

Van Loon, Gerard Willem
" " ^{and} Henry + Janet

J. WALTER THOMPSON COMPANY

420 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK

April 9, 1947.

Gerard W. van Loon
409 East 52nd St.
New York, N.Y.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
29 Washington Square, West
New York 11, New York.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt;

Since Mr. Gerard W. van Loon
has given your name as a personal reference,
we are writing to ask your opinion of this
applicant's suitability to the advertising
field.

We would appreciate any additional
information which you feel would tend to as-
sist us in adjusting this potential employee
to assignments in this agency.

Thanking you in advance for your
courteous attention to our request, I am,

Very truly yours,

Carol Field Derby
P.S.

PERSONNEL MANAGER

Carol Field Derby:MF

Excellent

NEW YORK CHICAGO DETROIT SAN FRANCISCO HOLLYWOOD LOS ANGELES SEATTLE LONDON

RETRIEVED FOR PRESERVATION

van Loan

I have known Mr. Gerard
van Loan for some
time & I would consider
him excellently suited
for work in the
advertising field

Van Loon

Van Loon -

I was delighted to have the opportunity of writing a letter for you. I hope you will look up Mrs Isabelle Barnard as I am sure you will like her

After May 15th I expect to be most of the time in NY & I hope you will

Come up for a night except from May 12th for a week when I will have a house full of ~~the~~ grand nephews - 3 - all under 5 yrs of age!

*Know I hope you are
but for a weekend
I hope you are
I hope you are
I hope you are*

409 East 52nd Str.
New York 22, N.Y.
April 19th, 1947

I am afraid that you have recently been bothered, on my behalf,
by the Personnel Department of J. Walter Thompson requesting
your opinion as to my worthiness of participating in the totally
disreputable business of modern advertising. When casting about
in my mind for the names of people who had known me, or my family,
for a long time I honestly had a rather difficult time. Since I
have been back so very few of my father's erstwhile friends have
shown even the remotest interest in my continued existence, his
publishers included, that I did not feel I wished to place myself
under any obligation to them. You, on the other hand, have been so
very kind to me throughout these many years that I felt I could im-
pose upon you once more. I do hope you didn't mind.

I am afraid that you have recently been bothered, on my behalf,
by the Personnel Department of J. Walter Thompson requesting
your opinion as to my worthiness of participating in the totally
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under any obligation to them. You, on the other hand, have been so
very kind to me throughout these many years that I felt I could im-
pose upon you once more. I do hope you didn't mind.

As it is, I have been working for JWT for the past two weeks and I
have been getting on rather well, thus far. Of course it is a far cry
from the theatre and it is in many ways a very prosaic game and the
people in it are all rather much of the same. But it is a job which I
can do and it fills the bill and the tummy and as a stop-gap until I
can get my civilian feet back under me and until such a time as I shall
have written something worth-while I am very grateful to be taken in out
of the cold.

I wish to thank you also for having put me in touch with the National
Conference on the German Problem. I attended the meeting and the dinner
and we did miss you badly. It was all of it rather interesting and they
certainly had a group of representative people there. It was good to feel
that there were still that many people in this country who had a conscience
and who felt that we had the blood of our country-men on our hands and
that something should be done to avert a "repeat-performance" after this
giant debacle in which we all have lost so much. There was, however, in
that group of people a certain spirit of self-righteousness, of "that-
could-never-happen-here" which I found rather disquieting. They bandied
the word "Democracy" about as though it were a panacea for all ills,
as though Germany, if it ever wished to become a decent country, would
automatically become a Democracy. That is, I fear, rather loose thinking.
Germany will not become a Democracy, or anything approaching one, if left
to her own devices. In this article which I am sending you, I have tried
to say just that. (When I wrote it I had no idea that the JWT deal would
ever come through, in fact I had never heard of JWT). I am also enclosing
a slight clipping from the Times which illustrates my point. Since our
Congress has seen fit to cut down all appropriations for "propaganda"
purposes and since I hear from Germany that the Military Government cannot
even maintain a half-way decent motor-pool anymore, (this from a German
who used to drive for me), I think that something should be done. But
what? I can do no more than cry out in the wilderness.

I hope that you enjoyed your trip to California and that I may see you again when you have once again taken root in our metropolis. Please give my very kindest regards to Hick and tell her that I still maintain a pot of soup on the back of the stove.

And thank you again

William v. J.

1947
Lizette
See also
I. P. ...

GERMANS, GLOOMY, SINK INTO APATHY

In Western Zones, the Sense of Hope Has Died—In East, Fear of Russia Prevails

By **DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT**
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN, Germany, April 14—In searching for evidence of new trends of thought among Germans in the United States and British zones, this correspondent has found only pessimism.

Spring has brought no cheer to the editors, writers, teachers and others who are best able to shape and observe Western German thinking.

One of the most articulate in this group, Senno Reiffenberg, former editor of the Frankfurter Zeitung, who now runs the weekly Gegenwart in Freiburg, recalls that after World War I there was a period of hopefulness among many of the younger people that a new and better world was dawning.

"Just after this war," he observed, "there was a similar moment of receptiveness to new ideas and influences, but it passed quickly and the psychological moment was missed. The young, like the old, have lapsed into apathy and a concern only for the struggle for the necessities of life."

Such political thinking as exists

is dominated by fear of Russia. The Socialist Unity party in the Soviet zone—now seeking to expand into the west—is seen as the bearer of a new nationalist totalitarianism allied to Russia. Yet there is an almost universal absence of interest in the political parties that function freely in the western zones.

