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Nazi Exchange Students at the University of Missouri

BY ESTHER PRIWER

N The Columbia Missourian* of September 28, 1937, appeared the following item:

Elizabeth Noelle, German exchange student from the University of Munich, is entered in the School of Journalism and is working for her Doctor's Degree. Although she is only twenty years old, she has a degree in Germany which is comparable to the American Master's Degree.

Before entering the University Miss Noelle spent a week seeing New York and having conferences with the chief editor of the Berlin newspaper, Berliner Zeitung am Mittag, for which publication she will write during her year in America. Her most important assignment, which is to be sent to the paper, will be on the influence of women on the American press. With that as the central idea, she will write articles on the influence women might have on the press in Germany, for, she says, German women take less interest in Journalism than do American women.

Miss Noelle is here as an exchange student while Carolyn Collier, University of Missouri graduate of last spring, is spending this year studying German and music at the University of Munich.

* The Columbia Missourian is the daily newspaper published by the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, at Columbia, Mo., for both student and town consumption.

I happened to be in the office of the Dean's secretary when Elizabeth first appeared to matriculate. She had just arrived, too late for the regular registration. Because I was standing near I was asked to see that she got the official records made out, and to introduce her to the campus.

During the two hours I spent with her I was burning to ask about the political situation in Germany; I wanted to know at first hand how an "Aryan" German regarded the Jews. But Elizabeth had just arrived, and her command of English was imperfect. A controversial question under the circumstances would have been rank discourtesy.

So we talked about the weather, and her trip, and where the buildings were located on the campus. She explained that she planned to spend a year here at the University of Missouri, studying the School of Journalism by taking courses in it. The material she gathered she would use for her doctor's thesis. The German universities grant only one degree, she said, the doctor's degree.

Walking under the friendly trees of my own campus I found it hard to believe that Elizabeth was a deadly enemy of my people. She was such a charming person! She bends her tall, slender figure very graciously to hear the words of a shorter person. She has a piquant little child's face, set off by brilliant lipstick which she applies skillfully to her pouting mouth. Her black eyes are deep-set and mysterious. She wears her smooth dark hair in an individual manner, the thick coil in back of her left car. She speaks in a deep rich voice, the blur of her accent adding charm to familiar English words.

All in all, Elizabeth is very attractive. She knows it, I am sure, because she never fails to wear vivid colors. Scarlets and burning oranges. Eyes cannot help but follow her. That is undoubtedly one reason why Hitler sent her here.

Each year between twenty and forty foreign students enter our university. They come from almost every country-China, Japan, Albania, Turkey, Switzerland, Palestine, Persia, everywhere. As guests and fellow-students, they are traditionally accorded every possible courtesy. Each rates a feature story in the Missourian. Teachers give them special assignments, and personal help. They are invited to many social affairs, and offered opportunities to speak to various groups about their own countries.

The feature story about Elizabeth was published in the *Missourian* of September 29th:

"In no other country I have visited have I heard so much talk of war," marveled Elizabeth Noelle, exchange student from Germany. "Your country is so large, so powerful, that it seems very strange to me to find here

such universal discussion and speculation upon war.

"In Germany, Berlin is closer to the Polish border than Columbia is to Kansas City and we are forced to build up a large army, but we do not want war. No European country does. We are afraid of war."

Miss Noelle was surprised that Missouri had compulsory military training, for she feels that we have nothing to fear even from a general European conflict.

Regarding newspaper stories of German and Italian air forces in Spain she says, "There are so many stories. The German papers say that facts have been exaggerated: French, English and American presses write 'authentic' stories about German and Italian interference. If there is such interference, it is beneath the surface and denied by the government. No one can tell what is true and what is not true."

The rest of the interview quotes Elizabeth on her observations of American customs such as dating, hitch-hiking, smoking.

And that was Elizabeth during her first few weeks on our campus. Seemingly quiet, indulging in no political arguments. Only the Faculty knew that she took little interest in her school work; she carried comparatively few courses, even for a foreign student.

Elizabeth began to be seen frequently in the company of Karl J. Eskelund, a Danish boy who had spent several years in China and other parts of the Orient before coming to Missouri. Before the blossoming of his friendship with Elizabeth it was generally believed that Eskelund had absorbed many of the democratic ideals prevalent in China for the past decade. This belief was now shattered. But Eskelund was to present another surprise in May.

