1946, p. 1, 8; XII/46, 15.11.1946, p. 2.

German people that the Nazi crimes had actually happened; 3) Germany alone was responsible for the outbreak of the war. The Allies designed both 2) and 3) to deter the Germans from repeating past mistakes. To achieve this, it was necessary to arouse interest in the trial among the German people. A poll in one of Habe's newspapers showed, however, that only 15.4% of 7812 readers followed the proceedings. The replies came from men and women in all sections of the population and were, therefore, representative, in Habe's opinion.<sup>1</sup>

As a summary of what *Aufbau* thought of the proceedings, one more item should be added. Before the trial began, Hellmer interviewed New York lawyer Louis Nizer, who had analyzed the indictment. *Aufbau* published the interview under the headline "Right not Revenge,"<sup>2</sup> a line which can be taken as the paper's opinion.

#### *Germans Visiting the U. S. A.*

A problem that could not be assessed by the application of laws arose in the artistic field. The music critic of the *New York Times* had posed it, and his colleague Arthur Holde discussed it in *Aufbau*. Before the war, many foreign musicians came to America, where they gave guest performances earning high fees and praise. With Europe impoverished after the war, America became even more attractive. Should the U.S.A.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/22, 31.5.1946, p. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/43, 26.10.1945, p. 5.

admit artists whom the denazifying courts had not fully cleared of co-operation with the Nazi regime? For the *New York Times*, it was the State Department which had to decide this question. Holde agreed with this reply, but he also added his own opinion. The heading of the article, "The Limits of Hospitality," said it all. Holde, who must have known the mood of the music fans among the Jewish immigrants, expressed their general feeling. The time of forgiveness for Nazis and Nazi sympathizers, he thought, had not yet come.<sup>1</sup> Holde did not mention any names. But Hellmer in two later articles named two: the pianist Walter Gieseke and the Italian opera singer Tito Schipa, the former of whom was a pure Nazi and the latter a Fascist. His articles also included the former world boxing champion Max Schmeling, whom Hellmer called an undesirable guest.<sup>2</sup>

The aversion against all Germans seemed to be widespread in Jewish circles, as a lively discussion in *Aufbau* about two German visitors indicated, even though both of them had served time in Nazi concentration camps. Pastor Martin Niemoeller came to the U.S.A. early in 1947 on an invitation by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. He was the first German to address a public meeting in America since the end of the war. *Aufbau* commented on this speech in a friendly

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/38, 20.9.1946, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/14, 2.4.1948, p. 4.

manner,<sup>1</sup> as it had previously praised the pastor's attitude after the war.<sup>2</sup> Although commander of a U-boat during the First World War, Niemoeller together with Dietrich Bonhoeffer founded the *Pfarrer Notbund*<sup>3</sup> in order to fight the Nazi attempt to introduce the Aryan requirements for all members of the Protestant churches. The fight led to a personal conflict with Hitler and subsequently to concentration camps. His campaign after 1945 to acknowledge every German's guilt gave him the nickname of "the conscience of the nation."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, after Niemoeller's New York speech, doubts about the pastor arose. George, other journalists and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise questioned some remarks by Niemoeller that were pejorative to Jews or could be interpreted to mean that Jews themselves contributed to anti-Semitism.<sup>5</sup>

Misgivings regarding Niemoeller increased after *Aufbau* published the transcript of criminal proceedings against the pastor in 1938, supplied by Dr. Robert M.W. Kempner, Deputy to the principal prosecutor in Nuremberg and a Jewish immigrant. In his defence Niemoeller claimed that he had voted NSDAP in all elections after 1924. In 1933 he had congratulated Hitler for taking Germany out of the League of Nations.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/4, 24.1.1947, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/10, 8.3.1946, pp. 1/2; XI/11, 15.3.1946, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Parsons' Emergency Association.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Zeit*, 17.1.1992, pp. 12/13.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/5, 31.1.1947, p. 4.

Furthermore, he had claimed that "the Jews were disagreeable and strange to him." These utterances, *Aufbau* contended, revealed Niemoeller as an anti-Semite and without "any Christian compassion." They showed the true Niemoeller and should be embarrassing to the Americans who had invited him.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, *Aufbau* first welcomed Dr. Kurt Schumacher's visit to the U.S. A member of the Social Democratic Party before 1933, Schumacher had spent many years in concentration camps under the Nazi regime and emerged physically crippled. George himself interviewed the Socialist leader. He called him "no ordinary visitor," and a person who most likely would play an important role in a future self-governing West Germany. Apparently wiser now than before the disappointment about Niemoeller, George also analyzed Jewish attitudes towards German visitors. He saw three possibilities: journalists could use them as a medium of first hand information; others might have no compunction to speak with Germans of Schumacher's type; and a third group might decline contact with all Germans for personal reasons or out of principle.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it could not have been surprising to *Aufbau* when the weekly received numerous "letters to the editor" from writers of the third group. Ruth Karpf, a former assistant editor of *Aufbau*, started the campaign against Schumacher. To attract followers to his party, Karpf contended, Schumacher held the Allies

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/20, 16.5.1947, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/41, 10.10.1947, p. 1/2.

responsible for the catastrophic situation in Germany. He and all other Germans refused to acknowledge their own contribution to the misery. An SPD meeting, which Karpf had attended, had reminded her of the Nazi party convention in 1933 with its "phrase mongering and sentimental German songs." In her opinion, Schumacher was dangerous for Germany and the Allies. By contrast, David Shob of the *Jewish Daily Forward* and a member of the Jewish Labor Committee, supported Schumacher, because the SPD was the only party that fought for democracy, justice and humanity in Germany.<sup>1</sup> In a report about anti-Semitism in Germany, Dr. Samuel Gringauz<sup>2</sup> touched upon Schumacher's case with another opinion. The surviving Jews, he opined, ought not to open the discussion with the German people before a change of mind and proof of sincere regret had occurred.<sup>3</sup> Versions of these three reactions recurred in the letters published.<sup>4</sup> No letter followed George's suggestion that all contact with Germans be declined for personal reasons or out of principle. Could one assume that this was the silent majority?

### *The Good Germans*

The three preceding subchapters and George's shunning of Germany during his European trip would suggest that for *Aufbau*

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/42, 17.10.1947, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/44, 31.10.1947, p. 7, 11.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/43, 24.10.1947, p. 7; XIII/45, 7.11.1947, p. 9.

no good Germans existed at that time. However, the weekly was not so pessimistic. When peace comes, Rabbi Grunewald had predicted in 1944, Jews "will hasten to name those who had helped them."<sup>1</sup> This actually happened, and *Aufbau* either published their reports or acknowledged having received them.

The first such story appeared as early as September 1945 under the heading "Two good Germans," reported by a Jewish private with the occupation force. After SS-men had destroyed the synagogue in the lower Rhine town of Xanten in 1938, a police officer and a young lady took the Torah and other religious devices to a safe place. The same persons secured valuables in Jewish houses whose inhabitants had fled in the night of the pogrom to return them to the owners after the Jews came back. The police officer also helped the Jews in their emigration.<sup>2</sup>

More important were the cases where Germans saved the lives of Jews by hiding them or through other measures. *Aufbau* received many such reports, as mentioned by Kersten in one of his articles. He confirmed the courage and the sincerity of these Germans who risked their own life in actions of mercy. Unfortunately, a printer's error changed the praise into the opposite. As a consequence, *Aufbau* received several complaints and had to print a correction.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/38, 21.9.1945, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/42, 17.10.1947, p. 20; XIII/43, 24.10.1947, p. 6.

For his public demand that Germany should adopt democracy after the war, when a great number of Germans were still opposed to the idea or indifferent, Karl Jaspers merits inclusion here. In addition to approving the Nuremberg trial, as mentioned previously,<sup>1</sup> he called the pogroms of November 1938 and the deportation and killing of Jews Germany's eternal shame and disgrace. *Aufbau* praised Jaspers' rectoral speech reopening Heidelberg University as "courageous words of a German."<sup>2</sup>

Finally, a kind of rectification should be added here. Since it had had no reliable information on the attempted assassination of Hitler in 1944, *Aufbau* had seen it mainly as an internal struggle between Nazis and Junkers. Only after the war, when more details became known, told by the very few survivors, could Kersten write a short history of the plot. He particularly stressed the roles of non-military men and non-Junkers, such as the Leuschner-Mierendorff group, the former a union leader, the latter once an SPD member of the Reichstag, as well as the former Lord Mayor of Leipzig, Carl Goerdeler, and Johannes Popitz, and the Communist Central Committee.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/38, 21.9.1945, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/10, 7.3.1947, p. 48, XIII/11, 14.3.1947, p. 4.



## *Germany in a United Europe*

As early as 1940, *Aufbau* had a vision of a united Europe as a solution to the German problem. After the war, the initiative to realizing the idea came from two sides: Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and Winston Churchill. Coudenhove founded the Paneurope Movement in 1923, when he published his work "Paneurope." His aim was a European *Staatenbund*.<sup>1</sup> The Nazi invasion of Austria forced him to seek refuge in the U.S.A.<sup>2</sup> Dyck interviewed the count twice, first in May 1947 before his voyage to Europe to speak with European statesmen and to organize a congress of European parliamentarians in the fall of 1947. A united Europe had a good chance, he told Dyck, because the idea had found support in the U.S.A. and, secondly, because European parliamentarians wanted it. The replies so far received to a questionnaire he had send to 4,000 of them confirmed it. Since the U.S.S.R. would also be welcomed to join it, the new entity could not be seen as a coalition against Russia.<sup>3</sup> In the second interview, Coudenhove was even more optimistic than before. He had succeeded in taking the first step in the process, namely, the foundation of a European Parliamentary Union with himself as secretary general. Contrary to the previous statement, Russia as a totalitarian state could not join the union, nor could Spain

---

<sup>1</sup> confederation.

<sup>2</sup> Brockhaus Encyclopaedia, vol. IV (Wiesbaden: F.A. Brockhaus, 1968), p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/18, 2.5.1947, pp. 5, 40.

for that matter. And Germany? The decision was pending, the count replied.<sup>1</sup>

Churchill's campaign for a united Europe started with a speech in Zurich on September 19, 1946. The idea gained great interest in the U.S.A. after a senator and a representative moved corresponding resolutions in Congress. Ickes commented on the event in *Aufbau* under the heading "A United Europe - the Guardian of Peace." Its purpose was, Ickes wrote, to strengthen Europe's defence against aggression but it was not a provocation against Russia. The European countries "must either come together or perish one after the other." *Aufbau* put the article on the editorial page, an indication of its approval.<sup>2</sup>

Coudenhove believed that a united Europe could be realized within a year. The economist Lann, examining all facts more soberly than the politicians, came to another conclusion. Even if the merger occurred in such a loose form as a customs union, only the immediate combination of France and Italy would be feasible, apart from the existing customs union Benelux. If Itafran<sup>3</sup> and Benelux proved successful, as Lann had no doubt, "the day would come when these two would unite and become part of a bigger customs union."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/8, 28.2.1948, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/21, 23.5.1947, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> or Frait.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/41, 18.10.1947, p. 17/18.

In a prefatory word in the bulletin of the German Writers Association, republished after the war, Thomas Mann discussed Germany's relations to Europe. The Nazi attempt to teutonize Europe, Mann wrote, had fortunately failed. "Germany's sentiments should be European so that [a united] Europe becomes a reality." Unfortunately, Misch commented, Germany no longer listens to Mann's words.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of Misch's pessimism and George's discouraging prognosis for 1947,<sup>2</sup> only three years later, Lann's proposal for a united Europe by proceeding gradually became reality. In May 1950, the French Foreign Minister took the first step with what was called the Schuman Plan. The five countries named by Lann, then ready for a customs union, plus Western Germany, showing the first signs of *Wirtschaftswunder*,<sup>3</sup> came together in the European Coal and Steel Community.<sup>4</sup>

## **The Problem of Return after the War**

### *Three Eminent Writers Who Did Not Return*

*Aufbau's* position on the question of return to the homeland after defeat of the Nazi regime was from the beginning clear and unequivocal. From early on, its self-appointed task was to assist the refugees from Nazism to

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/51, 19.12..1947, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/1, 3.1.1947, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Economic Wonder.

<sup>4</sup> H. Stuart Hughes, *Contemporary Europe* (Englewood Cliff, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 4th Edition, 1976), p. 463.

become good Americans in a country that allowed full development of their personalities, and this meant no going back. The weekly did not publish new fundamental statements; it merely commented on others' views. But the experience of those who had returned, as well as the publicly expressed refusal to return of three of the most prominent representatives of German literature, reinforced *Aufbau's* attitude.

Carl Zuckmayer, interviewed by Hellmer, did not intend to return to Germany except for visits to come into contact with the living German language, the medium of his art.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Mann, after having received a request from Walter von Molo, a former president of the German Academy of Authors, to come back and do his share in the rebuilding of Germany, declined the appeal in a letter, a copy of which he supplied to *Aufbau* for publication. In it Mann listed the injuries Germany had done to him, his and his family's sufferings in the flight from country to country, the ties he had formed with the U.S.A. and Germany's apparent failure to learn from past mistakes. *Aufbau* called the letter "a human document of historical significance."<sup>2</sup> Hermann Hesse, who had left Germany in 1919 to settle permanently in Switzerland, likewise furnished *Aufbau* with a copy of a letter for publication. In an editorial note, the weekly compared Hesse's letter with Mann's. Hesse's letter was a rejection of all the political

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/49, 7.12.1945, p. 6; XI/51, 21.12.1945, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/39, 28.9.1946, pp 5/6.

hacks who then predominated in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

A fourth prominent writer, Alfred Doeblin, should be mentioned here. He had become a French citizen and returned to Germany immediately after the end of the war. Encountering a Nazified climate merely without Hitler, a new literary generation with interests different from his own, ill at ease and lonesome, Doeblin emigrated to France a second time in 1953.<sup>2</sup>

Mann's reply to von Molo did not close this affair. Max Osborn asked whether von Molo was the right person to speak for a recuperating Germany. Even if no Nazi criminal, von Molo had tried to curry favours with the Nazi hierarchy, of which Osborn supplied some examples. This distinguished him from Mann and made the split with the emigrant colleagues irreversible.<sup>3</sup> The art historian Wilhelm Hausenstein also publicly entreated Mann to come back, adding a list of books by intellectuals who had remained in Germany after 1933. The list was to prove that these authors could publish good books under the Nazi regime. Ludwig Marcuse ridiculed some of the books and contended that others were tolerated because they were not harmful to Nazi ideology. The authors of these books, Marcuse judged, could hardly be called heroes and certainly were not examples of "German resistance," as Hausenstein claimed.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/28, 12.7.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Zeit*, Nr. 40, 5.10.1990, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/40, 5.10.1945, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/8, 22.2.1946, p. 4.

Alexander Abusch characterized the attacks against the emigrated writers in general, and against Mann in particular, in *Aufbau's* East Berlin namesake, as a poisoned attitude à la Goebbels, stemming from spokesmen who had toadied to Nazi bigwigs. One of Mann's attackers claimed that Mann in 1933 had petitioned the Nazi minister of the interior for re-admission to the fatherland. Although this turned out to be a misquotation and a misinterpretation, the malicious agitation against Mann continued. To cover up their own weaknesses, these writers invented the term "inner emigration."<sup>1</sup>

A quotation from Klaus Mann's article, "The Poet and the Language," may serve to summarize this issue. "My uncle Heinrich Mann promised us in about 1936 that the day to return home would come. Now this day has arrived in a way, but somehow it is not quite the right one."<sup>2</sup>

*Permanent and Temporary Returnees from the U. S. A.*

The conditions in Germany as described in *Aufbau* should have prevented all Jewish refugees from returning to their country of birth. To this must be added the warnings from such competent persons as Rabbi Leo Baeck, for whom the indignities committed by the Nazis should have been enough to stop all Jewish returns.<sup>3</sup> The observation by Major Judah Nadish,

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/47, 21.11.1947, p. 11; XIII/32, 8.8.1947, p. 19; XIII/34, 22.8.1947, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/33, 15.8.1947, pp. 7/8.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/51, 21.12.1945, pp. 1/2.