The opinion that political parties were authorized too early is a constant refrain. It is said that, as in the case of the peace settlements, all important decisions about Germany's future will be made by the four occupying powers. The political parties and state governments at this time, it is maintained, can only talk, squabble and get fobs for their friends and bring discredit upon democratic institutions. Their leaders are described as the senile and discredited remnants of the Weimar Republic.

All groups complain of the lack of intellectual food from abroad that might bring a breath of fresh air into German thinking. The large number of educated Germans who can read English or French find it almost impossible to get foreign-language books and newspapers, with the exception of the small number of copies of THE NEW YORK TIMES Overseas Weekly and the Paris edition of The New York Herald Tribune. The book shops are bare.

Even among Germans with unquestioned anti-Nazi records, only a handful have found it possible, two years after the end of the war, to travel outside Germany.

ES, TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1947.

ier- by implication reserving the veto
er- power.

re- Although Mr. Molotov did go so
far as to talk in great detail about
the proposed pact and although he
submitted a careful study in the
ited form of revisions and suggestions,
Mr. United States diplomatists were
not very optimistic tonight.

ota- Another long and complex dis-
cussion seemed to be in the offing
—a discussion that would involve
all the basic issues on which there
already has been disagreement.
na- However, the Council is gradually
ple- nearing the end of its agenda, and
its it is in this period that Soviet bar-
en- gaining methods accelerate. It is
possible that there may be a sud-
den decision more favorable than
the implications of this afternoon.

ish A trade is the straight road to
a successful future. Learn a trade
to your liking by enlisting in the
1 of new Regular Army at 39 White-
and hall Street, New York City.

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WAFDISTS AT FUNERAL

20,000 Pay Tribute to Sabry Ab
Alam Pasha in Cairo

Special to The New York Times.

CAIRO, Egypt, April 14—Fe-
funerals ever held in Egypt have
had as much political significance
as today's funeral of Sabry Ab
Alam Pasha, secretary general of
the Wafd party.

Although the funeral was inter-
spersed with outbreaks of nation-
alism, there was no lack of rever-
ence. Those who battled with the
police and among themselves were
merely trying to get closer to the
coffin.

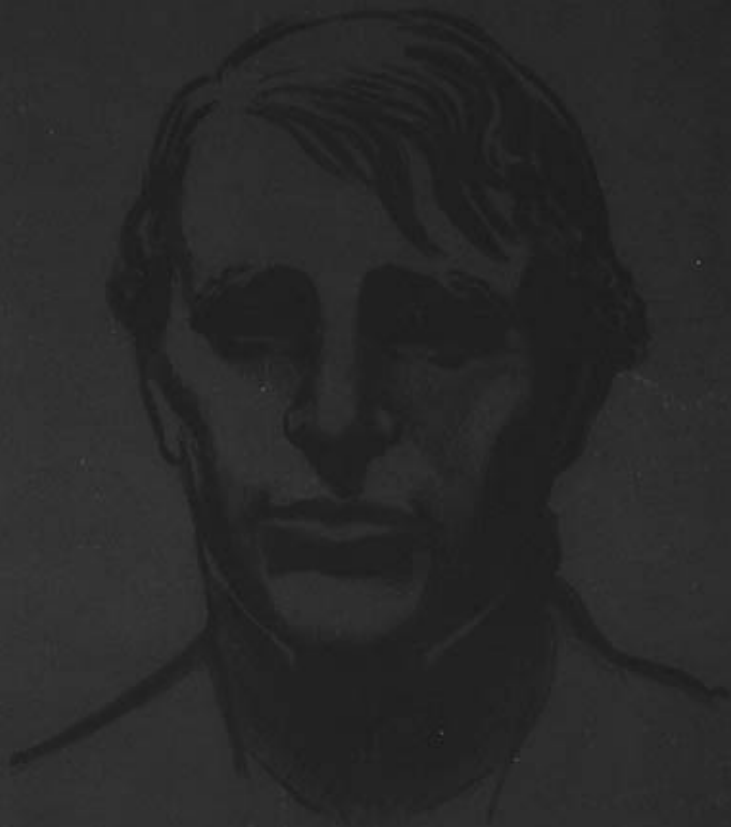
Twenty thousand persons lined
the streets or participated in the
procession. Youth groups carried
political banners and chanted
"Sabry Pasha is dead, but I live
Nahas Pasha."

Nahas Pasha is leader of the
Wafd party which at the moment
is in disfavor at the Royal Palace.

Hand-s

is a *Liliputian Baz

The Christian
REGISTER
UNITARIAN



*"These are times when, in truth, to
dare is the highest wisdom."*

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

REGISTERED MAIL

DEAR READER:

Norman Corwin, America's outstanding radio writer, gave the Unitarian Service Committee a splendid tribute on its medical mission in Czechoslovakia on his coast-to-coast program, "One World Flight," over C.B.S., February 18. He quoted a Czech newspaper as saying: "This kind of work is what international relations ought to be." The broadcast was the sixth in a series prepared as a part of Mr. Corwin's trip around the world on the Wendell Willkie Award.

Charles Francis Adams, former Secretary of the Navy; Arthur Coolidge, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts; Bancroft Beatley, President of Simmons College; and 200 other Unitarian laymen gathered March 2 in Arlington Street Church, Boston, for a dinner and achievement award ceremony (see page 174). Our notes of the occasion include Dr. Samuel A. Eliot's salty peroration: "I like a militant type of churchmanship! We must be aggressive, not defensive."

"Seventeen," the magazine for teen-agers, with a circulation of 1,000,000, published an article in its March issue, "Careers with Tomorrow's Teens," by Martha H. Fletcher, Associate Director of American Unitarian Youth, 1943-45.

