

12 April 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI

AWD/GR

SUBJECT: Hans GLOBKE

1. Considering the enormous influence Subject has on Adenauer and his regime and considering an accumulation of power unique in a democracy he has achieved, I think you will be interested in my views about the man such as I have drawn them from my long conversations with him.

2. First of all, he has a discreet and agreeable presence, not too personal, rather detached, without apparent eagerness, well bred but not grandseigneurial, giving out just the right amount of warmth without undue enthusiasm, just the right amount of respectful attention without undue flattery, just the right amount of self-assurance without conceit and without ever trying to pull his power on you but rather succeeding in making you forget this power.

3. It is probably very convenient for the Old Man to lean on this tactful, knowledgeable civil servant whose Catholic formation resembles his own, and who is "un grand commis". For that's what explains his influence, that he is a first-rate administrator--everyone agrees on that one--and probably the only one around the Chancellor who knows his way about the intricacies of the various government agencies and thus holds all the wires.

4. Whether he went about accumulating power consciously is hard to say. His friends and admirers (he has quite a few) say that, feeling that he alone knows all about the technical workings of this administration, he hates to have anyone interfere--

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and that this is why he has come to run the whole show. His enemies say that his position of power is by no means a by-product of technical perfectionism but has been built up by him purposefully and ruthlessly. But even his enemies are not sure whether he wants this power for his own greater glory or for the greater glory of that conservative-clerical-internationalistic regime he stands for and which he doesn't want to end with Adenauer. (The latter conception, I should say, rather corresponds to his Catholic training. On the other hand: Catholic training or not, there is nothing so easy as to confuse the greater glory of a cause with one's own greater glory.)

5. There is also the question, whether the power and the influence of "Globke Pasha", as the Bonners call him, is as strong and ubiquitous as it's cracked up to be. No doubt, Globke has become a symbol to the Opposition of anything they dislike about the regime; in him the whole system is demonically embodied and personalised. Journalists and politicians find it more striking and simpler to say or write, "Globke did it," than to seek for any real explanation. He has become the Gray Eminence, the Père Joseph, the mystery man of the regime. The Bonners tell each other with bated breath and with furtive glances, lest they be overheard, about his latest show of ruthless power (which might be the transfer of an ambassador, an intrigue against Mario, the advancement of some Catholic officer). One never tells a mot or a joke of him. I don't think he ever makes any.

6. There is no doubt that he does dominate all the nerve centers of the Government--the Press and Information services & the Gehlen organization depend directly on the Bundeskanzleramt, the Defense-ministry unofficially, the CDU-party-organizations naturally. Thus the pressures he can bring, aided by the "Reptilienfonds", are considerable. And in view of the fact that to him the Opposition is the enemy, you can be sure that he uses his power in a strictly partisan manner. This, along

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with the pointed confessionism of the regime (and which too is put at Globke's doorstep), has built up the crisis of the Government to the point where the Düsseldorf-coup busted it wide open...

7. Facing Herr Globke across his smooth empty desk, I would say to myself: so this is the center of German political power. And I would wonder: is he a man of superior political intelligence?

8. The answer I have arrived at in the course of our conversations is: NO! He might be a first-rate bureaucrat, but he lacks the resourcefulness, flexibility, combination of a statesman. Au fond he is just as unrealistic as he claims the Opposition is, only the other way 'round. Take his favorite word: German stability! It occurs in his every phrase and refers to his one and only idea of what German politics ought to be--namely a perpetuation of the CDU-regime. In the field of German foreign politics, for instance, stability to him means the formula of "survival of Christian-occidental civilization, preserved in alcohol and, for the rest, any cue from Mr. Dulles to be followed... I wondered out loud, whether his conception of German stability wasn't altogether illusory, considering the constantly changing political world-constellations to which Germany was more exposed than any other European country, considering too that the Russians can roughly disturb his so-called stability any minute by some proposal of a federated reunited Germany or some such tricks? And wouldn't it be wiser and more realistic to replace this entirely static ideal of stability by a sort of suppleness, the capacity of thinking on one's feet, which allowed one to react to and cope with the ever new challenges to that formula of "survival of Christian-occidental civilization?" (What I tactfully didn't say was that the immobilism and lack of ideas which the regime brought to foreign policy naturally exasperated the Opposition.) He answered primly that in Washington one was very satisfied with German stability. I thought: *Pourvu que ça dure...*

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9. For whether Herr Globke likes it or not, a great many Germans of all classes and parties are deeply apprehensive with regard to the effectiveness of the western alliance to which the Adenauer-regime has bound them. Their apprehension is rooted in about the same arguments which have been voiced by Pineau and Gronchi. Especially in view of their criticism and the sympathetic and even respectful hearing it received in the Anglo-Saxon countries, the tabu which the Adenauer-regime has imposed on any discussion of the problems involved on the pretext that the Americans wouldn't like it is a great mistake--mistake which might have a facheux influence on U. S. -German relations in the long run. This might not be all Globke's fault, but he certainly doesn't do anything to remedy this state of affairs...

10. For the rest: Globke never gives a dementi to anything said or written about him. He never explains nor complains. As I said he is no crybaby. I wish to book this in his favor, especially considering that in present-day Germany politics are principally made from personal rancune and resentment.

11. The only point in his life which Globke deigns to discuss is his infamous commentary to Hitler's Nuremberg laws. He wrote it when he was a Regierungsrat in the Ministry of Interior. Globke will tell you that this commentary was the only justification for his staying on in Nazi Germany: because he thus could help the 25 per cent Jews!

12. Actually, opinions differ as to whether Globke's commentary made things easier or harder for the Jews. To me that's not the point at all. The point is, that in writing this commentary, in thus giving the Nuremberg laws a legal basis, he made himself at least an accessory after the fact. It is probably true that he helped many people, also Jews, to get out of Nazi-Germany, to hide, to go underground. This honors him. Still, I should say, a man so deeply implicated in one of the worst features of the Third Reich has no business to play such an all-important role in the Adenauer regime.

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This has always been my opinion... (Lately the Socialist Press Service which has it in for Globke has published alleged excerpts from the Globke commentary which are, indeed, ahurissants, especially from the Catholic point of view, in that they firmly uphold the religion of the "pure race". But I don't know whether these really monstrous excerpts are authentic).

13. There are quite a few people in Bonn who think that Globke will have to go because of these and other exposés. I doubt that the Old Man will let him go, though. But even if he does, Globke had quite a run for his money. Some seven years ago, his modest dream was to become mayor of Trier. He didn't make it because he was found too gauche and inexperienced. Well recommended by Cardinal Frings of Cologne (say most), by Dr. Weitz of the Red Cross (says Globke himself) he was accepted as a Ministerialdirektor in Bonn early in the regime and was given Lenz' job after the elections in 1953. If he must resign, he will get a nice pension. Besides, he has quite a wealthy wife-- a minor heiress; the Beyer Gas-Badeofen-firm, which makes gas-geysers for heating bathwater) belongs to her.

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Chief, CI/SPD

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