General Eisenhower's advisor on Jewish matters, that practically all Jews living in Germany at that time were determined to leave the country as soon as possible,<sup>1</sup> should also have been taken as a warning for all would-be returnees. Additional dissuasions came from Norbert Wollheim, vice-president of the Central Jewish Committee in the British zone<sup>2</sup> and Adolf Schoyer, former member of the board of the Berlin Jewish community, who had visited Germany.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of all warnings, some Jews insisted on returning. One category consisted of people who could not find a foothold in their country of refuge; for example, the 502 emigrants from Shanghai who arrived in Berlin in the early summer of 1947.<sup>4</sup> The weekly published several articles about the experience of returnees. A couple from Portugal and several people from Spain fared worst in this respect and their stories will speak for all others. After arrival, this group travelled in a freight train to southern Germany, where men and women were put into separate detention camps. The women were quartered with, among others, the wives of Himmler and Streicher. The men's camp contained inmates under investigation for Nazi activities. The commander, a former brigadier and envoy to Portugal, ordered the new arrivals to surrender all valuables and liquors. Complaints to the

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/52, 28. 12. 1945, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/5, 31. 1. 1947, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/1, 3. 1. 1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/27, 4. 7. 1947, p. 4.

representative of the military government were successful, but it took several months before the group was allowed to proceed to Berlin, its original destination.<sup>1</sup>

Politicians and journalists formed another category of returnees. Among them was Siegfried Aufhaeuser, whose case was discussed before.<sup>2</sup> *Aufbau* was astonished when Max Brauer, a returnee who had become mayor of Hamburg, recommended the end of denazification.<sup>3</sup>

A third category consisted of German immigrants who helped to administrate Germany or filled positions for which no reliable Germans, i.e. with an anti-Nazi attitude, were available. Adamic had predicted such a situation and had suggested that former Germans would be most suitable for such a task. *Aufbau* reported several such cases.<sup>4</sup> The National Council of Jewish Women sent four young women to Germany, most probably to work in the DP camps, for they were specialists in child care.<sup>5</sup>

Most of those in categories two and three, save the politicians, returned to the U.S. after having completed the work they were engaged for. How many from category one remained in Germany?

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/41, 11.10.1946, pp. 11, 16.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/51, 20.12.1946, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> For instance: XI/37, 14.9.1945, p. 9; XI/41, 12.10.1945, p. 4; XII/10, 8.3.1946, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/1, 4.1.1946, p. 22.



On the basis of questionnaires he had sent to the communities, Harry Maor arrived at a figure of "scarcely more than 9,000" from all countries until 1961. This was 4% (sic) of the total of 270,000 Jews who were able to leave Germany after 1933.<sup>1</sup> The figure of 4% included the exceptionally high number of returnees from Shanghai, which, according to Maor, totalled 2,500.<sup>2</sup> If the Shanghai group is omitted<sup>3</sup> the percentage is 2.43. The figures of 9,000 and 270,000 refer to all countries, to which Jews emigrated and returned. Applied only to the United States, where 167,120 Jews immigrated between 1933 and 1946,<sup>4</sup> the number of returnees was 4,061.<sup>5</sup>

#### *Some Progress in Wiedergutmachung*

International law, according to a study published by *Aufbau* in 1944, provided for indemnification for damages to life, health and material assets caused by Nazi discriminatory measures. After the war, *Aufbau* started a new column *Wiedergutmachung und Suehne in Europa*,<sup>6</sup> not signed but apparently edited by Dr. Alfred Prager. The column informed the readers

---

<sup>1</sup> Harry Maor, *Ueber den Wiederaufbau der Juedischen Gemeinden in Deutschland seit 1945* (On the Rebuilding of the Jewish Communities in Germany since 1945) (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Mainz, 1961), p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Maor, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> 9,000 less 2,500 divided by 270,000 less 2,500 multiplied by 100.

<sup>4</sup> Davie, pp. 23, 34, and addition for 1945/46.

<sup>5</sup> 167,120 x 2.43 divided by 100.

<sup>6</sup> Restitution and Expiation in Europe.

about the events in this field and was augmented by several articles.

It could report some progress for a special kind of damages: namely, where Jewish material assets came into others' possession through confiscation, aryanizing or other Nazi measures. At first all three military governments of the western zones, Berlin and Austria blocked these assets in the hands of the possessors.<sup>1</sup> Then as an interim measure, the military government transferred these properties to the German authorities for actual administration and later transfer to a trustee.<sup>2</sup> In one case, even before a law on the matter had been created, a German court ordered the return of furniture to the heirs of the late Jewish original owner. The defendant had acquired them knowing that they were Jewish property confiscated by the tax department. *Aufbau* hailed this first juridical decision as the victory of a just cause.<sup>3</sup>

Seven months later, General Clay declared the principles the *Wiedergutmachung* laws should contain - the Charter of *Wiedergutmachung* of July 15, 1947<sup>4</sup> - after the American Military Government had vetoed some of the laws enacted by German states.<sup>5</sup> Four months later, the *Reichserstattungs-*

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/34, 24.8.1945, p. 1; XI/37, 14.9.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/27, 5.7.1946, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/48, 29.11.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/31, 1.8.1947, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/17, 25.4.1947, p. 1.

*gesetz*<sup>1</sup> came into force,<sup>2</sup> undoubtedly based on Clay's principles. The same number of *Aufbau* contained 14 ads from lawyers and accountants offering their services to the immigrants who had claims under the new law.<sup>3</sup>

The new law solved only a part of the problem. Damages to life and limb as well as deprivation of freedom, still remained to be dealt with. The refugees who had claims in this respect had to wait until March 1953, when the German parliament adopted a comprehensive law on *Wiedergutmachung*; for many this was too late.<sup>4</sup>

### ***Jewish Problems***

#### ***Anti-Semitism in the U.S.A.***

Anti-Semitism no longer existed in Germany, but it was in full blossom in the U.S.A. This was the impression, *Aufbau* reported, Pastor Niemoeller had gained from his visit to the States and publicly spread after his return. While the first part of this statement, Hellmer commented, was incorrect, the second was unfortunately true. This anti-Semitism, Niemoeller did not mention, came in a great measure from Americans of German origin, who had hidden their Nazi sympathies during the war but showed them openly thereafter.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> German Restitution Law.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/47, 21.11.1947, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/23, 6.6.1947, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Schaber, pp. 95, 97.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/22, 30.5.1947, pp. 3/4.

One of the oldest activists in this field was Kurt Mertig, who in his rabble-rousing sheet *The Broom* and the "Association of Independent Voters" tried to organize the alleged 30 million Americans of Aryan stock. Mertig and two other anti-Semites reprinted the ritual murder legend, which originally had appeared in 1938 in England, and distributed the pamphlet at a meeting in New York in October 1945. Mertig and others protested against the Nuremberg trials as a Jewish plot.<sup>1</sup> Mertig was not the only American of German origin in the business of Jew bashing. *Aufbau* named several German language newspapers that openly preached anti-Semitism.<sup>2</sup> The Morgenthau and Baruch plans, the "Jew" Roosevelt, his Jewish advisors as well as "the Jewish inspired" Communists were the main targets of their paranoid minds. "Nazism and Fascism, defeated in the theatres of war," wrote Hellmer, "have made room everywhere in the world for a neo-Nazism and a neo-Fascism, which are not less dangerous than their models."<sup>3</sup>

It was, undoubtedly, this danger that caused *Aufbau* to give Hellmer's previously unconnected articles a standing title, which explained to the reader their purpose at the first look. The column was called "Anti-Anti," whereby the second "anti" stood not only for anti-Semitism but also for anti-democracy. Hellmer described his material as

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/34, 24.8.1945, p. 3; XI/41, 12.10.1945, p. 5; XI/47, 23.11.1945, p. 3; XII/43, 25.10.1946, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For instance XII/15, 12.4.1946, p. 16; XIII/22, 30.5.1947, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/31, 2.8.1946, p. 6.

"not suitable for other newspapers."<sup>1</sup> "Anti-Anti" began on February 1, 1946. It was intended to appear every second week but often missed its schedule. The purpose of the column was, Hellmer explained, to bring into the open the schemes of an international conspiracy, whose aim it was to overthrow the democracies.<sup>2</sup>

This emphasis on Nazi-inspired anti-Semites does not minimize the hate mongering of other groups, though some of them kept the truce that had prevailed during the war or abandoned the fight. The Ku Klux Klan did not appear at all in *Aufbau's* reports, Father Coughlin just once with the news that Boston supporters had given him a banquet.<sup>3</sup> Henry Ford had promised to abstain from further agitation against the Jews.

On the other hand, the former member of the House of Representatives for New York, Hamilton Fish, took up the battle-ax again.<sup>4</sup> Gerald L.K. Smith and his hate-sheet *The Crown and the Flag* were more active than ever before in anti-Semitism;<sup>5</sup> and a newcomer, the Rev. Arthur W. Terminello of Anniston, Ala., the Father Coughlin of the South, had joined

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/34, 22.8.1947, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/5, 1.2.1946, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/47, 22.11.1946, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/51.19.12.1947, pp. 13/14.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/23, 7.6.1946, p. 40 and others.

the unholy fight.<sup>1</sup> This is not a complete list. Hellmer complained that it was no wonder his desk was covered with material for the column!<sup>2</sup>

Nothing was absurd enough not to be used by these rabble-rousers to denounce "the Jews." Eisenhower was for them "a Swedish Jew,"<sup>3</sup> Roosevelt a Communist dupe or perhaps a Jew<sup>4</sup> and the Jews persecuted Hitler because he was a Christian who believed in the Bible.<sup>5</sup> Hellmer's column exposed examples of such balderdash for their lack of logic, common sense and fairness.

The forceful spirit in *Aufbau's* fight against anti-Semitism did not find the approval of all readers. Important personalities, they feared, might be offended. The paper was prepared, Hulse retorted, to take this chance. If it were not, it would share the responsibility for possible future pogroms.<sup>6</sup>

*Aufbau* was not alone in its fight against anti-Semitism. George interviewed Benjamin R. Epstein, the newly appointed national director of the Anti-Defamation League. George called it "the most efficient organization in this field, which had

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/7, 15.2.1946, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/34, 26.8.1947, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Glen Jeansonne, *Gerald L.K. Smith - Minister of Hate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> A XII/16, 19.4.1946, p. 19.

scored many successes."<sup>1</sup> Other organizations that *Aufbau* praised for their work against discrimination were the Council for American Unity,<sup>2</sup> Brotherhood Week<sup>3</sup> and the American Jewish Congress.<sup>4</sup> *Aufbau's* highest praise went to President Truman, first for his condemnation of all kinds of discrimination in a letter to Charles G. Bolte, president of the American Veterans Committee<sup>5</sup> and, secondly, for his creation of the Committee on Civil Rights, which was to propose laws or other measures for the "protection of minorities in the country of minorities."<sup>6</sup> The Supreme Court received a similar acknowledgement for its decision declaring legally invalid all stipulations that excluded negroes or other racial groups from acquiring real estate.<sup>7</sup>

To conclude this subchapter, it may be appropriate to discuss two articles that dealt with the ideology of anti-Semitism and the motives of individual anti-Semites. In European countries with one prevailing nationality the propagators of anti-Semitism cited a putative irreconcilable difference of races as the main reason, but this was not

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/2, 9.1.1948, pp. 21/22.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/27, 4.7.1947, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/39, 26.9.1947, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/44, 31.10.1947, pp. 19/20.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/37, 13.9.1946, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> A XIII/1, 3.1.1947, pp. 5/6.

<sup>7</sup> A XIV/20, 19.5.1948, p. 26.

applicable in the multiracial U.S.A., although the reawakened American Nazis still adhered to the European version. No uniform basis existed in America among the preachers of anti-Semitism. Clare Booth Luce, a recent convert to Catholicism, George suspected, tried to give anti-Semitism a platform. The Jewish spirit as represented by Marx's Communism, Freud's psychoanalysis and Einstein's relativity theory was, in Mrs. Luce's view, responsible for the mass's turning away from Christianity and, therefore, for the troubles of modern times. Hence, the fight against "the Jewish spirit" would be the ideology that could unite all the anti-Semites and their movements. Luce's proposition was for George based on her new weltanschauung, whereas the works cited by her were in the scientific field and could, therefore, only be refuted by scientific arguments. However, they had, George noted, contributed to the expansion of general knowledge and the improvement of the human condition.<sup>1</sup>

The second article, "Portrait of an Anti-Semite," was written by the French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre, who was to become renowned as the founder of existentialism. To characterize anti-Semitism as an opinion about which one cannot argue as about taste and colours, Sartre opined, was fallacious. Anti-Semitism was rather a passion, a bigotry not only applicable to Jews but also to mankind in general. The anti-Semite disdained argumentation. Hate is his basic motivation in life, and he is aware of its absurdity. His

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/1, 2.1.1948, pp. 1/2.



credo of hate puts the anti-Semite into a group of like-minded people for whom mediocrity and tradition take the place of intelligence. Usually as a member of the lower middle class, the anti-Semite feels superior to the Jew. "Anti-Semitism," Sartre summarized the portrait, "is the anxiety of the human existential condition."<sup>1</sup>

#### *Help for the Displaced Persons [DPS]*

Anti-Semitism also caused the problem of the Jewish DPs. In the case of Poland, for instance, the non-Jewish population did not want the surviving Jews to return to their former homes; the inhabitants "would defend themselves." This meant in blunt language: the Polish population would start pogroms to send the Jews back to where they came from. Such was the gist of a report received by the exiled Polish government and published by a Jewish New York daily. The Polish authorities in London confirmed having received the report but claimed that it did not represent government policy.<sup>2</sup> In 1946, pogroms in Poland actually occurred.<sup>3</sup> The situation in other East European countries was the same.<sup>4</sup> On the occasion of a meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration [UNRRA], the Jewish World Congress presented a memorandum noting that an estimated one million refugees in Europe did

---

<sup>1</sup> Die Angst vor des Daseins Bedingungen der Menschen. A XIII/4, 24.1.1947, pp. 1/2, 8.

<sup>2</sup> A X/19, 12.5.1944, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 368/369.

<sup>4</sup> A X/52, 24.12.1944, p. 1; XI/22, 8.3.1945, p. 3.

not want to go back to their former domiciles for justifiable reasons.<sup>1</sup> Hulse characterized the movement of these uprooted people as a new mass migration without the possibility of going back.<sup>2</sup>

Resettlement of the Jewish DPs was for UNRRA an insoluble problem. Countries with wide open spaces and small populations refused to admit any immigrants so soon after the war. Canada, for example, first wanted to absorb the returning soldiers. George headlined his article "Closed Doors."<sup>3</sup> Palestine, where most of the Jewish DPs wanted to go, had allowed only 20,000 immigrants since 1944. And the U.S.A. maintained its quota system. Help beyond that supplied by UNRRA was necessary for these survivors of horror, most of whom were still temporarily sheltered.