Louis Adamic's words on the American tradition are taken from a sermon preached January 26 in the Unitarian Church of Essex County, Orange, N. J.:

Whether or not we can avoid World War III, I don't know; but I do know that if we don't try to avoid it, nothing else is worth trying or doing. If we don't at least try to avoid it, everything else is futile and ludicrous, and worse—devastating.

It is futile to bear and rear children. It is vain to wonder about the kind of curtains you'll hang up in the spring. It is futile to write and read books, to go to lectures or to church or school. It is silly to worry about being called a Red or a Communist, or whatever; or about being hauled up before the Committee on Un-American Activities. It is futile to work at your job, whatever it may be. It is worse than futile to worry about keeping on the good side of whoever can take that job away from you.

Destruction or upbuilding? I don't know. I can merely suggest a line of thinking that is necessary if it is to lead

ON THE NETWORKS

March 30—11:30 a. m. EST. MUTUAL network (117 stations). Rev. John Nicholls Booth on "Have We Outgrown Our Superstitions?"

April 11—10:15 a. m. EST. ABC network. Rev. Dana McL. Greeley on a series "Faith in Our Time."

April 13—4:30 p. m. EST. NBC network (80 stations). Dr. Frederick M. Eliot on "Above All Other Liberties."

April 6, 13, 20, 27—3:30 p. m. EST. WRUL (short wave, 15.29 meg., 25 meters). Dr. Herbert Hitchen on a Program for Free Religion.

to any sort of sound action, any sort of future. I can do no better than to stress the American tradition. "All men are created equal." That may be a prophecy.

War or peace? I don't know. It depends largely on us Americans. Whether or not we can extricate ourselves from the complex crisis of our inner national life, I don't know. In this uncertainty, only one thing seems worth while, regardless of what we are in for. I am for being an American in the best tradition, which is to say, being a man or woman openly opposed to what he or she regards as wrong or unsound; being openly for what is sound and true. There is no thrill in being a worm, in allowing oneself to be stepped on, to be intimidated by propaganda.

We need to help each other. A few nights ago I picked up Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, and I came on these words: "Nothing can lift the heart of a man like manhood in another man."

Those desiring the entire sermon should write the editor.

Thomas Jefferson prizes for advancement of democracy were recently awarded to Dr. Harlow Shapley and Dr. Homer T. Rainey, two former contributors to the *Register*, by the Council Against Intolerance in America which based its awards on a poll of 500 city editors and 1,500 civic groups.

Wendell Berge, a Unitarian who served as Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division of the Justice Depart-

The Christian REGISTER UNITARIAN

Founded 1821

The oldest religious journal of continuous publication in America.

EDITOR: Stephen H. Fritchman
ASSISTANT EDITOR: Charlotte I. West
NEWS EDITOR: Edward Darling
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Elizabeth Brainerd

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD: Lawrence G. Brooks, Chairman, Medford, Mass.; Mrs. Rhoda Truax Aldrich, Cambridge; Everett M. Baker, Wellesley Hills; Noyes Collinson, Cambridge; Frederick M. Eliot, Cambridge; Edwin B. Goodell, Jr., Wayland, Mass.; Alfred R. Hussey, Plymouth; Palfrey Perkins, Boston.

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DIRECTOR: Melvin Arnold

ment, (see his article in the *Register*, November, 1946) has recently resigned. The *Register* salutes a valiant warrior against monopoly practices and urges readers to see Mr. Berge's book, *Cartels: Challenge to a Free World*. S. H. F.

COVER PICTURE

Arthur Poinier, cartoonist for the *Detroit Free Press*, contributed the Channing drawing for this month's cover. Miss Elizabeth F. Hubbard, associate production director of the Division of Publications, designed this cover page as well as those appearing in February and March.

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The Christian REGISTER
UNITARIAN
Founded 1821
The oldest religious journal of continuous publication in America.

Editor: Stephen H. Fritchman
Assistant Editor: Charlotte I. West
News Editor: Edward Darling
Manager: Elizabeth

Liberal Religion is not sold over the bargain counter . . .



IT IS NOT FOR SALE AT ANY PRICE

Our free faith can be spread by new and consecrated purpose, to make it a powerful influence in the world.

**YOUR DENOMINATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS NEED
\$376,000 BEFORE MAY 1ST
to finance their current operating budgets**

GIVE GENEROUSLY NOW

Send your check to your church Treasurer or to the
United Unitarian Appeal, 25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass.

- PARTICIPATING UNITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS**
- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION | NEW ENGLAND UNITARIAN COUNCIL | UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE |
| AMERICAN UNITARIAN YOUTH | UNITARIAN LAYMEN'S LEAGUE | UNITARIAN SERVICE PENSION SOCIETY |
| MEADVILLE CONFERENCE | UNITARIAN MINISTERIAL UNION | WESTERN UNITARIAN CONFERENCE |
| | SOUTHWESTERN CONFERENCE | |

IT SEEMS TO US

It has come to my knowledge that some of our churches are either sending in an infinitesimal sum in token payment or are refusing entirely to support the United Appeal.

Who are these churches that, for a personal pique, will sell our Unitarian denomination short, cutting our Unitarian extension life and turning our Unitarian Advance into a Retreat?

In the past two years great strides have been made. Now they are in our midst tearing down the structure we are trying to build ever higher, to be worthy of the glorious heritage of this faith for the living, that has been handed to us.

Now we "beavers" must work desperately to repair the damage done to the fine dam we have been building.

A tribute to the excellent work done by Mr. Noyes Collinson and to *The Christian Register* for giving us the finest and most talked of religious journal of today.

BEATRICE C. ARC,
United Appeal Chairman,
Third Unitarian Church, Chicago

The letter enclosed a check for \$600—Ed.

