

# GERMAN HOME FRONT

# GERMAN HOME FRONT

by

W. W. SCHÜTZ, D.Phil.

In collaboration with

B. DE SEVIN, D.Phil.

LONDON

VICTOR GOLLANCZ LTD

1943

Copyright 1943 by W. W. Schütz

To the  
LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY FURNELL AND SONS, LTD. (T.U.)  
PAULTON (SOMERSET) AND LONDON

# CONTENTS

Introduction

page ix

## PART ONE

### WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

by W. W. SCHÜTZ

Chapter I.	Victories . . .	11
II.	Panzer Divisions	16
III.	Russian Spaces	21
IV.	Winter Campaign	32
V.	Great Shadows	44
VI.	The Coming Spring Offensive	55
VII.	Psychological Terrorism	64

## PART TWO

### INCREASING TERROR

VIII.	"S.S." by W. W. SCHÜTZ	73
IX.	The "Mood" of the People by B. DE SEVIN	85
X.	Food by B. DE SEVIN	102
XI.	Bombing by W. W. SCHÜTZ	113
XII.	The German Woman by B. DE SEVIN	117
XIII.	Opposition by B. DE SEVIN	129
XIV.	Active Antagonism to the Nazi Party by B. DE SEVIN	145
XV.	The Workers by W. W. SCHÜTZ	155
XVI.	The Peasants by W. W. SCHÜTZ	165

PART THREE

YOUTH

by B. DE SEVIN

<i>Chapter XVII.</i>	Hitler Youth	<i>page</i> 173
XVIII.	School	185
XIX.	The Problem of the Teachers	199
XX.	"National Political Schools" and "Adolf Hitler Schools"	207

THE WORD BECOMES ACTION

by W. W. SCHÜTZ

XXI.	Book Stores	216
XXII.	Doubts and Threats	220
XXIII.	Escape	227
XXIV.	Catholic Literature	241
XXV.	Confessional Church	276
	Conclusion	311

## SHORT LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- B.B.Z.-Berliner Börsenzeitung
- D.A.Z.-Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung
- D.N.B.-Deutsches Nachrichten Bureau
- Fr.Z.-Frankfurter Zeitung
- H.J.-Hitler Jugend
- M.N.N.-Münchner Neueste Nachrichten
- N.Z.Z.-Neue Zürcher Zeitung
- V.B.-Völkischer Beobachter

## INTRODUCTION

**T**HIS SURVEY IS an attempt to indicate at least some of the trends in the anti-Nazi movement inside Germany against the dark background of an ever-increasing terrorism in the Third Reich. There is a large amount of evidence but much of it cannot yet be published. Therefore the author has to confine himself to material from which the Nazis cannot gather any new clues as to internal opposition to them.

In order to obtain a more or less realistic picture it has seemed useful to include factors which in themselves could not be classified as part of the anti-Nazi movement. That is to say, the general attitude of the people, the mood of the Home Front and of the Fighting Front, developments in German Youth, and other contributory tendencies in a direction opposite to that of the Nazis' own policy and War, have all been touched upon.

At the same time, some of the widely-known facts have been omitted because the Democratic world is already fairly familiar with these developments. Deterioration of the food situation, higher working hours and lower wages, shortage of raw materials, clothing and other commodities necessary for the conduct of the War as well as for the well-being of the individual, have not been dealt with at length. The English and American Press have given much publicity to these aspects.

But the following major developments have been described, and some evidence has been presented in order to illustrate them:

First, there is the war in the East; second, there is the increasing terror inside Germany, parallel to the same terror in the occupied territories; third, there is the problem of Youth in Germany, and fourth, there is spiritual, intellectual, and religious resistance. These are the four major problems with which we shall have to deal. In the course of this survey we shall find the existence of a political opposition expressing itself time and again in various shapes and shades. But everybody who knows the dangers under which these men and

women are living will realize that we shall have to leave it at that. We shall see the shadow on the wall—but we shall not turn in order to find the man. It is rather the purpose of this book to show that shadow on the wall, a shadow which has been recognized by the Nazis themselves. A shadow which has forced them to treat the German Home Front as “the Second Front”.

The author wishes to express his grateful thanks to Edna Robbins for going through the manuscript and correcting the English.

PART ONE  
WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

CHAPTER I  
VICTORIES . . .

“NEVER HAVE THERE been such sad and thirsty eyes. We long for so many things, for an hour without the noise of battle, for a stretch of country-road without the smell of fire and death, for a walk through a peaceful street with the laughter of children and the clicking of filled glasses—but all this becomes small and insignificant compared with the longing for water, water for drinking and bathing, water to plunge in senselessly; for this is the driest of all Wars!”

This is what a German soldier wrote from the Eastern Front, in July, 1941, and thus Germany began to learn of the real state of affairs there. Letters, more letters, wounded, more wounded. . . .

How did it begin? Rumours swept the Reich, as they did all Europe. More and more troops of Hitler's armies travelled towards the Eastern frontiers. But as late as June 19th the Nazi authorities declared that they knew nothing at all, that they were authorized to deny all rumours about an alleged invasion of the U.S.S.R. by the German Army, that these rumours were chiefly of foreign origin “*which fact alone seemed sufficient proof of their unreliability.*”

Two days later the armies of the Third Reich launched their attack against the U.S.S.R. If the world was taken by surprise, so was the German Home Front. For almost two years the Goebbels' propagandist machine had been working at full pressure in order to hail Hitler's pact with Moscow as the basis and the backbone of the entire strategy of the Third Reich. Did it not secure the rear of the Nazi armies? What had happened?

The day after the invasion of Russia, the Berlin correspondent of the Swiss *Ler Bund* cabled to his paper: “It is apparent that the outbreak of war (with Russia), which has come instead of the expected understanding, has disappointed the people bitterly. They view the prolongation of the war *with mixed feeling* . . .”

and later in the same report, when dealing with the diplomatic history of the event: "Even official circles regard the outbreak of this war with unusual gravity. They point out that the war against Russia is the *most serious event since September, not only in foreign policy but also in home policy.* In this campaign everything will depend upon winning convincing, but also rapid, successes, so that the strong suspicion which not unnaturally has spread amongst the people will not increase, but will be overcome by new confidence."

Not even the Wilhelmstrasse dared to gloss over the mood of depression and even despondency which the neutral observers in Berlin had seen clearly enough when they arrived for their regular press conference. This, then, was the Home Front. This was the mood of millions on whom the Army of the Third Reich had not yet called, but who before long were to be called to the ranks in the East to fill the gaps as they appeared.

A strange picture, this. And stranger still if compared with the feelings and thoughts of the men on the Eastern Front of the Army. Only much later will true pictures be available of what these men felt during the fateful hours preceding the march across the frontiers. Here and there we find an occasional glimpse such as the one given by the war correspondent Günther Heysing—but not before April 5th, 1942—in an article "Panzer-Family 900", in the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*. He tells of the fate of five men manning a heavy tank, "tank 900", which had already taken part in the Polish and French campaigns.

He describes the heat brooding over the forests between Biala Podlaska and Brest Litovsk, behind the demarcation line, on June 20th, 1941, the day before the onslaught: "It is not only the heat of the summer day which hangs over the landscape along the Soviet frontier. There is something else in the air. All feel it, and a few also know it, but these few guard their secret. . . . An army of armed Colossi stands ready behind the undergrowth of the forest. . . ." He goes on to show how brilliantly the machinery works, how the guards are changed, how the men sleep "to store it up", go once more over their machines, cook their meals, sing, write letters. "Somewhere a mouth-organ plays the song 'Antje the Blonde.' 'Almost a holiday' says the wireless operator of the panzer, Sergeant B., and the gunner, a corporal, nods approvingly."

This is the atmosphere on the eve of yet another attack. The "Blitz-Army", convinced that their part is to wield the knife in a swift, surgical operation, scarcely fears death at all. When at 3.15 precisely the next morning the furious artillery

barrage suddenly opens, "the horizon quakes with red and pale yellow lightning and a dark humming and drumming begins", then, unconcerned, "the panzer troops, made familiar with this concert in Poland and in France, nod to each other as if to say: 'Well, here we are again.'" There is no depression. Or is there, perhaps, amongst the "experts"? The evening before June 21st, "the father, so to speak, of the little panzer family, the commander of the 900 and the leader of the ninth panzer company, Captain St., appears once during the evening. But he does not say much. He smokes silently, and has only a few questions and orders".

Back in Germany there was little news during the first few days of the campaign. Only foreign correspondents received hints as to the progress of operations. As usually happens at such times, little was said in the so-called well-informed circles in Berlin that the wider public did not very soon know. Perhaps this was one of the more subtle methods used by Goebbels' propaganda machine to influence public opinion. At any rate inside Nazi Germany hardly any change appeared in public opinion. Operations in the East seemed to be going well. On June 27th the Berlin correspondent of the Italian paper *Lavoro Fascista* wrote—somewhat earlier than the others, presumably because Berlin felt public opinion in Italy needed some encouragement too—that although there were as yet no detailed accounts of the fighting, there was reason to believe that the Russian army had made the same mistake as the Polish Army, which had concentrated all its available strength along the frontiers. Consequently, the Berlin Fascist wrote, it was unable to move backwards when the pressure of the enemy became unbearable.

No doubt everyone in Berlin was convinced that the "Blitz-Krieg" was in full swing. Stalin, the Italian continued, passing on information obtained in Berlin, had employed four-fifths of his forces, and thus lost the opportunity of operating on interior lines. It was certain that the successes of the German armies were due to the tactics of encirclement and pursuit, a pursuit which would be "catastrophic" for the Russians.

This was the inside information which was given out in Berlin when the first week of the onslaught had drawn to a close. During the second week, when, in accordance with previous campaigns, the first decisions were to be expected and comparisons with these campaigns were drawn, a General of the Luftwaffe wrote in the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* (July 3rd) that the Russian troops, like the Poles and the French, were unable to

resist the demoralizing effect of German bomber and stuka-attacks and machine-gunning by German fighter planes, even if they were protected by "Bunkers". The very same day, July 3rd, the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces issued a communiqué which began: "It is becoming clearer and clearer that the battle of destruction east of Bialystock has brought about a *decision* of a historic character. Unimaginable chaos has broken upon the Soviet armies . . ." We notice the fateful word "decision"—the one word which mattered for the Home Front—either way.

What did the men at the front really see during those days? We have only propaganda reports which reveal little. Fortunately however, a neutral journalist, the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, was permitted to travel to the Eastern Front during the first weeks of the campaign and to write his personal impressions for his paper. This permission was probably given because the Nazi authorities believed in an early and decisive victory, and thought it would add to their glory to have objective eye-witness accounts of it.

The account of those days is contained in an article written from Cracow, dated July 4th. The correspondent crosses the demarcation line into Russia, and sees "the land deserted by man". "Near a burnt-out farmhouse whose white walls stand up between elm trees, German troops were camping." Later, at Lemberg, "barracks and store houses on the outskirts of the town were still ablaze"; in the town "a large building with latticed windows was still smoking", and "even on the wide main Square . . . single houses were burnt out". This was the beginning of the "scorched earth" policy which not only the neutral correspondent but hundreds of thousands of German soldiers could see with their own eyes. But they could also see this: "A Russian howitzer in a valley, then a whole battery. Then again followed kilometre after kilometre without a sign of war . . . Behind the forests, sometimes too, on the fringe of the forests, are the deserted installations of the Russian batteries. But seldom has a gun remained there. . . ." In Lemberg he learned that "the Russians gave up Lemberg when they saw that they were threatened with encirclement. The withdrawal, as the picture of the military roads had already shown, was carried out in orderly fashion. A powerful rearguard of heavy tanks fought and delayed the pursuing Germans."

This was the picture as seen from immediately behind the front lines in the still smoke-covered Cracow and Lemberg. Simultaneously, on July 5th, "responsible military circles in

Berlin" declared that "a large part of the Russian war material, chiefly aeroplanes, armoured cars, artillery (!)" had already been destroyed in the battle of Bialystock and the other fights. The next aim, the declaration continued, which the German Supreme Command was now pursuing was to force the main parts of the Red Army to give battle and to destroy it. This would perhaps happen during the following days. Furthermore, the Russians would not be able to replace their lost tanks, and they "had thrown their main tank force into battle in the initial stages of the War".

From what the neutral correspondent saw, and what military circles in Berlin as well as the communiqués from Hitler's headquarters were stating, it is clear that from the outset of this campaign there was either deliberate distortion on the part of the Nazi authorities, distortion which could not prevail against realities at the front or on the Home Front, or else there was a deliberate, conscious or unconscious, refusal on the part of Hitler and his closest collaborators to accept the verdict of fact—a determination to live in a world of wishful-thinking, or, as he called it later, "intuition". The hundreds of thousands, indeed, millions, of German soldiers who saw for themselves that the Russians had taken their war material, that the bulk of the Russian armies had not been captured, began to wonder.