ELIZABETH had joined the class in Editorial Writing. In the same class was a brilliant student from India, Mr. P. P. Singh. Mr. Singh took to writing signed "Letters to the People," defending Democracy against Fascism and Nazism. Playing no favorites among the foreign students, the editor of the Missourian published two articles on November 24th, one by Mr. Singh and the other by Elizabeth. A prefatory note stated that the editor had requested the articles. Elizabeth's follows, with the three editor's notes appended:

The term National-Socialism is generally pronounced with a note of antagonism in the United States.* The reason is that only a few people know the meaning of the term. In the following discussion I shall endeavor to describe briefly the essential meaning of National-Socialism.

The origin of National-Socialism lies in the reaction of the German people against the treaty of Versailles** and the conditions arising from this treaty. The movement is a reaction against the loss of the German colonies and about 50,000 square miles of German terri-

*Except by American Jews, the present Nazi rule probably is regarded more tolerantly in the United States than in any other democracy. The whole American tradition, of course, recoils at political executions and at autocracy. But many Americans will grant that Hitler and Schacht constituted perhaps the only hope in Germany's postwar emergency.

** The injustice of the Versailles Treaty is pointed out in practically every university in the United States. Americans' basic resentment of German National Socialism arises from a fear that the clash of principle between Fascism and democracy and the militarism sponsored at Berlin and Rome may involve Europe in a war into which American commercial interests might drag us.

tory; against the confiscation of the entire private and state property abroad; against constant draining the country of its wealth through reparation payments which brought about the annihilation of the German middle classes.***

It is an organized object [sic] to the confiscation of the German merchant fleet and the loss of foreign markets which offered the only opportunity of bringing money and work back to the German industries and laboring classes. It is a reaction against steadily increasing unemployment with its seven million jobless people to which finally belonged one-third of the total population capable of work-a condition which formed a hot bed for growing communism. This political experiment, however, had just killed 80,000 priests, 500,000 peasants and over 1 million "bourgeois" in nearby Russia.

Finally, National-Socialism is the reaction to the loss of national pride, to complete helplessness of a disarmed Germany amidst feverishly rearming nations, to the disappearance of national self-preservation, to the rapidly decreasing birth rate, to overruling of the cultural and economical life through extending influence of Jews, caused by the fact that in Germany after the war about 70-90 per cent of the key positions in medicine, law, the press, the theatre, and a large part of government positions were in the hand of the Jews, although they constituted only one per cent of the population. This situation endangered German cultural life and national unity.

Germany saw only two ways out of this situation: Either to fight off by national ideals an apparently inevitable fate, or hopelessly to resign herself and await her own deterioration and extinction.

*** As we understand it, Germany never actually paid reparations: she borrowed to pay them, then declared herself unable to repay what she borrowed. It was extreme monetary inflation that ruined [the] German middle class.

The German people considered themselves to be a too valuable member of the world-family to pass out of existence. Yet the thirty-three parties of the German post-war democracy apparently were neither capable of agreeing upon a single measure of relief nor of acting. Consequently the German people elected (and they actually did elect!) as their leader Adolf Hitler, who in this time of indecision had laid down the system of national defense in his book "Mein Kampf" and in the twenty-five points of the party program of the National-Socialists.

Hitler's rise to power appears not to be foreign to American practice. In this country even the poorest farm boy may have the opportunity of becoming President. Hitler came neither from a military cast [sic] nor from the social elite, but he had worked his way up from a poor mason to the highest political position.

National-Socialism as developed by Hitler has been described as a reaction. Consequently it is subject to time and place, i.e., it is created for German conditions and is not to be imported to other countries. Every proposition of the movement springs from the abnormal conditions of post-war Germany. National-Socialism employs the principle of leadership. The conviction is held that present Germany fares better if one man acts than if a hundred hesitate; better if this one man is responsible with his life than that hundreds avoid responsibility.

This principle rests in the confidence that one out-standing man has sounder judgment than a hundred mediocre ones. National-Socialism has the maxim: "Public welfare above self-interest," for it appeared very doubtful that the hopeless situation of Germany could be remedied if each individual would continue to act for his own interest only. This maxim demands readiness to sacrifice and restricts individual liberty if the independence of the entire nation is at stake.

National-Socialism does not recognize any classes but only the "people's community" based on equality of rights. It does not acknowledge nobility by birth but only the "nobility of labor."

