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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES
MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

NUMBER 187

file in

12 MAY 1944
[Handwritten signatures]

VOLKSFRONT OR COMMUNIST FRONT?

The newly formed Council for a Democratic Germany purports to give expression to the long striving of German exiles from the Center to the far Left for a committee of national union. In fact, however, the new organization headed by Paul Tillich appears to be only imperfectly representative and its formation to have been prematurely precipitated by the near invasion of Europe. The principal impulse to a united front has come from the Communists and their dissident Socialist allies. The Social Democrats remain in their tents except for a few leaders who appear to have miscalculated the advantages of union with the Communists. The Council's nationalist "soft peace" program has provoked hostile expressions from some quarters; its reddish color has antagonized others. Even the Communists have been cool to the program, presumably because of the "hardening" of their own views concerning peace with Germany.

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AT LEAST in form the new Council for a Democratic Germany, establishment of which was announced in the press on 3 May 1944, is a consummation of the long-held aim of all German emigre groups in the United States to form a united front. In fact, however, the dominant elements in the Council are Communist and dissident Socialist. The main body of Social Democrats in the United States is not represented, while such center and bourgeois liberal members as the Council includes by no means speak for the groups from which they come.

An earlier report* described the growing Social Democratic split on the issue of cooperation with the Communists; it now remains only to add that with the formal adherence to the Council of the left-wing Social Democratic leader, Siegfried Aufhaeuser, the breach has become complete. A spokesman for the majority Social Democrats, Rudolf Katz, has made clear that the barrier to common action with the Council is not the declared principles of the latter, but the belief that the Council is a Communist front.

* See FN Number 182 of 10 April 1944.

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It may have come as a surprise to the Socialists and those on their right in the Council's organizing committee that so many who signed the Council's declaration of principles are Communist sympathizers. In the six months or more that the Council has been forming, the Socialist members of the organizing committee have urged upon their more suspicious majority comrades of the German Labor Delegation the view that the new organization would include few Communists and that these could be easily controlled by a strong Social Democratic representation. As yet the relation between the organizing committee of nineteen and the sixty-five signers of the declaration is not clear, but under any democratic procedure control of the Council is likely to be in Soviet-friendly hands.

Despite the inclusion and even the dominance in the Council of the German extreme Left, the Council has had only an equivocal reception from Communists outside its ranks. This coolness appears to reflect a hardening Soviet attitude toward Germany. The Communists praise the Council for its achievement of unity, but they challenge the very points in its program which commend it to the Social Democrats. For their part, the Social Democratic members of the Council appear to have misjudged the effect of a break with the Labor Delegation policy of reliance on Anglo-American magnanimity to Germany and have to be over-optimistic in supposing that once they were in the Soviet-inspired camp they could exert a "softening" influence on Communist opinion.

*Council
Self-Portrait*

The introduction of the Council to the public was made by the spokesman for its fifty-seven American sponsors, Professor Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, chairman of the American Friends of German Freedom, who at the same time made public the Council's declaration of principles and its sponsors' statement of endorsement. The Council was described by its sponsors as "composed of former Germans, opponents of Nazism now in this country, and . . . representative of the major anti-Hitler political trends. Their unity in defining common objectives for a democratic Germany represents a significant and encouraging development." The *Daily Worker* described the Council as "a substantial unity of German anti-fascists from the Catholic center to the far left."*

* For a complete list of Council sponsors and members see Appendix.

Both descriptions appear to be wishful overstatements; no bourgeois-liberal or Centrist political leaders are found in the committee, while the major Social Democratic organization, the German Labor Delegation, also holds aloof. The Council itself in its declaration of principles claims vaguely to be a "number of persons, belonging to various professions, groups, and affiliations . . . united to make known their stand on the question of the future of Germany within the framework of a solution of the European problem." In view of the organizers' earnest efforts during the last six months to obtain the adherence of really representative recruits from all camps, this description seems evasive. It is reported that the opinion was held in the Council that the venture must be launched at the present moment, even in imperfect form, because the imminence of European invasion made it likely that the climate of opinion would later be less cordial to such an effort of intercession.