The same day, July 5th, Berlin learned that the German armies were preparing to break through the Stalin line on the Dnieper, "the last artificial barrier before Moscow". On July 14th the Berlin correspondent of *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, back in Berlin, writes: "the Berlin Press and authoritative circles point out how decisive are the successes won by the German armies in the past few days. They are described here as a 'break-through of the Stalin line'. The next aims of the offensive, such as Leningrad, which are mentioned in the report of the *Wehrmacht*, seem to have come into immediate reach of the German panzer vanguard. Moscow, too, has suddenly come within easy reach." On July 25th, eleven days afterwards, the same observer reports that "concrete news" is only available from the South where, apparently, the Russians are withdrawing. He quotes military opinions in Berlin, such as that of General Liebmann and Lt.-Col. Soldan "who is on the Eastern Front", to the effect that "victories cannot be won in a few days". One month after the onslaught against Russia the experts in Berlin knew. There can be no doubt that the Home Front knew, too. "To sum up" the correspondent concludes, "one can give the impression that Berlin expects that the present battles will gradually

wear out the Russian armies, break them up to such an extent and encircle them *singly* so that they will *no longer be able to* make an orderly retreat *towards the East*. Thus the fate of the Red Army will be decided in the battle area which has now been reached."

In the guarded language of a neutral correspondent writing from Berlin, the astounding news current there is presented: news which the millions of Germans who lived and fought through the First World War were bound to understand in all its implications. The whole aspect of the War has changed. No longer "Blitz-Krieg", rapid victories, small losses. "No," writes General Liebmann in the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* that very day: "Decisive battles are not waged *by motorized forces alone*. They need the full strength of an army consisting, even in this age of the motor, mainly of infantry and horse-drawn vehicles. It must be realized that these troops, relying entirely upon man-power and horse-power, have now been marching and fighting for five weeks without a pause and that their present objectives are as far as 600 kilometres from their starting-point."

## CHAPTER II

### PANZER DIVISIONS

**I**N ORDER TO grasp the full significance of this first hint given out by military spokesmen in Berlin one must remember how deeply the masses of the people dreaded war. Hitler knew this. He had seen it clearly enough when he marched into the Rhineland, achieved his aim in Austria, and signed the Munich Pact with Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini. The only constant factor during this series of crises has been the open opposition of the population to war.

The Nazis, realizing this, put forward, in various disguises a theory of the "standing army", on the lines of the "navy in being" which has long been current in England. Many of the unpolitically-minded in Germany pinned their hopes on this vague belief—that "the army in being" would be sufficient to allow Hitler to build up his "Greater Germany" on racial lines. Only those who had been imbued with the real Nazi spirit knew—and actually hoped—that it would come to real war. And only those who knew Nazism from fighting it—and therefore studying it—knew, too, that this was not a case of possibilities but of facts.

War broke out, and the theory of the "standing army" was replaced by the theory of the "panzer divisions". This theory, again, took into consideration the fear of a people which had never forgotten the four years of the First World War, with their trench-warfare, their starvation, their millions of dead, and then the subsequent epoch of unemployment, hectic booms, rapid crises. This time, the new myth would suggest, there was to be no avalanche of dead and wounded, no stationary warfare, no winter in the trenches, and no winter without fuel, food or clothing. This time it would be a "Blitz", a lightning war, enforcing political decisions yet sparing human life. At the same time the theory would appeal to the instinct of the half-educated: human beings would hardly wage this war at all. It was a machine age, and the machine would do it all for man.

This crude and barbarous generalization, pleasing the ignorant, and at the same time soothing the hearts of the older generation with relief and uneasy satisfaction, filled the Nazis proper with boundless aspiration and pride. It was they and they only who had grasped the full significance of the machine age. Under a thin, a very thin layer of pseudo-romanticism there stood, solidly, the most hardened materialism that any materialist could hope for. This shapeless and soulless mass of Nazis sheltered behind the machines which they regarded as the symbols of their life and victories. They exulted in their possession, and they became part and parcel of them for better and worse, with all the technical skill and restless alacrity, but also with all the blind ignorance of the machine.

There had been easy victories against armies and nations which had failed to see this development. The "panzer division" seemed more than a myth, almost looked like reality. Poland—Holland—Belgium—France—Yugoslavia—even the valiant Greece—all appeared to be the victim of the panzer division. There were doubts about the correctness of Hitler's figures of losses. All the same, everybody saw that they were small, compared with the World-War, 1914-18. It was quite plain that this was not a war like the last, of army against army, soldier against soldier. For the numbers of soldiers employed against Hitler's armies were clearly large enough to hold the front. What, then, had broken the fronts, had forced decisions, not in years, not even in months, but in weeks, sometimes even in days? The "panzer divisions". It was not to be a war between men, of whom one or the other had to die. It was to be a war between tanks and aeroplanes against armies,

which were beaten not by killing but by out-manceuvring, by pincer movements and encirclement.

Only a few were then questioning the validity of this conception. Only a very few realized that the theory was by no means purely military, but was psychological. Only a few saw the answer to the riddle of the "Blitz-Krieg", namely, that all those allied armies had not been beaten in a material sense, but beaten psychologically. The element of surprise had been developed into an element of terror. It was the old Nazi method which had been developed in the first place against the millions of Germans whom they had to crush. An element of this terror was the concentration of overwhelming power against the group or the person whom the Nazis regarded as the vulnerable spot in the defensive system of their opponent. The furious propaganda attacks, for instance, against President Beněš during the Munich crisis, or the attack against Sedan in May 1940. Then there was the myth of the capital and chief cities. Terror-raids against the capital of a country, or, better still, capture of the capital, was another part of that pseudo-strategy. Therefore the bombardment of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade, took place; the threat to Paris worked more effectively than an actual attack. The parachute-raids on the Hague; before that the concentration of force against Oslo. In the case of London the method failed. But the German Home Front realized this—if at all—only much, much later, and certainly not fully until the supreme failure in Russia had taught them something about the realities of the war.

Of all this the German Home Front knew little. The myth of the panzer divisions was still looming prominently in the picture. And then came this first and utterly unexpected warning on July 25th: "Decisive battles are not waged by motorized forces alone." This certainly had not been the lesson of the previous campaigns. What had happened? Lt.-Col. Soldan was already hinting at it, and Dr. Helmut von Kūgelgen writes about it much later, in April 1942: "For the mass of the infantry divisions everything depended upon getting into touch again with the panzer divisions"—which had hurried ahead, "and to subdivide the broken lines of the enemy into single pockets." Yes, but this was exactly what the Russians had planned. When Kūgelgen writes about it—although still vaguely and glossed over by propaganda—he and the Nazis, as well as the Army, know that the Home Front had realized the facts. Yet in July and August 1941 the situation was different.

What a surprise to find suddenly, on August 16th, 1941, a

picture: "Dispatch-Rider"—in the Nazi Press—the rider being a horseman, not a motor-cyclist. A few days later the doubts in the minds of the population had apparently become so grave that some correspondence from Rome was published praising German tactics and the way in which surprise was applied as a tactical element. As if to smooth the wave of doubt, this survey contained a reference to a special correspondent of the Italian Stefani agency on the Eastern Front. He speaks of the motorized column being the "symbol of German tactics". He is presumably quoted because this symbolism has to take the place of the thing itself, which no longer exists in its original form.

In the following months, more and more references are made in official Nazi papers, over the radio, in speeches, etc., to the infantry as the "Guarantors of Victory". General Liebmann thus heads one of his articles (*Berliner Börsenzeitung*, 8th November 1941). The same tendency is apparent in an article by Major Otto Mossdorf ("Marching and Fighting", *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6th November 1941) where he refers to the "Exerzierreglement" of the old army, stating: "The infantry is the chief weapon of the army. It bears the chief burden of the fighting and makes the greatest sacrifices. Therefore the highest glory awaits it." These sentences from the text-book of the "old" army, the army of the First World War, were only too well known to the majority of the older Germans, to those even in their forties. "The greatest sacrifices." But Major Mossdorf continues: "*Although the advance of the panzer divisions and the fighter squadrons has to-day become the symbol of the offensive, those words (the Infantry) have retained their value and won for themselves the honoured name of Queen of the Forces.*"

General Liebmann goes into much more detail (loc. cit.): "However much the co-operation of the panzer, airmen, artillery, engineers may be valued, yet above them all ranks the achievement . . . of the infantryman. It is he who helps the leaders to win the operational objectives in onerous route-marches, he confirms the successes of the panzers and the planes, he completes the encirclement as well as the breakthrough, and in the offensive as well as defensive action he is the deciding factor."

But these very points had been cleared up by Nazi propaganda, so that everybody on the Home Front as well as in the Army knew that it was the tank and the aeroplane which decided the battles of this War. And here it was bluntly stated

that this was no longer true. World-War reminiscences revived. . . . "While all the other forces fight in groups, however small, around the gun, the tank, the aeroplane," General Liebmann continues, "the infantry soldier stands alone. His feet must carry him forward, his arms and shoulders must carry his weapons. He ensures the safety of the others, and is himself continually in close combat face to face with an enemy who must be beaten with rifle and revolver, with dagger and bayonet, with spade, with hand-grenade and ammunition. His endurance, courage and resource will finally decide whether the battle, planned by the leaders and prepared by other forces, will end in victory or defeat."

In those grey November days the German people was rudely shaken out of its half-hearted belief in the safety behind machines. Their masters were forced to scrap the myth of the panzer victories behind which an entire grief and fear stricken nation had sheltered, and they had to face the cold reality of death marching down the road which Hitler had described as the road to Victory, and his opponents had dreaded as such. For they knew well enough what this announcement meant—death, millions of dead, as in 1914-18. Winter was approaching, there was no suggestion that the slightest chance of tank-warfare remained in the coming months. We find hardly any reference to tanks and panzers in German publications during the winter months of 1941-42, hardly any mention of them in radio programmes or in speeches. Only in April 1942, with the first excursions of the Nazi propagandists into prophecies of coming offensives and victories, do the panzer divisions again make their appearance: but they have shrunk.

This is illustrated by the essay "Panzer-Family 900", on April 5th (*B.B.Z.*), by Günther Heysing and another: "Eastern Campaign, first part," on April 26th (*D.A.Z.*), by Dr. Helmut von Kugelgen, this latter a rather vague piece of propaganda in "hurra-style" containing little information. Only a dim picture of the real state of affairs can be detected in the reference to the panzer and motorized divisions which had forced a crossing of the Dvina and the Dnieper and were racing beyond Smolensk. Then "the forests of Rogatschew and Mogilew remained in their rear: a forest position of many divisions, very well equipped with provisions and ammunition for their heavy artillery, a fortress with huge minefields and fortified positions. Now it became a problem for the infantry divisions to regain contact with the advanced panzer divisions." But these and similar references to the role of the panzer divisions are usually con-

tained in general surveys and there is hardly any attempt to revive a myth which had so plainly collapsed. It is interesting to find the only article devoted exclusively to the panzer, i.e. the tank, in a short editorial in *D.A.Z.* of April 24th, where the paper reminds its readers of the greatest tank-attack of the German Army during the spring campaign of 1918! April 24th was the day, and *D.A.Z.* writes about the attack at Villers-Bretonneux. This reminiscence surely was not meant to help revive enthusiasm for the panzer division. . . .

### CHAPTER III

## RUSSIAN SPACES.

FROM THE START of the campaign against Russia the chief hope and fear in the minds of the majority of the German people was not so much the Russian Army—an unknown quantity—but the spaces, the immense distances of that country. Half unconsciously, most people in Germany have always regarded Russia as a country without recognizable frontiers, reaching out far into nowhere. What were the reports and descriptions which reached Germany from there?

On July 28th, somewhat earlier than the German papers, the Berne paper *Der Bund* published a long article from Berlin, by a certain Max Schnetzer. It was composed almost exclusively of material which clearly was available in Berlin at the time, although it had not yet been published anywhere inside Germany. Under the heading "Pictures from the War against Russia", Schnetzer begins by writing about Russian tank regiments. "Like the Russian infantry, and the airmen who often fly at a very low altitude towards their objective without regard to fire from cannon or fighters . . . the crews of Russian tanks fight with almost animal stubbornness. Panzers of 58 or 100 or even higher tonnage, rolling fortresses, threatening monsters armed with four machine-guns, heavy guns, etc., roll over everything. Only heavy anti-tank-guns can resist them, and these are *not always where one needs them*. There one can see how German soldiers climb up the back of the tank. If they are lucky they are not shot down by the tanks following, but are able to open the hatch and to throw hand-grenades into the Colossus. A Russian comes out, in flames, blackened by smoke, and this living torch flings the revolver against his adversary and shoots."

Schnetzer then quotes a letter from a German soldier: "This war is the driest of all wars. This is because we pass too few water-pipes; there are fewer than in Poland and fewer than in France." This comparison with the previous campaigns is to come up more and more frequently and it proves that the Russian campaign was conceived by the Nazis as just another case of "Polish and French Campaign". The soldier continues: "Lower your dust-encrusted lids, comrade, and think of France: was it not a fountain compared with this country?"

"Yesterday we passed through a village and there we saw the first well. We lowered the bucket deeply into it—but it came up filled with mud. To the next well! But that yielded only brownish mud, too. The wells had been emptied by our comrades before us. To-night again we cannot wash! Wash? My God, we don't dream of it; we shall never have water for that. We want only to plunge our hands into it for once, only to cool our burnt foreheads and necks.

"This morning we were told we should pass the town of M. We calculated: there must be so and so many water-pipes—for drinking, cooking, washing, to fill our field-bottles. But we saw M. only on our maps. For M. was in reality only a smouldering piece of landscape. Landscape, I say, because the white chimneys which had remained standing between the wooden houses looked from the distance like trees. The retreating Russians had burnt down and shot M. to pieces with their guns.