In regard to the principle of nationality, National-Socialism stands for equality of rights and independence of all nations and believes in the necessity of mutual respect. For this reason, National-Socialism rejects war of aggression but considers a war of defence necessary for national existence.

It is the conviction of the ideology that a nation contributes most to universal cultural progress, if this nation develops and preserves its national character. National-Socialism is opposed to the mixture of races because it sees herein a danger to the maintenance of national character, since history shows sufficient examples that the downfall of great nations has set in with the mixing of races.

National-Socialism regards religion as a private affair of the individual, but demands that state and church mutually respect their separate spheres.

National-Socialism founded on these principles cannot be imported to other countries. It is suitable for Germany only. The German people are only too aware of the fact that every country has to develop its own system of government, based upon its needs and requirements. And this Germany has done.

STUDENTS and townspeople took this piece of Nazi journalism indifferently. Even the Jews took it tolerantly, because above it, in the same column, appeared Mr. Singh's denunciation of German Jew-baiting.

There was one liberal group, however, which began to take the whole thing seriously. This little group of about fifteen students (one or two only were Jewish, and the leaders were all non-Jews) decided to investigate. As a first step, they wrote to the American Jewish Committee, asking for information on Nazi exchange students. When the Committee's survey* was received it was circulated rather widely among students and faculty, and undoubtedly had some effect in making people conscious of the tactics being used by Elizabeth.

Quoting official German publications, this survey proves conclusively that German exchange students are trained for one year in special camps to become propagandists for Nazism; that they are sent to foreign countries for that express purpose; that they carry on their propaganda work through the genteel medium of social intercourse; and that American exchange students to Germany are subjected to an irresistible pressure of Nazi propaganda.

The little liberal group also searched the New York Times Index; this yielded three stories, which they circulated along with the American Jewish Committee survey. One of these stories gives a good idea of Elizabeth's background:

NAZI STUDENTS DRILL ON CONVERTING WORLD

Those Who Go Soon to Foreign Colleges Are Trained for Propaganda Abroad Wireless to the New York Times [of August 27, 1937].

NEUSTRELITZ, Germany, August 26.—German exchange students who will leave early next month for universities and colleges in various foreign countries, including the United States, were mobilized here yesterday for a week of final intensive training in National Socialism. They are now regarded as an important element in Germany's foreign propaganda, and were told so today by Dr. Burmeister, director of the German Student Exchange Service.

* The text of this survey is given at the end of this article.—En.

The student's camp is a typical semimilitary National Socialist training institution. Instruction will be given throughout the week in the manner in which German students abroad are to behave, particularly how they are to present the National Socialist ideology.

Dr. Burmeister said today: "The opponents with which the National Socialist Germany must cope found their opposition on firm ideologies which are, however, contrary to ours. Therefore it is necessary to learn about our opponents' ideology and point of view so as to be able to oppose them.

"There is no point in trying to force the German standpoint on the foreign partner in discussion. On the contrary, clarity must be achieved and on the basis of clarity an understanding must be reached. The German spirit is mobilized and must remain mobilized to hold its ground in the world warfare of ideology."

The week spent here is only the last stage in the course of ideological training that students must undergo for a year preceding their period of residence abroad. During the year each is taught to be a "political soldier" in the Reich's service on foreign campuses. No exchange student is allowed to go abroad until he has mastered National Socialism's fundamental doctrines and arguments and has demonstrated his loyalty to the present regime.

ELIZABETH had a fellow-Nazi on our campus in the person of Heinrich Haering, a handsome blond Aryan. He undoubtedly shared Elizabeth's mission, but he was a quiet, unassuming young fellow who seldom got his name in the newspaper. If he sowed seeds of Nazism, he did it very quietly. Elizabeth had enough vividness to take the spotlight for both of them.

The findings of the American Jewish Committee took on new significance for us in Columbia when the following notice appeared in the Missourian of December 17th:

Miss Elizabeth Noelle and Heinrich Hacring, University exchange students from Germany, left at 9 o'clock this morning to spend the Christmas holiday on a farm in Naples, Fla. They were accompanied by two exchange students from the University of Kansas.

On their return the two blandly gave an interview which clinched the matter. It showed clearly that the German exchange students here are well organized under strong leadership. On January 21, 1938, the Missourian printed:

Because they were four compatriots in a foreign land, Elizabeth Noelle, Heinrich Haering, and the two German exchange students from the University of Kansas spoke German on their three weeks' trip to Florida during the Christmas holidays. One day, as they were eating lunch in a Georgia restaurant, an elderly Southerner walked up to their table and glowered, "I can't understand a thing you damned Yankees are saying."