Dramatis Personae The Council's organizing committee of nineteen includes a religious socialist (Professor Paul Tillich of Union Theological Seminary, the provisional chairman), three Catholics (Baerwald, Nehring, and Pfeiffenberger), one Protestant parson (Forell), four Social Democrats (Aufhaeuser, Grzesinski, Glaser, and Baerensprung, the last-named recently accused of flirting with the Communists), three-reputed Communists (Boenheim, Brecht, and Schreiner), three alleged fellow-travelers (Budzislawski, Kaskel, and Lips), three members of Neu Beginnen (Hagen, Hertz, and Hirschfeld), and the leader of SAP (Walcher). The three Catholics, Frederick Baerwald, Alfons A. Nehring, both academicians, and Otto Pfeiffenberger, a lawyer, are obscure personalities as is the Protestant pastor of Jewish origin, the Reverend Frederick J. Forell. The absence of recognized Catholic leaders is not likely to be made good while Tillich, whose anti-Catholic views are well known, heads the organization.

Of the sixty-five signers of the declaration, fewer than ten can be classified as bourgeois-liberal; nearly thirty stand closer to the Communists than to the Socialists; four are members of Neu Beginnen; and the rest are principally from the Social Democratic rank and file. The professional distribution of the signers of the declaration is also of interest. Nearly half are writers and theatrical people, and these are almost to a man Communist followers. The rest are lawyers, teachers, and physicians, while Dr. Paul Schwarz, whose political color is reported to be reddening, was formerly a consular officer. This literary

weighting of the Council may indicate that its chief utility from the Communist point of view is to hold opinion in line behind Soviet policy.

The sponsors are liberal intellectuals, a circumstance that induces the ~~Daily Worker~~ to complain of "monopoly" by the ~~Union for Democratic Action~~ and ~~Freedom House~~ and to dub three of the sponsors, unhappily involved in the ~~American Labor Party~~ feud "dubious characters." Eleven of the sponsors are associated with the American Friends of German Freedom, of which one of the principal figures in the Council, Paul ~~Hagen~~, is research director.

The sponsorship of Dorothy ~~Thompson~~, who has for many months been actively urging views very close to those that inform the Council's declaration of principles, was obtained by Dr. Herman ~~Budzislowski~~, who for a year or more has been in Miss Thompson's employ as a literary researcher. Dr. Budzislowski, who was editor of the ~~Weltbuehne~~ in its Communist period, is said never to have been a member of the Party but is known as a faithful and active follower of its line.

Declaration of Principles The Council's declaration of principles was prepared more than three months ago and has been circulating privately in German emigre circles in the interval. It is known to be of Social Democratic provenance (with some editing by Dorothy Thompson). In effect, it is a plea of intercession for Germany based on the hypothesis of *das andere Deutschland* and motivated by a nationalist sentiment from which Social Democrats are as little exempt as their allies farther right. Disclaiming any formal mandate from the German people but presenting themselves as typical of the forces and tendencies vitally needed for the creation of a new Germany within the framework of a free world, the signers of the declaration avow their duty to speak out on the future of Germany at a time when the German people cannot speak for themselves. They hold that the reconstruction of Europe can be achieved only through the cooperation of the West and Russia, and they offer the declaration as a contribution to the solution of the German question within the framework of such cooperation. The solutions of the European and the German problems are mutually dependent, and no enduring settlement of the former, it is said, is possible without a "creative" solution of the latter. The following are the principal points of the Cour program, in the order in which they appear in the declaration:

The Two Germanys First is the elimination of evil within Germany; that is to say, the defeat and liquidation of Nazism, the large landholders, the big industrialists, the military caste, and the bureaucracy dependent on them. In these tasks the German people must not be hindered from without.