I am afraid I am late in writing you that my wife and I appreciated the special issue of *The Christian Register* on Canada. The only feature we did not like was the ludicrously silly cover.

ROBERT LEGGET, Toronto, Canada

Please put me on the mailing list of the *Register* and send me a bill.

LOUIS ADAMIC, Milford, N. J.

I'm afraid that when you wrote "Forward to the Bible" you had your back to your goal. The Bible encourages dependence on an hypothetical external power to do the things that are our job and for which we have the potential capability. In so doing it is a sprag in the wheels of progress. Shame on us that we should have to go back to the childhood of the race for inspiration for today's living! What have we been doing all this time?

ARTHUR B. HEWSON, Chicago

The February issue contained a rather convincing exposé on Pastor Niemöller. While there is not much point in heralding him as some super-Christian, neither is there much point in casting stones in his direction—as has been the case wherever he has visited. With the majority of U. S. churches well dedicated to Jim

Crow law, and with widespread ignorance of, or indifference to, pacifism, I wonder what right we have in exposing Niemöller's racism or his militarism. A relevant question: what would we have done had we been in Germany?

HARRY E. WILLIAMS, Dayton

This letter is written after reading the article in your February number by the Rev. Diedrich Meyer-Kluegel, "German Orthodoxy is Bankrupt."

In the interest of objectivity, and lest your readers accept too uncritically the observations of Pastor Meyer-Kluegel, may I suggest to your readers, and to Pastor Meyer-Kluegel himself, a careful reading of *Martin Luther, Hitler's Cause or Cure?* by Gordon Rupp, Lutterworth Press, London and Redhill, 1945. This little book was written in answer to Peter Wiener's *Martin Luther: Hitler's Spiritual Ancestor*.

I note, for example, that your esteemed contributor has quoted verbatim from the "Luther caricature" of Peter Wiener, on Luther's alleged advice to the princes anent the rebellious peasants. Again, in the interest of objectivity, may I suggest to your readers that before they accept the Meyer-Kluegel article too uncritically, they might well read also such works as *Dachau Sermons* by Martin Niemoeller, just published by Harpers, and *God is my Fuehrer*, Niemoeller's last 28 sermons before he was confined to the Sachsenhausen concentration-camp, published by the Philosophical Library, New York.

ERWIN H. BUENEMAN, Baltimore

May I congratulate you on the general contents of *The Christian Register* from month to month and particularly on an article in the February issue. Diedrich Meyer-Kluegel's article is true to fact. In my new book, *The Church as Educator*, there are many pages that confirm his view of the decadence of German Christianity, especially in the Preface, Chapters I and II. On pages 160-1, you will find an interesting item on Niemöller, viz., how his anti-Semitic references in a sermon were deleted in the English translation. In this day of reaction it is very gratifying to read *The Christian Register*.

CONRAD H. MOEHLMAN,
Professor Emeritus,
Colgate-Rochester Divinity School

I had previously decided not to renew for this year at least. We get so much material through our church that I haven't time to digest
(Continued on page 171)

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PICTURE CREDITS

We are indebted to the following for pictures in this issue: to Bayerisches Pressebild for those on pages 139 and 140 and to Hildegard Steinmetz for that on page 141; to Agencja Fotograficzna for that on page 144; to the Unitarian Service Committee Rosenblum Photo for those on pages 145 and 161; to the AP for that on page 166; to Joen Starr for that on page 168; and to the *Boston Globe* for that on page 174.

EDITORIALS

"CONCERNING THE COLLAPSE OF EUROPE"

THIS MAGAZINE has reported for the past many astonishing evidences of Unitarian A... of a troubled world. A... bettment of a troubled world; the... Creethodovakis; mass pamphletting for freedom in a period of reaction; the... churches in Phoenix, West Shore... Unitarian seminars... the conducting of Unitarian seminars... V.a.; the conducting of Unitarian seminars... graduates in Maine, Missouri, Illinois... of a new program of aid for the... of a new program of aid for the...

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"CONCERNING THE COLLECTION"

I Cor. 16:1

THIS MAGAZINE has reported for the past 12 months on many astonishing evidences of Unitarian energy for the betterment of a troubled world. A medical mission to Czechoslovakia; mass pamphleteering for bold religious freedom in a period of reaction; the establishment of new churches in Phoenix, West Shore Cleveland and Arlington, Va.; the conducting of Unitarian seminars for college undergraduates in Maine, Missouri, Illinois and New York; the initiation of a new program of aid for migrant workers and their children in the Southwest; the proclamation of religious freedom of speech and worship from our pulpits from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in season and out—these are portions of a story of which we can be very proud. Never were Unitarians so busy at so many necessary tasks.

But the money for this work comes slowly. Giving to their church is still an unlearned habit with many Unitarians. Never was our gospel more necessary. This is a time when every Unitarian should double his gift to the Unitarian Appeal which is calling for \$376,824. The work of a free, liberal church must not fail. We dare not withdraw from any front where Unitarians are at work for liberty—not in Europe or America, not in preaching or publications or humanitarian relief. In the month of April the balance of \$261,898.04 must be mobilized. Checks and money orders, large and small, should be forwarded before April 30 to the United Appeal chairman of your local Unitarian church or sent directly to the United Unitarian Appeal at 25 Beacon Street, Boston.

St. Paul, a very practical churchman, never obscured the importance of money in the prosecution of religious work. Unitarians can learn finance if not theology from the man of Tarsus.

NOW IS THE TIME — MAY 22

THE UNITARIANS, like many other religious people in America today, are having to search their hearts deeply and ask: "Do we really mean to stand for our fundamental religious principles in a period of increasing tension and reaction?"