The trip came as a result of an invitation which Herr Hachmeister, who owns a fruit farm at Naples, on the southern tip of Florida, extends each year to the German exchange students in this country. There are about 80 studying here at present, 54 of whom were able to make the trip . . .

On the day before Christmas they gathered around the radio in Herr Hachmeister's house to listen to the Christmas message which Rudolph Hess, Hitler's "Stellvertreter," delivers each Christmas eve to the German people . . .

That the Herr Hachmeister mentioned was doing extremely well to have no less than fifty-four house guests at the same time goes without saying.

I'm was around the beginning of the second semester, in February, that Elizabeth began to display a sort of frenzy in her defense of Germany. Faculty members and students were beginning to remark that she showed her contempt of American ways and manners a little too openly.

This contempt for things American came out in the open with a letter to the *Missourian* of February 11, 1938 (it being after the beginning of the second semester, Elizabeth was no longer a student in the Editorial class):

"In Germany it is forbidden to listen to the voice of Moscow, and a good many Germans have been jailed for this offense." So said a Springfield Republican editorial reprinted in the Missourian. The writer is one of those many little experts in German affairs.

Germany happens to be my country. May I tell you my version of Russian propaganda and what I have seen of German reaction to it?

Germans are forbidden to hold regular meetings in order to listen to the Russian broadcasts, IF the purpose of the meeting obviously is to spread out communist propaganda. The same thing is true for all countries which once had a large and active communist party and therefore declared it illegal. Poland, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Turkey, Italy and others all were forced to do so.

But to listen to the Russian broadcast for individual information is permitted just as well as it is to read in public libraries or to buy foreign newspapers. If someone supposes that secrets are going on which he cannot learn about from German sources, he has all opportunities to satisfy his thirst for knowledge.

The writer of the reprinted article seems quite convinced that every German naturally understands Russian. Otherwise, how could he listen to the "Voice of Moscow"? That is, indeed, very flattering and a sign of the high appreciation of German education which I find in this country.

It may, however, be interesting to your readers to know that the Russian broadcast sends a German program over the air for several hours every day. The German people feel honored by this special courtesy and attention, but does not believe that it, in return, is necessary to send Russian programs over the German broadcasting system. In THIS way Germany really considers wireless propaganda as a one-way street—though she does not take it very serious in its effects and does not care much more about it.

I consider the fact that you repeat in your reprinted article "what others say." This way of forming public opinion by picking up—everywhere—only certain facts and ideas and by repeating them without a second investigation is perhaps rather unsafe.

> ELIZABETH NOELLE, German Exchange Student.

This time the editor is curt:

Editor's note: The Springfield (Mass.) Republican is widely considered to be a dependable conservative newspaper.

It was around the middle of the second semester, I believe, that Elizabeth and Eskelund were no longer seen together. Instead, she was seen at various times with one or another of two American boys. Whether it was the reaction against her, or whether Eskelund had been deliberately going with her in order to learn her viewpoint, was a matter for conjecture. But the May 10th issue of the New Masses of New York, placed on the shelves of the Journalism Library (though only the General University Library subscribes for it regularly), contained this letter (on page 19):

A device more subtle than the local Bunds is being used to spread Nazi propaganda in this country. German students, sent here on an exchange basis, are abusing the hospitality of American universities by using them as centers from which to disseminate Hitler's ideology. I cite, in proof of this, an experience with a German exchange student in my own institution.

German exchange students insist with a frankness and a disregard for truth, which only diligent pupils of Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels can possess, that they have nothing to do with propaganda. They forget to explain that all German exchange students in this country are chosen because they are the most ardent Nazis and the most able propagandists of the students at home.

I finally learned the truth about German exchange students. One day I asked my Nazi friend, Miss Elizabeth Noelle, "Why don't you make some propaganda for the Nazis over here; won't that make a good impression home in Germany?" "Ach, no," she answered, "we are supposed to do that anyway."

Miss Noelle is very proud that she was invited to a tea party all alone with Hitler before she went over to perform her patriotic task in America. She often tells about the winning personality of the Austrian paper-hanger. Most of the exchange students had a chance to see Der Schöne Adolf in privacy before they went across the ocean, she said.