A disarmed Germany like the other nations of Europe must be fitted into a system of international security. Conquered territory must be returned and all damage made good to the limit of Germany's ability.

The first Nazi victims, the Council declares, were Germans who dared oppose Hitler. Most Germans did not want war. The enslavement and pauperization of the German people would be unwise and unjust. Abandonment of the Atlantic Charter in one case is abandonment in all.

German economic and political dismemberment would be disastrous for Europe and would sow the dragon's teeth of Pan-Germanism.

The conservation of German productive power is essential to the world's economic well-being. Its destruction would depress the European economy and reduce world trade. Germans would be thrown permanently out of work and the heart of Europe become a seat of unrest.

The integration of German productive strength in an international system of production and consumption would lessen the significance of political boundaries, make possible German fulfillment of reparation obligations, and insure against economic chaos, German hegemony and rearmament.

Leeway must be given the forces of German democracy in preparing the inauguration of an independent German government. Civil liberties must be re-established at once, no obstacles placed in the way of rebuilding a labor movement, and the institutions abolished by the Nazis recreated.

No impediments must be placed in the way of a German mass movement to stamp out Nazism root and branch. Only such an act of the German will can make the Germans spiritually free. For this reason, too, the German must be given a peace with hope, however burdensome its terms.

German reeducation must be self-education by German democrats. Education by foreigners is psychologically impossible. This means, too, that the new society into which the Germans are to be educated shall be one of social security and purposeful opportunity. A secure German democracy will be the principal contribution of Germany to European and World peace.

*The Council, in
Communist Eyes*

The Communist reaction to the principal "soft peace" points of the declaration, as evidenced in Joseph Starobin's column in the *Daily Worker* of 4 May 1944, has been reserved. Starobin's comment affords some insight into the possible emergence of a conflict between German nationalism and Communist policy in the settlement of the German problem, unless indeed (as some anti-Stalinist quarters declare) that problem is finally to be resolved by giving national bolshevism its innings in Germany. There is little comfort for the Social Democrats in the latter solution. Starobin remarks that the program "tends to straddle many vital issues." He writes that "the United Nations cannot afford to gamble on whether or not the German people arise against Hitler. They must be prepared to liquidate fascism in any case and by the strongest methods." A similar reply was made by Paul Merker in *Freies Deutschland* to Paul Hagen's declaration of confidence in the coming of the German revolution and his declaration that the Germans must be allowed to carry out their own purge. Secondly, Starobin remarks that while "we can all oppose dismemberment in principle, the fact remains that territorial changes at Germany's expense may be the only way for the United Nations to achieve security, and enforce the peace in the immediate post-war period." Least acceptable to the Social Democrats is likely to be Starobin's suggestion that to facilitate movements by the German people themselves to stamp out Nazis "the new Council ought obviously [to] establish fraternal relations with the Free Germany Committee in Moscow, the *Freies Deutschland* groups in Mexico and London." From London comes word (*New York Herald Tribune*, 8 May 1944) that the Free German Movement there is breaking up on the rock of Communist demands for a hard peace, and that two of the principal social democratic and one of the liberal leaders have resigned.

On 8 May the *Daily Worker* published an article by Hans Berger, an important German Communist known to have been a leading agent of the Comintern in this hemisphere. The article was entitled "Anti-Fascist German Council—Late But Welcome." This piece may well have been intended to correct the impression created by Starobin's chilly comment. Whereas Starobin's analysis was couched in critical terms because it dealt chiefly with the declaration of principles, Berger's comment is more cordial because he dwells principally on the importance of "unity." As the title of his piece indicates, however, Berger heaves a melancholy sigh that this union comes so late. He rebukes