It is the sober conviction of the editor of this magazine that May 22 will be a very significant date in Unitarian history. The reason can be stated clearly. May 22 is the date of the Annual Meeting of the American Unitarian Association. If on that day every church from San Diego to Eastport, from Winnipeg to Miami, sends delegates to represent the will of our rank and file membership, a liberal church will be assured. If the delegates do not come, a small but active minority of Unitarians could possibly reverse the direction of our denomination and make our principles of freedom null and void. The churches could by default permit a reversal of the last ten years of Unitarian progress. This small minority could, if successful,

silence the bold and respected voice of the organized Unitarians in the churches of America at a time when our militant stand for religious liberalism is serving the welfare of all who love freedom. This voice finds its expression in our resolutions, our adopted programs, our collective decisions at the annual meeting.

We Unitarians face a crisis of major magnitude. The fundamental democracy of our church is at stake. If our churches are apathetic or indifferent, if they fail to raise funds to send their official representatives from every section of the United States and Canada, our entire philosophy and program can be dangerously jeopardized.

This magazine is not troubled at any resolution that may be presented or at any speech that may be made if the people of our churches are present to listen and to act. The Unitarian churches of America love freedom and a progressive gospel in these great days we are privileged to serve. They do not need to be told what to do or what not to do. But some of them do need to be told that now is the time to plan for May 22. This editorial is intended to alert every devoted Unitarian—to say to him, "Liberal religion of the Unitarian kind can survive in America only if you come from the south and west, the north and east and vote to make its way prevail." This editorial would not be written if the danger were not very real, if some who have forgotten our basic principles and reject our denominational program did not count on 3,000 miles being too far for liberals to travel for "just a business meeting of our church." May their cynicism regarding the rank and file Unitarians of our land be thoroughly rebuked by the largest annual meeting in 122 years!

THE DEMOCRATIC WILL

DEAN EVERETT MOORE BAKER of Massachusetts Institute of Technology wrote in *Voices of Liberalism*, "Man's control of atomic energy has already made obsolete any kind of thinking that allows a dependence upon some higher authority than man's democratic will for the determination of his destiny." The discovery and expansion of man's democratic will is a matter of cardinal religious value to Unitarians. We have celebrated the achievement of human solidarity of heart and mind as a holy thing. The grace and power of true religion find their test at this particular point. Do men become conscious of their talent for liberty? Do they feel their share in the creation of the democratic will?

In a period of reaction when many men urge the silent tongue, the unexpressed conviction, the unsent letter, the canceled protest, the neutral mind, the unvoted resolution—we of the prophetic church have a double obligation to speak for justice when we see it scorned and to add our handclasp to those who march for freedom. It is our business to let men realize there is no democratic will except it be the work of bold and forthright men.

S. H. F.

DEBATERATION

To choose between beating a hasty retreat to some safe place where he can dig himself in and taking his life in his hands and standing fast. It isn't a pleasant choice, but it is inescapable. This is the choice confronting Unifascians

a kind of loyalty we need
a religious fellowship dedicated to tolerance, to the
pursuit of intelligence in religion and to the open-
spirit without

by GERARD WILLEM VAN LOON

America Must Advertise!

A former army officer reports our failure to teach democracy in Germany through cultural channels

A LARGE, FLORID-FACED MAN stood in the doorway of my office in Munich. "Herr Hauptmann van Loon," he said, "I have 19 elephants on Highway Number 12. What am I to do with them?" I was Theater Control Officer for Bavaria and, as such, a part of the Information Control Division of the Military Government. The man with the elephants was a well-known circus proprietor. He had come to the right place with his problem. With winter coming on it was up to me to do something, if not for him, then for his animals which, it turned out, included lions, tigers, bears that rode bicycles and horses that rumba-ed. But my first move was to say, "Please sit down," and motion to a chair recently liberated from one of Hitler's offices.

Even if I had not been able, which I was, to wangle enough wood and nails from requisitioned sources and build a roofed arena with 2,500 seats, thus making it possible for the circus to reopen according to traditional schedule on Christmas Eve, my politeness would have impressed a German accustomed to barking, overbearing officialdom. It was good business, good advertising, good propaganda for the American way of doing things.

Our Lorelei swoon

When William Joyce, alias Lord Haw-Haw, was hanged in a London prison yard, Propaganda Warfare, as a method of carrying on international conflict, came of age. What had Joyce done? Had he committed treason by betraying British secrets to the enemy? Hardly. But he had betrayed the *idea of England*. He had worked as the tool of the Nazi Reichs Propaganda Ministry. Propaganda, the dissemination of ideas and first cousin to everyday commercial advertising, had joined the ranks of swords, spears, gunpowder, dynamite, gas, germs and atom bombs as a legitimate weapon of modern warfare.

It is a matter of historical record how successful was this attempt by the late Dr. Goebbels and his Ministry to beat down Germany's European neighbors

GERARD WILLEM VAN LOON served as Theater Control Officer for Bavaria from June, 1945, to July, 1946, with the U. S. Armed Forces. A distinguished playwright, lyric writer and dancer, he received his military commission in 1943, was assigned to military intelligence and worked with the British War Office until VE-Day. His father was the late Hendrik Willem van Loon; his mother, the former Eliza Ingersoll Bowditch, of Boston.

before they had a chance to resort to armed resistance. Not so well documented was his success in fostering a spirit of self-righteous isolationism in the hearts of many unsuspecting and not a few openly fascist-minded citizens of our own United States. Luckily for us, before our softening up became complete, a restless Japan struck. The bombs crashing on Pearl Harbor roused us from our Lorelei swoon. We staggered to our feet and began to fight. At the same time, albeit reluctantly, we embarked upon a counter-propaganda struggle through the medium of the much maligned Office of War Information.