*Aufbau* became involved in three different kinds of relief actions, namely:

- 1) direct help by individuals.
- 2) aid by Jewish groups and
- 3) assistance by existing Jewish organizations.

The help of the first category consisted of parcels with food or other necessities for life sent by mail order houses, including CARE, and paid for by the sender. These firms offered their services in large ads published by periodicals, among them *Aufbau*. The parcels went to relatives and friends

---

<sup>1</sup> A X/37, 15.9.1944, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/5, 1.2.1946, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/27, 6.7.1945, p. 1.

of the donors but also to unspecified persons. Kurt Grossmann described in an editorial how important these parcels were for the receivers in keeping them alive.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the DPs received 6 million parcels originally destined for American prisoners of war in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

One group whose only purpose was to help the DPs owed its existence to the initiative of *Aufbau* and the New World Club. Under the slogan *Hilfe und Rettung*,<sup>3</sup> the paper called upon its readers to attend a meeting on November 10, 1945.<sup>4</sup> The next step was the foundation of the "Combined Relief for Jews from Germany and Austria" under the sponsorship of *Aufbau* and four German-Jewish and Austrian-Jewish organizations to collect contributions.<sup>5</sup> After one year, the fund had obtained \$61,905.<sup>6</sup> Early in 1947, this operation ended.<sup>7</sup> The weekly had not only started this action but also had not charged anything for the propaganda work.

Other social institutions connected with *Aufbau*, namely "Blue Card" and "Selfhelp," added to their own operations help for the DPs in Europe similar to that of the "Combined Relief

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/22, 31. 5. 1946, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/37, 14. 9. 1945, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Relief and Rescue.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/40, 5. 10. 1945, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A XI/49, 7. 12. 1945, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> A XII/50, 13. 12. 1946, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> A XIII/20, 16. 5. 1947, p. 12.

for Jews from Germany and Austria."<sup>1</sup> During his trip to Europe, George wrote to "Blue Card" that the receivers particularly appreciated their parcels.<sup>2</sup>

The bulk of the relief for the DPs came from the old established organizations: the American Jewish Distribution Committee, the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress. A meeting of the delegates of the United Jewish Appeal decided unanimously at the beginning of 1946 to collect \$100 million, an unprecedented amount, for the relief of Jews in Europe and Palestine.<sup>3</sup> An editorial by George entitled "Remember your Duty" exhorted *Aufbau's* readers to contribute to the appeal in the same generous way as they had for the "Combined Relief for Jews from Germany and Austria."<sup>4</sup>

The amount the United Jewish Appeal wanted to collect for 1947 was \$179 million. The weekly's contribution consisted of one page full of canvassing for the appeal in twenty consecutive issues starting on February 28, 1947.<sup>5</sup> For 1948, the goal for this special purpose was \$250 million.<sup>6</sup> *Aufbau* again contributed one page of solicitations for the appeal but sometimes reduced it to half a page. Clearly, the weekly's

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/41, 11.10.1946, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/4, 28.1.1946, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/11, 15.3.1946, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/9, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> A XIII/51, 19.12.1947, pp. 15/16.

activities attest that it followed its own admonitions in this field.

In addition, *Aufbau* gave space to four personalities who were to propose how a permanent settlement could be achieved under the slogan: "Let us save Europe's Jews!" Einstein appealed to his fellow-Jews to support, in thankfulness for their own survival, the efforts undertaken on behalf of the DPs. He urged the UN to ensure peace in the world and England to fulfil its promise in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. James M. Mead, Senator of New York, addressed his fellow Americans. He asked for their help in implementing the Four Freedoms proclaimed by Roosevelt in 1941. The two other contributors were Thomas Mann and Professor A.A. Roback of Harvard University.

#### *Miscellaneous Events in Jewish Life 1945-1948*

Some Jews could return to their old homes. These were German Jews who had hidden, survived concentration camps or were spouses of gentiles. They helped to restore Jewish communities in Germany. The American Jewish Congress sent Hans Lamm to Germany to investigate their situation. His reports, published in *Aufbau*, found the members and the communities full of "a will to live." Their number was estimated at about twenty thousand. The communities had succeeded in having returned to them the former Jewish institutions and in obtaining special protection and support from the authorities. Lamm suggested that the communities form an umbrella organiza-

tion to exert still greater influence on the authorities.<sup>1</sup> To attend the first meeting of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Germany, Lamm made his second trip, about which he reported in *Aufbau*.<sup>2</sup> Lamm did not refer to the anti-Semitism in Germany nor did the communities request any help.

For a change, *Aufbau* could report other good news from Berlin. Since March 1, 1946, the Jewish community had been able to publish a bulletin, whose editor was Wilhelm Meier.<sup>3</sup> After a long search, the Berlin community found the paintings of the former Jewish Museum,<sup>4</sup> and, again after a long search, Dr. Michael Munk, who had lived in Germany until 1938, agreed to serve as rabbi in Berlin.<sup>5</sup> *Aufbau*, which opposed the return to Europe of the immigrants, did not comment on the apparent re-establishment of Germany as *galut*.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, a heavy debate, including differences of opinions among editorialists, arose about a wave of conversions in the American Jewish communities and what should be done about it. That a number of intellectuals had left the Jewish faith was one thing, but, according to Professor Louis Finkelstein, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary,

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/24, 14.6.1946, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/23, 11.7.1947, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/12, 22.3.1946, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/52, 27.12.1946, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/16, 18.4.1947, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> A place outside of Palestine.

"the stream of conversions had become a river," particularly among the younger Jews. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and his paper denied such a movement, and insinuated that this was an allegation to inveigle higher contributions to Finkelstein's seminary. Hulse did not want to decide who was right, but he blamed both sides for having brought this internal dispute into the public.<sup>1</sup>

For George, such an apostate movement existed, having developed during and after the war. This was implied in the heading of an article in which he reviewed a book by Karl Jacob Hirsch: *Wieder einer*.<sup>2</sup> Hirsch, who under the alias Joe Gassner had written theatre and film criticism for *Aufbau*, converted to Protestantism. The reason for the many conversions, George thought, was Judaism's inflexibility in finding an accord between humanistic and traditional teachings, as well as Judaism's neglecting to convince the doubters of the privilege of being a Jew. Above all, Judaism should not have persecuted the apostates Jesus and Spinoza; calamity was the consequence.<sup>3</sup>

Hulse retorted that George's analysis was "fantastic." Judaism was never in competition with other religions for the human souls. "What Judaism must preserve, it does not lose

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/25, 21.6.1946, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Again one.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/11, 14.3.1947, p. 5.

through conversions."<sup>1</sup> Wurmbrand, however, agreed with George. Jews needed to be re-educated and should contemplate this problem.<sup>2</sup> In an earlier review of a book on the conversion of Israel Zolli, chief rabbi of Rome, Wurmbrand had shown the contradiction in the rabbi's attitude and ended the review: "Let us forget this bagatelle!"<sup>3</sup> Isi Hepner, in a letter to the editor, saw the danger to young Jewish people not so much in the official conversions as in the attraction of religious sects. As an example, Hepner named Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science.<sup>4</sup>

The next problem arose suddenly and came unexpectedly. *Aufbau* was determined to co-operate with the American Jews of Eastern European origin. But this time it was one of them who found fault with all German Jews. A young Yiddish writer, Jizchak Warshawsky, had met some German Jews in the Catskills and described this experience in *The Daily Forward*. Its main point was: German Jews were hardly Jews; they were assimilationists. *Aufbau* as the organ of the accused group had Wurmbrand reject that argument by listing the main German Jewish achievements. Warshawsky's response was conciliatory.<sup>5</sup> Wurmbrand received later help from L. Vogelstein, a jurist and

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/20, 16. 5. 1947, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/15, 11. 4. 1947, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/16, 19. 4. 1946, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/16, 18. 4. 1947, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/32, 9. 8. 1946, p. 21.



economist. He also had met some German Jews in the mountains and was surprised by their Jewish knowledge, particularly their interest in Zionism.<sup>1</sup>

A feud between *Aufbau* and some orthodox German Jews did not end so peacefully. The bone of contention here was Hulse's review of a new edition of Theodor Reik's *Psychological Problems of Religion*. The book deals with Jewish religious rites and those of primitive people in different chapters but also compares them, noting that they have some rites in common, such as circumcision. Hulse half apologized in advance, because he found it difficult to describe such a complicated subject in a language understandable to laymen without making them feel affected.<sup>2</sup> In spite of Hulse's precaution, *Aufbau* received protests from eleven persons in Washington, D.C., among them two rabbis, in one letter, and another one from Rabbi Dr. Joseph Breuer of a congregation in Washington Heights, New York. The writers of both letters felt their religious beliefs offended. Hulse, in a reply, did not think that knowledge of different opinions could sway the beliefs of any Orthodox Jews. George declined *Aufbau's* responsibility for the article, insisting that only articles on the editorial page reflected the paper's opinion. Moreover, he reminded readers that *Aufbau* was open to all articles presenting reasonable points of view that

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/48, 29.11.1946, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/9, 26.2.1948, p. 11.

were of general interest.<sup>1</sup>

In the period under review, *Aufbau* began to honour people who had helped Jews during the Nazi terror. Raoul Wallenberg, Secretary to the Swedish Legation in Budapest, had issued Swedish citizenship papers to thousands of Jews, thus protecting them from deportation to the death camps. Dyck interviewed Friedrich Goeroeg, president of the Jewish Relief Commission in Hungary, during his stay in the U.S.A. Hungarian Fascists, it was rumored in Hungary, had murdered Wallenberg while he was under Russian arrest. Preparations were under way to erect a monument to the diplomat.<sup>2</sup>

The interview caused Frederik von Dardel, Wallenberg's stepfather, to send *Aufbau* a statement of everything that had been done to find his stepson, as well as a book by Rudolph Phillipp, who tried to prove that Wallenberg was still alive. The Russians officially admitted to having taken the Swede into protective custody in January 1945, but nothing further could be extracted from them. *Aufbau* published the letter on von Dardel's request and reminded its readers from time to time of the unsolved enigma.<sup>3</sup>

Less known than Wallenberg but just as helpful in saving the life of thousands of Hungarian Jews was the Swiss Consul Charles Lutz. As representative of British interests, he

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/10, 5.3.1948, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/50, 11.12.1946, p. 27; XIII/35, 29.8.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/4, 24.1.1947, pp. 1/2; XIII/7, 14.2.1947, p. 1; XIII/35, 29.8.1947, pp. 1/2; XIII/38, 19.9.1947, p. 17.

issued Palestine certificates in large quantities as well as Swiss protective passports, both of which exempted the holders from Hungarian forced labour, which would have brought them most probably to Auschwitz. Lutz was said to have saved about 50,000 Jews. Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency, which was the "international nongovernment body, representative and executive of the World Zionist Organization,"<sup>1</sup> presented Lutz to the delegates of the 22nd Zionist Congress in Basle in December 1946, expressing the thanks of the Jewish people.<sup>2</sup> Another honour went to Luba Tryzynaka, the angel of Bergen-Belsen, who had saved 94 sick children from certain death.<sup>3</sup>

All of these occurrences were soon overshadowed by the most important event in Jewish life not only in this period but in centuries: the restoration of the State of Israel. How *Aufbau* conveyed this story to readers and what it thought about it requires its own chapter.

### *Erez Israel, the State of Israel*

All efforts to obtain U.S. support for the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine had stopped after Marshall had proposed postponement for military reasons. Postponement meant, *Aufbau* had realized, the resumption of the struggle after the end of the war.

---

<sup>1</sup> Glossary, Compilations from *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1970), Zionism, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/34, 22.8.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/8, 21.2.1947, p. 15.

Chaim Weizmann opened the postwar campaign for a Jewish state after a visit to Palestine at the end of July 1945 in London before an audience of many Zionist personalities from many countries. He was prepared, and this was the main point of his speech, to accept a partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, a solution that previously had been unacceptable.<sup>1</sup>

The struggle that followed took a long time. It must have been a matter of pride and of moral obligation for *Aufbau* to keep its readers well informed about the events, even about the smallest details. At times when important decisions were expected or actually made, the first three to six pages contained almost exclusively reports and comments about the event. Almost every issue had one article by Michael Wurmbrand, the expert on Jewish matters, and another by Richard Dyck, assistant editor. The reports of the remaining three Palestine correspondents did not appear regularly. When the Palestine question was brought before the United Nations, *Aufbau* hired Dr. Max Beer to report only from that venue. At times of crises, George Wronkow, the younger brother of Ludwig, also sent reports from the UN. To this must be added George's editorials, the dozens of unsigned articles and, very importantly, articles by, or interviews of, leaders active in the struggle, as well as forums, letters to the editor and Wronkow's cartoons. Most of these publications could not hide

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/29, 20. 7. 1945, p. 2.

the authors' sympathy for the cause of a Jewish state or their contempt for the opponents. They could have said what *Aufbau's* correspondent in Washington, D.C., E.H. Knudsen, had expressed after Roosevelt's proclamation of an unlimited national emergency in May 1941, when a Nazi U-boat campaign threatened free passage to and from the Western hemisphere: We "cannot be neutral, because the facts are not neutral."<sup>1</sup>

Weizmann's previously mentioned speech also recommended further co-operation with the British government. After the Labour Party's victory in the British election of July 26, 1945, this seemed to be reasonable. Dyck recounted the facts that promised a favourable solution of the Palestine problem under the new Labour government. Herbert Morrison, "one of the great three of Labour," and other Labourites had previously condemned the White Paper of 1939. The Labour Party convention of December 1944 had adopted a report favouring an exchange of populations between the Jews in Arabic countries and Arabs in Palestine. Finally, 24 Jews had won seats in the House of Commons, and two of them were expected to join the cabinet. In spite of these advantages, Dyck was aware that it would be difficult to overcome Arab objections.<sup>2</sup> Reality proved to be different. Objections came not only from the Arabs but also from the Labour government and particularly from its Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin. They were just as stubborn in

---

<sup>1</sup> A VII/23, 6.6.1941, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/31, 3.8.1945, pp. 5/6.

granting concessions as the Conservatives had been.

In Weizmann's plan, statehood would be reached in three to five years at the earliest. A solution to the problem of the DPs could not wait so long. Their situation required an immediate settlement in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> George renewed his plea that the issue should be put on the agenda of the upcoming conference at Potsdam in July 1945.<sup>2</sup>

It was easier, even before Potsdam, to influence political decisions in the U.S.A. than in Britain.<sup>3</sup> The shift of attention to America soon showed its first success. Truman declared in a press conference that the U.S.A. favoured the settlement in Palestine of as many Jews as the land could absorb without causing civil war. The president had discussed this problem with Churchill and Atlee in Potsdam. Further diplomatic negotiations with the interested parties were on the way, but he would not use the military to enforce this policy. The Zionists and their sympathizers expressed their thankfulness, and the Arabs threatened war. Truman had, in Dyck's view, even endorsed a Jewish state in Palestine.<sup>4</sup>

To follow up his initiative, Truman sent Earl Harrison<sup>5</sup> to Europe to investigate the situation of the DPs. Harrison

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/27, 6.7.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/29, 20.7.1945, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Moshe Medzini in "Zionist Policy" in *Zionism, Compilations from Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House Ltd., 1973), p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/34, 24.8.1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 356.

found that their treatment was not much better than in the Nazi camps save, of course, that they were no longer intentionally killed. He recommended the admission to Palestine of 100,000 DPs. The president sent a copy of Harrison's report to Eisenhower with the order to improve the DPs' situation; another went to Atlee with a request to allow 100,000 DPs to enter Palestine.<sup>1</sup>

While the AMG increased the DPs' daily food allocation to 2,500 calories, and improved their lodgings and clothing<sup>2</sup> Atlee delayed his reaction for more than a month. Instead of admitting any DPs to Palestine, he proposed the formation of an Anglo-American Study Committee, which Truman accepted. Its mandate included that it 1) look into the situation of the Jewish DPs in Europe, 2) investigate the possibility of Jewish immigration, 3) consult Jewish and Arab leaders as well as experts and 4) make recommendations. George gave his comment the simple headline *Nein*<sup>3</sup> and ended with three *Neins*. The committee was superfluous since all the answers were already known. George especially attacked Bevin, who, at the same time, hinted at a possible monthly quota of 1,500. This was, George contended, much too low, since about one million Jews were waiting to go to Palestine.<sup>4</sup> Bevin did not realize that Truman's action was intended to help uprooted human beings

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/40, 5.10.1945, pp. 1, 15/16.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/42, 19.10.1945, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>3</sup> No.