"A field-bottle full of drinking-water, tea or coffee, is a fortune nowadays in the East. It may easily happen that a comrade comes and offers you a hundred marks for it. Or he offers other precious possessions for it, such as a dish full of butter, a dozen eggs, a hundred cigarettes, whatever he may have with him.

". . . Yesterday I could wash at long last, I could shave. It was nothing more and nothing less than a debauch. Two entire cups of water for drinking. . . .

"The saddest eyes I have seen were those of soldiers crossing the bridges of the large rivers, over the Beresina and the Dnieper, men who had not got out of the dirty vehicles and their hot and dusty clothes for days, and who had now to cross slowly over the cool water, with burning sun on their sweat-drenched caps."

This was the truth which Berlin knew as early as July, 1941, a month after the aggression had been launched. No doubt that picture of the development of the Russian campaign spread all over the Reich. About a month later, towards the end of August, the Nazi papers could no longer keep the truth out of their columns. But it was presented carefully doctored. Take for

instance the description by the war correspondent Kurt Ziesel in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* on August 22nd: "The Hour of the Infantry".

"The division has been marching over nine hundred kilometres. There was hardly a day when at least part of it had not to fight. Against tanks and *bunkers*, against hostile artillery and field-positions, against treacherous resistance from forests and swamps . . .

"On a broad front the Soviet Army has once more moved up to resist us. Vast forests and swamps, hills and mountains, tremendous, prepared field-positions, roads which sink into mud and sand, rain for days transforming everything into a sea of mud, these are the obstacles which the adversary, fighting desperately, can throw into the battle against us.

"The front threatens to become fixed. The fast panzer divisions cannot be employed on this ground and this mud sufficiently for their drive to wear down the Bolshevik. And so . . . the hour of the German Infantry strikes. . . .

"Again it has been raining for two days. . . . A few kilometres before we reach the Divisional Headquarters we get hopelessly stuck. I am sending back the driver with the car and am entrusting myself to live horse-power, which without doubt is trumps out here.

"When reporting about the German infantry our horses must not be forgotten. Day after day they drag weapons and ammunition, provisions and luggage. They drag the guns across every terrain . . ." And then, later, another glimpse of up till then unknown factors: "The Commander of the Regiment is discussing the final details of the attack. The width of the offensive front demands the most *economic distribution of each single platoon.*"

But still the Nazis hesitated to give completely truthful pictures of the position on the Eastern Front. They waited from day to day, from week to week for news of victories of more than local importance. Prominence was given chiefly to such news, and to communiqués which could be construed as such. But autumn came and the winter drew nearer, so that these attempts were bound to fail. Consequently we begin to find more and more realistic descriptions both in the Nazi press and on the radio. Particularly revealing is an essay by Corporal Hansjürgen Weidlich, "The General's Soldiers" (*D.A.Z.*, 28th November 1941). "For days, weeks they marched along over the dusty road. The dust settled in their necks, burnt in their eyes, tortured their breathing. They had cut themselves sticks—not that they were leaning on them, but it was easier walking. The sun burnt

down on them, blinded them, and blinded them again from the white dust of the road. And no wind, which would have brought them relief, no cool drinking-water—the water was bad—they could only refresh themselves occasionally by having a wash. Now and then a forest took them into its shadow, but when they were lying down for a rest, millions of flies came and tormented them.

“So they walked along, thirty, forty, even sixty kilometres a day. For days and weeks they walked—and the country was dull and hazy like sand. Endless plains, no mountains, hardly a hill, swamps and neglected fields, nowhere a house . . .”

Out of the depth of this country of endless plains, swamps, forests, after hundreds of kilometres of marching, “the enemy attacked”. It is a theme which comes up again and again—the vast spaces, the endless distances, and the attacks of the Russians out of these depths. “They threw themselves against the Germans with threefold superior forces,” this article continues. “They (the Russians) came from the North-East, from the East, from the South-East with their main forces. Cavalry rushed up from the South, an armoured train crept in from the South-West. The attack interrupted the road in the West in the rear of the German troops and cut the supply route. Three days after the first attack, the forces of the enemy had closed round the German troops like a horse-shoe. The position was serious.”

The article continues by describing how the troops dug in. “They had dug themselves into the earth and stayed there. The artillery barrage came. For hours the enemy shot from hundreds of guns, shells burst, fountains of earth and dirt were thrown against the sky, the air was full of the whistling, howling, gurgling of thousands and thousands of grenades. They beat wound upon wound into the earth, smashed trees, knocked villages to the ground, like a cry flames burst out of their shambles—and everywhere sat Death. He sat by many a German comrade and took him off.”

Every sentence was a reminder of the millions of dead in 1914-18. Infantry, “Trommelfeuer”, dead, more dead . . .

“The enemy’s losses mounted. But however much he lost, he drew more and more masses from his hinterland. He threw them to the front in motor-transports, in long trains. Column after column from behind the lines came daily marching up . . . Without regard for losses the enemy filled his gaps.

“The gaps in the German lines remained empty. The supply-centre was cut off, the ammunition transports could not get through, the position of the artillery became critical. Hour

after hour the Bolshevik directed his well-aimed fire against German positions and roads, but the German artillery could no longer reply. Only in moments of utmost danger did they use up their last reserves."

And then yet another danger—"a rail transport with a number of ammunition-carriages attached remained lying outside on the open railroad. *Groups of guerillas had destroyed the line.* The position became still more critical." The beleaguered division was then relieved, according to this writer, by two corps, but at the same time the Russian attacks gained momentum and the difficulties already described arose again.

"Then came the rain. On August 7th a blue-black cloud-bank appeared over the horizon, over the sun, rose like the night into the sky, and the rain began . . . . The trenches became small rivers, at many points they broke down. The machine-guns were soon dirty and unusable, the rifles cracked with sand . . . a night, a day, and another night. When the rain disappeared and the sun came back the positions were flooded, and night after night, in the darkness so that the enemy could not see them, the men had to work at repairing the trenches. It took days, until their boots dried on their feet, and their clothes were stiff with clay."

The more the truth became known on the Home Front, the more the Nazi propagandists tried to counteract the growing awe of Russian spaces and Russian fighting-power by stressing time and again that the backbone of the Russians had been broken. The less they could present the tank, the panzer division, as the decisive weapon, the more they insisted on the importance of the Luftwaffe.

As early as August 23rd, 1941, the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* points out that the kind of warfare as conducted in the East is "only possible if the battlefield is continuously surveyed by observer planes" and mentions General Quade and other German experts as his source (also *N.Z.Z.* 28th August). A few days later the Berne paper *Der Bund* published an article from Berlin dated "End of August" (*Bund*, 3rd September 1941) in which military circles there are mentioned as saying: "The battles will in future most likely be conducted by the Luftwaffe." Berlin, this correspondent declared, was then really convinced that the Russians no longer possessed sufficient aerial defences, so that the German bombers and fighters could take an increasing part in future land operations . . . . It is needless to remind us of the innumerable fantastic claims alleging the destruction of the Russian Air Force. These

culminated in Hitler's figure given in his first speech after he had launched that campaign, on October 3rd, 1941, when he declared that over 14,500 planes of the Red Air Force had been destroyed. Yet all the reports from the battlefields agreed in their reference to the important role which the Russian airmen were continuously playing in all the fighting. There is no doubt that this would have been impossible if Hitler's figures had been correct.

It is therefore interesting to see the analysis which General Quade makes of the "activities of the German airmen in the month of October". There he quotes Hitler's above-mentioned figure without actually commenting on it beyond the cryptic remark: "One thing is certain, that the Soviet Air Force has had to pay dearly for the many actions which it was compelled to carry out." Not less cryptic is the further reference to Hitler's October speech, in which "the Führer and Supreme Commander of the German Armed Forces announced that for the past 48 hours, i.e. since the early morning of October 1st, new offensive operations of gigantic extent have been carried out on the Eastern Front." This comment of Quade's reads: "Only if one had read the official communiqués and the other announcements of the OKW, interpreted them systematically and followed them up with the help of a good map, could one appreciate the extraordinary results which the month of October has brought to the German Armed Forces. In many and in decisive places, the battle-front has been moved hundreds of kilometres eastwards." Surprising appreciation on the part of a military commentator who, writing in November, must have known that simply "moving the battle-front back hundreds of kilometres" was not at all the aim of Hitler's "gigantic operations". On the contrary, it increased the difficulties of the attacking force and diminished those of the defenders in many ways.

The appreciation of the importance of the distances of Russia seen in this expert analysis is by no means confined to this one article by General Quade. At the time when the Home Front was becoming increasingly aware of this decisive factor, upon which the Russian General Staff had calculated; at the time when the civilian population was beginning to fear "the East" as something invincible, there seems to have been more and more realistic thought among the experts. This thought was in no way coloured by the irrational beliefs of the population which—having sheltered for so long behind fears and hopes of the irresistible power of the mechanized forces employed by the Nazis—now began to think of "the East" as something similarly

mystical, as a vast entity, the source and ally of a huge army with unlimited reserves, unlimited spaces for operations and withdrawals; something, which for so long had been called the "Slavische Seele", meaning something irrational, mystical, insuperable. The military caste in Berlin as well as on the Front saw the facts more realistically. It saw that they had failed to force a decision.

This realization of the truth was openly expressed by military spokesmen and commentators in Berlin, at least, to neutral correspondents there. *Der Bund* in Berne published a report from Berlin, dated "The End of September", as early as October 3rd. There it is stated in the first paragraph: "German military circles have acquainted themselves first with the possibility, then with the probability, of a winter campaign in the Soviet Union. The latest progress made by the German troops cannot alter this fact." As early as the middle of September a German military spokesman had declared to foreign journalists that the winter, even in Russia, was not connected with insuperable difficulties. *Everything depended upon early and comprehensive preparations.*

These revelations should be compared with: (a) official propaganda, which contained nothing to indicate the true situation as known to expert circles, and (b) Hitler's speeches in October, December and the following April. Both followed the line that decisive, yes, decisive victories were in sight. Furthermore, in his April speech Hitler insisted that winter had come too early, that the necessary preparations for winter would be made for the following one, namely 1942-43, thus admitting that sufficient preparations had not been made for the first one. The collection of woollen clothing and other improvised and startling actions, such as the requisitioning of skis, are sufficient to prove that Hitler did believe, as he personally said and his propaganda confirmed, that major operations during the winter would be unnecessary, simply because the Russian power of resistance would be broken.

This belief found expression in a constant stream of propaganda anticipating victories and conquests which were never to materialize. The most striking examples are the wild statements referring to Leningrad and Moscow. "The road to Moscow is open" was a slogan put out as early as July. The less concrete the chances of decisive victory became, the more fantastic became the claims of victories-to-be.

Leningrad was the chief centre of these wild dreams. Their origin seems apparent enough, if the assumption, on the grounds

of available evidence, is correct, that the experts amongst the German Leaders were even then sceptical about the prospects of an early decision in the East. On the prospects of a rapid conquest of Leningrad the official spokesmen in Berlin were optimistic. On September 10th the Berlin correspondent of *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reports that it is held there that "the conquest of the city will be a question of only a comparatively short time." On September 12th DNB quotes a Nazi pilot returning from a flight over Leningrad as saying: "The battle is going on night and day and will never cease until the aim is achieved." At the close of the third month of the campaign Berlin speaks of "obvious signs of weakening of Russian resistance, so that the hope for a quicker rate of progress is strongly increasing" (Berlin Correspondent, *N.Z.Z.*, September 21st, 1941). On September 24th a military spokesman in Berlin stated: "Leningrad with all its reserves has ceased to influence the other fronts in Russia" (DNB), and on the same day the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* remarks that the Russian resistance is "no longer so hard and persistent as it was during the first battles of the campaign in the East. The flight of Commissars and officers gave rise to the suggestion that there were signs of disintegration." After the collapse of the offensive against Leningrad, similar victories-to-be were announced against Moscow. At the same time the prospect of reaching the Volga and the Caucasus was constantly upheld. "In Berlin all eyes are turned towards the Caucasus and the Lower Volga; these are regarded as the next objectives," the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* cables to Switzerland on September 21st, 1941.

These opinions were circulated by the official spokesmen in Berlin, but were no longer believed by the people, to say nothing of the military experts; and they were bound to lead to a widening of the gap at least between spoken opinions. Hitler apparently found himself opposing, and opposed by, certain of his Generals on those vital military issues. Realizing this, he at once began to take active steps to reassert his power by handing over as much influence as possible to his nearest Party friends. The most dramatic development in this connection was the appointment of Alfred Rosenberg as Reichsminister for the Occupied Territories in the East.

This appointment startled the world at the time, without being considered in its perhaps most important aspect. For Rosenberg was regarded by most people as a crank, as a fantastic ideologist, as a forger of history whom even some of the Nazis despised, not to speak of the decent and sober-minded

Nevertheless his "Myth of the 20th Century" continued to be used as the standard work of Nazi "philosophy" by Nazi educationists, and Nazi orthodoxy kept him in highest esteem. Rosenberg was the one leading Nazi who had considered his talents inadequately used and honoured since Hitler's access to power in 1933. He had received the post of Director of Nazi Education, but that position had yielded little political influence. This Hitler had never yet dared to offer to a man whose whims and fantastic pseudo-ideology were not, as in the case of many another leading Nazi, controlled by supreme cynicism—which was admired by so many as political ability proper. Rosenberg believed in his own nonsense and that had made it impossible to offer him a high administrative post. To make the position still clearer: as the type opposed to Rosenberg one need only mention Goebbels, who, according to everything one knows, does not believe the nonsense which he puts out, and is just for that reason the more dangerous, and naturally, from the Nazi power point of view, the more able of the two.