But what of the campaign that the Reichs Propaganda Ministry launched *within* Germany itself in order to build

up the morale of the German people, sell them on the rightness of Nazi doctrines and prolong the war till the dire, suicidal end? What kind of an organization would we have to set up within the scope of our Army of Occupation in order to track down and eradicate the Nazi influence that had flowed steadily from Berlin into the minds of the German men, women and children? The source, the poisoned wellspring of the organized Nazi state, had been destroyed. But the poison virus still abounded and the outlets through which Nazi ideology had reached the public were still there, the press, the radio, the publishing business, the film industry, the theater and the realm of music. All these are information media and could be used to our advantage. The answer was Information Control.

Broken down territorially into separate District Information Services Control Commands (and later assimilated into Military Government), this organization, if properly set up and headed by skilled and determined men, if accorded the full backing of our government at home and the co-operation of our occupational armies, would be able to play a leading role in establishing an "outpost of democratic thought" in Central Europe and thereby perhaps plant the seed from which a United States of Europe might eventually grow.

However, from the outset, in June, 1945, when I went to Munich to take over my assignment there, it became apparent that none of the above-mentioned conditions had been, or were likely to be, fulfilled. The basic structure of the Information Control organization and its program were appalling in their naiveté. The chiefs of the or-



Captain Gerard Willem van Loon (right) and his assistant, Mr. Walter Behr, in their office in Munich

ganization, who were responsible for its program and its policy, had been picked neither for their background, knowledge of languages, nor the job at hand. The organization had to permit itself to be cut to ribbons by the redeployment program and to have its budget slashed by Congress. As for the Army of Occupation or the Military Government (which most people don't know are two separate organizations that rarely see eye-to-eye), their members hadn't the vaguest notion what Information Control was or why, and nothing was done to enlighten them. No one seems to have had the necessary conviction or sincerity to go to bat for an organization upon whose efforts the entire future of American prestige in Central Europe may depend.

The American illusion

Why was the program of Information Control not as carefully planned and as thoughtfully carried out as that of any big business that wishes to put over a new idea? Why did our government delay so long before creating the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department which would provide the Information Control officers and civilians with the necessary American plays, books, films and other raw material of propaganda? Above all, why did the Information Control organization constantly have to attempt to counteract the baleful anti-American propaganda created by the corruption and indifference of our own occupation forces when it already had its hands full enough trying to create a little order in the unbelievable ideological chaos of postwar Germany?

The answers that I receive to these questions reflect two present-day American trends of thought, neither of them very encouraging. One answer is, "we won the war. That is the only type of propaganda that those Germans ever will understand!"

"Madame," I say, it being usually a woman who comes forward with this type of thing, "Might is right" was a Nazi slogan. It would be playing directly into the hands of the National Socialists, who may be dormant but by no means inactive, to accept this attitude. Also, a country called Soviet Russia also 'won the war.' Russia cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered a Democracy as we understand the term."

Answer number two is even more basic in its lack of perception and frightening in its implication. "Well, if we have failed to back a propaganda organization in Germany today, it is because we, as a nation, just don't believe in propaganda!"

How can we Americans who, accord-



The Munich Volkstheater damaged beyond repair

ing to proven statistics, will pay good money to see a third-rate motion picture because its publicity build-up has been calculatingly planned and executed, whose soldiers, now in former enemy territory, will accept as gospel that a woman "never was a Nazi" because she "looks just like the girls at home," how can we say we don't believe in propaganda? God knows we fall for it easily enough.

Our country commands such a wealth of natural resources and *Lebensraum* that we have never felt called upon to reach a coveting hand beyond our own territorial borders. Unlike Nazism, or Communism for that matter, our form of government is essentially a home-consumption product which has never, of necessity, been "packaged for export." One paragraph of our Declaration of Independence which reflects our sublimely self-sufficient attitude begins with the sentence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." Self-evident? To whom? To ourselves, of course. In other words, we seem to feel that, because our form of government suits us, the truths upon which its fundamental concepts of human freedom are based will be self-evident to everybody. We have been basing our foreign policy upon the totally unrealistic premise that, if everyone else in the world would only "do what comes naturally" they would come around to seeing things our way. We never felt the need for advertising the idea of Democracy because we, ourselves, were already sold on it.

In Germany today this perhaps laudable but no longer feasible way of thinking has led us to assume that the

extermination of a few top Nazi and the removal of a few small ones will suffice to bring about an automatic *rebirth of Democracy*. Anyone who believes that will also believe that by pulling out a few weeds you can create a garden. It won't work. You are simply making room for other weeds. In order to have flowers you must plant the seed. You must analyze your soil. You must study the climate. In short, you must think and work constructively.

The italics on the phrase "rebirth of Democracy" above are mine. I take those three words from the speeches and writings of lazy optimists and wishful thinkers. It would be more exact to look for an "initial conception of the Democratic idea" for, despite the short-lived Weimar Republic, Democracy is perhaps further from the German mind today than ever before. The German has no fundamental premise on which to base his knowledge of, or his desire for, a government "by the people, for the people." Our form of government must become a part of one's living experience in order to be appreciated or understood. "Government by amateurs," as my father used to call it, is in itself an idea so alien to the German mind as to be completely baffling. Indeed, one man's truth may be another man's implausibility. He has never known true Democracy.