<sup>4</sup> One million is certainly an exaggerated figure.

find a new home. George claimed to understand the difficult position of the Labour government, which endeavoured to save the British Empire from collapse, but he insisted that Bevin's ideas about the Jewish problem were outdated.<sup>1</sup>

The delay in the DP question, Joseph Maier wrote on the editorial page, inevitably caused destitution among camp inmates.<sup>2</sup> Maier's anxiety must have been caused by a news item three months earlier. 16,000 young Jews, all veterans of the Polish underground, had moved to Southern Italy to go from there to Palestine in spite of the prohibition of all Jewish immigration.<sup>3</sup> The following month five ships with "illegal" immigrants succeeded in landing their passengers in Palestine.<sup>4</sup> In a plea to open Palestine for the homeless, George wrote: "There is no illegal immigration into Erez Israel. It is a return to the land of their fathers."<sup>5</sup>

The British, however, did not see it this way. While all interested parties were waiting for the report of the Anglo-American Commission, the "illegal" immigration continued. In response the British imposed a blockade; they caught some boats; others broke through.<sup>6</sup> In the land itself, acts of violence by all sides and retaliatory measures occurred

---

<sup>1</sup> A XI/46, 16.11.1945, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/41, 12.10.1945, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XI/38, 21.9.1945, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> A XI/41, 12.10.1945, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A XI/45, 4.11.1945, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> A XI/48, 30.11.1945, pp. 1/2; XII/1, 4.1.1946, p. 9.



increasingly. *Aufbau* set its trust for the security of the Palestine Jews in the Haganah, the Jewish protective organization, whose core consisted of 20,000 veterans, who had served in the Jewish brigade and other units of the allied armies.<sup>1</sup> The British command found it necessary to add 15,000 men to their armed forces.<sup>2</sup>

In his comment on the report of the Anglo-American Commission, Dyck expressed both satisfaction and disappointment. The latter because it practically recommended the *status quo* for Palestine and not a Jewish state; the former because of the recommendation that 100,000 certificates should immediately be issued to the Jewish DPs. Although almost all DPs whom the commission interviewed wanted to go to Palestine, the commission preferred the DPs to settle in other countries or return to their countries of origin.<sup>3</sup> While Truman was pleased by the recommendation to admit 100,000 DPs and the report in general,<sup>4</sup> George saw it as a political compromise.<sup>5</sup> After a more thorough study of the report, the long-time Zionist sympathizer expressed sadness and distress. The hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people, the report showed, could not be brought into accord with the political reality.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/1, 4.1.1946, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> A XI/48, 30.11.1945, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/19, 10.5.1946, pp. 2, 4; XII/17, 26.4.1946, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/18, 3.5.1946, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Unfortunately, the Labour government could not abandon an imperialistic policy without endangering the whole British Empire. George criticized Atlee and Bevin for their fear of Arab opposition. The admission of Jews able to increase the defence forces in Palestine would be the best security. On the other hand, George praised the commission's proposal of Jewish-Arab talks to arrive at some kind of compromise, which would also benefit Britain.<sup>1</sup> The most expressive comment came from Wronkow's cartoon showing an Arab with a big dagger and the inscription: 40 million, and a Jew in civil clothes, unarmed and five times smaller, with a small bundle of his belongings, a staff and the inscription: 100,000 Jews. The title: "The Arab Giant: Help! Help! I am afraid of him!"<sup>2</sup> David Ben Gurion, chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency, appealed to America for help in the execution of the commission's recommendations.<sup>3</sup>

The world had to wait a month before Bevin gave an indication of his country's reaction in an undiplomatic remark that enraged America and the Zionists. The U.S.A. insisted on immigration into Palestine, Bevin stated during his party's convention, because "it did not want more Jews in New York." George condemned the remark as false and stupid. On the other hand, Bevin added that he was still negotiating with the Arabs to convince them of the fairness of the

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/19, 10.5.1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/20, 17.5.1946, p. 3.

commission's recommendations.<sup>1</sup>

These negotiations led to the convocation of a round table conference in London with invitations to the Palestinian Arabs, the Arab states and the Jewish Agency, to be presided over by Britain. One representative of the Arabs, the Foreign Office announced, would be the former mufti of Jerusalem, Hadj Amin Husseini, on invitation of the British government. *Aufbau* was astonished by the wish to have at the table this man, whom Churchill had called "Britain's mortal enemy." His invitation, the weekly predicted, would keep the Jews from the conference,<sup>2</sup> for the mufti was also "a mortal enemy" of Jewry. He had spent the war in Germany, would adopt Hitler's anti-Semitic measures in Palestine after his return to power and had plotted against the Allies.<sup>3</sup> *Aufbau's* prediction proved to be correct. Neither the Jewish Agency nor the Palestinian Arabs sent delegates to the conference, which opened on September 9, 1946. *Aufbau* called the rump conference of states that had nothing to do with Palestinian problems "a world historical joke."<sup>4</sup> As expected, nothing came of this conference, which adjourned on September 16 to meet again after the Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish Agency agreed to attend.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/25, 21.6.1946, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/35, 30.8.1946, pp. 1, 27.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/24, 14.6.1946, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/37, 13.9.1946, p. 1.

For *Aufbau* this meeting was just a prologue.<sup>1</sup>

The second meeting opened on January 29, 1947. It was also a failure because the Jewish Agency did not participate. In unofficial discussions Ben Gurion could not obtain the promise that the conference would decide on a viable Jewish state. Bevin insisted on an undivided Palestine with Jewish and Arabic provinces under the British mandate but implied that some concessions about Jewish immigration and the extension of Jewish autonomy were possible.<sup>2</sup> The Jewish Agency, *Aufbau* thought, should have taken part at the conference.<sup>3</sup>

But George also blamed England for having tried to solve a problem that was part of a bigger problem. England's political and economic positions, he contended, no longer were those of 1939. The structure of the Empire could no longer be maintained, and London knew this. As to Palestine, Bevin had the choice of accepting the recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission or adopting Churchill's advice. In a speech at Fulton, Miss., on March 5, 1946, the former prime minister had suggested that the Palestine problem be submitted to the United Nations, which should give the U.S.A. an active and responsible role.<sup>4</sup> The British cabinet's decision to go to the UN was announced by Bevin at the closing of the Round

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/38, 20.9.1946, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/1, 3.1.1947, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/6, 7.2.1947, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/8, 21.2.1947, pp. 1/2.

Table Conference on February 14, 1947.<sup>1</sup> Strangely, George did not mention this in his article on February 21. The news must not have reached him in time.

The shift to the UN ended the first act of the Palestine drama. Before proceeding to the second act, it is necessary to review *Aufbau's* writings on the important events in Palestine during the negotiations in London.

When in early May 1946, the report of the Anglo-American Commission appeared, the situation in Palestine was tense. While London endeavoured to find a solution, it degenerated into hostilities. "Illegal" immigrants continued to enter the country, and the radical Jewish military organizations increased their terrorist activities, culminating in the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, the headquarters of the British garrison. The English countermeasures consisted of interning the "illegal" immigrants in prison camps on Cyprus and arresting many Jewish leaders, sending them to Eritrea or keeping them in the Latrum prison camp. Terrorists caught had to stand trial. Some of them were condemned to death.

George compared the British countermeasures with the tactics of dictators who under the slogan "Peace and Order" deprived people of "liberty, independence and human dignity." Palestine was a British mandate, but Britain acted as if it

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/15, 11. 4. 1947, pp. 1/2.

was its colony.<sup>1</sup> Dyck ridiculed the blockade by the British navy. It was a task unworthy of its tradition and anything but honourable - stopping boats with former inmates of Hitler's concentration camps on the way to new homes and taking them to another prison camp.<sup>2</sup> The arrest of the officers of the Jewish Agency was, in George's opinion, illegal. Britain wanted to destroy this organization, whose function the mandate had determined.<sup>1</sup> Wurmbrand quoted from one of Weizmann's speeches: "The mufti lives safe and sound in a palace in Egypt and Moshe Shertok who recruited 25,000 young Jews for England's armies, is behind barbed wire in the Latrum prison camp."<sup>3</sup> George characterized the bombing of the King David Hotel as a mad act of fanaticism. Although born out of despair, it was an error, because it might allow Britain to strengthen its hold on Palestine.<sup>4</sup> A previous unsigned article called all acts of terrorism "deplorable and detestable."<sup>5</sup> It is remarkable that in spite of all the troubles, life in Jewish Palestine continued as usual, according to reports from *Aufbau's* correspondents.<sup>6</sup> That the Jewish Agency opened a school for Jewish diplomats,<sup>7</sup> certainly indicated the expecta-

---

<sup>1</sup> A XII/27, 5. 7. 1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>2</sup> A XII/33, 16. 8. 1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> A XII/28, 12. 7. 1946, pp. 1, 45.

<sup>4</sup> A XII/31, 2. 8. 1946, pp. 1/2.

<sup>5</sup> A XII/30, 26. 7. 1946, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>6</sup> A XIII/14, 4. 4. 1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>7</sup> A XII/34, 23. 8. 1946, p. 21.

tion that the formation of a Jewish state was not far off.

However, many difficulties still had to be overcome. The second act played in the United Nations, where a special session of the General Assembly began on April 23, 1947. The hearings of the interested parties took place before the Political Commission. The representative of the Arab Higher Committee demanded the application of the right of self-determination in a democratic process. For the Jewish Agency Ben Gurion indicated that the Jews in Palestine had the character of a nation. They needed and deserved their own sovereign state in a partitioned Palestine.

The result of the session was the establishment of a special commission [UNSCOP], to collect all the facts necessary for the General Assembly to arrive at a fair decision. Nationals from the Arab countries and those having a permanent seat on the Security Council were excluded from UNSCOP.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the UN had become the arbitrator, *Aufbau* presented the opinion of three Zionist leaders under the heading: "What are Palestine's Chances?" The most optimistic view came from Robert Weltsch: A binational state with full equal rights for Jews and Arabs would have the best chance to be acceptable to both sides. Two others, both diplomats, hedged their replies. The key factor, Moshe Shertok opined, was America's attitude. If the Jews were to obtain their aim, they must gain U.S.A. support and with it that of most

---

<sup>1</sup> Medzini, pp. 120/23.

of the other countries. For Nahum Goldman, a favourable decision depended on England's resignation from the mandate. The weakness of the British Empire as a consequence of the war prevented England from fulfilment of the Balfour Declaration.<sup>1</sup>

Just before UNSCOP disclosed its plan, the British caught the *Exodus* with 4,500 "illegal" immigrants on board. Despite intervention from all sides, England would not allow the passengers to enter Palestine. They sent the boat back to where it came from: Germany.<sup>2</sup> This incident was particularly galling to the Jewish side, and *Aufbau* directed many articles against the British action. In George's view, it was a victory of anti-Semitism and a defeat for democracy.<sup>3</sup> But his colleague Dyck wrote nevertheless, "England is not our enemy."<sup>4</sup>

At the end of August 1947, UNSCOP presented its report. The main feature was the recommendation of the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arabic states with the exception of the Jerusalem district, which was to be put under UN trusteeship. The three entities were to form an economic union. The plan also determined the borders and the constitution of the economic union. A majority of seven countries approved the recommendation; four were against it.

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/17, 25. 4. 1947, pp. 5/6.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/36, 5. 9. 1947, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/37, 12. 9. 1947, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A XIV/11, 12. 3. 1948, p. 3.



UNSCOP's recommendation was, in *Aufbau's* view, a workable plan, an honest and serious endeavour to solve the problem on a realistic basis, disregarding the demands of Jewish and Arab radicals.<sup>1</sup> Its main feature was partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state, proposed by both Weizmann and Ben Gurion previously,<sup>2</sup> as well as trusteeship by the UN for Jerusalem, which would eliminate Britain from the scene. It was now up to the General Meeting of the UN to decide Palestine's future.

The fall session of the UN opened on September 16, 1947. An *ad hoc* committee was to deal with the preparatory work of the Palestine issue and submit recommendations to the plenum, whose decision required a two-thirds majority.<sup>3</sup> Before the *ad hoc* committee, the Jewish Agency accepted the UNSCOP report, whereas the Arab Higher Committee rejected it. The committee rejected the establishment of an Arab state in the whole of Palestine but accepted the UNSCOP report with slight changes after careful investigations.<sup>4</sup> The plenum received the *ad hoc* committee's recommendations in the middle of November. They were put on the agenda for November 25, 1947.<sup>5</sup> After a lengthy debate, the general meeting accepted the recommendations of

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/36, 5.9.1947, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XIII/28, 11.7.1947, pp. 1, 5.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/39, 26.9.1947, pp. 1/2, 5/6.

<sup>4</sup> Medzini, pp. 125/7.

<sup>5</sup> A XIII/47, 21.11.1947, p. 1.

the *ad hoc* committee on November 29, 1947, with a majority of 33 to 13, and 10 abstentions. This was more than the required two-thirds majority. A Jewish state would come into existence on October 1, 1948.<sup>1</sup>

George headed his comment *Erhoerung*.<sup>2</sup> This decision was to him like a miracle, awarded to a community often persecuted and tortured, often exposed to complete extinction. Moreover, it was hardly comprehensible that these people should have regained their original homeland after having been so long without it.<sup>3</sup> Under the slogan "After 2,000 Years of Yearning" and "The Birth of a Nation," many articles expressed joy, content and hope for a secure future.

This high mood did not last long. The last act of a drama with its traditional reversal had begun. While the decision in New York caused relief, jubilation and hopefulness among the Palestinian Jews, Arab anger burst into riots with attacks against the Jewish population in Palestine.<sup>4</sup> The disturbances grew heavier, more numerous and more widespread. Consequently, the Jewish Agency called up four age groups<sup>5</sup> and later declared general mobilization.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the agency demanded

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIII/49, 5.12.1947, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Granting.

<sup>3</sup> A XIII/49, 5.12.1947, pp. 1/2.

<sup>4</sup> A XIII/49, 5.12.1947, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> A XIV/5, 30.1.1948, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> A XIV/7, 13.2.1948, pp. 1/2.

that the Security Council of the UN take steps to stop Arab aggression and the attempt to prevent the implementation of the plan of partition.<sup>1</sup> Hearings before the council dragged on and on.