those who criticize the Council's composition out of dislike for this or that participant, and points out that the essence of the united front is precisely the varied nature of its members, pledged to fight for a common goal. Hence he welcomes the indorsement of the Council even by "friends of David Dubinsky" and observes that "this is not the moment to worry about such inconsistencies." He also has a word of praise for Rex Stout, chairman of the violently anti German Writers War Board and president of the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., for his work "on behalf of victory." Turning to the declaration itself, Berger stresses its demand for the destruction of National Socialism, its admission that the Germans must make reparation, its call for punishment of the war criminals and for the disarmament of Germany. Finally, he applauds the "unambiguous" statement that the precondition of lasting peace is "cooperation of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union." In this he finds the difference between the Council and the German Social Democrats around Freidrich Stampfer, who want Germany again to become, Berger writes, "the gendarme of Anglo-American reaction against the USSR." All else Berger leaves for the "future." He concludes that the Allies neither can nor will "rely on the words of German anti-fascists or their promises," but he bespeaks help and encouragement for them in winning "moral and material power in Germany," and calls for constructive criticism of the new Council.

An Uneasy Alliance The evident failure of those on the extreme Left of the Council to deliver the support of non-German Communist opinion is not likely to strengthen the uneasy alliance of Socialists and Communists. Aufhaeuser himself at a meeting of his *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* was stung by reproaches for his deviation from the majority Social Democratic line, to reply angrily that if Russia should prove to be an enemy of a free European labor movement there were vital forces in European labor that would triumph even in spite of Russia.

Aufhaeuser had been active in suggesting to the International Labor Organization plans for the restoration of free trade unions in Germany immediately at the close of hostilities. When these were taken up at the ILO conference in Philadelphia, they encountered overwhelming opposition. Jan Masaryk denounced the "nauseating thought" contained in a "proclamation by some committee [the Council] that the poor German nation was led into this war by Hitler." Communist delegates were among those who applauded Masaryk, and the *Daily Worker* was at pains the next day to make clear that

the German worker would have to make atonement along with other Germans for Hitlerite crimes. Communist reluctance to play a working class variation on the "other Germany" theme may afford Aufhaeuser's Labor Delegation colleagues occasion to remind him of his earlier avowal.

Hagen's Role Paul Hagen's participation in the new Council can be explained only partly in political terms. He has, of course, no such tradition as the Social Democratic to overcome in acceding to an alliance with Communists. But the chief impulse moving him may well be his own restless need to be playing an active role on the political stage, particularly at a time when fateful decisions are being made. Finally, there is what in the elliptical language of the exiles is called "the question of the passport," that is, the hope of being officially recognized as "representative" and obtaining facilities for return to the old country. Hagen's contribution to the Council has been to procure publicity for it and bring it the support of prominent American liberals.

Sniping from Left and Right The Council was launched in waters rendered hazardous by two perils to political navigation. One was the anti-Pan German Society for the Prevention of World War III, whose best known figures are Friedrich W. Foerster, Emil Ludwig, and Rex Stout. The other was the implacable Ruth Fischer, former leader of the German Communist Party and presently a vindictive anti-Stalinist.

Plans to bring the Council forth at a meeting a fortnight earlier had been frustrated by the Society for the Prevention of World War III with a quarter page advertisement in the *New York Times*, captioned "It is high time to call a Spade a Spade." The advertisement attacked the Council as "a device for Germany's escape." In the nervousness induced by this assault, it is said, many of those invited stayed away from the meeting at which the Council was to have made its bow. Instead a political sermon was read by Paul Tillich who drew on the declaration of principles for his text. Allies of Ruth Fischer who had managed to obtain admission to the meeting uttered anti-Communist denunciations which in turn evoked bitter expressions of feeling from Council adherents.