At any rate, the Goebbelses and Goerings, the Thyssens and Himmlers saw to it that Rosenberg was safely kept out of the Nazi Government and power. In November 1941 Hitler gave him a post which demanded, above all, administrative capabilities of the highest order. For it is plain enough that the Nazis could not afford not to use to the utmost the conquered Russian territories for their own economic furtherance, as well as to develop them as the hinterland of the proposed further operations. The post was given to Rosenberg. The German Home Front was just as startled by this appointment as was the outside world. But it was immediately realized that here was a decision made for any reason but that of economy or administration. Gradually it became clear that one of the reasons was that Hitler was handing over these territories to his old followers; for Rosenberg appointed three of the most notorious Gauleiters as his collaborators or sub-lieutenants: Dr. Alfred Meyer, Heinrich Lohse, and Erich Koch. Of the three Koch was the best known, for he had introduced practical Nazism into East Prussia, and that nobody had ever forgotten. All three of them had been Gauleiters of the Nazi Party long before Hitler became Reichskanzler; Lohse since 1925 in Schleswig Holstein, Koch since 1928 in East Prussia and Meyer since 1931 in Northern Westphalia. Koch had been dismissed from his former position by the Weimar Republic in 1926 owing to his Nazi activities, Meyer had been a member of the "Count Bismarck" Mining Company, Lohse a former bank official, who had then gone into obscurity

until he, like the other two, had received his reward from Hitler in 1933 and had become Oberpräsident of Schleswig Holstein, just as Koch had become Oberpräsident of East Prussia, and Meyer Reichsstatthalter of Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe.

These antecedents are not unimportant here, because they show that these desperate figures combined a certain administrative experience with fanatic Nazi opinions; furthermore that they owed everything to the Nazi system, and that for them there was no way back, no alternative to it. They represented, with Rosenberg, an almost grotesque collection of Nazi types of the most radical sort. The sight of this quartet was amazing even to the German people, who were certainly inured to surprises. But until that moment there might have been some illusions as to the military character of Hitler's leadership of the Armed Forces; there might have been still some hesitation, in such circles as were sceptical as to Nazi *means*, but quite willing to see the military and political *aims* of the system fulfilled, to believe that this thrust against the U.S.S.R. was madness. A lot of propaganda was released, pointing out the usefulness of the Russian territories. Then came more propaganda, when the failure of the first strokes became apparent, pointing out the vast and rapid preparations for future victorious offensives.

Was this the best means to achieve these? The appointment of Rosenberg and his three associates to positions which—from the point of view of the Nazi military effort—clearly called for the highest administrative talent? But what was the reason? Could Rosenberg, after having been shelved for so many years, not have been kept quiet for a little longer? Had not the Kochs and Lohses and Meyers done quite well in their former sinecures? These were questions which certainly did occur even to millions of passive followers of the Nazis, to the millions of "unpolitical citizens" who in reality constituted the backbone of the Nazi Dictatorship.

There is no evidence to show that any of these men, least of all Rosenberg, had had pressure exerted for their appointments. There is no reason for any doubt in the correctness of the official announcement that Hitler appointed Rosenberg personally. But everything tends to strengthen the theory that Hitler appointed him, of all his followers, because he needed not only a material strengthening of his own personal position vis-à-vis the hesitating Generals, who were growing apprehensive of his further thrusts into the Eastern spaces, but an additional

guarantee that his, Hitler's, control would not be diminished through this camarilla. There could be no more dangerous territory for trouble to brew for him than the belt of land stretching from the Baltic down to the Black Sea. This was the base for operations in the East. The deeper the Nazi armies struggled eastward the more essential it became. This stretch of land was the bridge between the industrial centres of Germany and the front. All the highways of communication passed through it. And here were concentrated more and more troops either coming from the front to rest, or being moved up from Germany and the occupied territories as reserves. It was therefore a natural centre of at least moral resistance for troops which were in a position to give expression to such sentiments. For they stood near the industrial centres of production and the large depots installed to supply the front. There, indeed, was a weak spot in Hitler's position.

It is important to note that it was not only in the "conquered territories in the East", namely in Russia, but also in other territories to which the same doubts and questions applied, that Hitler appointed men of his own choosing. Frank became Governor of Poland. Frank is a type similar to Rosenberg, a former lawyer who was a failure in that profession; a man whom the people of Munich knew well for his corruption. Frank in Poland—Heydrich, the Gestapo Chief, in Czechoslovakia—now no more—Killinger, the old Nazi condottiere, in Roumania—this was hardly coincidence. It was method. It was a carefully planned security measure on the part of Hitler, a measure directed against possible dangers threatening either from dissident Nazi or Army circles, or else, from the People—the creation of a safety-belt.

The utterance of Hitler himself most nearly relating to this entire question is contained in his speech to his old Party members at Munich, on November 9th, only eight days before the appointment of Rosenberg was announced. There he referred to "our great aim, which is, after all, only the fulfilment of our Party Programme". In the entire speech no reference is made to the approaching winter; on the contrary, it is claimed that "*never has a gigantic empire been smashed and beaten down in a shorter space of time than Soviet Russia has now*".

While the picture of the Russian Front, which, if the speech in the familiar surroundings of the Munich Beer Cellar gives at all a correct impression, seems to have been in Hitler's mind, has evidently been of already won or at least imminent victories, there is, for the first time, strong emphasis on the "Second Front". Indeed Hitler speaks of it: "Behind this Front (in Russia)

there now stands *the second Front*, and this is the German Homeland. And behind the German Homeland stands a third Front: this is Europe." This was a week before Rosenberg's appointment. Not even the slightest hint that preparations were made to meet the coming needs of a winter campaign. On the contrary, victories in the East, hard-won certainly, but nevertheless victories. But a second Front—Germany, the German Home Front. This, according to all the evidence available, was the thought uppermost in Hitler's mind when the experts were already aware of imminent new dangers and of defeats in the East.

#### CHAPTER IV

### WINTER CAMPAIGN

THE GERMAN HOME FRONT had no illusions about a winter campaign in Russia. As soon as it had become apparent that there was no decision in the East it realized that this would come. Not even the last desperate thrust against Moscow altered that conviction. The only questions in everybody's mind and on many tongues were what it would be like, whether there were any prospects of a lull in fighting and consequently of smaller losses; how far preparations to meet the onslaught of winter had been completed. That there were preparations nobody doubted. When Goebbels issued his appeal for gramophone records people were astonished, but they regarded it as something which might be useful for the soldiers at the front, and apart from this as yet another propaganda trick of the inventive Doctor. But nobody was prepared for the appeals for winter clothing and skis which were subsequently made. On January 5th, 1942, the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* cabled—in guarded word, necessitated by the Berlin censorship—the following remarks about the reaction of the population: "The result of the collection is—looked at from an entirely objective point of view—quite nice, particularly if one considers the general conditions. In a country which is living through its third winter of war and has been subjected to severe rationing of textiles for three years, private stocks are naturally limited." The second half of the report makes clear what this cautious "quite nice" means.

But then the report goes on: "Of course, to begin with one saw a certain amount of surprise amongst the people, for on the strength of previous official declarations they had thought that

the administration of the Army had foreseen every possibility." This referred plainly both to Hitler's previous boast that he foresaw everything and to much more concrete hints from Berlin Army circles, who had warned as early as September that a winter campaign needed preparation. The report goes on significantly: "The people were particularly surprised at the lateness (of the collection)."

This report confirms the impression that in December and January the Home Front in Germany was quite aware of the real state of things. Furthermore, it shows that people in Germany realized almost before those in other countries that Hitler's frantic attacks in the East, particularly those after October 1st, from which he had clearly expected the victorious decision, were of propagandist rather than military origin. For if they asked in Germany *why* the collection of winter clothing from the civilian population was necessary for the "best equipped Army in the world", and particularly why it was started so late, *too* late, then they must also have guessed that it was so because Hitler and his associates thought they could avoid it at all. Hitler's later excuse—made in his April speech—that the winter came "much earlier" than usual is contradicted by his own previous statement on December 11th: ". . . they have fought . . . in the winter storms of November and December, freezing in snow and ice. . . ." These words led the German people to ask why no preparations had been made to meet this snow and ice. . . . For one thing was clear enough—the soldiers themselves knew. It was they who had to stand up to that snow and ice, insufficiently or not at all protected against it. It could therefore only be that other Front, Hitler's "Second Front" of which he had spoken to his old Party comrades on November 9th in the Munich Beer Cellar, before which he did not dare to speak up. Why? One reason is plain from the available facts: there was tension, or at least profound mistrust, between Hitler and his Nazis on the one side, and what he called the "Second Front", namely the German Home Front, on the other side. Here may be only mentioned a great additional burden upon the relationship between Nazism and the people, and that is America's entry into the War in December 1941.

Here our chief concern is to see how far the Home Front was informed about what was going on in the East during the winter months. We naturally have little chance to assess the amount of personal information which was bound to leak through into Germany, if only by word of mouth or letters from relatives and friends at the front, on leave, in hospital, etc. This continual

flow of news must have been—and actually was—very strong, so much so that the Nazi papers could not cover up the truth, but had to keep up at least a distant resemblance to accurate reporting. Consequently, it can safely be assumed that whatever we find in Nazi papers, on the radio, etc., represents only a fraction of what the Home Front knew.

The first shock came when that amazing announcement was made at the end of November that the German troops were being withdrawn from the centre of Rostov in order to punish the civilian population. This piece of propaganda, which in spirit and in wording sounded very much like the Führer's own invention, proved such a costly failure that nothing similar has so far been attempted. But at the beginning of December we find the first factual reports in the Nazi press describing the Russian winter. Attempts to minimize the danger, such as a half-hearted analysis of the not-so-cold weather in Russia which *M.N.N.* published as a leading article, were not followed up.

Instead, we find an article by K. H. Britz, a war correspondent on the Russian Front, on December 6th in *B.B.Z.*: "Again a freezing night falls over the front before Moscow. The chimneys stand like shadows against the starlit sky—remnants of a village which has been burnt to the ground. . . . Of course, this time they must again spend the night in the icy open air. Then they discuss the difficulties of the food transport. Tins, sausages and bread freeze on the way to the front. . . .

"Before the door a dog is squealing. The only living being, the soldiers found him amongst the rubble of the village. Now they feed him and give him shelter from the grim cold. . . . Before the stove a soldier prepares the dinner. Bread is fried on a brick, tins and sausages are placed near the fire so that they thaw. . . . Since the only thing left is one lid and one spoon, the Major begins, and according to rank, lid and spoon are handed round. A few days ago an enemy tank-attack had forced the battalion temporarily out of its position; everything happened so quickly that the soldiers could only take with them what they carried. . . . When the battalion regained its position in a counter-attack, the Soviet soldiers had taken everything. . . . The first night had been bitter—without blankets, covered only by their coats, the infantrymen had to lie in holes in the ground."

The following day Ludwig Sertorius makes a strong effort to prove that winter campaigns have long been possible, and that in particular Napoleon's campaign and defeat in Russia in 1812 was *not* a winter campaign. (*B.B.Z.*, December 7th, 1941.) The same day *M.N.N.* published a story by Sergeant

Karlheinz Ulrich describing a successful attack against a hill, containing one paragraph which is relevant here: "The night is terrible. The enemy is silent, only German grenades whine across again and again. But the cold comes, that wet cold which makes one's limbs stiff and shaky with ague." Then came Hitler's speech to the Reichstag, and no word about preparations to meet the Russian winter.

On December 17th the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* sent a lengthy report about the German retreat in the East. The Censor in Berlin did not cut out his interpretation of the communiqué. This interpretation read as follows:

"For the first time the communiqué of the Armed Forces to-day indicates that the German troops in Russia are at present carrying out *retreating movements of some extent*. The highly important passage, which has already been published, reads: 'In the course of the transition from the offensive to the positional warfare of the winter months, the necessary improvements and shortening of the front are being carried out at present on the various sectors of the Eastern Front.' According to this, the character of a *deliberate* and, as the communiqué expresses it, a 'planned' *consolidation of the front* is still given in Berlin to the events on the Eastern Front."

This was the spirit in which well-informed observers in Berlin saw the beginning winter campaign. The correspondent goes on to speak of the "grave impression" which this communiqué had made in Berlin, and states that it had been deepened by the "sensational" article by the well-known military writer Lt.-Col. Soldan in the *Völkischer Beobachter*; which is also "extremely serious". In this article Soldan stated that the people must be forewarned of the difficulties of the Russian campaign. "In the widest circles" a short campaign had been expected in Russia on the basis of the previous campaigns. Soldan avoids the issue in this article in the leading Nazi Party paper, merely quoting the opinion of a Swiss expert, Colonel Gustav Däniker, that "the German High Command had never harboured these expectations".

By that time the Generals wished to make it clear that they had no responsibility for the miscalculation of the "Supreme War Lord", as against the "High Command", namely themselves. If anybody had doubts about this point, they were quickly dispelled by the following sentences: "Only someone who has experienced massed attacks by the Russians during the World War can form a modest picture of what is happening to-day in the East. Modest! For at that time the Czarist soldier was greatly

inferior to ours, while to-day the Bolshevik soldier is equal to ourselves, even at times surpasses us." This meant the War was carried into the Nazi camp, for every Nazi knew that Hitler had never experienced "Russian mass attacks during the first World War" but was a corporal on the Western Front. Everybody knew, too, that he despised the Slav, if for no other reason than for racial ones.