Thwarted in the plenum of the UN, the Arabs next exploited their possession of the world's greatest oil reserves. For this purpose, they used their friends in the U.S. State Department and the Department of Defense, whose names *Aufbau* had previously disclosed.<sup>2</sup> It had become an open secret that these officials wanted Truman to change his mind, frightening him with the Communist danger.<sup>3</sup>

On March 19, 1948, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal opened the offensive. U.S. interests, he said, would be endangered by hostile Arab states in the Middle East. Peace must be reinstated there, Secretary of State Marshall added, and Warren Austin, the U.S. representative at the Security Council, proposed to postpone the Jewish Agency's request. *Aufbau* called the 19th of March "a black day" in America's history and condemned the new policy not only as a move against the Jewish people but also as one against the UN. It was disappointed and outraged by the American attitude. On *Aufbau's* request, nine members of its advisory board expressed their opinion on the new situation. They ranged from "a

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/6, 6.2.1948, pp. 3/4.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/5, 30.1.1948, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> A XIV/6, 6.2.1948, pp. 1/2.

sellout to the oil companies" to "a reminder of the Munich accord" to the advice "Proclaim the Jewish state."<sup>1</sup> George, who headlined his comment "The Dance around the Oil Barrel," thought the solicitude for the Arabs was not necessary; they had only the West to sell their oil to.<sup>2</sup> To follow up the Forrestal and Marshall declarations, Truman proposed an armistice in Palestine and trusteeship by the UN instead of partition.<sup>3</sup> In spite of America's action, the Palestine Commission, the body appointed by the UN to implement the decisions of November 29, 1947, continued its work. Its first report held Britain and the Arabs responsible for the situation in Palestine: the Arabs used foreign armed bands to attack Jews; while Britain refused to stop them and wilfully hindered the commission's work. *Aufbau* headlined the item "Accused!"<sup>4</sup> While negotiations about the trusteeship continued, May 15, 1948, the day on which Britain would give up the mandate and withdraw its troops came closer and closer. In a discussion with Secretary of State Marshall, Shertok, the future Foreign Minister of the State of Israel, told him that the Jewish Agency itself would implement the resolution of the plenum of November 29, 1948, a procedure considered legal according to international law as interpreted by American experts and others. America had no objection to a

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/13, 26.3.1948, pp. 1/3.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/14, 2.4.1948, pp. 3/4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> A XIV/16, 16.4.1948, p. 1.

Jewish state, Marshall replied; it only wanted to stop the bloodshed.<sup>1</sup>

Shertok's words were no empty boast. On May 14, 1948, in Tel Aviv, Ben Gurion in the name of the National Council proclaimed the State of Israel, announced that the executive of the National Council would become the provisional government and the National Council the provisional State Council.<sup>2</sup>

*Aufbau* was jubilant. George addressed an open letter to Truman, thanking him, past presidents and Congress for everything they had done for the Jewish people that had led to the rebirth of the State of Israel. George explained how important their own state was for Jews everywhere and hoped for good relations between the U.S.A. and the Jewish state.<sup>3</sup> On Truman's initiative, the U.S.A. recognized the new state shortly after the proclamation.<sup>4</sup>

*Aufbau's* issue of May 21, 1948, devoted the first ten pages to describe the new state with articles from the historical, ideological and geographical points of view. It printed biographies of the leaders, the reactions around the world and the prospects for Israel's continued existence. Again Wronkow's cartoon depicted the reality in a most clear and drastic way: Baby Israel, with a rifle in his hand and an

---

<sup>1</sup> A XIV/20, 14. 5. 1948, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A XIV/21, 21. 5. 1948, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A XIV/20, 14. 5. 1948, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A XIV/21, 21. 5. 1948, p. 6.

ammunition belt around his body, sits with the Israeli flag in a tent where he receives a bunch of flowers from Uncle Sam, while bombs explode in the air. The caption reads: "The first well-wisher - At the next visit, Uncle, please bring weapons along."<sup>1</sup>

While Ben Gurion read the proclamation, bombs fell on Tel Aviv, and a few days later, armies from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Transjordanian tried to invade the part of Palestine allotted to Israel. It was not to be Israel's last war for survival. Unfortunately, what George in his letter to the president feared might happen occurred: "a long and cruel conflict." But the future also brought Israeli victories and the development of a viable, modern and democratic state in which Jews could live in freedom and security without fear of discrimination and persecution. In this regard one of *Aufbau's* and George's central hopes was realized.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

## CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

The history of a newspaper is, in the main, the description of its position on the important issues of the day that affect its readers. From its beginning in 1934 *Aufbau* fought for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine despite early resistance from some of its readers and opposition from one editor. Finally in 1948, after 14 years, the aim was achieved. How did the paper's other goals fare?

As a foreign-language paper, the weekly wanted to be a bridge between the old and the new homelands of its readers. *Aufbau* used the German language for the bulk of its articles, even during the war when everybody connected with Germany was suspected of spying. The newspaper introduced a feuilleton with a double purpose: it was for the enjoyment and edification of the readers and it was to continue the spread of liberal cultural values, despised by the Nazis. Regarding the new homeland, *Aufbau* developed a program of Americanization. Although not very well defined in the paper's early days, it fulfilled this task later by explaining the values of American society as well as the peculiarities of daily life in the U.S.

*Aufbau*, furthermore, wanted to be seen as an American-Jewish paper. It acted as a mouthpiece for the German-Jewish refugees but also as a guardian of Jewish tradition in general. In principle, American democracy allowed all races

and nationalities, as well as followers of all religious creeds, to live together in a peaceful society. Decisions in politics were reached by discussion and majority vote. *Aufbau* imitated America's model. Its pages were open to all non-radical opinions considered important enough to be brought to the attention of the public, and it held special forums on controversial questions of general interest though these became less frequent after the war.

Basing its conception on the idea that the U.S.A. was a nation consisting of sub-nationalities, *Aufbau* classified the Jewish people as such a sub-nation. Jews could live in America without giving up their own nationality as long as they accepted the principles of American democracy. They could be sympathizers of Zionism or followers of Jewish orthodoxy, as well as American patriots. *Aufbau* offered this attitude as a new self-identification in contrast to that found in the European countries where one national character was emphasized.

During the period of this study, *Aufbau's* main fight was against the Jews' archenemy: the Nazis and their ideology. The by-laws of the then German-Jewish Club sanctioned the fight implicitly in the early years of the paper.<sup>1</sup> The statements of editorial policy on November 29, 1939, and of January 9, 1942, expressly mandated *Aufbau* to combat these racists and their

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 39.



theories. The weekly even continued the denunciations after the U.S. government had relaxed or discarded its post-war denazification in order to integrate West Germany into the camp of the democracies in the ensuing Cold War. This new policy risked, in *Aufbau's* opinion, the perpetuation of Nazi ideology.

When announcing the newspaper's changeover from a bi-weekly to a weekly on November 29, 1939, Hulse observed that this step would not only allow an expansion of the contents of the paper but would also create more work for immigrants and Americans. *Aufbau's* operation was of particular benefit to authors who used to make a living from writing in German. Their market had shrunk before the war and became even narrower after its outbreak. Thus *Aufbau's* growth was helpful to these writers. The newspaper never published figures about how many immigrants it employed and how much it paid to its contributors, but *Aufbau* prided itself on being published by immigrants for immigrants.

Others for whom *Aufbau* was important were those who used the club's social institutions.<sup>1</sup> Its status as a not-for-profit corporation obliged *Aufbau* to use its profits for welfare purposes, but the weekly never published the

---

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 126/127.

amounts thus spent.<sup>1</sup>

After Manfred George took over the editorship in April 1939, *Aufbau* adopted a uniform character. It became a *Meinungszeitung* with some features of the popular press, as well as a few borrowings from the American papers.<sup>2</sup> Not all of *Aufbau's* friends, mostly writers and intellectuals, approved of this mixture. They objected mainly to the popular features, advertising and *Familienanzeigen*. Their preference was for a journal à la *Weltbuehne*.<sup>3</sup> Despite these disagreements, *Aufbau* adhered to the formula once it had been chosen. A paper modelled after the intellectual *Weltbuehne*, one can safely say, would not have had much appeal to the masses.

In the view of Guy Stern, Professor of Romance and Germanic Languages and Literatures at Wayne State University, *Aufbau's* activities had an effect that the editors had not planned or intended. The paper's issues, together with archives of the Leo Baeck Institute and of the Lion Feuchtwanger and the Kurt Weill Foundations, reflect, he found, "German culture filtered by a Jewish ethic." These documentary sources came to the attention of American periodicals, and several American writers created works with German-Jewish

---

<sup>1</sup> The financial statements of the club should have shown these figures. Despite several attempts to locate these documents, I was not able to find any of them. See also p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 67.

characters who had been persecuted by the Nazis. But German gentile refugees, for whom Nazism was unbearable, Stern adds, also spread German culture in America.<sup>1</sup> Some American dailies, it should be mentioned, monitored *Aufbau* as early as September 1939.<sup>2</sup> Should Hanno Hardt or any other person decide to write about the influence that immigrants and their foreign-language press have had on American society,<sup>3</sup> the German-Jewish immigrants of the years 1933 to 1940 and *Aufbau* would be sources worth investigating.

The most important factor in *Aufbau's* existence and growth was the satisfaction of its readers. In the early days, the newcomers had to rely on *Aufbau* to find their way in their new and strange surroundings. "*Aufbau* was essential reading for immigrants, there was nothing else," remembers Professor Georg I. Mosse.<sup>4</sup> The good will and loyalty that the paper built up by rendering such services to its readers paid dividends, which *Aufbau* could call upon as late as 1981. At that time, the income of the paper no longer was sufficient to cover expenses, and it seemed *Aufbau* would go the way of other failed foreign-language papers. However, the memory of

---

<sup>1</sup> Guy Stern, "German Culture, Jewish Ethics" in Abraham J. Peck, ed., *The German-Jewish Legacy in America, 1938-1988 - From Bildung to the Bill of Rights*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), pp. 12/13.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 153/154.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Letter July 16, 1991, from George L. Mosse, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisc. to author.

those still alive from the old days when *Aufbau* was a necessity to them saved the newspaper. They inaugurated the "Aufbau Heritage Foundation" under the chairmanship of Dr. Eric Stoerger to seek voluntary contributions to secure the continued existence of the paper.<sup>1</sup> Although *Aufbau* had lost the importance in their lives it once had exercised, and although it had become a poor imitation of the old *Aufbau*, readers responded positively to the appeal. *Aufbau* was not yet condemned to death.

Several writers have used short slogans to characterize *Aufbau's* merits. I cannot think of a better one than that for which Edmund Stoiber, Bavarian Prime Minister, supplied the basic idea in his message of congratulation on *Aufbau's* 60th anniversary. Condensed and translated it reads: "*Aufbau*, the Document of the German-Jewish Refugees' Vitality."<sup>2</sup>

The literature about *Aufbau*, George's papers at the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* in Marbach and Steinitz' papers at the *Institut fuer Zeitungsforschung* in Dortmund will secure *Aufbau's* place in German-Jewish history. If, however, Jelenko never had had the idea of a club bulletin, if de Jonge had not had the vision of a full-fledged newspaper and Hulse had not found the right time for its realization, would the

---

<sup>1</sup> A XLVII/38, 18.9.1981, pp. 18, 10.

<sup>2</sup> A LX/21, 14.10.1994, p. 16.

development of the German-Jewish community in their new homeland have been any different?

*Aufbau* was "essential reading for the immigrant," as Professor Mosse expressed it.<sup>1</sup> A newspaper for German-Jewish immigrants was, one could say, a natural imperative in the years after 1933. It is inconceivable that in a country with the largest foreign-language press a group of immigrants "accustomed to reading newspapers, including a Jewish one" in their old homeland,<sup>2</sup> should not have felt the need for a paper in their mother tongue. The demand might not have been strong enough as early as 1934, as in the case of *Aufbau*. But after the Nazi occupation of France in the summer of 1940, when a great number of professional journalists arrived in the U.S.A. and financing capital was available,<sup>3</sup> all factors for starting a successful German-language American-Jewish newspaper had come together. The alternative would have been expansion of the existing German-language newspapers.

The situation in Palestine/Israel, which also has a foreign-language press, supports this assumption. The influx of German Jews after the 1933 Nazi takeover in Germany resulted in the launching of two dailies, the *Yediot Chadashot*, later named *Chadashot Israel*, and the *Yediot*

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 38.

*Hajom* as well as a weekly, *Orient*, which lasted only from April 1942 to April 1943.<sup>1</sup> A similar development occurred after the Russian-Jewish *Alijah*<sup>2</sup> in the seventies. The newcomers caused the creation of a Russian-language press, consisting of seven weeklies, one twice-weekly and about twelve other periodicals.<sup>3</sup>

New immigrants need a medium to learn the news and to help them to face the strangeness and intricacies of the new homeland. Newspapers in the mother tongue have proven to fill this task best. If, however, in the case of the U.S.A. no *Aufbau* had existed, the German-Jewish immigrants would not have had, in the words of Lion Feuchtwanger, their "life made easier" for them.<sup>4</sup>

Curt C. Silberman, president of the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc., contributed an article titled "The German-Jewish Immigrants - Their Impact and Their Message" to the 50th anniversary issue of *Aufbau*. In his view, these newcomers, although mainly occupied with finding a place in the new homeland, did not forget their obligation toward the society into which they were to be integrated. Having experienced life in a tyranny, they became fighters

---

<sup>1</sup> Alice Schwarz-Galos, *Von Wien nach Tel-Aviv-Lebensweg einer Journalistin*, (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1991), pp. 160, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Immigration to Israel.

<sup>3</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, International Edition, 17.2.1990, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> A X/52, 29.12.1944, p. 24.

for a better world.<sup>1</sup>

Silberman's remarks on German-Jewish immigrants also apply to their mouthpiece *Aufbau*. Many leading personalities and observers of public opinion have confirmed on various occasions that the weekly not only fulfilled its task as a foreign-language newspaper but also discharged its obligation toward U.S. society. Moreover, the tendency of its editorial policy included the fight for a better world and the promotion of American values. Only a selection of these statements can be listed here.

*Aufbau* had the greatest impact on the German-Jewish immigrant community, in particular on its readers. President Dwight D. Eisenhower praised the paper for supplying the latter with the necessary information to become American citizens and for admonishing them to take up citizenship.<sup>2</sup> To help them to understand the spirit of the new homeland, Albert Einstein thought, and to help remove the feeling of loneliness were *Aufbau's* most important achievements.<sup>3</sup> The weekly's influence, according to others, extended further: to American Jewry in the U.S.A. as a whole.

I.M. Bloom, minister at the Fort Washington Synagogue, subscribed to *Aufbau*, he wrote, from its inception, even

---

<sup>1</sup> A 50th Anniversary Supplement, 15.6.1984, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XXI/13, 1.4.1955, p. 4.

though he was not a German-Jewish immigrant, because it was worth reading for its message and for its content in general.<sup>1</sup> *Aufbau's* stand for democracy as the best form of government for Jews has contributed, in the view of Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshorim in New York, to American and American-Jewish values.<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx, publisher of *Allgemeine Wochen Zeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, extended *Aufbau's* importance to World Jewry, because its *Suchanzeigen* again brought together many survivors of Nazi persecution.<sup>3</sup> Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president of the Jewish World Congress, cited the extensive space given to articles promoting a Jewish state in Palestine,<sup>4</sup> while Itzhak Ben-Zwi, President of Israel from 1952 to 1963, appreciated the paper's work supporting Zionist aims.<sup>5</sup>

As to *Aufbau's* influence on American society, Robert M. White II, publisher of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, corroborated Hanno Hardt's<sup>6</sup> contention, namely that the non-English immigrants and their newspapers exerted a noticeable influence

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> A XXI/13, 1.4.1955, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 4.



on U.S. society's development.<sup>1</sup> Politicians in particular appreciated *Aufbau's* work in this respect. Jacob K. Javits, at that time New York State Attorney and later U.S. senator, stressed the paper's expertise in international affairs, which, he said, should help the U.S.A. in its new capacity as world leader.<sup>2</sup> John F. Kennedy detected in *Aufbau* the aspiration of some immigrants to occupy public office in the U.S.A. as they had in their old homeland.<sup>3</sup> *Aufbau* was for Averell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York, proof that the U.S.A. needed a stream of immigrants to steadily renew its society.<sup>4</sup>

The influence was also felt in the old homeland. Germany's development into a democratic and constitutional state after the foundation of the *Bundesrepublik* in 1949 had also changed *Aufbau's* and George's view about the danger of Nazi revival. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the *Bundesrepublik* West Germany, gave credit to *Aufbau* for its contribution to the improvement of relations between his country, the U.S.A. and the Jewish people. He especially praised the paper's maintenance of traditional cultural values during the

---

<sup>1</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A XXI/13, 1.4.1955, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> A XXI/13, 1.4.1955, p. 3.