The emergence of the Council was only delayed. However, the same newspaper reports that carried the announcement of the new Council on 3 May also reported the charges of the Society for the Prevention of World War III that this was a new nationalist campaign to salvage Germany. Ruth Fischer

was not laggard in coming to the assault. In her mimeographed house organ, *The Network*, which has found more and more readers (even in the Council) and some financial support from anti-Communist circles, she had been charging with much substantial detail drawn from a long memory and wide knowledge of the Communist milieu that the new enterprise is Communist. In a *New Leader* article of 6 May, "Stalin Prepares a German Government," she made a frontal assault on the Council. Both enemies are elaborating plans to wreck the new vessel of German exile hope.

*Turmoil among
the Social Democrats*

As was reported earlier by this Branch, the delay of six months in the completion of the new organization has been due chiefly to difficulty in inducing the Social Democrats to act with Communists. This obstacle has been overcome by inducing certain Social Democrats to defy discipline and the views of their colleagues. The most noteworthy defection is that of Siegfried Aufhaeuser, the co-chairman of the German Labor Delegation. Albert Grzesinski, a former chairman, broke with the Labor Delegation earlier to join the new group, while Hans Staudinger, who for a while belonged to both organizations, has now resigned from both on the ground of his impending governmental employment. In addition to these leaders, some lesser actors, who have been in the habit of taking their cues from the German Labor Delegation, have adhered to the new Council. The German Labor Delegation, faced with the alternatives of backing down from its opposition and condoning Aufhaeuser's participation in the Council or of seeing him leave its own ranks, has chosen to adopt a resolution condemning the Council as a Communist front. It is reported that adoption of such a resolution was strongly urged upon the Delegation by David Dubinsky's powerful Jewish Labor Committee, to which the Delegation looks for funds. It is unlikely that the Delegation will actually expel Aufhaeuser. Rudolf Katz and Hedwig Wachenheim argue against such action.

Friedrich Stampfer, the well-known former editor of the *Berliner Vorwaerts*, also seeks to avoid a break with Aufhaeuser. Indeed, it is by no means clear that Aufhaeuser may not eventually persuade Stampfer to come into the Council with him, by stressing the soft peace character of the Council's declaration of principles and arguing that a strong Social Democratic bloc in the Council can more easily control the Communists.

Manfred George, editor-in-chief of the *Aufbau*, who had been not un-

friendly to the Tillich venture, suddenly found himself embarrassed by a flood of protests from his readers over the membership of Siegfried Aufhaeuser and Kurt Glaser, both assistant editors of the *Aufbau*, in the new Council. *Aufbau* is dependent on a Jewish refugee audience, and the objectors are said to feel that the latest activity of the political exiles will react unfavorably on the situation of German Jewish refugees, especially in view of current sentiment against letting down the bars to further immigration. Manfred George is said to be considering the dismissal of Aufhaeuser and Glaser. While George has sailed close to the Communist line, he had always kept in reserve the possibility of altering his course by insisting that his paper is American and "has viewed and will view the German question solely from the point of view of American war aims and an enduring new organization of the world to secure peace." He has now attacked the Council as a German Communist trap and deplores the presence of Jews in a committee of intercession for Germany.

Not all public reaction to the Council has been unfriendly. The most controversial figure in the new Council, Paul Hagen, has received considerable favorable publicity of recent weeks in *PM*, which carried a two-page story about him by James Wechsler, one of the sponsors of the Council, under the caption, "An Early Anti-Nazi." It is of interest to note that Wechsler stresses Hagen's independence of the Communists. Consistently with this, *PM* in its account of the formation of the Council makes the egregious assertion that it includes no Communists. In the same journal Max Lerner in effect gave his blessing to the new effort in two editorials about the quarrel between his friends, Paul Hagen and Rex Stout, the conclusion of which was that both were right.