Having attended a special exchangestudent camp in Berlin, the chosen patriots are let loose upon America. Whether or not they themselves believe what they tell American students about the wonderful work of Hitler in Germany—about his love of peace, and about the bad features of democracy it is difficult to say.

Here are quoted examples of Miss Noelle's work: "American journalists (except the few who write nicely—that is, the truth—about Germany) are propagandists, hired by Jews. They never relate the truth. They make up stories about Germany." "Germany arms less than any other European power." This is another statement from Miss Noelle. She insists Hitler spends almost all Germany's money for rehabilitation. If people dare deny that Germany spends very little money for armaments, Miss Noelle says: "Just look at the armament figures in the New York Times. They prove that Germany spends almost no money on armaments."

"The idea of internationalism is childish and impossible," Miss Noelle says,
parroting Hitler's words in his book,
Mein Kampf. She wonders how anybody can believe in internationalism.
She passed that juvenile stage long
ago, she says. After all, how can one
dream of equality between Germans—
born to rule—and such scrap as Chinese, Americans, and Frenchmen?

"Don't be feminine," Miss Noelle told me once when I talked about the sufferings of Spanish and Chinese civilians. She explained that war is a necessity. And blood—even innocent blood—has to flow in a war. That is only natural, she said. One must recognize that stronger nations will strike if the weaker will not bend their necks.

Yes, Miss Noelle does not care about sufferings. Her fatherland is everything to her, she explains. She is happy that Germany is strong again. She knows that one must be ready to die when Hitler lifts his hand. She is ready; all Germany is ready.

Columbia, Mo. K. J. ESKELUND.

A news item in the Missourian, stating that this letter had appeared, and quoting parts of it, brought no denial from either of the German students, so far as I know.

ELIZABETH was an exchange student for the Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority. That is, the sorority sponsored her stay here, while one of its own members was in Germany. But she was not a member of

the sorority, nor did she live at the chapter house. As was natural, however, she attended the chapter's social functions.

Elizabeth and a Kappa were members of one of my classes. For convenience, the class met on Tuesday evenings at the professor's home. Although such an arrangement was less formal than usual, classroom decorum was pretty well observed. It happened that the annual "Sorority Sing" came on a Tuesday night. It was about the middle of the class period when Elizabeth suddenly rose and started to march out. The professor looked somewhat startled. which made it obvious that Elizabeth had made no previous arrangement for this exit. Noticing the professor's look, she stopped and explained that she wished to join in the "Sorority Sing." Receiving permission, she turned to the Kappa and asked if she would join her. The reply was a deep blush and a negative nod. This Kappa has plenty of savoir faire; it was a feeling of shame for Elizabeth's conduct, a deeper feeling than mere embarrassment at the interruption of the class, that made her blush, I believe.

Incidents such as this began to have an effect. Professors resented such open disregard of class courtesy, though some found it amusing. One history professor, indeed, seemed to take Elizabeth's arguments seriously; his lectures were distinctly pro-Nazi. But the great majority of the faculty either resented or laughed at her and her arguments.

On the whole, Elizabeth's work as a getter of good-will for Hitler seems not to have been very successful on

our campus. In fact, one professor estimated that feeling against Germany was stronger on the campus, among both faculty and students, than it had been in 1917. He was on the campus at that time, too, and in a good position to take the tolerance temperature of the place. He said that there had been a tremendous increase in anti-German sentiment during the school year 1937-1938; he would not attribute it all to the over-enthusiastic tactics of the German exchange student, but thought her to be responsible for at least part of it.

It can be said for Elizabeth that she is sincere in her mission. There can be no doubt of that. She seems to fancy herself as a fascinating spy, or something of the sort. One professor observed that she appeared to be "intellectually intoxicated" with Hitler's ideology.

It is, of course, impossible to say absolutely that Elizabeth was unsuccessful. But that seems to be the prevailing opinion. On the other hand, a few amateur sleuths thought they had found a Nazi organization which met periodically out of town, at a different spot each time. But they were not able to corroborate their findings; and their reports were based on what seemed to me to be rather flimsy evidence.

Certainly Elizabeth antagonized people, as fanatics do. I heard this from many sources. And it was evidenced by the fact that toward the end of the year she did not speak as often at social gatherings as at the beginning, if the number of notices of such talks in the newspaper is a criterion. Foreign students are usually

invited to speak before more groups than they can take care of; most of them turn down many invitations, simply because they cannot find time to prepare talks and keep up with their school work. But Elizabeth seemed actually to seek invitations.