Soldan's article continues with similar frankness and is quite plainly a frontal attack against Hitler from the military opposition. Such painful subjects as winter equipment are mentioned again and again. We remember that military circles in Berlin expressed the view as early as September that preparations for the winter were necessary. On December 17th they had not even been begun! Soldan writes cynically: "(The Russians) left behind 500 dead (after having defended a village for five hours against the furious attacks of an entire division) and they (the dead Russians) were excellently equipped for winter-warfare."

There is a still more direct reference to Hitler's own version of what he regarded as his victories in Russia. This is when Soldan speaks of the German hammering (*Vernichtungsschläge*). "There is hardly any evidence that the German hammering makes them (the Russians) realize that all resistance is in vain. Again and again the front has been repaired; again and again new masses are thrown into the battle, no inch of ground is given up where the German soldiers, still hitting hard (!), are enforcing it. For them (the German soldiers) it doesn't matter whether the Bolsheviks are driven into *iron discipline* by their Jewish Commissars or anybody else. That discipline *at any rate exists*, and must be reckoned with." Almost every word is a reply to Hitler's conceptions, a reply which has plainly been in the minds of many soldiers—and of the Home Front.

More of it follows: "In the course of this campaign the Soviets have, up till now, even after the great battles of destruction (Hitler's expression!), always succeeded in repairing their front." Then the article continues as mere propaganda and is interesting only in so far as it shows the method by which opposition is conducted in Germany. We shall meet the method again. It is used by all kinds of opposing factors, by opposition Nazis and senior officers such as Soldan, who do not disagree with the political aims but merely about the methods. It is used, too, by the political and spiritual opposition. The value of the opposition from a positive, a constructive, point of view has, therefore, to be assessed not according to the tone and severity, but according

to the contents and essence of what is said. At any rate it is understandable that our correspondent describes Lt.-Col. Soldan's article as "creating a sensation". One thing about it seems certain; that it was written and published with very powerful support. Only one man, presumably, could have given this support; that is Brauchitsch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

This was on December 17th. The significance of the move is of course not in the military field. For military discussions are not conducted in newspapers in time of war, particularly not by experts in office, and especially not in a totalitarian state. The only significance of this move is in regard to the Home Front. For it is the Home Front which is suddenly confronted not so much with new facts, as with an interpretation which runs exactly contrary to Hitler's as expressed only about a week before. In order to see the extent to which this open appeal was intended to reach the Home Front, one must go one step farther and consider the fact that it was the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Party's paper, which published the article.

If, as we believe, the assumption that this article was meant to "create a sensation" is correct, it certainly was not spread amongst the people for the fun of the thing, as talk for talk's sake or to use up printer's ink. The statement was probably published in order to enlist the support of the Home Front. To do this a press campaign on a very broad basis was necessary. For the Home Front, carefully guarded by Hitler's S.S. and Gestapo, offered a slight chance of influence on events only if and when it was united in its opinion—and not merely in its sentiment—about the conduct of the war. In other words, if Hitler's interpretation, and therefore leadership, were superseded by that of someone else, namely by the men for whom Lt.-Col. Soldan was spokesman. In order to achieve this wide publicity the national as well as the provincial papers of the Reich had to be reassured that the new line was not only not dangerous for them, but that it was a line which the organ of Hitler and the Party, the *Völkischer Beobachter* itself had initiated.

On December 21st the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* gives further evidence on the same lines. He quotes extensively from a lengthy account which the Editor in Chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung* had sent from the Eastern Front, where he was then acting as war correspondent for his paper. This account bears the date "November 22nd", although it was not published in Cologne before December 19th and 20th, i.e., the two days following Soldan's article. It looks as though Schäfer had dis-

patched his account not on November 22nd, but during those fateful days of December. Or else if he did send it, it certainly was not published until Soldan's article had given the signal. But then it was published in two sections, and apparently not only the readers in Cologne, but in Berlin and elsewhere took notice of it. The article was as clearly a reply to Hitler's claims in regard to his Moscow offensive, and even to his previous speech of October, where he had announced the beginning of the offensive, as was Soldan's. It was passed by the military censor, for Schäfer was a war correspondent at the front. It seems worth while to quote the most important passages of it, for it was probably a frontal attack of the Generals against Hitler, and coincided with Brauchitsch's dismissal. Taken with Soldan's article two days before, it makes clear why Hitler did not dare to appoint any other General in place of Brauchitsch. It was no longer a matter of military opinion. It was the beginning of a flare-up on what Hitler had already named "the Second Front". There was no General whom Hitler trusted sufficiently to be in charge of the Army at a moment when the battle threatened to develop. According to the evidence available this much seems clear. The generals tried to win over the Home Front.

This, then, is what the article said: The great offensive against Moscow started on October 1st, two days before Hitler announced it in his speech, his first speech after he had begun his attack against Russia. This attack developed rapidly at the beginning. The encirclement of the Russian units succeeded faster than ever before. Borodino, the town where Napoleon won his victory, was captured. Kalinin was captured. The defences of Moscow were dented. Victory seemed in sight. But Moscow had not yet been reached, the Russian armies had been pushed back, but not annihilated.

At this critical moment the heavy October rains started. Roads became rivers of mud. "The Luftwaffe was temporarily unable to take part in the battle owing to low clouds, and the roads were almost impassable except for the Infantry." The troops could not go on without a rest. The offensive had to be halted for a short pause. This pause, however, was sufficient for the Russian armies to form a new defence line, to throw in new reserves from Siberia, from other parts of the front, new troops, well rested and well clad. "The mass of defensive and offensive weapons thrown into the front was also considerable. Artillery of every calibre increased daily. Medium, heavy, super-heavy tanks appeared in great numbers at all important points of the front."

"Since he (the Russian) became gradually stronger through

vast reserves, he no longer confined his actions to passive defence, but proceeded to active defence, and made *many single attacks* on various sectors of the front. These attacks were later carried out by *larger units*, were inter-connected, and had probably greater aims." This was the beginning of a counter-offensive. It failed, and when the November frost had hardened the ground, renewed German attacks were made. But no longer did they lead to rapid progress. The Russians continued to counter-attack. "Since the soldiers of the enemy and particularly the first Siberian divisions are well suited (meaning trained) for *night battles in forests*, one can imagine what mental and physical demands were made upon the German soldier. In the dense forests they were never for a moment safe against surprises. Even during intervals in the fighting and during the cold nights they had to be prepared for continual raids and combats."

These were the first strokes made to win over the Home Front against the responsible leadership, namely Hitler. They failed miserably. Hitler did not enter this struggle at all. He finished his chief opponent by just dismissing him like a butler.

This was immediately before perhaps the saddest Christmas that Europe had ever experienced. Goebbels—instead of Rudolf Hess, who had made the broadcast every year—stepped before the microphone and tried to catch in his voice, in his approach, something of the gloom prevailing in Germany on that dark evening of December 24th. "Our Christmas candles have been sent to the Eastern Front because our soldiers need them more than we do." He then spoke of the Germans living abroad, of the "Auslandsdeutsche". "We must not be surprised that we Germans of to-day are not always liked out there. . . ." And then went on to speak to the Home Front: the Home Front had to "become worthy of the soldiers at the front", "we must be brave and ready for everything", "victory will not be given us as a free gift, we have to labour for it". Ribbentrop threatened: "The men who stand on the many fronts of the three-power-pact states know perfectly well that if they fail, not only will they themselves be lost, but their wives and children and their country will be destroyed by a merciless foe." In order to dispel any hopes, he further pointed out that not only the Nazi regime, but indeed *the entire people* had to fight for its very existence. Were there two opinions about it amongst the people?

The year which had begun with peace in sight for the people of Germany, with victory hoped for by many, dreaded by many, but peace all the same—that year ended with no end in sight, but death, suffering, and defeat on the doorsteps of

the badly heated and dimly-lit houses. The Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* described the situation on December 30th in these words: "The military events in Russia and North Africa are treated with the utmost reserve by the German authorities. Only the propaganda has changed lately, and has begun in a few sensational articles to inform the population about the hardness of the present battles. Then, too, the vast and urgent collection of winter clothes and skis has turned the attention of the last German to the serious position on the Eastern Front. But until now responsible quarters have refrained from giving a complete survey of the latest operations. The German public has only learnt a certain amount about the characteristics of the latest battles, about the bad climate of Russia and about the conditions under which the German soldier has generally to live and to fight." Soon the illustrated papers of the Third Reich were to publish photos from the Eastern Front—horse-drawn carriages with soldiers driving them through the deep snow. Other pictures are of the ski-collection and of Christl Cranz, the ski-champion and winner of the Olympic gold medal, giving up her pair of skis. (*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Illustrated, January 5th and 8th.)

What did the German Home Front read about the further progress of the war in the East? Many realistic descriptions showing the difficulties which the soldiers had to overcome, the dangers of climate, desolate outposts, and a grim and skilful foe. Yes, even initial miscalculations were admitted. The Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* stressed on January 13th, 1942, the importance of two articles which the editor of the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, Dr. Sertorius, and a war correspondent of that paper, von Lölhöffel, had published. Sertorius admitted: "the Russians had been stronger than the most sober calculations of our experts had assumed." Climate and country favoured the retreating enemy and became an obstacle for the pursuing Nazi armies who were leaving their bases farther and farther behind them.

"Nobody," the article of Dr. Sertorius continued, "nobody at home can realize what extraordinary *physical and psychological demands* are just now made upon the individual soldier on the Eastern Front. He fights under climatic conditions alien to him; in a freezing cold which he has rarely or never experienced in his own country; in snowstorms whose force makes his breath freeze round his mouth, drives a thousand knives through his coat. The soil is frozen so hard that even with many hours' work he cannot dig it. Often his meals have a thick crust of

ice which he has to break with his spoon. Many days without a warm drink, without even a drop of liquid, because the contents of his field-bottle are frozen. A cold which covers the interior of the tanks with inch-deep ice, so that the use of heavy arms is often almost impossible. Then everybody stands for himself. And the enemy is almost always numerically superior. Add to this quarters which are primitive beyond description, add an enemy who is familiar with the country, who has experience in modern winter warfare, and disposes of troops like those from Siberia who are used to it. Finally, one must remember that almost every German division has been taking part in an offensive campaign for six months now, and in defensive battles for three weeks; an uninterrupted chain of great battles and marches, hardly ever broken even by one or two meagre rest days, six months of unbelievable strain, unbelievable psychological burden."

At the beginning of the year the Home Front learned what it must have guessed long before, that there were not sufficient men and material to allow for proper reserves being flung into the Front Line. In practice this meant—from the point of view of the relatives at home—that everybody out there was in deadly danger every single day and every single night, with no end in sight. The Home Front also learned during these first days of the year that not only physically, but psychologically too, those millions were overburdened. The morale of the men, their spirit, became a new and additional problem. It is important to realize this factor here, because later the Nazis used the device of reproaching the Home Front for being far behind the Eastern Front in spirit, confidence, courage, loyalty. Yet one of the chief reasons for the deepening gloom on the Home Front was the development of affairs in the East.

During those weeks the Home Front was gradually informed of yet another danger, and that was the danger of the Russian partisans. On January 14th the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* published an article by Gustav A. Doering under the title "War in the Dark". There some of the methods used by the Russian guerillas are described. It is stated that they usually carry one or two light machine-guns, one heavy machine-gun, and a mortar. This equipment is clearly meant for attacks even against fairly strong enemy positions. A guerilla soldier usually carries a pistol, two to five hand-grenades, a knife, and detonators. As a speciality they often carry "Molotov-cocktails", vodka bottles filled with petrol and explosives. The partisans usually have their bases somewhere in swamps or forests, where their block-

houses, munition depots, stables for their animals, are safely concealed. Women, children, old people act as their helpers, give them details particularly about the whereabouts of officers and N.C.O.s.

This in short is the picture which Doering draws of the guerillas. He adds, of course, that they do not constitute a people's army or movement, but are rather a Bolshevik party affair. The peasants, he maintains, are not helping them. He does not say, however, how a guerilla force is able to operate at all if the local population does not assist them. Nor does he say where these women and children and old people whom he mentions as the spear-head of the guerilla army come from, if not from the villages themselves. At any rate there is little doubt that the inevitable remarks about the Bolshevik element in this highly military matter were of little importance to the readers in Berlin. Important was the information that not only the front line proper, but also the rear was a dangerous zone. There was little illusion left anywhere about the prospect of conquering Russia. At the same time hopes amongst those who had been waiting for the defeat of Nazism gradually rose. But this hope was tempered by sorrow at the suffering and death which increased daily.

When February came the Nazis recovered somewhat from the shock of the winter campaign. They still published realistic reports from the East, but a somewhat romantic colouring of the articles shows that they are no longer the result of the deepest depression, sorrow, even despair. A touch of propaganda, a slight reminiscence of grandiose battle-scenes in mediocre paintings becomes apparent. Rather typical of this is a contribution to the *Völkischer Beobachter* of February 3rd: "Battle and Cold," by Bayer. He describes a Russian attack against a German position, the icy cold, the Russian tanks and low-flying fighters against German infantry-positions, the attack of Russian ski-troops in wide white cloaks. He indicates that the Russians have attacked again and again, and then describes that evening: "The front is being shortened. During the night the order arrives to break away from the enemy. One platoon remains to cover the retreat. . . ." Yet in spite of the open admission that they had to retire, the article is clever propaganda. The Home Front has to be frightened. That is all.