Nazi period<sup>1</sup> and the renewal of interest by *Aufbau's* readers in their country of birth.<sup>2</sup> A similar message came from Heinz Galinski, president of the Berlin Jewish community. For him, *Aufbau's* endeavour to foster the connection between American Jews and Jews in Germany was of importance.<sup>3</sup>

Although some intellectuals, writers and artists did not like *Aufbau's* popular features, others appreciated its existence and did not mind the sections that their colleagues found too common. *Aufbau* was, in the eyes of Thomas Mann, a powerful fighter for cultural and humane ideas, a stance which attracted many readers around the world.<sup>4</sup> Mann continued to read *Aufbau* after he had moved from California to Switzerland. The weekly was for Fritz Lang, Hollywood film director, a spiritual centre for the German-Jewish immigrants; for Einstein it was a kind of meeting place.<sup>5</sup> Carl Zuckmayer, playwright and novelist, even advised his fellow-writers to obtain reviews of their works in *Aufbau*, claiming that the literacy of the paper's readers would lead to increased book sales. Orson Wells expressed the hope that *Aufbau* continue the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> A XXVI/18, 29.4.1960, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> A 50th Anniversary Supplement, 15.6.1984, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> A 50th Anniversary Supplement, 15.6.1984, p. 17, originally 1.12.1948.

<sup>5</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 3.

struggle for equality of the races and for social justice.<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. Castiglioni, of Yale University's School of Medicine viewed *Aufbau* as a source for the historian looking for material about the life of new immigrants.<sup>2</sup> Archibald MacLeish, poet and librarian of Congress, wrote that since so many readers of *Aufbau* experienced the lack of freedom before they came to the U.S.A., it was no wonder, but also laudable, that the paper particularly propagated this basic civil right.<sup>3</sup>

The *New York Times*, on the occasion of George's death in December 1965, described the services that George introduced for the readers, adding that the editor and *Aufbau* tried to maintain good relations with the officials of the U.S.A., the *Bundesrepublik* and Israel. President Lyndon B. Johnson sent his personal greetings on the occasion of *Aufbau's* 30th anniversary; Theodor Heuss, president of the *Bundesrepublik* of West Germany and an old friend, supplied George with special information and David Ben-Gurion gave him an exclusive interview. In summary, George took over a club bulletin "and built the publication into an influential weekly."<sup>4</sup>

*Aufbau's* 50th anniversary and growing interest in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., X/52, 29.12.1944, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A X/51, 22.12.1944, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 1.1.1966, p. 17.1.

literature of the exile was the cause for many new works and articles in the U.S., German and Austrian press. Will Schaber reviewed some of them in 1991.<sup>1</sup> They and others that appeared later are listed in the bibliography at the end.

After 1948, *Aufbau* led two public campaigns for the benefit of German-Jewish refugees. In the 1950s it fought for a fair *Wiedergutmachung*.<sup>2</sup> Although, as mentioned earlier,<sup>3</sup> *Wiedergutmachung* came too late for many, it was of great assistance to the survivors. On one hand, *Aufbau* helped the beneficiaries by adding a new supplement dealing exclusively with *Wiedergutmachung* and, on the other, it co-operated with the German authorities. In the late 1960s and 1970s, *Aufbau* proposed that German cities and towns invite their Jewish former fellow citizens to visit. *Aufbau* took this initiative only after having discussed the idea with the authorities of the City of Berlin.

After these two actions, *Aufbau* ran out of causes of particular interest to its readers. They and the paper's advertisers, of course, gradually went the way of all flesh. The loss in revenue forced the paper, as already mentioned, to cover the deficit through voluntary contributions in 1981 and to cut back from weekly to fortnightly publication. In

---

<sup>1</sup> A LVII/2, 15.1.1991, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Restitution.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 393.

1983, *Aufbau* became an ordinary Jewish-German-American periodical without a distinctive profile. Schaber's and Frederick R. Lachman's pages are now the only reminders in the paper of the old *Aufbau*. The title itself, the club's few announcements and the *Familienanzeigen*, consisting almost exclusively of obituaries, are continuations of it. Since Henry Marx' death in 1994, *Aufbau* no longer has had a Jewish editor or editor-in-chief. In May 1995, Hermann Pichler, who was managing editor for many years, was replaced by Monica Ziegler, apparently after an internal management crisis. Nevertheless, the voluntary contributions are as numerous as ever. They are, however, bound to become fewer and fewer. Some time, sooner or later, *Aufbau* will not escape the fate of all foreign-language papers. The old *Aufbau* of George and Steinitz is gone anyhow. The longtime readers will, without doubt, agree with

Was vergangen kehrt nicht wieder,  
Aber ging es leuchtend nieder,  
Leuchtet's lange noch zurueck!  
Karl Foerster, 1763-1841

(The past is past for all the time;  
But has it left in glorious shine,  
its glow will last for many years!)

## REFERENCES

### *Interviews, Archival Sources and Private Collections*

- Goldenberg, Norbert      Interviewed by Michael Tietz in June 1972, Published in Herbert A. Strauss, ed., *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U.S.A.* . Vol V, (New York: K.G. Saur, 1984).
- Hulse, Wilfred C.      Selected letters from Hulse's family papers in possession of his daughter Irene H. Ross, Woodstock, Conn.
- Kienzle, Birgit      Interviewer of the T.V. documentary *Leben als Nachlass-Aufbau- eine deutsche Exilzeitung in New York*. Produced by TV station Bundesfunk Baden Baden, Germany. (from the reels of the unedited interviews with several persons.) Broadcast December 1988.
- Jonge, Eric de      Correspondence from September 1989 to March 1990.
- Maier, Joseph      Interview on 5.7.1991 at Stowe, Vt.

### *Periodicals*

- Aufbau*      1934-1948; single issues in 1955, 1960, 1984.
- Berlin am Abend*
- Die Zeit*      18.11.1989.
- Fortune*      November 1940.
- New York Times*      20., 22., 23., 31.12.1926, 1.1.1966.
- Printers' Ink*      30.1.1948.
- Weltbuehne, Reprints*      1915-1930.

*Selected Bibliography and Sources Consulted*

- Adamic, Louis. *Two-Way Passage*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.
- Audit Bureau of Circulation, Unpublished audit reports of *Aufbau's* circulation for the years 1941-1948.
- Bauer-Hack, Susanne. *Die juedische Wochenzeitung Aufbau und die Wiedergutmachung*. Duesseldorf: Droste, 1994.
- Blum, John et al. *The National Experience - a History of the United States since 1865*, Part Two, Fourth Edition, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., 1977.
- Bohrmann, Hans. *Ludwig Wronkow - Berlin-New York, Journalist und karikaturist bei Mosse und beim Aufbau. Eine illustrierte Lebensgeschichte*. Munich: K.G. Saur, 1989.
- Bower, Tom. *The Pledge Betrayed*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1982.
- Bracher, Karl Dietrich. *Die Deutsche Diktatur*. Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1979.
- Brandl, Rudolf. "Der Kulturverband und seine Sippe in Gegen den Strom, November 1939." Quoted in Robert E. Cazden *German Exile Literature in America 1933-1950*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1970.
- Brockhaus Encyclopaedia (1968 ed.)*. S.V. Coudenhove-Kalergi.
- Cazden, Robert E. *German Exile Literature in America 1933-1950 - A History of the Free German Press and Booktrade*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1970.
- Citron, Wolf M. *Aufbau Almanac - The Immigrant's Handbook*. New York: German-Jewish Club, 1941.
- Current Biography*. S.V. Manfred George. Bronx, N.Y.: The H.W. Wilson Company, October 1965.
- Davie, Maurice R. and Koenig, Samuel. *The Refugees are now Americans*. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1945.
- Davie, Maurice R. et al. *Refugees in America - Report of the Committee for the Study of recent Immigration from Europe*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1947.

- Deak, Istvan. *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals - A Political History of the Weltbuehne and its Circle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Durzac, Manfred. "Die Exilsituation in USA" in Durzac, Manfred, ed., *Deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1973. pp. 145/158.
- Emery, Edwin. *The Press and America*, Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall Inc., 1962.
- Eykman, Christoph. "Manfred George und der Aufbau - Ihre Bedeutung fuer die deutsche Exilliteratur in den U. S. A. ". in Spalek, John M. und Strelka, Joseph. *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*. Band 2. Berne: Francke Verlag, 1987. pp. 1257/1299.
- Fermi, Laura. *Illustrious Immigrants - The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930-1941*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *The United States and the Origin of the Cold War*. New York: Columbia Univeristy Press, 1972.
- George, Manfred. "Geistige Einordnung in die Neue Welt" in Grossman, Kurt R. ed., *Ten Years American Federation of Jews from Central Europe*, New York: American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc., 1952.
- Goodman, Walter. *The Committee*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1968.
- Groth, Michael. *The Road to New York: The Emigration of Berlin Journalists, 1933-1945*. An unpublished thesis in the Graduate College of the University of Iowa. December 1983.
- Hardt, Hanno. "The Foreign-Language Press in American Press History" in *Journal of Commerce*, No. 19/2, Spring 1989.
- Heilbut, Anthony. *Kultur ohne Heimat - Deutsche Emigration in den USA nach 1930*. Reinbeck: Rowolt, 1991.
- Hertzberg, Arthur. "Ideological Evolution" in *Zionism, Compilations from Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House Ltd. 1973. pp. 20/62.
- Hillgruber, Andreas. *Germany and the World Wars*, translated by William C. Kirby. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.



- Holborn, Hajo. *A History of Modern Germany, 1840-1945*. Reprint: Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Hughes, H. Stuart. *Contemporary Europe*, 4th edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976.
- Jeansonne, Glen. *Gerard K.L. Smith - Minister of Hate*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Kent, Donald F. *The Refugee Intellectual - The Americanization of Immigrants*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.
- Koestler, Arthur. *Arrow in the Blue*, quoted in Groth, Michael, *The Road to New York: The Emigration of Berlin Journalists, 1933-1945*. An unpublished thesis in the Graduate College of the University of Iowa. December 1983.
- Lee, Alfred M. *The Daily Newspaper in America*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1947.
- Lowenstein, Steven M. *Frankfurt on the Hudson - The German Jewish Community of Washington Heights, 1933-1983, Its Structure and Culture*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989.
- Maas, Lieselotte. *Handbuch der deutschen Exilliteratur 1933-1945*. Band 1, Bibliographie A-K. Munich: Carl Hauser Verlag, 1976. S.V. Aufbau.
- Maas, Lieselotte. "Die Neue Weltbuehne und der Aufbau - Zwei Beispiele fuer Grenzen und Moeglichkeiten journalistischer Arbeit im Exil" in Koerbner, Thomas et al., eds. *Exilforschung, ein internationales Jahrbuch*. Band I, Munich: edition text + kritik, 1983. pp. 245/282.
- Maor, Harry. *Ueber den Wiederaufbau der Juedischen Gemeinden in Deutschland seit 1945*. Unpublished dissertation at the University of Mainz, 1961.
- Machnicki, Monica. "Aufbau - Reconstruction," in Hardt, Hanno, *Presse im Exil - Beitrage zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des deutschen Exils 1933-1945*. Munich, K.G. Saur, 1979. pp. 326/346.
- Medzini, Moshe. "Zionist Policy" in *Zionism. Compilations from Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House Ltd. 1973.

- Moss, Kenneth. *Aufbau, The Americanization of an Immigrant Newspaper and its Readers*. Unpublished thesis in the Department of History, Indiana University, May 1971.
- Mosse, George L. *The Crisis of German Ideology*. New York: Schocken Books, 1981.
- Nashon, Gad. "The German-Jewish Press in the United States, in *Qesher*, Journalism Studies, Institute for Research of the Jewish Press, Tel Aviv University. No. 6, November 1989, pp. 58/61.
- Niers, Gerd. "A non-Jewish German looks at the German-Jewish Legacy," in Peck, Abraham J., ed., *The German-Jewish Legacy in America, 1938-1988 - From Bildung to the Bill of Rights*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989. pp. 223/225.
- Park, Robert E. *The Immigrant Press and its Control*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922.
- Petersen, Walter E. *The Berlin Liberal Press in Exile - A History of the Pariser Tageblatt - Pariser Tageszeitung 1933-1940*. Tuebingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1981.
- Pfanner, Helmut F. *Exile in New York - German and Austrian Writers after 1938*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983.
- Radkau, Joachim. *Die deutsche Emigration in der USA - Ihr Einfluss auf die amerikanische Europapolitik 1933-1945*. Duesseldorf: Bertelmann Universitaetsverlag, 1971.
- Reinhold, Ernst. "Martin Gumpert" in Spalek, John and Strelka, Joseph, eds., *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*. Band 2, New York. Berne: Franke Verlag, 1989.
- Robert, Paul. *Dictionnaire 1969*. S.V. feuilleton.
- Roeder, Werner, and Strauss, Herbert, eds., *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*. Munich: K.G. Seur, 1980.
- Rotenberg, Julius G. "The English of *Aufbau*," in *American Speech, a Quarterly of Linguistic Usage*. Vol. XIX, 1944, Number 2, April. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. pp. 97/102.
- Roucek, Joseph A. "Foreign-Language Press in World War II," in *Sociology and Social Research*. XXVI. July/August 1943. pp. 462/471.

- Schaber, Will. ed., *Aufbau - Reconstruction - Dokumente einer Kultur im Exil*. New York: The Overlook Press, 1972.
- Schaber, Will. ed., *Zeitzeuge Aufbau - Texte aus sechs Jahrzehnten*. Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1994.
- Schaber, Will and Niers, Gert, eds. *Aufbau 50 Jahre 1934-1984. Ausstellungskatalog*.
- Schneider, Dorothee. *Aufbau-Reconstruction and the Americanization of German-Jewish Immigrants 1934-1944*. An unpublished thesis for the degree of Master of Arts at the Graduate School, Department of History, University of Massachusetts, May 1975.
- Schneider, Sigrid. "Deutschsprachige Journalisten und Publizisten im New Yorker Exil," in Spalek, John M. and Strelka, Joseph, eds., *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*. Band 2, New York. Berne: Franke Verlag, 1989. pp. 1257/1279.
- Schwarz-Galos, Alice *Von Wien nach Tel-Aviv-Lebensweg einer Journalistin*. Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1991.
- Sechi, Maria. "Strukturen und Funktionen einer deutschsprachigen Zeitschrift im amerikanischen Exil: Aufbau," in Schichiji Yoshinori, ed., *Internationaler Germanisten Kongress in Tokyo - Section 14. Emigranten- und Immigranten Literatur*. Munich: Iudicion Verlag, 1991. pp. 260/266.
- Smith, Kingsbury, "Our Government's Plan for Postwar Germany," in *The American Mercury*, April 1943. pp. 391/420.
- Soley, Lawrence C. *Radio Warfare*. New York: Praeger, 1989.
- Steiner, Frank C. *Manfred George - His Life and Works*. Unpublished dissertation at College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Germanic Languages and Literature, State University of New York at Albany, 1977.
- Steinitz, Hans J. "Thoughts about the German-Jewish Legacy in the United States by a Man from Aufbau," in Peck, Abraham J., *The German-Jewish Legacy in America, 1938-1988 - From Bildung to the Bill of Rights*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989. pp. 191/195.
- Stern, Guy. "German Culture, Jewish Ethics," in Peck, Abraham J., *The German-Jewish Legacy in America, 1938-1988 - From Bildung to the Bill of Rights*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989. pp. 25/33.