She played her accordion and sang German folk-songs for the Needlework Guild; she sang or talked or played for almost every occasion, from meetings of the German Club to assemblies of high school groups. The city editor of the Missourian estimated that he received reports of such activity on her part on an average of at least once a week, until they began to taper off.

To my knowledge, Elizabeth's attitude toward the Jewish students on the campus was a careful one. She was neither unfriendly nor friendly. She greeted me when we passed, but after those first two hours we had together in the beginning she never gave me an opportunity to draw her into conversation. Jew-baiting in Columbia would necessarily have to be underground.

It is my opinion that the University was very lucky to have drawn Elizabeth as an exchange student from Germany. Another, less "intellectually intoxicated," might have been more successful. Heinrich Haering seems to have been a diplomatic person; perhaps he has sown more seeds of Nazism than anyone suspects.

As for the attitude of the Jewish students toward Elizabeth and Heinrich, I believe it is one that might almost be termed pity. Those two are not responsible for their actions; they are simply the product of the Nazi régime, tools of Hitler.

American-German Student Exchange

A Memorandum Prepared by Members of the Research Staff of the American Jewish Committee

1. Student exchange between the United States and Germany has assumed a significance vastly out of proportion to the actual number of students involved. At the present time (December, 1937) there are approximately 350 German students in American universities, colleges, preparatory schools and even public high schools. Contrary to the general conception of the student as a scholarly seeker after truth, these students coming from Germany are, in the words of the Chief of the German Student Exchange Service, "political soldiers" in the service of the National Socialist régime. Each of these students is either supported by the German Government during the entire period of his stay in the United States, or at least permitted to take out of Germany enough foreign exchange to support him during his stay abroad. Considering the stringent restrictions placed on the export of money from the Reich, this is virtually the equivalent of a Government subsidy. At the same time, more and more young American students have been financed by the German Government in their studies in various educational institutions in the Reich.

2. Known figures indicate that in the academic year 1936-37 there were 74 students involved in the student exchange under the auspices of the Institute of International Education (New York); of these, 38 were German students in the United States, and 36 were Americans in Germany. A single year later, in the academic period 1937-38, this number had jumped to 111, of which 66 were Germans in the United States and 45 were Americans in Germany. The total number of German students in American colleges and universities was 232 in 1936-37.

3. Exchanges of students between this country and Germany, however, have not been limited to the higher institutions. In August, 1937, under a special arrangement with German school authorities, 100 German students were accepted in a Cleveland high school. The children arrived in Cleveland

in September, accompanied by 10 teachers from their own land. Last fall, too, 14 young Germans arrived in New York to attend various American preparatory schools as exchange students. These German students are distributed through more than 55 colleges and universities, more than a dozen private preparatory schools, and one public high school in Cleveland.

4. What is the purpose behind the increased efforts on the part of the German authorities to promote bigger and better student exchange between the United States and Germany? A fairly clear statement of these purposes can be found in the book, Wir Deutsche in der Welt, published in Germany by the League of German Societies Abroad, with the imprimatur of the Press Bureau of the National Socialist Party. This book, which contains articles on the activities of German propagandists abroad by Reichsminister Goering, Foreign Division Leader Bohle and other high German officials, states: "In order to enable us to make the best selection of candidates and to impress them with the responsibility which everyone going abroad must assume, the German students are assembled in a camp before they leave Germany. Here they spend their days in work and in social intercourse. They study the history and the cultural and economic development of the country to which they are going. study the habits of each nation and the significance of that nation for us. Thus, these students come to the country of their sojourn fully prepared. They are familiar with the political and spiritual condition and they are able to acclimate themselves to their new surroundings very rapidly. At the same time, they learn how to form a close group in the schools abroad.

5. "The German students are solidly united in all of the great colleges abroad. Aside from their studies they devote themselves to other general tasks. It is their desire to establish friendly relations with the youth of the country in which they are

guests; and through lectures and discussions on the important problems of the present day, of political, economic and cultural life, they exchange viewpoints with other foreign groups.

6. "The best way to establish cordial relationship and instil an understanding of Germany is through social gatherings, group tours and hikes, games, etc.

7. "At the same time the German students abroad take active part in the life of the German colonies, the local units of the National Socialist Party, and in German organizations. Here they find a broad field of activity. Our racial comrades abroad are overjoyed when National Socialist students from the homeland cooperate with them and in their lectures tell them the story of the tremendous work of reconstruction carried out by the Fuchrer."