At the same time the Home Front is being reassured. On February 2nd, *D.A.Z.* published a front-page leading article by Otmar Best: "Already February": "The first month of the year 1942, and with it the greater part of a winter grave

both for the front and the Home Front, lies behind us." One or two bitter truths are revealed: "Silently Germany produces in gigantic masses the war weapons which she will need in 1942 and later." Furthermore, the article points out what everybody already knew; that the youngest and the middle-aged are now being trained for war service. "Compared with the autumn the effort is being still further increased, by enlistments in the Army, by rationalization (in civil life), and by many other measures, in order to supply the front with weapons and ammunition and everything else necessary. The Armed Forces are still growing. As in the armament factories, so in the Reserve Army everything is being done. Its importance as a reservoir for the armies at the Front is greater to-day than it was during the first years of the War. . . . Day and night this young soldiery, together with the middle-aged, is being trained in the use of the most modern weapons. . . ."

On February 24th the *Frankfurter Zeitung* published a front-page article: "Result of the Winter Battle," reviewing the period since December 8th when the German High Command mentioned for the first time the winter as a determining factor. The article tries to make a case for "shortening the line, making it straight". "Many such shortenings of the front have been conducted during the winter in spite of the harsh weather, without pressure by the enemy and without losses. . . ." This is the tone of all the comments on the official survey published by the German High Command. It was phrased in typical Hitlerite language and had quite plainly the purpose of reassuring the Home Front. It was issued on February 21st on a Saturday evening. Simultaneously all the papers published a map showing the territories in Russia occupied by the Nazi armies, but giving no clear picture of the Front Line as it then ran. The reason is obvious: the front was not straight at all. The Russians had broken through at various points and "lengthened" it again.

It is naturally very difficult to find any evidence of the immediate reaction of the Home Front to these events in the winter campaign, because nothing could be published which was in any way detrimental to Hitler and his Nazis. As in most instances, here also the mood and opinion of large sections of the population can only be surmised and reconstructed from the way in which the press and radio acted against them. But months afterwards we find a revealing remark by the Official Historian of the Armed Forces, Walter Scherff, in a contribution published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on May 5th, 1942. Scherff says that when Hitler successively took over more and more

military power, many doubted his wisdom. Even after the campaign in the Balkans in the spring of 1941 many people talked of "Byzantinism". Even after the gigantic eastern successes, and after the full appreciations of the German press given to his leadership, many believed that it was "not Hitler, but someone in the background who provided the ideas, someone like Moltke, Schlieffen, Ludendorff. . . ." So far had the realistic appreciation of the Hitler-myth gone amongst the people that a leading Nazi expert was induced to comment on it. But he deals only with the reproach of "Byzantinism" made before Hitler replaced Brauchitsch by himself. This was before the winter campaign started, before millions of casualties brought home to every house and every family what Hitler and Hitlerism meant in its extreme application. What must they all have felt *after* the winter?

## CHAPTER V

### GREAT SHADOWS

FROM THE FIRST day of Hitler's attack against Russia, and particularly from the time when it became apparent that a winter campaign in Russia was unavoidable, the shadow of Napoleon appeared in Germany. Napoleon has remained a reality in the mind and soul of many a German; the remembrance of the total enslavement which the people had to suffer then has remained with them. The campaign of 1812 and Napoleon's disaster in Russia were quoted even by the Nazis so long as they prided themselves upon having established a solid alliance with the U.S.S.R.; they were quoted because these events were to prove how very much superior to Napoleon's Hitler's policy was supposed to be. But not only did this attempt collapse on June 21st, 1941, but soon the shadow appeared over the horizon of the Corsican fleeing from the snow-clad plains of Russia.

The comparison was so obvious and so widely made all over the country that soon the Party felt they had to face up to this reality of a shadow. The Chief of the Chancellory, Philip Bouhler, one of the leading Nazis, a "Reichsleiter", hurried to publish a biography of Napoleon which was recommended not only to the people but in particular to the press as guidance for comment on the subject of Napoleon. The book is interesting because it does not even attempt to commit that leading party

functionary to anything like an historical study, but is a loud and official reply to many of the doubts expressed—even in places a warning and a threat to those who seemed to have placed their hopes on the inevitability of the parallel.

Bouhler stressed particularly the weaknesses of the man Napoleon, which he claims were more responsible for his downfall than the exhortations of his enemies. "Treason of some of his sub-leaders, weakening physical power and health" are cited as the chief reasons. And, of course, the fundamental mistake of Napoléon not to have seen that the Germans, and not the French, were the born aspirants for European hegemony. Then—and this is very important in order to see how the Nazis represented their conquests to their Home Front—Bouhler set out to show that Napoleon's chief political mistake and failure was his attempt "to create a super-national empire in an age which saw the beginnings of the awakening of the peoples of Europe. He wanted a Pan-Europe under the leadership of France, France conceiving the dynasty of Napoleon . . . Sooner or later he was bound to break down under the will to freedom of the peoples." This is remarkable reasoning on the part of one of the Nazi chiefs. It falls in with the stream of propaganda poured out by the Nazis inside Germany, trying to convince the Home Front that this War was being conducted by the peoples of Europe for their liberation. It was Hitler, the liberator, who was compared with Napoleon, the oppressor. "During his (Napoleon's) last campaigns nations were fighting for their independence and existence." This was the Nazi Party's interpretation of what had happened in Russia in 1812. We shall see that they failed to convince the Home Front in Germany of it.

Bouhler deals with yet another aspect. "Napoleon", he writes, "could not count on the French nation in its entirety. The Army adored him ('trug ihn auf Händen'). His soldiers went through fire for him in the literal sense of the word. But he did not possess the organization to bind the people; for this is what gives a firm base to the authoritarian regimes of our time, to National Socialism and Fascism, and is the guarantee that the commands of a leader are carried out unconditionally, that his will penetrates to the last cellar." Who could help seeing the threat behind the boast?

Bouhler could not fail to underline also the parallel between Napoleon's and Hitler's antagonism to England, and vice versa, England's persistent struggle against them. The *Berliner Börsenzeitung* dedicated a leading article to this aspect of Bouhler's book (November 13th, 1941). It pointed out that for two decades

London became "the centre and junction of all coalitions against Napoleon". Bouhler himself, with characteristic historical Nazi correctness, dictated clearly by present-day considerations, maintains: "The fight which had been forced upon him by England largely determined the political and military life and actions of Napoleon."

The attempt to cope with the shadow of Napoleon recurred everywhere in official German utterances, in the press, the radio, in lectures etc. As late as April 29th, 1942, the *Völkischer Beobachter* asks "How do we see Napoleon?" The paper insists that "we weigh the great achievements of Napoleon as a General and organizer without reserve and even compare some of his deeds with similar deeds in our own days. But we are fully conscious of the fact that this or that parallel need not affect the essence of the entire problem. Napoleon is, like all great men in history who planned for the future, a unique figure in whom we naturally meet permanent political conceptions and principles, but in a specific relationship to the person and the conditions of space, people and time. This conception is also prominent in Bouhler's book, which places the vivid truth against a monotonous parallel-theory. Great ideas do not die because they were once destroyed by the particular circumstances of the times and by human inadequacy, or because they were approached from a wrong angle . . ."

While the shadow of Napoleon was thus threatening in the distance, there was a much closer approach to this problem open to Army officers and the intelligentsia, namely Clausewitz. In order to see the importance of this, one must realize that the entire German army is brought up on Clausewitz. Every single officer is taught at least the fundamental principles of Clausewitz's theories. Much nonsense is talked about that theorist of War, particularly by those who never read him. The fact is that Clausewitz, Prussian officer, one of the great thinkers in political science, was at the same time one of the great Liberals, and fought in the Russian army. That is not generally known, but it is both true and important. And it could not have failed to become a factor in determining opinion at least amongst the more thorough members of the intelligentsia, and, alas, of the conscript army.

Clausewitz gave up his Prussian Commission, he became a Russian officer, and fought against his own country which had allied itself with the European Dictator of that day, Napoleon, and was marching side by side with him against the last remaining army of the Continent—the Russian army. Clausewitz hated

dictatorship. He had experienced it and he had observed its method of warfare. The method was "Blitz", and it was Napoleon who had developed it. We therefore find in the writings of Clausewitz not only a clear analysis of the "Blitzkrieg"—and that this is the case, many Democratic commentators have remarked. But, victims of their own counter-propaganda, they have failed to observe the far more important fact, namely that Clausewitz analysed the "Blitz" in order to defeat it, that he showed its weaknesses and the method of beating it. There is evidence that at least a section of the above mentioned Germans understood this importance of Clausewitz for defeating dictatorship warfare. From his writings they foresaw at least some of the major developments in the East—and West.

Clausewitz, with the clarity of mind which his hatred tended to mould into a visionary insight, understood the essence of "Blitzkrieg". It was the concentration of the maximum force against the weakest point of the enemy. This weak point proved to be not so much the structure of the army as the morale of the army and the morale of the people. The strokes of Napoleon fell with lightning speed and with masterly precision. His victories were won in campaigns lasting days, weeks. Only days and weeks. The enemy had never time to reorganize, to find out his, the Dictator-Emperor's, weak spots. The enemy was reduced to helpless masses without leadership or organization, without a State, apart from that slave-system which Napoleon imposed upon the conquered.

Clausewitz, young and ardent, observed these characteristics—the speed, the concentration of force upon the vital point, the daring push into the centre of the country, to the capital, the panic created deliberately, and the fugitive governments seeking an armistice from the remotest corner of the country. Clausewitz realized that there were remedies—and he was only one of a circle which worked out this remedy. This circle comprised the Liberals of Central Europe, and Clausewitz was their pupil. As a Liberal he went to Russia, joined the Russian General Staff, and fought against his own miserable king, who had too little sense of honour to resist alliance with the subjugator in a war destined to seal the fate of all the nations of Europe.

We get from Clausewitz a detailed account of the campaign of 1812 which led to the downfall of Napoleon. ("Der Feldzug 1812 in Russland," op. posthum.) The elements of success on which Napoleon relied were clear enough. The answer had to be shaped accordingly. Speed was the magic word of the Dictator, so his march had to be slowed down. To combine all

methods was the only guarantee of achieving this purpose—not one method alone, as later observers thought, not only the policy of “scorched earth”, not only the policy of guerilla warfare, not only the policy of constant engagements, not only the policy of road-destruction and burned towns and villages, not only the policy of ordered retreat and avoidance of risking the entire army—only the reckless combination of them all seemed sufficient to achieve this purpose of delay. Delaying the lightning-strokes meant defeating them, because an army of the size necessary to the Dictator could hardly be maintained intact during the winter in a hostile country.

Decision was the next portent of dictatorship victory. Consequently decision had to be avoided by the defenders. Retreats, retreats, but no decision. Even defeats mattered little as long as the main armies of Russia remained intact. They had to give battle in order to weaken the power of the enemy. But they had to avoid being overrun by him. After Napoleon's failure to force the issue at the beginning, decision became a vague idea. He thought, and all his propaganda insisted on the point, that with the fall of Moscow the decision was achieved and Russia would have to accept peace. He hoped at least to find in Moscow a refuge for his badly shaken soldiers who had suffered heavily from the severe climate and from the lack of shelter and water. He could reach Moscow, Clausewitz observed dispassionately, but he could no longer terrify the world from there.

These, then, were the elements on which the Russian army had to base its defensive strategy: delaying actions, constant fighting, avoiding being encircled and put out of action. Furthermore, the assistance of the entire people was invoked. “Total defence” was the answer to “total Blitzkrieg”. The deeper the enemy penetrated into the territory of Russia the more his vital lines of communication became exposed to guerilla-attacks and interruption. Apart from these guerillas hardly any people had been left behind by the gradually retreating Russians. A huge belt of desert was created with no living soul to receive the tired and exhausted soldiers of the enemy. Clausewitz, still impressed by this great strategy, observes that Napoleon's eagerness to obtain Moscow intact was a fallacy, for he would not have found the one thing he needed most there, human beings. Utter desolation was the most powerful weapon, against which all the genius of the conqueror failed.

The final test came, however, only when Napoleon, in September, had succeeded in reaching Moscow. His army by then was reduced almost by half. The Russians, while retreating,

were reinforced constantly by fresh troops drafted from the immense spaces of their country, thus not only making good the losses which the army had suffered but gradually increasing its numbers. Napoleon could no longer muster sufficient masses. His forces had been reduced by constant battles and disease. With a miserable crowd of disheartened men the conqueror tried to convince the world of his success when he stood on the roof of the Kremlin. This, his propagandists shouted, was victory. Clausewitz describes those days, when he and the few foreigners who like him served in the Russian army in order to help defeat dictatorship were trembling lest the Russian Emperor should listen again—as he had done before—to the peace-offers of Napoleon.

There was only one thing in the world which he, Clausewitz, feared at that moment—peace, peace with the conqueror. The strategy of fighting and retreating, the strategy of the “scorched earth” had prepared the downfall of the man and his ideas. Yet there was still that permanent threat, perhaps the most dangerous of all, the attempt to break the morale of the enemy by “reasonable peace offers”. The chances seemed not unfavourable to Napoleon. England, which alone had continued the fight against him, was not yet ready to send an expeditionary force to the Continent, although the oppressed peoples were awaiting it. There was no army which could have given assistance to the Russians, and they still had to throw the invader out of their country. How if he left it—as a “friend”? Napoleon clung to this hope. Clausewitz reports that he declared repeatedly that the Russian Czar would be prepared to make peace with him, because he had taken pains “never to offend him personally”. This, then, was the mentality of the man who thought he could shape Europe’s future, and this the cold, clear observation of Clausewitz.