Non-convertible Germans

A theatrical trade paper recently published an article stating that American plays were now being put on in Germany in order to convert the Germans to Democracy. As one of the chief investigators behind the effort to obtain the rights for our plays for German production, I can only laugh at the naivete of such a statement. We will never manage to convert the Germans. But what we can and must do is to show them what a Democracy can produce along cultural lines and gain their respect for our way of life. These people have been brought up to believe that *Kultur* was a distinctly Teutonic invention and that Americans were all illiterate millionaires whose sole ambition was to live in a skyscraper on a diet of gin and jazz.

The United States has only one city of theatrical importance, New York. Germany had at least five major theatrical centers and many smaller ones. In each of these cities there was at least one state subsidized opera house, a symphony orchestra and a legitimate playhouse where the great traditions of good music and theater were kept alive. The taxpayer supported these institutions and took an avid interest in what went on in them. For the 12 years that the 1,000 Year Reich lasted, these theaters

Am... to... granted enormous subsidies and... It... active as never before playing... dis... ternately, propaganda plays (or the... German classics given a Nazi twist) and... escapist comedies which are, in their... own way, also propaganda. Finally... in September, 1944 when it became... evident that Nazi Germany was doomed... Hitler in a last, frenzied defense effort... closed the few remaining unbombed... theaters and ordered his pampered thea... pianos into the army or the armament... factories.

Operation: Information Control
this havoc of wrecked theaters

the removal of a few top Nazi leaders that will also bring out a few seeds of Democracy. Anyone who believes that by pulling out a few weeds you can have flowers for other people must analyze you must weeds. You are creating a climate you must plant the seeds. In order to work constructively, you must work on the phrase "rebirth of the German people." I take an "initial" conception of the "rebirth" for, despite the obvious danger from the short-term before the German people is

granted enormous subsidies and kept active as never before playing, alternately, propaganda plays (or the German classics given a Nazi twist) and escapist comedies which are, in their own way, also propaganda. Finally, in September, 1944 when it became evident that Nazi Germany was doomed, Hitler in a last, frenzied defense effort closed the few remaining unbombed theaters and ordered his pampered thespians into the army or the armament factories.

Operation: Information Control

Into this havoc of wrecked theaters and dismembered theatrical companies we, of Information Control, were sent to clean house and get things going again. Our pathetically inadequate directives stated simply that we were to weed out would-be producers who, after being investigated and found free of Nazi affiliations, would then be permitted to resume their professions. But with what? Our directives said nothing about how theaters were to be rebuilt, how, in the existing chaos, the necessary actors were to be found, how, in fact, the entire complex economic structure of the German repertory theater was to be once more set in motion.

Sticking our necks out, struggling with yards of red tape that threatened to strangle us, inventing our own rules and regulations to meet contingencies as they arose, we managed, in Bavaria alone, to open almost 400 places of entertainment, from flea circuses to opera houses. In less than a year the city of Munich, where only two theaters had been left standing, could boast of 24 places of entertainment. Standing room only was the order of the day for concerts by Munich's two symphony orchestras, the opera, the circus, the seven legitimate playhouses where American plays are now being enthusiastically received, numerous marionette theaters, cabarets and vaudeville houses. The reawakening of the Bavarian theater which took place under my aegis has been paralleled by the resurrection of other information media throughout the American Zone, the press, book production—despite an almost desperate paper shortage—the radio, the film industry which, owing to a lack of raw stock, has thus far only managed to turn out a weekly newsreel but distributes American films with German subtitles, and the musical life for which Germany has always been justly famous.

I think it is safe to say that, with the complete economic breakdown suffered by Germany as a result of its present partition, the comparative tranquillity that exists on the surface in the

American Zone is almost entirely due to the efforts of Information Control. It alleviated the immediate economic distress of many thousands of Germans by creating employment for them in the various industries which the information media make use of. It has introduced a free press and has shown American interest in the stimulation and promotion of the country's cultural life and has succeeded in counteracting one disastrous aspect of our occupation which almost elevated Dr. Goebbels to the role of prophet. I refer to the black marketeers and carpetbaggers now in American uniform, the American officers whose taste in feminine company is astonishingly similar to that of the "Aryan supermen" whom we fought to eliminate, and to our troops who display a type of "brave new world vandalism and vulgarity" which our enemies had been told to expect in the case of a German defeat.

Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay, Deputy Military Governor of Germany, recently came out with the surprising statement that a Military Government attempting to teach Democracy was, in itself, something of a paradox. He suggested, as an alternative, that a civilian be made responsible as head of the occupation and, while retaining a constabulary force, the State Department rather than the War Department should formulate our occupational policy.



Axel von Ambesser, German actor and playwright, as the Stage Manager in Thornton Wilder's "Our Town" as produced at the Kammer spiele im Schauspielhaus in Munich

I would like to second that motion but go the general one better. I would suggest that the United States send to Germany one of its foremost advertising men. I would suggest that this man be empowered to run the occupation as he would a publicity campaign. Of course he would have to be well grounded in German economy and know the German language and the German people, their history, literature, art, music and their theater. He would also have to know his America. Above all he would have to be hardheaded and brook no positive or negative interference in the accomplishment of his mission of selling America.

Never before in our history and very likely never again will the United States be granted this golden opportunity to inject a respect for the democratic way of life into the very heart of Europe. If we fail now we will have failed forever. Other ideologies will not be long in filling the vacuum left in the German mind by the passing of Nazism.

To date only our military strategists seem to have been farsighted enough to read the handwriting upon the wall. They know that with the development of air power and rocket weapons the United States can never again afford to stand aloof, run its own affairs and disregard the rest of the world.