8. The National Socialist Party Correspondence, the official publication of the National Socialist Party Press Bureau, reporting on a meeting of the German Student Exchange Service, points out that the chief purpose of this Service is "to establish relations with other nations." The Student Exchange Service, this bulletin continues, "has set itself the task of instilling an understanding of the new Germany among the youth of the world." So important is the work of this organization considered that "the military authorities have granted special leave to those exchange students who go abroad." The training of the Nazi student preliminary to his going abroad is described as follows: "Each student, before going abroad, goes through a special preparation period in which he is drilled in theory. The students assemble in small study circles. Before the boys and girls are permitted to go abroad, they must pass a number of tests since it is in the interests of our nation that those who represent us abroad must be fully qualified to do so. Foreign groups who come to us are given official reception. The attempt is made to give the youthful foreigners an insight into the new Germany of Adolf Hitler. Special tours are organized for them and they are brought together as often as possible with the German youth. We can be certain that in the majority of cases, we manage to win staunch friends for our country."

9. Every young National Socialist student who is sent abroad to attend a foreign school is hand-picked for his loyalty to the Fuehrer, for his thorough grounding in National Socialist ideology, and, most important of all, for his ability as a propagandist. Before going abroad, he is put through a special training course, under the supervision of the Ministry for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, which lasts a full year. The most recent of these courses ended in August, 1937, with a special rally at the National Socialist student camp in Neustrelitz. According to the New York Times dispatch, Dr. Burmeister, chief of the German Student Exchange Service, told the students in a farewell address that they were now full-fledged "political soldiers" in the Reich's service on foreign campuses. It was their task, he declared, to present the National Socialist ideology to the student groups of foreign universities in the most effective way possible. "But," he advised, "there is no point in trying to force the German standpoint upon the foreign partner in discussion. On the contrary, clarity must be achieved and on the basis of clarity an understanding must be reached. The German spirit is mobilized to hold its ground in the world warfare of ideology."

10. The chief organizations in Germany engaged in the promotion and supervision of student exchange are: The German Academic Exchange Service, the Student Exchange Service, the Carl Schurz Vereinigung. The Academic Exchange Service is officially a part of the German Ministry of Education. The Student Exchange Service is under the jurisdiction of the Student League of the National Socialist Party. The Carl Schurz Vereinigung is a semiprivate organization under the direction of members in good standing of the Nazi Party. Thus, all of these organizations are Government agencies and their work is a part of the Government program.

11. How closely the National Socialist Government watches its mobilized students during their sojourns abroad may be gathered from the following extract from the Decrees of the National Socialist Minister of Education (Amtsblatt des Reich und

Preussischen Ministerium fuer Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbilding, December 24, 1936):

12. "It has frequently been observed of late that Germans and especially professors and students, when travelling abroad for cultural or scientific purposes, have failed to establish contact with their local National official representatives. Such contact is specially important in countries where Jewry occupies a predominant influence in cultural affairs, and where emigrants seek to press into the foreground in questions concerning German cultural life. In these countries it is particularly necessary that German National guests, local or official, shall be informed of these local relationships by the official National representatives abroad.

13. "I therefore order that all under control of my Ministry who travel abroad for study, research or lectures, or for congresses or similar purposes, shall on their arrival in a foreign country forthwith get into contact with the competent local representative of Germany, with the Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party and with the Branch Office of the German Academic Exchange Service, whenever possible. If this be not done a short report of the reasons must be furnished to me.

14. "I take this opportunity to point out that previous decrees (of June 22, 1935 and March 28, 1936) concerning foreign journeys are still not always obeyed by all concerned. For example, news of a proposed journey abroad by persons under control of my office often reaches me first through the German Centre for Congresses. This results in delay and the person involved not only risks refusal of the necessary foreign exchange, but is also acting in defiance of my orders. I therefore hereby order all controlled by my office to obey in every detail the Decree on Foreign Travel, and lay before me, through the official channels, any application for permission to travel abroad."