The extent to which Clausewitz made clear what a campaign in Russia meant was certainly known at least in certain circles in Germany. In this connection it has to be mentioned that Lenin, for instance, was a disciple of Clausewitz, and that the study of his writings has by no means been confined to the reactionary upper-classes of Germany. It is therefore understandable that the Nazis never mentioned Clausewitz in connection with Russia and Napoleon. The latter’s fate was too widely known even amongst rather primitively educated people. Clausewitz, however, was still only known to smaller circles. This does not mean that he was of minor importance as a witness against Hitler’s generalship. On the contrary. Since the entire

education of the officers of the German Army was based on Clausewitz, his testimony was of the utmost importance. An indication of how sensitive the Nazis were in this respect can be found in the immediate reaction to a solitary broadcast from London about Clausewitz and Russia. The German radio immediately replied, stating that it was preposterous on the part of the enemy to insinuate that Hitler had not taken Clausewitz into account. Nobody had studied him more thoroughly than the Führer.

But the broader issue remained Napoleon. How much this was so can be gathered from Hitler's own challenge which he pronounced against the tall shadow of the Corsican in his Reichstag speech on April 26th, 1942, after the end of the winter campaign. "Anyone who sees the wide spaces of the East, has to reckon with a psychological weight which crushed the French armies in 1812, and just for this reason even to-day is capable, as a memory, of paralyzing the courage of weak characters." And again: "When in 1812 the Russian armies flooded back from Moscow and were finally crushed." But he had mastered a fate which had destroyed Napoleon. This was one of the keynotes of Hitler's oratory.

During the winter of 1941-42 the Nazis tried yet another note, ignoring the depressing comparison with Napoleon as much as they could, trying silently to avoid that road leading from Moscow to Leipzig and Waterloo. They attempted to invoke the shadow of Frederick the Great of Prussia. Not the victorious ally of England, whose picture still hung in many a gallery there, hangs in the hall of the Athenaeum amongst writers and philosophers. They did not mention the exuberant author of the "Anti-Machiavelli" nor the cynical invader of Silesia. No; they tried to erect a monument to the suffering and lonely man, to the general and ruler who maintained his courage under the heaviest blows. The beginnings of a revision of the Hitler-myth were laid.

The propaganda drive began on January 25th—in the middle of the winter, when Hitler's stock was lower than ever before, and his name was rarely mentioned at all. The 25th January 1942 was the 230th anniversary of Frederick's birthday.

The following day the *Völkischer Beobachter* carried a front-page headline: "The Example of the Great King", and began its article: "The national-socialist movement celebrated on the 230th birthday of Frederick the Great the unforgettable King of Prussia, who is particularly close to our own time, in many dignified festivities all over the Reich." The celebrations were

carried out at the order of the Office of the "Representative of the Führer for the entire spiritual and intellectual ('weltanschauliche') training and education of the NSDAP (Nazi-Party) and of the Propaganda-Office of the NSDAP" (Rosenberg and Goebbels).

The article continues: "A particularly impressive experience was the 'weltanschauliche' celebration which the Rosenberg Office had undertaken jointly with the 'Gauleitung Berlin of the NSDAP' (Goebbels)." Rosenberg and "the Berlin Leader-Corps of the Party and its sections" were present. Fieldmarshal Milch, Goering's second in command, had been announced as speaker. But he was prevented "for official reasons" ("dienstlich"), and Captain Werner Beumelburg, the Nazi writer, read his speech. This meeting took place at the Gendarmenmarkt Playhouse. The same day the Deputy-Gauleiter of Berlin, Görlitzer, spoke at the Schiller-Theatre about "Frederick II, teacher of his people."

This noble Gauleiter tried to prove that Frederick had saved the "Germanic substance", whatever that may have meant. The amusing part of it was that he could not name England—Frederick's traditional ally and friend—as his enemy. It was thus "jealous Austria, Russia, and France." The speaker therefore gallantly proceeded from that period and Frederick and the anniversary to the nineteenth century, the World War, and the present War in order to attack England there. . . . At the Horst Wessel Place Theatre extracts from Rosenberg's "Myth of the 20th Century" were read showing "Frederick's figure irradiated in shiny splendour as a symbol of everything heroic and a combination of all the virtues of character." But this was not meant to be funny at all. It was a shrewd propaganda-drive, and the wording of many of the exhortations are rather similar to a eulogy circulated all over the Reich by Hitler's Press Chief and personal publicity agent, Dietrich: "The Führer in Battle". That man who had pledged his honour the previous autumn that the Russian armies were practically destroyed—after Hitler's October speech. He now tried to shape the picture of Hitler according to the needs of the hour. (Compare *B.B.Z.* 6th January, 1942).

While the Party started its new propaganda drive, the more exclusive Nazi and Army circles of the "German Society for Military Politics and Science" held a special meeting at the Lufthaus. The head of the University of Berlin, Professor Hoppe, spoke about Frederick the Great as Colonizer. There the historian emphasized that Frederick could not take the peasants from the

Prussian estates for colonization, because the estates needed them. So peasants from other parts of the Reich had to be brought to Prussia. Thus the Prussian population increased and "the foundation was laid for Prussian leadership in Germany." A strange picture this—the jealous brothers-in-arms holding their separate meetings.

The Lessing High School in Berlin followed with a dignified *matinée* where Professor Grützmacher gave an address on Frederick's philosophic attitude towards life. He explained that he started with an epicurean conception, proceeded to stoicism and ended with scepticism. He showed Frederick's philosophic dependence upon d'Alembert, and ended with a description of that sceptical sense of humour which the old King showed, combining stoicism and scepticism. This line was the High School line proper, with very little direct propaganda in it, and devoid of those crude falsifications of history which Nazi historians inside and outside Germany have developed. It was nevertheless effective in so far as it helped to create a renewed Frederick-Myth into which the Nazi propagandists proper were only waiting to mould Hitler's rather ramshackle picture.

Goebbels and Dietrich had planned the campaign well. They soon came out with a lengthy film, a two-hour affair, about Frederick. On the opening night, Goebbels spoke, and when he poured out his eulogies about the stoicism of Frederick everybody knew that he meant Hitler. The film picked out the decisive years of the Seven Years War and only treated that period in the life of Frederick. There were then more defeats and setbacks, more disillusion and failures than victories. But it was meant to be like that. It is interesting to see a review of this film written by a neutral in the Berne paper *Der Bund* (14th March, 1942). He is quite impressed by the realism of the film. A lonely man, "partly deprived of the halo which has been woven round him by legends." No, "also a King has his weaknesses, which do not disappear because they are tactfully overlooked. Even a King knows hours of desperation in which he wants to get away from his life, in which he despairs, appears depressed and weak." At the same time the film shows the King as a powerful nature which can offend by its harshness and hardness, but nevertheless is justified in demanding the impossible from others, because it subjugates itself to the same discipline. The King as pictured there shows iron justice. This must lead to inner loneliness when it is not understood by others. Frederick appears as a leader of armies who again and again receives heavy blows from fate. He must live through

the deepest humiliations in order to rise . . . A beaten ruler, troubled by gout, who wears not only the laurels of victory, but also the biting crown of thorns . . . A new shadow, a new blasphemous Nazi myth in the making. Not Frederick, but Hitler . . . Artists were mobilized, professors were mobilized (compare Professor Dr. Fritz Hartung, "Fate and Will", leading article in *B.B.Z.*, February 8th, 1942), in order to build up this myth. It was a shadow—Frederick. It was to hold a reality—Hitler. But only for as long as things were bad, losses high, the Home Front potentially dangerous, asking too many questions and demanding too unpleasant answers. The shadow was to be banned again as soon as more satisfactory events permitted.

Yet the Home Front proved a strangely unwilling audience to the High Priests of the latest Nazi myth. The flood of Fredericiana carried little weight. It was rapidly swallowed up by the immense dry sand-dunes of public distrust, a genuine wave of depression and a longing for peace. This wave was bound to reach even Hitler's own sacred person. It was he and his Nazis in whom the world no longer put any trust. No artistry of Goebbels could shelter Hitler the man, and all those round him, from the questions, doubts, and the silent, still silent, demands of the people: What do they say? There is proof of what they say.

Goebbels would never have dared to take the bull by the horns. He was always too clever for that, too cautious, too sly. The most radical Nazis, or rather the most activist and terroristic, the S.S., the Gestapo, despised him for that. They were not afraid of opposition. They actually liked it; it gave them a chance to terrorize. It was their *raison d'être*. Consequently their paper, the *Schwarze Korps*, the "Black Corps", had always been far more outspoken than most other papers about opposition to the regime. These executors of the Nazi will were quite certain, too, that nobody would suspect them of printing such stories in order to give them publicity. It is an old method to denounce certain actions and ideas and just by doing so to give them publicity. This is an old practice of veiled opposition in totalitarian states. But the S.S. and the Gestapo were above reproach in that respect. They attacked left and right, they mentioned names of private people whom they wanted to attack, gave their addresses, everything. It was a method of adding to their agony. These people were to become outcasts, all their friends, their circle, their group should feel threatened. It was also part of the Gestapo and S.S. sadism to play with their victims like a cat with a mouse. They felt the absolute masters.

In this weekly we find a remarkable retort to the sceptical attitude, to the say the least of it, which had been growing against Hitler personally. The Gestapo and S.S. must have been aware that this antagonism was already too strong for methods such as those which Goebbels employed. Consequently the *Schwarze Korps* came out with a revaluation of Hitler which in its cynical frankness is a remarkable performance, almost reminding one of Shakespearian villains. The new departure is contained in an article about the true hero of the Nibelungen-Saga. The hero, the *Schwarze Korps* proclaims, is not Siegfried. To understand the development of this idea one must remember that for many years Nazi propaganda has played up Hitler as the incarnation of Siegfried! Not Siegfried, but Hagen is the hero of the Nibelungenlied. "Hagen defended himself against fate without any consideration for what mankind regards as inviolable and sacred. Hagen pursued his aims, using all means, using treason if necessary. He showed no mercy to his enemies nor to himself. Thus he remained true to the most highly desired conception of the German heroic ideal." (*Schwarze Korps*, May 7th, 1942.)

This, then, was the picture which appeared in spring 1942 as the "heroic Germanic ideal". It was the result not of any particular trend of the Nazis towards a new truthfulness. It was the furious reply of the true masters to the insinuations, the accusations of the people who talked amongst themselves about exactly these features of Hitler's policy and character. Did not the treason, the offences against "what mankind regards as inviolable and sacred" stand between the people and Peace? Goebbels did not dare to take up this challenge of the Home Front. The Gestapo did. And this was their reply: "Yes, indeed, all this had happened—but it is our ideal. We know just as well as you do—but we want it. If anyone thinks that we, the true masters of the Reich, do not see realities as they are, he is mistaken. If anyone believes that he has the task of informing the people, that he has to convince others of the true state of affairs, he is mistaken. Amongst the Nazis, and particularly amongst the Gestapo, there is no 'Siegfried-complex' regarding Hitler. No, Hitler is our ideal and we stick to him, *because* he acts like Hagen." This was no literary performance nor was it a historical tract. It was a threat against the Home Front.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE COMING SPRING OFFENSIVE

THE CHANGING ATTITUDE towards Hitler and his policy on the part of the so-called "unpolitical" section of the population was different only in degree, not in essence, from what happened even amongst many of his followers. Those who had been waiting for the hour when the Hitlerite war-machine would run against a rock took new hope. But still no decision had been reached; still the great hope of the Nazis, coming more and more to the fore, was the hope of a decisive campaign in the spring. The Coming Spring Offensive was the whispered parole of Nazis all over Europe during those dark weeks and months of the winter 1941-42.

As early as February the Home Front was assured that the worst was over. On the 8th of February, 1942, *M.N.N.* carried a big headline: "The Winter passes . . ." and begins this hopeful forecast with the sentences: "Week after week passes. This winter seems to have no end. But the small disturbances it has caused in our daily life gave us only a faint idea of the heavy suffering which it has imposed upon the soldiers in the East . . ." These encouraging words are followed up with a much more direct exhortation: "This distance (between the Eastern Front and the Home Front) may become very painful one day . . . if we do not gather all our strength in order to equal them and to follow their lead. Do we not sometimes see, when we meet soldiers on leave, how strange some things round us have become to them? They do not understand it if we make a fuss about unimportant things. . . . This strange surprise which we sometimes read on their faces indicates the most painful suffering which we too at home will have to bear if we are not careful. They must never feel that we do not want to equal them in sacrifices. They have become different, and therefore we must not remain the same . . . We are not born heroes, and the unobserved heroism in small things which receives no decorations is certainly difficult to achieve. But it is no less necessary if the Home Front wishes to give those out there a solid background." And added to this: "They have won the great defensive battle (*Abwehrschlacht*) in the East."