- Strauss, Herbert A. *Essays on History, Persecution and Emigration of German Jews*. New York: K.G. Saur, 1987.
- Strauss, Herbert A. *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U.S.A.* Vol 5. New York: K.G. Saur, 1984.
- Szoch, Simon. *Der Aufbau*. Unpublished monograph written in the seminar of Professor Dr. Karl Diester, at the University of Munich, 1949.
- Walter, Hans-Albert. "Aufbau," in Walter, Hans-Albert, *Exilliteratur 1933-1950*, Band 4, *Exilpresse*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1975. pp. 543/678, 798/814.
- Wittke, Carl. *The German-Language Press in America*. New York: Haskell House Publisher Ltd., 1973.
- Zionism, Compilations from Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House Ltd. 1973.

*Some Articles about Aufbau in other Periodicals*

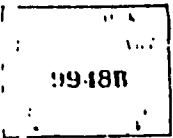
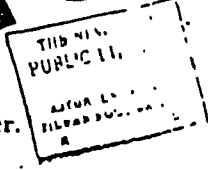
<i>Allgemeine Juedische Wochenzeitung, Duesseldorf</i>	23.11.1984
<i>Common Ground</i>	Fall 1941
<i>Contemporary Jewish Record</i>	June 1941
<i>Daily News Bulletin of JTA</i>	3. 8.1984
<i>Der Monat, Chicago</i>	I. 1986
<i>Der Spiegel</i>	12. 2.1985
<i>Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt</i>	18. 1.1971
<i>Die Zeit</i>	30.11.1984
<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	4.11.1984
<i>Frankfurter Rundschau</i>	12.11.1988
<i>Globus, Munich</i>	July/Aug. 1985
<i>Jewish Exponent, Philadelphia</i>	23.11.1984
<i>Neue Arbeiter Zeitung, Vienna</i>	20. 2.1987
<i>New York Express</i>	16.12.1940
<i>New York Inquirer</i>	16.12.1940
<i>New York Times</i>	16.11.84; 21. 6.1984; 12. 3.1994
<i>Rheinische Merkur</i>	9.12.1988
<i>Sueddeutsche Zeitung</i>	8. 6.1985; 4. 1.1991
<i>Taz, Berlin</i>	Spring 1992
<i>The Canadian Jewish News</i>	10. 1.1985
<i>The New Republic</i>	13. 1.1941
<i>The Rhode Island Herald</i>	21.12.1984
<i>Time</i>	23.11.1959
<i>Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Essen</i>	1. 9.1979

Gert Niers, former editor of *Aufbau*, supplied most of the above. Translations by author if no name mentioned.

AGS. 2 878

# AUFBAU

Festnummer.



Justice V. 1 (Apr. - May 1935) up  
11/30  
11/30  
11/30  
11/30  
11/30  
11/30

## NACHRICHTENBLATT DES GERMAN-JEWISH CLUB INC. NEW YORK, N. Y.

1. Jahrgang—No 1

NEW YORK, DEN 1. DEZEMBER 1934

Preis 5 Cents

### Z E H N J A H R E !

In sturmbelegten Zeiten fällt der zehnjährige Gründungsjubiläum des German-Jewish Club, Inc.

Aus der Fülle freudiger und frohlicher Ereignisse einer über ein Jahrzehnt sich erstreckenden Geschichte seien wieder bestimmte Namen, nach einzelne Geschicknisse besonders hervorgehoben, denn es ist nicht leicht, davon bewahrt zu bleiben, ein Mitarbeiter auf die Leistungen der anderen zu überschätzen, oder den Wert irgend eines Erfolges zu verkleinern. Der Erfolg ist nicht das Resultat des organischen Zusammenwirkens aller Glieder, wo immer sie auch gewirkt haben mochten. Wir wollen uns daher auf einen ganz kurzen geschichtlichen Überblick über die Entstehung und Entwicklung unserer Organisation beschränken.

Vor zehn Jahren haben sich lebens- und jugendfrische, jüdisch geprägte Einwanderer im Plan gefasst, die deutschen Juden in einer Organisation langjähriger Menschen-Menge geistiger Beziehungen und Förderung der Freundschaft und Gesehligkeit zusammenzuführen. Wenn auch geringe Zahl doch reich an Hegeisterung, war diese kleine Schar bereit, alle Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden und ihren Plan in die Tat umzusetzen. Und so gründeten sie im September des Jahres 1924 den Deutsch-Jüdischen Klub.

Die Neugründung hatte es verstanden, recht die Klippen der ersten Jahre hindurchzustreifen. Die Aufwärtentwicklungen jüdischen Lebens und die allgemeine Ausbreitung des Interesses wider Kreise hat zunächst veranlaßt durch eine ruhige und verständnisvolle Leitung, brachte manchen Erfolg, verbunden mit stetigem Wachstum.

Inzwischen wurde auf der Ostseite des german-jewish Center mit ähnlicher Zielsetzung gearbeitet. In beide Organisationen schließlich die gleichen Bestrebungen erfolgten, wurde von beiden Seiten im Jahre 1928 die Konsolidierung beider Gruppen in Erwägung gezogen. Die im Geiste

der Freundschaft und der Solidarität geführten Verhandlungen führten sehr bald zu einer völligen Verständigung und nach einem Einigungsstadium von 4 Monaten wurde die Vereinigung tatsächlich und endgültig vollzogen.

In ständiger Ausbreitung und Ausdehnung der Leistungen erfuhr der Klub vornehmlich durch Vorträge, Referate und Diskussionen für die Verbreitung jüdischen Lebenslebens unter den Mitgliedern zu wirken. Daneben wurde auch allen anderen Gebieten Wissen auf literarischer und künstlerischer Natur große Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Der jüdisch-amerikanische, entsprechend, hat sich im Laufe der Jahre der stetige Standard allmählich und beharrlich erweitert und vertieft. Diese Tatsache darf wohl mit Recht als eines der grössten und schönsten Verdienste in der Gestaltung der Klubstruktur in dieser Linie hervorgehoben werden.

Man legte Gewicht darauf, Beziehungen zu Männern anzuknüpfen, die durch Bedeutung und Stellung und jahrelange Beteiligung im öffentlichen Leben in der Lage waren, geschlagene und auf der Höhe der Wissenschaft stehende Vorträge zu halten.

Lebte ist dies nicht immer reelles in dem Masse gelungen, wie es wünschenswert gewesen wäre und wie es die allgemeine Erwartung verdient hätte. Immerhin legt die enorme Anzahl der Vorträge und die stets auf neue überraschende Ereignisse der Besuchszeit ein lebenswertes Zeugnis dafür ab, dass die Mitglieder stets mit Ernst und Interesse an den Darbietungen teilgenommen haben.

Wenn wir so die Wirksamkeit unserer Organisation bis zum heutigen Tage überschauen dann müssen wir und jeder, der es aufrecht mit uns meint, sagen, dass das Gedächtnis des Klubs einzig und allein auf der Grundlage möglich gewesen ist, auf welcher er bisher gestanden hat. Niemals war die religiöse Richtung innerhalb des Jubiläums aber gar das politische Betreten für die Werbung eines Mitgliedes entscheidend und so soll es auch in Zukunft bleiben. Denn gerade dadurch haben wir sichergestellt, was mit einer anderen Prinzipienstellung kaum gelungen wäre. Was aber die Haltung des Klubs an sich in seiner Gesamtheit anbelangt, musste die Orientierung sehr wohl im politisch-jüdischen Sinne gefunden werden. Der Klub musste seine betont jüdische Haltung gegen die allgemein drohenden, extremen antisemitischen Tendenzen zu bewahren und zu behaupten imstande sein, wenn der jüdische Charakter unserer Organisation erhalten bleiben sollte. Es muss nicht nur die Verwirklichung dieser Prinzipien, sondern auch unsere die aufrichtigen Freunde des Deutsch-Jüdischen Klubs mit aufrichtiger Ermunterung erwidern, dass sich diese Grundtendenzen zu behaupten vermöchten. Eine Organisation wird nämlich dadurch noch länger nicht zu einer jüdischen Kulturgemeinschaft, wenn deren Mitglieder jüdischen Eltern über Deutschland danken oder wenn gelegentlich ein Beibehalten Takt veranlasst oder, unwillkürlich jüdischer Vorträge gehalten wird. Punkte können wir die Freige nach dem Wollen und damit nach der Listenberechtigung, einen deutsch-jüdischen Kulturgruppe ihre Aufgaben beizubringen, dass, sie in einer Darbietung (Fortsetzung auf Seite 4)

Sonntag den 9. Dezember  
Zehnjähriges  
**Gründungs-Jubiläum**  
HOTEL DELANO, 108 W. 43. Street

---

Mittwoch, den 19. Dezember  
VORTRAG  
**Dr. Julius Deutsch**

---

Montag den 31. Dezember  
**Silvesterfeier**  
HOTEL WOLCOTT, 4 W. 31. Street

\*P. 2

### PROGRAMM

Juli 1932

**Sonntag, den 3. Juli:**  
 Besuch des Gartenfestes des Deutschen Israelitischen Landwehr Vereins im Fink's Park, 814 Ost 225. Str.  
 Zu erreichen mit White Plains Linie—225. Str. Station.  
 4 Uhr Nachmittags.

**Mittwoch, den 6. Juli:**  
 Vortrag, 9.00 Abends  
 Herr B. Meyer  
 spricht über  
 "Das Leben um Wirken Robert Koch's."

**Sonntag, den 10. Juli:**  
 Bade-Ausflug nach „Asbury Park.“  
 Treffpunkt: Sandy Hook Linie am Fusse der 42. Str. West.  
 8.30 Morgens.  
 Rundfahrt \$1.00.

**Mittwoch, den 13. Juli:**  
 Besuch des Hindenburg-Theaters.  
 Eintritt 25 cent.  
 Treffpunkt: 8.30 Abends, West 48. Str. zwischen Broadway und 8. Avenue.

### 2

**Sonntag, den 17. Juli:**  
 Bade-Ausflug nach „Rockaway Park.“  
 Treffpunkt: Oberer Wartesaal der L.I.R.R. Atlantic Ave. Station, Brooklyn.  
 9.30 Morgens.  
 Rundfahrt 53c.  
 Nachzügler treffen den Club am Strande, zwischen 116. und 117. Strasse.

**Mittwoch, den 20. Juli:**  
 Tanz- und Unterhaltungs-Abend auf dem „Roof Garden.“  
 Erfrischungen.  
 8.45 Abends.

**Sonntag, den 24. Juli:**  
 Bade-Ausflug nach „Breezy Point.“  
 Treffpunkt: Sheepshead Bay Station der B. M. T. Brighton Beach Linie.  
 10 Uhr Morgens.  
 Rundfahrt 50c.

**Mittwoch, den 27. Juli:**  
 Besuch des Stadium Konzertes.  
 Treffpunkt: 136. Str. und Amsterdam Ave.  
 8.15 Abends.  
 Eintritt 25c.

**Sonntag, den 31. Juli:**  
 Bade-Ausflug nach „Glen Island.“  
 Treffpunkt: 180. Str. Station der White Plains Linie.  
 10.00 Morgens.  
 Rundfahrt 50c.

Bitte erscheinen Sie zu allen Ausflügen pünktlich.  
 Bücherausgabe an jedem Klubabend.  
 Bitte bewahren Sie das Programm auf, da keine weitere Mittheilung für den Monat Juli erfolgt.

**DR. F. SCHLESINGER**  
*Klub-Zahnarzt*

308 Ost 79. Strasse - New York City  
 Telefon: RHinclander 4 6643

Wo vergisst man seine Alltagsorgen?  
 IN

Geiger's Wiener Kaffee und Konditorei  
 206 OST 86. STRASSE NEW YORK  
 Tel. REGent 4-4857-4423  
 Tagl. 3.30-6.8-1.00  
 Erstklassiges Künstler-Konzert Kunsterkapelle Schweizer

### JACK ROSENTHAL'S

General Motion Picture Repair Service  
*QRS Dr. Fry Sales and Service*  
 630 Ninth Avenue (Room 908) New York City  
 Phone: LACKawanna 4 0077

Silent and Sound Motion Picture Shows.  
 Put on Private or Public.

### Kitty's Beauty Salon

1245 Lexington Avenue  
 Between 84. & 86 Street - New York City  
 Phone RHinclander 4-7147  
 Permanent Wave \$5.00 \$8.00 \$10.00  
 Manicel on Fingernails 75 cents. Haircut 30 cents.  
 Shampoo free with any kind of Work  
 Except Friday and Saturday

**Germania Book & Specialty Co.**

**Deutsche Bücher**

Zeitschriften und Leihbibliothek  
Alle führenden deutschen Toiletten Artikel  
Offen von 9 Uhr Morgens bis 10 Uhr Abends  
Anzeigen für alle Zeitungen

1517-3. Ave., zwischen 85. und 86. Str., New York  
REGENT 4-1024

**CLIFF-HOUSE**

Hudson Terrace, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.

Herrlich gelegener Ausflugsplatz.  
Auf dem höchsten Punkte der Palisaden.

Das Lokal ist wie folgt zu erreichen:  
Mit dem "Englewood Cliffs" Omnibus von der 180. Strasse  
und St. Nicholas Ave. ins vors Haus.

Elegant eingerichtete Einzel-  
und Doppel-Zimmer mit allen  
neuzzeitlichen Verbesserungen  
in bester Lage zu vermieten.

150 West 80. Strasse Apt. 1D.  
◆ Telephone: ENdicott 2-7314 ◆

**THE BODINE PRESS**

Inhaben: HENRY F. KISER

**DRUCKEREI**

Deutsche Drucksachen aller Art zu massigen Preisen  
99 MAIDEN LANE  
Telephone BEckman 3-5485 NEW YORK

**Lebensversicherung**

als Schutz für Ihre Angehörigen.

**Lebensversicherung**

die sicherste Geldanlage  
als Schutz für Ihr eigenes Alter.

**Alters-Pension**

Garantirtes Einkommen für Lebenszeiten.

Krankheit, Unfall,  
Diebstahl, Feuer,  
Automobil, Haftpflicht,  
**VERSICHERUNG**

◆ Fachmännische Beratung ◆

**WALTER BENEDICK**

1350 BROADWAY

New York City

Telefon: LAck. 4-8900

**Deutsch-Jüdischer Klub**

German Jewish Club, Inc.

KLUGLIAUS.