15. As for the activities of German exchange students on American campuses, available reports are scanty. According to information received from various sources, the Nazi exchange student carries on most of his propaganda activities through social

intercourse. In only a few instances have there been any public utterances. One case is Dr. Josef Zwicker, a graduate student of the University of Kansas, who toured the Middle West and delivered a number of lectures which were not only pro-Nazi but decidedly anti-Jewish as well. Another case was reported at Vassar College, where a student, Ursula Engler, wrote an article for the school publication on women in German universities. It was revealed that she had shown the article to the German Consul in New York before submitting it for publication. This incident caused a good deal of discussion at the college and as a result Erika Mann, the well known German exile, was asked to write a reply. However, incidents of this sort are rare. In most cases, as reported by one student organization, exchange students speak at gatherings of campus societies or intercollegiate organizations; and even though there may be present a number of persons strongly opposed to Nazism or Fascism, their first-hand information and general training is by no means so specialized as those of the German exchange students, so that they can hardly refute them. How well trained these exchange students are may be gauged from one Ohio newspaperman's report that several German boys at the Cleveland high school remarked inadvertently that they preferred their stay in the United States to that of last year in England, the year before in Rumania, and the year before in Holland. No better proof is necessary that these are professional exchange stu-

16. On the other hand, a Berlin dispatch to the New York Times of November 14, 1937, reported that National Socialists were rejoicing over the "marked increase in the number of American private preparatory schools exchanging students with the official National Socialist boarding schools, called National Political Education Institutions." The dispatch pointed out that although in the past there had been no difficulty in finding young Nazis to go to the United States, since their expenses are paid by the State, very few young Americans could be found for exchange purposes. "In the past year, however, as a result of propaganda on the part of the International Schoolboy Fellowship, there has been a notable increase in the American schools taking part in this program." In addition, the report added, "the American boys here undergo a year's thorough training in National Socialism and wear the customary brown shirt uniform."

17. The National Socialist Stuttgart Kurier, official publication of the Foreign Division of the Nazi Party, reports on October 19, 1937, that for the further development of student exchanges a number of special homes are being built in Stuttgart to accommodate foreign students in Germany. This news item points out that Stuttgart is the logical place for such homes because Stuttgart has been officially named as the city of foreign Germandom and is best equipped to impress the foreigner.

18. In this connection it is interesting to note a paragraph in the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Director of the Institute of International Education (New York), made public October 15, 1936. In his report the Director declared:

19. "An event which served to impress the American exchange students with the hospitality and good will of the German people was the tour organized by the Carl Schurz Vereinigung of Berlin. Late in May, as part of the ten years' celebration of the founding of the organization, the Vereinigung invited all the American exchange students to take part in a tour of Germany. This excursion, which lasted a week, included such points of interest as Naumburg, Jena, Weimar, die Wartburg, Marburg, Giessen and the Rhineland castles. Everywhere guides were furnished and throughout the trip the group was enthusiastically greeted by university and town officials and student representatives."

20. Similarly it is reported in the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Institute of International Education that the Carl Schurz Vereinigung "had as its guests on a travel tour of a week's duration through Germany our entire group of American exchange students in that country. All transportation, hotel and food expenses for the entire trip were met by the Vereinigung during the week of travel between Nuernberg and Cologne."

21. Furthermore, a bulletin issued by the American German Student Exchange gives the following details of the grants made to American students accepted into German universities:

22. "Most of the fellowships provide for free tuition and board and lodging during the academic year from November 1 to July Depending upon the university to which he is assigned, the student receives, in addition to free tuition, (a) board and lodging in a student dormitory, or room and breakfast with a cash stipend for the other two meals; (b) board and lodging in the home of a German citizen chosen by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for his interest in the promotion of cultural relations between the United States and Germany; or (c) a cash stipend which is sufficient to cover the cost of room and board for nine months. There are in addition a limited number of fellowships covering tuition only. Each student is required to pay a fee of \$10 to cover health insurance. Laboratory fees and certain special fees which amount to a nominal sum must be paid by the student. A student holding either type of fellowship enjoys a number of advantages at the German university by virtue of his status as an American German Student Exchange Fellow."

23. In view of the foregoing statements it is quite clear, first, that the National Socialist Government of Germany regards student exchange with America as a very fertile field of propaganda; second, that the German Government is fostering such student exchange with financial grants despite its own present precarious economic condition; third, that although the number of German exchange students in this country has not yet reached alarming heights, it is nevertheless increasing rapidly from year to year; fourth, that every German exchange student is a trained specialist in propaganda and makes use of his position in the American college or high school in order to create favorable opinion toward the Nazi régime; and fifth, that American students in Germany are subsidized by the National Socialist Government and are subject to the full force of Nazi propaganda.