Even before the Council's public appearance, some of its Communist members were at work seeking to influence American opinion along the lines of the Council's perspective. At the end of April the Oxford University Press issued an anthology of German writings entitled "Germany, A Self-Portrait," edited by Harlan R. Crippen with the aid of several literary personalities from the Communist side such as Wieland Herzfelde, Alfred Kantorowicz, and Max Schroeder. The volume offers a retrospect of German history since 1914 designed to bring about understanding of the Third Reich "as the manifestation of the profound maladjustments in German Society," and to permit "a clear line of distinction between the German people and their rulers." The Communists appear as heroes, the Socialists as cowards. The volume is so Com-

unist-angled that even those who praise it have protested its one-sidedness in this regard.

In February, a pamphlet on Germany by one of the sponsors of the Council, Hiram Motherwell, long associated with the American Friends of German Freedom, issued from the Western Reserve University Press. The point of the pamphlet is that "settlements must be two-sided." On 8 May 1944 the American Friends of German Freedom released a report on the growth of underground forces in Germany. The underground has now a critical importance to soft-peace proponents in view of current Communist warnings that time is running out for the forces of resistance in Germany to help in the overthrow of Hitler.

The Council is reported to be planning to establish ties with the German-American community. Dr. Felix Boenheim, one of the Communist members of the organizing committee, is likely, as head of the German-American Emergency Conference, to be charged with this task. With Victor Ridder, whose favor the Communists have been courting, Boenheim has in recent months sponsored a series of war-bond rallies and anti-racial discrimination meetings attended principally by members of the Workmen's Benefit Funds (the so-called *Krankenkassen*) and the singing societies. Ridder's organization, the United Americans of German Descent, would be a major capture. Ridder, however, has recently been under attack by Emil Ludwig and for the moment appears to be content to keep his own counsel concerning the new organization. The *Staats-Zeitung* gave the announcement of the Council a three-column spread on the first page and printed the declaration of principles in full. On 9 May, however, it reprinted in full Rudolf Katz's attack from the *Neue Volks-Zeitung*. On 11 May it published Professor Baerwald's reply to Katz's attack.

*The Riddle of
Communist Policy
Toward Germany*

What the practical consequences will be of the presence in the Council of many close to Communism, though in some ways the most interesting question, remains entirely uncertain. While striving for a united front may be said to account for Communist support of the

Council as it accounts for Communist support of equivalent organizations in other foreign nationality groups, this answer is not entirely satisfactory in view of the critical importance of Germany from the Communist point of view. There is also the all-important distinction that the territories now occupied by Germany are awaiting liberation while Germany itself is to be conquered and occupied. This distinction is implicitly acknowledged in the Council's dis-

avowal of any aim to become a government-in-exile. The Social Democrats, however, have sought from the beginning, to make it appear that the war is a struggle for the liberation of "the other Germany." The Communists in the Western Hemisphere have played on the same theme. In marked contrast is the line of the Moscow Free Germany Committee, which does not rely so much for the appeal of its propaganda on the "good" Germany, but rather has offered those of Hitler's followers who would forsake him a *locus penitentiae*.

Anti-Stalinists, of whom Ruth Fischer is the most notable, with long memories and intimate knowledge of the careers of the Communists and their followers in the Council, cry that a new national bolshevism is in the making. Into that ominous construction of Soviet policy they fit every official and unofficial hint of Russia's plans for the German future. The indoctrination of German prisoners-of-war in Russia becomes the beginning of the establishment of a corps of janizaries of Russian-German imperialism. The suggestion that German labor might be employed in the reconstruction of devastated Russian territory becomes a scheme of Stalinist re-education to set against Western proposals of democratic re-education. The attempt to drive a wedge between the National Socialists and the German Army is said to be in the tradition of alliance between Russian Communism and German militarism.

Both in the Social Democratic refusal of cooperation with the Communists, and in the anti-Stalinist line of former Communists may be seen the perpetuation in German exile politics of the issues which unhappily divided republican Germany during the period of its struggle for and failure in democracy. The ghosts of European feuds take on American flesh as Social Democrats and anti-Stalinist Communists succeed in winning the support of powerful anti-Communist American labor groups.