We don't buy friendship

By that same token we also need friends in foreign countries. The day has come when we must learn to get along with others. We will soon find out that we cannot buy friendships simply by handing out money as one throws a bone to a dog. This type of careless generosity which in the past we have indulged in may invoke a preliminary wave of gratitude but it is bound to be followed by an undertow of resentment. On the other hand, our cultural heritage, our art, our literature and our music are invaluable advertisements of the American spirit. They breed respect rather than envy, and respect is one thing that this nation of ours needs throughout the world today. Nowhere do we need it more than in conquered Germany whose importance to us as "an outpost of Democracy" will be demonstrated in the forthcoming struggle over the peace treaties. "America is rich," a very learned German professor recently said to me, "I never doubted that you would win the war because, with your money, you could out-produce us. But what really has impressed me have been your wonderful plays. Money alone cannot produce a culture such as you have. There must be more to your America than we have realized."

Justice Rutledge Dissenting

The following excerpts are from the minority decision by Justice Wiley B. Rutledge of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Everson vs. the Board of Education of the Township of Ewing, N. J.*

"WELL AWARE that Almighty God hath created the mind free; . . . that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; . . .

"We, the General Assembly, do enact, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief. . . ."

"I cannot believe that the great author of those words, or the men who made them law, could have joined in this decision. Neither so high nor so impregnable today as yesterday is the wall raised between church and state by Virginia's great statute of religious freedom and the First Amendment, now made applicable to all the states by the Fourteenth. New Jersey's statute sustained is the first, if indeed it is not the second breach to be made by this Court's action. That a third, and a fourth, and still others will be attempted, we may be sure. . . . Thus with time the most solid freedom steadily gives way before continuing corrosive decision."

"The reasons underlying the Amendment's policy have not vanished with time or diminished in force. Now as when it was adopted the price of religious freedom is double. It is that the church and religion shall live both within and upon that freedom. There cannot be freedom of religion, safeguarded by the state, and intervention by the church or its agencies in the state's domain or dependency on its largesse. . . . The great condition of religious liberty is that it be maintained free from sustenance, as also from other interferences, by the state. For when it comes to rest upon that secular foundation it vanishes with the resting. . . . Public money devoted to payment of religious costs, educational or other, brings the quest for more. It brings

too the struggle of sect against sect for the larger share or for any. Here one by numbers alone will benefit most, there another. That is precisely the history of societies which have had an established religion and dissident groups. . . . It is the very thing Jefferson and Madison experienced and sought to guard against, whether in its blunt or in its more screened forms. . . . The end of such strife cannot be other than to destroy the cherished liberty. The dominating group will achieve the dominant benefit; or all will embroil the state in their dissensions. . . .

"Exactly such conflicts have centered of late around providing transportation to religious schools from public funds.

"The issue and the dissension work typically, in Madison's phrase, to 'destroy that moderation and harmony which the forbearance of our laws to intermeddle with Religion, has produced amongst its several sects.'"

"Two great drives are constantly in motion to abridge, in the name of education, the complete division of religion and civil authority which our forefathers made. One is to introduce religious education and observances into the public schools. The other, to obtain public funds for the aid and support of various private religious schools. . . . In my opinion both avenues were closed by the Constitution. Neither should be opened by this Court. The matter is not one of quantity, to be measured by the amount of money expended. Now as in Madison's day it is one of principle, to keep separate the spheres as the First Amendment drew them; to prevent the first experiment upon our liberties; and to keep the question from becoming entangled in corrosive precedents. We should not be less strict to keep strong and untarnished the one side of the shield of religious freedom than we have been of the other."

High and Impregnable

Editorial by Dr. Eliot on the School Bus Decision

THE MAJORITY OPINION of the United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Everson v. Board of Education*, was written by Mr. Justice Black. It ends with these words: "The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach. New Jersey has not breached it here."

There is, therefore, no difference of opinion within the Court on the basic principle. The difference arises as to whether, in the specific instance of the New Jersey statute, the basic principle has been violated. The majority holds that it has not, the minority holds that it has. That point is definitely settled, by the only method available; and unless at some future date the Court should reverse its decision, the present answer to the specific question will stand.

More important, however, than the immediate question of the constitutionality of a particular law is the probability that this decision will provoke widespread discussion among the people of the United States on the whole question of the doctrine of the separation of church and state; and in this public discussion it is to be hoped that the minority opinion, written by Mr. Justice Rutledge, with whom Mr. Justice Frankfurter, Mr. Justice Jackson and Mr. Justice Burton agree, will be carefully read and studied by all thoughtful citizens.

It is an able document, and of the utmost value as a statement of principles that are fundamental to religious liberty in the United States. If those principles are widely enough understood, and held with sufficient tenacity, there is little

reason to fear serious encroachment upon the structure of our liberties in the field of religion. There is at this time no occasion for panic, or for violent attacks upon any church, but there is very great need for serious attention to the problem of educating ourselves on a question that is vital to the preservation of our American tradition.

Mr. Justice Rutledge's dissenting opinion is an excellent place to begin that process. It goes back to the great words of Jefferson and Madison, to the Virginia statute of religious freedom and the "Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments." There is a solid foundation under the assertion that "we have staked the very existence of our country on the faith that complete separation between the state and religion is best for the state and best for religion." Nothing less than the existence of our country is in peril if we lose that faith or our loyalty to it.

The dissenting opinion does not minimize the danger. It states that already two breaches in the wall between church and state have been made, and adds that "a third, and a fourth and still others will be attempted, we may be sure." It warns us that "with time the most solid freedom steadily gives way before continuing corrosive decision." As in Madison's day, we must "prevent the first experiment upon our liberties" and "keep the question from becoming entangled in corrosive precedents."

These are solemn and stirring words, for which all freedom-loving men must be grateful.

FREDERICK MAY ELIOT

"A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom," enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia, January 19, 1786.