210 West 91 Strasse, New York

Der Klub vereinigt junge jüdische Menschen  
deutscher Sprache und dient der Geselligkeit,  
Hilfenleistung und geselligen Anregung

**Ehrenmitglieder, W. GUENZBURGER**

- 1. Vorsitzender - - - - E. de JONGE
- 2. Vorsitzender - E. SCHNEIDERMAN
- Kassierer - - - - - J. PINEI
- Schatmeister - - - - - S. MARK
- Sekretärin - - - - I. GOTTSCHALK

Klubrat. - DR. ALBERT REINHARDT M.  
Klubhonorary - DR. P. SCHELLSINGEL M.  
304 Chr. 19 Strasse

PROGRAMM: JULI 1952.



# Aufbau

BLATT FÜR DAS JUDENTUM

Herausgegeben vom GERMAN-JEWISH CLUB, INC.

5 Jahrgang NEW YORK, 1 APRIL 1939 No 6

Zur Lage:

## Wann kommt der Weltkrieg?

Unentschiedenheit auf der ganzen Linie.

Man muss vorsichtig sein. Was heute geschrieben wird, ist morgen nicht mehr wahr. Die Zeit rast. Alle Fronten und Abflaut und verküsst. Jede Analyse ist nur, bei Jungt zueht.

Warum nahm Hitler die Tschechoslowakei mit solchem Gewaltakt? Weil er ihrer Schätze dringend bedurfte. Er hätte das alles auch "friedlich" haben können. Aber er brauchte die Hilfsquellen des Landes und keine strategischen Positionen jetzt! Also für kurzfristige Zwecke! Er hat noch alle "Voraussetzungen" theoretischer Lügen gestrichelt. Er will und wird und muss seine weiteren Forderungen in Kürze stellen.

Warum hat Mussolini "massig" gesprochen? Er hat gar nicht nötig gesprochen. Er hat so gesprochen wie ein Mann, der die beste Räte einfordert. Die zweite wird bald fällig sein.

Zudem wollte er die französische Meinung aufspalten. Und die des englischen Kabinetts. Nicht ist es ihm gelungen. Ein französisches "München" dämmert heran. Alle Kräfte des "wait and see" sind wieder mobil. So wird der Streich auf Polen vorbereitet!

Unterlassen sollen als Gabe für den Duce über den Dnieper die Waffen aus den Werken Pilsens und Brünn's wird Island sturmreif gemacht durch Waffenschmuggel und andere Maßnahmen, können Italien und Engländer in Südwestafrrika kaum noch ihrer Staatsgewalt ausüben, wird Holland durch Indien Teile mit japanischer Hilfe unterminiert, macht Belgien durch die von Deutschland gezielte finanzielle Krise schwere Zeiten durch und nicht nicht nur Eigen-Mitleid, sondern seine Einheit überhaupt bedroht. Das Ende der spanischen Tonewelle bringt für Frankreich und die dritte Front. Kurz, das Spiel geht weiter, immer gefährlicher, immer näher dem Abgrund zu.

Der Abend aber ist die blutige Alternative: entweder Krieg oder ein fascistisches Europa. Für uns Juden ist die Lage gleich: Breiten bedeutet für die meisten Juden in Europa Vernichtung.

Und Amerika? Die führenden Kreise wissen, dass es letzten Endes (Japan!) keine Isolation gibt. Die Masse schreit mit natürlichen Instinkt, die Folgen weitgehender Engagements. Der Tenor der Meinung: wenn England und Frankreich versagen, wieso sollen wir die Kastanien aus dem Feuer holen?

(Polen hat ja z. Bsp. auch vergeblich um eine englische Hilfsgarantie geworben. Und bei der Hilflosigkeit Chamberlains — wer wagt es, Carol zu tadeln, als er versuchte durch den Handelsvertrag das "Protektorat" wenigstens etwas hinaus zuziehen?)

Die Ansicht der hiesigen Presse: "Eine Verzögerung der nächsten Krise" (N. Y. Times nach der Duce-Rede) — Die Hitlerwage geht weiter, aber wer garantiert denn, dass sie überhaupt noch gestoppt wird? Als Rom fiel, kam eine Epoche von finsternen Jahrhunderten. Auch Theodosius (vgl. England) versuchte sich vergeblich frei zu kampf. Der Vergleich stammt von Dorothy Thompson in der "Tribune".

Mit anderen Worten: es kann auch alles fliehen im sandstehenden Nebel verdämmern. Oberver.

### Unser Preisausschreiben: Mein schönstes Erlebnis in USA

Wie gefällt es Ihnen in der neuen Heimat, welches war Ihr schönster Eindruck bisher? Schildern Sie uns das Erlebnis, das Sie am stärksten berührte und Sie mit Hoffnung für Ihre Zukunft erfüllte. Wir möchten es gern veröffentlichen.

Darum Sie aber, darüber hinaus noch eine Freude haben, werden wir Ihnen, wenn Sie zu den Einsendern der zehn besten Arbeiten gehören, einen interessanten Abend im Kino schenken. Der Inhaber des "Thalia-Theaters", Herr Rosenwald, hat uns für diesen Zweck freundlicherweise 20 Freibarten für sein Theater zur Verfügung gestellt.

Die Einsendungen müssen bis zum 20. April im Besitze der Redaktion sein. Sie dürfen nicht länger als eine zwelfeilige mit der Maschine geschriebene Seite sein und bisher nicht veröffentlicht. Setzen Sie auf das Manuskript oben ein Kennwort und das gleiche Kennwort auf ein beigefügtes verschlossenes Kuvert, das Ihren Namen und Adresse enthält.

Dies ist kein literarischer Wettbewerb, sondern eine für Menschen mit Blick und Herz. Versuchen Sie Ihr Glück! Wir warnen nur vor einem: keine dialektischen Gedichte — dabei kommt meistens nichts heraus! Veröffentlichung der Preisträger in der Nummer vom 1. Mal.

Preisgekrönt werden die zehn besten Einsendungen mit honorierter Publikation und je zwei Filmpflichtkarten.

### Unser Passack!

Unser Herz will jubeln und kann nicht. Noch ist unser Herz nicht frei! Aegypten ist noch nicht hinter uns. Mehr als ein Platz ist frei an unserem Seder-Üch. Es fehlen Eltern, Brüder, Schwestern. Wie bangen sie ihnen hinüber, den Hunderttausenden, die noch in Aegypten sind, den Zehntausenden, die Aegypten entflohen und noch umherirren in der Wüste. Wir hören ihre Stimmen dröhnen: "Ho lachmo anu — Dies ist das Brot des Elends."

Noch ist die Fron. Noch schwingt Tharae die Peitsche über Jenu, wann, wann können auch sie sprechen: "Gelobt sei, der uns herausgeführt hat aus Aegypten, aus dem Lande der Knechtschaft." Noch spaltet das Meer sich nicht. Aber die Haggada enthält: "Versunken ist Jenu mit Ross und Reiter, Vom Meer verschlungen." Und wir sind noch, Trotz allem! Und bleiben, Trotz allem!

Und die Hoffnung erwacht auf unser Passack, das Fest unserer Freiheit, das Fest in den Herzen, da wieder jubeln können, das Fest, das noch kommen wird. R. H.

## Die Totenschiffe fahren

Das jüdische Schicksal hat seinen Climax erreicht. Es geht kaum mehr weiter, kaum noch lohnt auf den Gipfel des Elends noch neues Elend geturnt werden.

Neulich konnte man in den Wochenstunden ein erschütterndes Bild sehen: Jüdische Flüchtlinge stiegen in Shanghai am

Hafen aus, wurden dann in Notbaracken, von chinesischen Kulis gefüllt und seillos nach diese ganze arme Menschenfracht in Lastwagen abgekartt, irgendwohin.

Aber diese Juden waren wenigstens noch auf festem Land. Sie teilten wenigstens

G. J. C.  
15 East 40th Street, New York City  
Return Postage Guaranteed

POSTMASTER: If addresses has moved and new address is known, kindly send us FORM that postage for which is guaranteed.

N. Y. Public Library  
42nd - 5. ave  
City.

Sec. 642, P. U. & R.  
U. S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
NEW YORK, N. Y.  
Permit No. 8794

# AUFBAU

Serving the Interests and the Americanization of the Immigrants

Published Weekly by the German Jewish Club, Inc., 151 W. 40th Street, New York City

VOL. V—No. 22

NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 29, 1919

5 CENTS

## Fünf Jahre Aufbau

Am 1. Dezember 1914 erschien die erste Ausgabe des „Aufbau“... (text continues with a historical overview of the publication's mission and its role in the immigrant community, mentioning its focus on Americanization and social issues.)

## Land Of Hope

Statement for the 'Aufbau'

**By Senator JAMES M. BEAD**

This country cannot look calmly upon the millions of people who are crowded into the ghettos of Europe. To do so would be to regard them as the American people of equality and liberty. To do so would be to deny the very essence of the American dream.



SENATOR BEAD

It is typical Americanism to open opportunity and to give freedom wherever it may exist. We consider it good citizenship and it is an American virtue that sees far above racial and religious differences.

We believe in Democracy. We believe in defending the right of a man to follow the dictates of his religious and political conscience in the representative Republic. We subscribe to a philosophy which permits and which encourages freedom of thought and action.

## Mrs. Roosevelt: Why Be Afraid?

Legen die von einigen Kreisen betriebene Heile, dass Immigranten hinweg zu werden... (text continues with a critique of the 'America First' movement and its impact on immigrants.)

## Takt und Geduld

Briefwechsel mit Refugees

Von THOMAS MANN

Nicht immer bringt die Post mir solche Briefe... (text continues with a letter to refugees, discussing the challenges of immigration and the need for patience and tact.)

## Neuer Schlag gegen Wiener Juden

Wieviel haben wir nicht schon... (text continues with a commentary on anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews in Vienna.)

# Lublin auch für deutsche Juden?

## Untersuchung in Washington — Zerst in der deutschen Verwaltung Polens

Die Frage in Washington über die Juden in Lublin ist eine der interessantesten, die sich im Zusammenhang mit der Verdrängung der Juden aus Polen stellen. Die Frage ist, ob die Juden in Lublin, die in der deutschen Verwaltung Polens leben, die gleichen Rechte genießen wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Untersuchung in Washington ist ein wichtiger Schritt, um die Lage der Juden in Lublin zu klären.

Die Juden in Lublin sind in der deutschen Verwaltung Polens in einer schwierigen Lage. Sie sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Untersuchung in Washington ist ein wichtiger Schritt, um die Lage der Juden in Lublin zu klären.

Die Juden in Lublin sind in der deutschen Verwaltung Polens in einer schwierigen Lage. Sie sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Untersuchung in Washington ist ein wichtiger Schritt, um die Lage der Juden in Lublin zu klären.

Die Juden in Lublin sind in der deutschen Verwaltung Polens in einer schwierigen Lage. Sie sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Untersuchung in Washington ist ein wichtiger Schritt, um die Lage der Juden in Lublin zu klären.

Die Juden in Lublin sind in der deutschen Verwaltung Polens in einer schwierigen Lage. Sie sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Untersuchung in Washington ist ein wichtiger Schritt, um die Lage der Juden in Lublin zu klären.

Die Juden in Lublin sind in der deutschen Verwaltung Polens in einer schwierigen Lage. Sie sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Untersuchung in Washington ist ein wichtiger Schritt, um die Lage der Juden in Lublin zu klären.

### Im Tollhaus Krakau

**KRAKAU** Nach den die jüdische Bevölkerung in Krakau ist nach Zerstörung der Warsauer Ghetto, den die Juden in Krakau in Polen auszuweisen. Mit der Polizei und Zerstörung der jüdischen Bevölkerung und die jüdische Bevölkerung in Krakau ist nach Zerstörung der Warsauer Ghetto, den die Juden in Krakau in Polen auszuweisen.

### In aller Kürze

**Amsterdam** Auf dem spanischen Dampfer "Sonia Polaris" sind sich ein nach deutsche jüdische Flüchtlinge. Die Flüchtlinge sind in Amsterdam angekommen und werden dort in der jüdischen Gemeinde aufgenommen.

### Amerikanische Notizen

**New York** Der jüdische Arbeiterführer, der Jewish Agency, hat einen Unfall in New York erlitten. Die Verletzung ist nicht schwer, aber die Genesung wird einige Wochen dauern.

### Propaganda aus Deutschland

Die jüdische Propaganda in Deutschland ist ein wichtiges Thema. Die jüdische Propaganda ist ein Versuch, die jüdische Bevölkerung in Deutschland zu gewinnen und die jüdische Bevölkerung in Deutschland zu gewinnen.

### Ein englischer Bericht

Der Daily Telegraph berichtet über die Situation der Juden in Polen nach dem Ausbruch des Krieges. Die Situation der Juden in Polen ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Polen sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens.

### Der Zustand der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Lublin

Der Zustand der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

### Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.

Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage. Die Juden in Lublin sind den gleichen Verdrängungsmaßnahmen ausgesetzt wie die Juden in anderen Teilen Polens. Die Situation der Juden in Lublin ist eine schwierige Lage.



# AUFBAU

Reconstruction

*An Independent Weekly Journal to Serve the Americanization and the Interests of All Immigrants and to Combat Racial Intolerance.*

Published weekly by the New World Club, Inc.  
67 West 44th Street, New York City—Telephone: VA 6-3168  
Single copies, 5¢—Subscription: \$1.00 24 copies; \$2.00 a year.

Editor: MANFRED GEORGE

**ADVISORY BOARD:**

<i>Louis Adamic</i>	<i>Albert Einstein</i>	<i>Rabbi Adolf Keber</i>
<i>Rebbi J. M. Bach</i>	<i>Lion Feuchtwanger</i>	<i>Emil Ludwig</i>
<i>Roger N. Baldwin</i>	<i>Bruno Frank</i>	<i>Thomas Mann</i>
<i>Richard Beer-</i>	<i>Nahum Goldmann</i>	<i>Harold R. Moskowitz</i>
<i>Hofmann</i>	<i>Gustave von Grune-</i>	<i>Rabbi Max Nussbaum</i>
<i>Rebbi D. A. Jessurun</i>	<i>baum</i>	<i>Frederick Pollock</i>
<i>Cardozo</i>	<i>Leopold Jessner</i>	<i>A. A. Roback</i>
	<i>Freda Kirshen</i>	

Advertising Manager: HANS E. SCHLEGER

Advertising rates on application. Member of Audit Bureau of Circulations

Manuscripts and photographs submitted to Aufbau will be given every consideration and care, but all such material is submitted at the owner's risk, and this magazine assumes no responsibility for loss or damage. Offerings found unsuitable to our needs will be returned when accompanied by sufficient first-class postage.

Vol. VIII—No. 2

January 9, 1942

Copyright 1942 by  
New World Club, Inc.

## Statement of Policy

This paper is to serve the interests of all immigrants from Central Europe and their merging into the life and society of American democracy. It is written and published in America; it is an American paper in which American problems and the future in America are given first consideration. It is a Jewish paper, intended to preserve the traditions of Judaism without, however, wishing to forget or neglect the interests of the non-Jewish immigrant and his problems.

We are firmly faced toward our American future, and we feel that we can and shall contribute to the ever greater glory of this country.

At this time of America's engagement in the supreme effort, the immigrants who in recent years have found asylum and a new homeland under the Star-Spangled Banner, have but one desire: to stand shoulder to shoulder with the American people, to help them to the best of their abilities in the defense of this country and its ideals. These immigrants, composed of people from many countries and speaking many languages, are one in their faith in democracy, their hatred of any kind of dictatorship, and their love for the nation that gave them a home.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and in every corner where the American and Pan-American idea has taken shape and been imbued with content, these immigrants stand with the President and the American people with all that is theirs materially and spiritually.

Their hearts and minds are possessed but by a single idea: Come what may—we stand united for the defense of America!