APPENDIX

Lists of Sponsors and Members of the
Council for a Democratic Germany

I. SPONSORS

~~William Agar—Vice President . . . Freedom House~~
~~Professor John Dewey~~
~~Rabbi Jonah B. Wise~~
~~Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild~~
~~Louis P. Lochner—for years head of the Associated Press Bureau
in Berlin~~
~~Sidney Hollander~~
~~Professor Robert M. MacIver—Columbia University~~
~~Dr. William Allan Neilson~~
~~Frank P. Graham—President, University of North Carolina~~
~~Dr. Mary E. Wooley~~
~~Dean Christian Gauss—Princeton University~~
~~Justice Ferdinand Pecora~~
~~Emil Rieve—President, Textile Workers Union of America~~
~~Dr. Alvin T. Johnson—Director, New School for Social Research~~
~~Bishop Henry W. Hobson~~
~~Bishop William Scarlett of Missouri~~
~~George Soule—Editor, The New Republic~~
~~Dorothy Thompson~~
~~Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr~~
~~Dr. Henry Atkinson~~
~~Roger N. Baldwin~~
~~Professor John O. Bennett~~
~~Henry Seidel Canby~~
~~Dr. Walter B. Cannon~~
~~George S. Counts~~
~~Norman Cousins~~
~~Professor C. M. Destler~~
~~Professor Henry Pitney Van Dusen~~
~~Frederick May Eliot~~
~~William Emerson~~
~~Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick~~
~~Lewis Gannett~~
~~Professor Walter Phelps Hall~~
~~Mortimer Hays~~
~~Robert Heckert~~
~~Dr. Hanna Hafkesbrink~~
~~Ben W. Huebsch~~
~~Rufus M. Jones~~
~~Professor Horace M. Kallen~~
~~Paul Kellogg~~
~~Alfred G. Baker Lewis~~
~~James Löeb, Jr.~~
~~Hiram Motherwell~~

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Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Mrs. Gifford Pinchot
Trude W. Pratt
Florence Reizenstein
Dean Howard Chandler Robbins
Cesar Saerchinger
William J. Schieffelin
David F. Seifferheld
Guy Emery Shipler
Carl Herman Voss
J. Raymond Walsh
James A. Wechsler
Professor Walter F. Wilcox
Howard Y. Williams

II. MEMBERS

A. Organizing Committee

Dr. Paul Tillich—*temporary chairman*
S. Aufhaeuser—*formerly president of the German Federation of White Collar Workers Unions and member of the Reichstag*
Dr. Horst W. Baerensprung—*formerly Chief of Police, Magdeburg*
Professor Friedrich Baerwald—*formerly in the Ministry of Labor, now Fordham University*
Dr. Felix Boehnlein—*formerly director of the Hufeland Hospital in Berlin*
Bertholt Brecht—*composer of the "Dreigroschen Opera" (Beggars' Opera, German version)*
Dr. Herman Budzislowski—*formerly publisher of the Weltbuehne (dramatic review)*
Pastor Frederick J. Forell—*formerly Lutheran pastor in Breslau, now pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, New York*
Dr. Kurt Glaser—*formerly State Councillor in Chemnitz*
Albert Grzesinski—*formerly Prussian Minister of the Interior and Police President of Berlin*
Dr. Paul Hertz—*formerly member of the Reichstag and secretary of the Social Democratic Party in the Reichstag—1920-33*
Hans I. Hirschfeld—*formerly Chief of the Prussian Ministerial Department*
Joseph Kaskel—*publisher of the anti-Nazi magazine Deutsche Blaetter in Chile*
Professor Julius E. Lips—*formerly professor of anthropology in the University of Cologne, and director of the Rautenstrauch Joest-Museum*
Professor Alfons A. Nehring—*formerly professor of philology in Wuerzburg, now Fordham University*

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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Dr. Otto Pfeiffenberger—formerly lawyer in Mannheim
Albert, H. Schreiner—writer
Jacob Walcher—formerly mechanic, leader of Sozialistische
Arbeiter Partei
Paul Hagen—Director of the Research Department of the
American Friends of German Freedom, leader of Neu
Beginnen

B. Signers

Friedrich George Alexan—writer
Hans Apel—economist
Maximilian Beck—publisher of the Philosophische Hefte
Elizabeth Bergner—actress
Ernst Bloch—writer
Gerhard Bry—economist
Henry R. Cassirer—writer
Carl Cohen—teacher, Harvard University
Paul Czinner—film director
George Dietrich—formerly member of the Reichstag
Herman Duncker—economist
Lion Feuchtwanger—writer
Minna Flake—physician
Kate Frankenthal—physician, formerly member of the Prus-
sian legislature and the Berlin City Council
Walter Friedlaender—formerly director of the Welfare De-
partment, Berlin; now University of California
Alexander Granach—actor
Professor E. J. Gumbel—formerly professor at Heidelberg, now
New School for Social Research
Ludwig Hacke—corresponding editor of the Volkszeitung,
Plauen
Ernst Haase—physician
Elisabeth Hauptmann—writer
Dr. (of law) Fritz Hausmann—formerly cartel lawyer now
New School for Social Research
Dr. Hans von Hentig—former professor of law at Bonn, now
University of Iowa
F. A. Hermens—professor, Notre Dame University
Oscar Homolka—actor
Leopold Jessner—formerly general director, Prussian State
Theater
Marie Juchacz—formerly chairman, Workers Welfare Organ-
ization, and member of the Reichstag
Alfred Kantor—writer
Robert Keller—formerly secretary of the Social Democratic
Party in Halle
Emil Kirschbaum—formerly professor at the University of
Kiel, now Union Theological Seminary
Fritz Kortner—writer
Helmut Kuhn—formerly professor, Berlin University, now Uni-
versity of North Carolina

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Max Liebl—*theatrical manager*
Peter Lorre—*actor*
Heinrich Mann—*writer*
Hans Marchwitza—*writer*
Dr. Siegfried Marck—*formerly professor of philosophy in
Breslau, now YMCA College, Chicago*
Walter Marseille—*psychologist*
Henry E. Mueller—*editor*
Karl Nierendorf—*editor and art dealer*
Albert Norden—*writer*
Karl Obermann—*writer*
K. O. Paetel—*formerly editor of the monthly magazine Die
Sozialistische Nation*
Erwin Piscator—*theatrical director, now at the New School for
Social Research*
Hans Richter—*professor at City College, New York*
Werner Richter—*formerly director of the Education Depart-
ment of the Prussian Government*
Maximilian Scheer—*editor*
Hans Scherber—*chairman, German-American Congress for
Democracy, Detroit, Michigan*
Erich Schmidt—*formerly secretary, German Labor Youth
Movement, Berlin*
Dr. Paul Schwarz—*formerly German consular officer, New York*
Willy Snell—*formerly general secretary, Society of Engineers,
Technicians, Architects and Chemists, Berlin; now chair-
man, German-American Congress for Democracy, Chicago*
Dr. Ludwig Eduard Saenger—*formerly director, Workmen's
Dental Clinic in Berlin*
Guenther Stern—*writer*
Fritz Sternberg—*political economist*
Wolfgang Stresemann—*orchestra leader*
Dr. Veit Valentin—*formerly professor of history, Freiburg, now
at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy*
Walter Victor—*writer*
Berthold Viertel—*writer*
Heinrich H. Waechter—*architect*
Elisabeth Waechter—*teacher*
Martin Wagner—*formerly State Building Commissioner, Ber-
lin; now professor of regional planning, Harvard University*
Herbert Weichmann—*formerly director, Press Department,
Prussian Government*
Albert Wollenberger—*student, Harvard University*
Otto Zopf—*writer*
Friederike M. Zweig—*writer*

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