This is but one from innumerable similar examples, showing how the Home Front is stirred up. On the part of the Nazis it is a vast attempt to create not only jealousy between the Home

Front and the Eastern Front but also to create fear. Fear that the men and women at home may lose—after already losing almost everything—the one thing which they feel is left to them: the affection of their beloved ones, their husbands and sons, their friends and brothers, their fathers and sweethearts. This is the devilish plan which is henceforth to be carried through with fanatical cynicism. How many death-notices speak up against this fraud, announcements put in the press by those at home, by those who are admonished not to lose touch with their beloved ones. Thousands of these little announcements read: "Whose only aim was to return home . . .", "who was so much looking forward to seeing his wife and children again", "who was daily expecting to come home on leave."

Another striking proof of the falsity of the supposition that there is antagonism between the Home Front and the Fighting Front is contained in an open letter which Gauleiter Wagner of Upper Bavaria, one of the most detested men of the detested regime, wrote in the *Münchener Feldpost* to the soldiers on the Fighting Front (quoted in *M.N.N.*, March 6th, 1942). "The counting of days is an old practice with soldiers," he began. Being Gauleiter he was not formally obliged to adhere to the rules of propaganda applying to all other publications. He could be supposed to know the people of his district better than others. Naturally he tries to make himself popular, to show as much understanding of his fellow-countrymen as possible and he writes: "Now during this War you are certainly counting the days until the field-post arrives or until you may come on leave. But above all until this most miserable of winters is over. We at home are counting with you for all our sakes. In spite of snow and cold spring must come! *For you the long hoped for offensive will start again, and we at home will more than make up the hours of work we lost through bad traffic conditions.*"

The last paragraph of this remarkable letter is perhaps the most interesting: "Do write to me or to your Kreisleiters (district leaders of the Nazi Party) if there is any worry we can smooth out for you at home. You know that *grumbling is a very Bavarian habit* and a beneficial one, sometimes it is even necessary and right. But you know that nothing is achieved by it, if those who may be able to help do not hear it. Heil Hitler! Your Gauleiter Adolf Wagner." Malcontents writing to Wagner, the Gauleiter and the Kreisleiter. . . . He knew only too well that practically nobody except his party friends would consider doing this. For the others it was a threat. It was the iron fist in a rather thin velvet glove. At any rate, in this letter Wagner forgets

that the soldiers regarded the troubles of their folk at home as minor ones, and he forgets, too, that those at home are worried most about the fate of their folk at the front. On March 23rd the Berlin correspondent of the Swedish paper *Social Demokraten*, the Swedish Labour Party organ, writes: "There is hardly a family who has not a member at the front, and consequently they are worrying about the spring offensive."

All the same, the Nazis knew at the beginning of 1942 that they could no longer conceal the truth from the Home Front. They knew that they could not talk away the worry and sorrow, and so could not restore anything resembling a high morale, confidence, or cheerful courage. They therefore resorted to their old method of terrorism. If the people would not follow their Führer of their own free will they had to be coerced. One of the most powerful weapons—and there were many of which we shall have to speak—was the threat that by neglecting their work, by failing in the duty allotted to them, they would harm their beloved ones. To those at the Fighting Front they said: "You have to defend your wives, children, parents, friends against the total destruction planned by the Soviets in the East, by the Anglo-Saxon powers in the West." To add to this effect they seized upon every scrap of information tending to illustrate their point. To the Home Front they said the same. In addition they gave most realistic pictures of what had happened on the Eastern Front. This, their gruesome stories implied, was what the men had to go through. Whatever their political attitude or their opinion about the War, about strategy, about anything might be—it was simply a question of life and death for those to whom no choice was left.

In this way we find an increasing amount of information about conditions in the East during the winter months, about the fighting, about wounded and dead. These were combined with other stories, or rather rumours; and deliberately vague indications about the coming spring offensive. It was the most primitive and the most futile method of political warfare—an illogical, a grotesque combination of fear and hope.

A typical example of the sort of eye-witness account which was published during those early months of spring is one by a Captain Rolf Bathe, who also did quite a lot of broadcasting. But he wrote in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on April 8th as Commander of an Infantry Company. His article bears the title: "Nineteen hours in icy cold." He describes the attempt to recapture a position which the Russians had taken from his battalion. They march towards their object without knowing that they

were to have the "most difficult night of the entire War". The thermometer had fallen to 35 degrees below zero. After several hours of march they are suddenly attacked by well-concealed Russian snipers. "Two men collapse mortally wounded." He then describes how they throw the Russian snipers out of their positions, take the road, and receive orders to stay there in the intolerable cold throughout the night. Twice they are attacked by new Russian forces. The men dig themselves into the snow, and, dead tired, want to go to sleep. But N.C.O.s and Officers walk continuously up and down and keep them awake, for "who falls asleep to-night dies". Nineteen hours, from January 14th to January 15th, the entire Battalion has to stay in that icy forest and then, when at long last the order to march towards their next objective arrives, they find themselves attacked again. Then follows a description of a wild attack by these Mecklenburger infantrymen.

The articles about the winter war in the East were clearly not meant to be descriptions of the prevailing situation at the time when they appeared. For at the beginning of April the end of the winter campaign was heralded all over Europe. The *Völkischer Beobachter* published in the form of an announcement a long front-page article in connection with the communiqué of April 4th: "Complete Collapse of Stalin's Winter Battle." There was nothing in the communiqué or in the article justifying this misstatement of facts—but it was a headline intended to convince the Home Front that the winter with its sufferings was over.

On the same day we find two articles in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* (April 5th, 1942), both describing life during the winter campaign. Furious attacks by Russian tanks, a counter-attack by German tanks, this is the main subject of the contribution by a Sergeant Wunnecke. Again that dark fear occurs in this description, so characteristic of them all—an engineer jumps forward, places a mine beneath the standing and firing 52-ton tank, the mine goes off. "Is the tank done for? Of the infantrymen nothing is left. Our engineer cries hurrah, and throws his arms into the air, overjoyed. But—the Soviet panzer is not yet conquered. They can no longer use their cannon but they can still drive and somehow the machine-guns are usable . . ." But the article ends: "We still stand on the defensive, but there is new hope. Spring must come at last . . ."

What did they really think in Berlin, in Germany during those months—March, April, May? We have scanty evidence, but it corroborates what the German papers admit indirectly.

On March 5th, the Berne paper *Der Bund* published a survey from its Berlin correspondent, describing the opinion held there about the coming offensives. He says that international as well as German observers agree that Germany can probably win that War only "if she succeeded in really destroying the Russian armed forces before next winter", and, this report continued: "destroyed them to such a degree that winter battles such as had to be waged in the past months and even now (in March) will no longer be necessary." The people knew long before Hitler's announcement in April that he was preparing for a further winter in Russia.

The report continued: "Although one is justified in assuming that the German spring offensive will be directed *against the Caucasus*, in order to break through to the Near East (Iran, Iraq), the destruction of the Soviets will remain the chief aim." Then follows a perhaps still more interesting remark—coming, as it does, from Berlin. "The Russian theatre of war will always have gigantic spaces, and to master them with a conquering army is a problem of which nobody can say whether it can be solved or not, because there is no precedent. It can therefore be said that in these gigantic spaces *the victories alone will not decide the issues.*"

On March 1st, 1942, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published an editorial which was plainly based on information received from their Berlin correspondent, under the title "Prelude to New Campaigns". This article pointed out that in 1941 the period of military operations was initiated as early as March 1st, when the German Army marched into Bulgaria. It then discussed the possibility of a renewed German offensive in the East, and went on: "the continued hard defensive battles in Russia made conditions for the preparatory period somewhat less favourable than in previous years. Apart from signs of wearing out, soldiers could not be sent back on leave to the usual extent during the winter months." And later: "From the German press and all other signs it appears that a considerably earlier date than last year is envisaged for the beginning of operations."

These prospects of the coming spring offensive were held out before the Home Front with the object of securing its unreserved support. They did not mention the three facts which became increasingly important during the following weeks, firstly the mud and all it added to the difficulties of the already groaning soldiers; secondly the increased fighting-strength of the Russian armies and thirdly the Second Front. But all three factors were very much in the mind of the Home Front.

Too much had come out during the winter months about the conditions prevailing in Russia in the autumn. Innumerable accounts, personal and published, described "the hardly believable feeling of relief when the frost started liberating us from the continual battle with the mud of the roads . . ." (*M.N.N.*, 14th February, 1942). These remarks and observations had been circulated—at least in part—in order to cheer the people. How much better was cold than mud! But now mud was threatening again. It was a vicious circle.

And now a variation was introduced into the old tune. "The First Ray of Sunshine," a letter from the Eastern Front, was published by *V.B.* on April 17th. It acclaimed the coming spring and made clear what it meant to the soldiers by describing what they had had to go through in the winter. This time it is a motorized column and a reporter attached to it, Günther Lange, is the author of the letter. "Perhaps at home you laugh a little now, but you do not know what it means to be exposed to a mad snowstorm, to lie in the snow in 30, 40, 45 degrees of cold, and to shoot with stiff fingers, or to march—or to run—or to drive . . . We have often been stuck on the roads of the gigantic Soviet steppe when the engine stopped. The cold would creep through our clothes in a few minutes, would eat into the blood, stiffen the whole body, while we worked until the frozen sweat stood out on our foreheads like a crust of ice, worked to get the car off to contribute its help to the front. In those hours we swore and prayed, raged and set our teeth, beat each other warm and again jumped on to the motor . . ."

After lengthy propagandist exhortations about the change which was now coming about, since spring was approaching, after wild vows of revenge against the Russians, the article comes to its real aim: the Home Front. "Our thoughts go back a thousand miles to our home. There spring is probably further advanced, more of a reality. It *finds you too steeled and ready*. I remember a small incident:

"A sergeant was stationed in a small village with his platoon. Supplies reached them by air only every fortnight. The men shared the bread they received. It was not much as the supply was scarce. The sergeant took hardly anything for himself. He said only a few words to his men: 'When we marched in 1918 into the last offensive of the First World War, we had no more bread than now as the daily ration. Remember that! *But at that time things went wrong at home. To-day this will not happen again.*'

"*The confidence in the Home Front* which that sergeant expressed

fills us all. We know the sacrifices which you are all making just now . . .”

Another typical example of this psychological terrorism is the Sunday issue of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of April 19th, including a report from the Eastern Front: “Attack on a Forest” with the usual heroics, and on the same page a long article about the Battle of the Atlantic: “Attack and Defence in the Atlantic.” But all these descriptions appeared gradually side by side with those of changing conditions. Instead of ice and snow—mud. The papers and news-reels show pictures of seemingly impassable roads. (E.g. *D.A.Z.*; April 10th and 16th: “The thaw in the East makes the use of the roads increasingly difficult.” “Supply-column on a road in the Ukraine—now a lake . . .”)

On April 14th *D.A.Z.* warns its readers: “Thaw in the East.” It merely mentions transport conditions as they had been experienced since June 22nd, 1941. “At the beginning of October heavy rainfalls began and made muddy baths out of the dusty roads . . . The troops longed for the first frost . . . The German soldiers have survived that period of frost although they suffered heavily from it. But they longed for the time when they could take off their winter clothes. That time has now arrived. Now the thaw, quite different from ours, is beginning. The snow which melts in the sun doesn’t disappear slowly into the earth, but vast territories are flooded. The movements of the troops are affected by them to a much greater degree than last autumn. Trenches are full of water. Motorized vehicles and horses sink into the mud and some disappear . . .”

The following day we find an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* under the heading: “Ammunition must get to the Front!” and the sub-title: “Roads and tracks are transformed into swamps.”

“The offensive and defensive battles on the Eastern Front are being increasingly affected by the masses of water and mud following the melting snow. These paths and roads are even more swamp-like than they were last autumn. . . . In one small valley it seemed impossible to go on. One of the platoon commanders told us: ‘Some of the horses stood breast-high in sticky black mud and slowly seemed to sink deeper into it. We cut trees and placed them before the horses and cars. But we had to look on helplessly as some of them were drowned’.” The *Frankfurter Zeitung* writes on exactly the same lines on April 26th: “On the vast plains of the Soviet Union the snow has become mud. The wheels sink deep into the roads, the soldiers’ boots stick and they often stand up to the chest in slush and water. Again the weather demands almost more from the troops than

the enemy does. But nevertheless the certainty remains that by far the worst, the frost-bound winter, is over . . ."

The same paper is more outspoken in its leader of May 2nd, the so-called "National Holiday" which was postponed from May 1st to the 2nd, because this was a Sunday anyway. "This year the change of season has gained a fateful meaning for every one. The heavy burden of an unusually unpleasant winter has been lying upon millions of Germans. Day after day the nation has been worrying about them (the soldiers), and hoping for the end of the winter. Spring finds a front which has been exposed to the desperate attacks of the enemy, but even more to the terror of the cold. . . . This year spring really means a lot. We need not tell anybody: we celebrate a genuine festival."

The tone of the Nazis had changed since the triumphant days of the previous spring when they had been drunk with victory. A genuine festival, indeed. From ice and snow into mud. After the isolation of the winter—a guerilla army. Hitler had mentioned it in his speech of the 26th April. For the first time the *Völkischer Beobachter* on May 6th, 1942, gave the Home Front some information about the part of the Russian forces of which they had already heard so much. But the Nazis no longer concealed anything. A large headline underlined in red: "So the Soviet bands behind the front will be dealt with." An official communiqué of the German High Command was quoted mentioning one German "security unit" which had "dealt with" 6,860 Bolsheviks in April alone. This communiqué told the people more than all the heroic stories of the Propaganda Companies. If one "security unit"—presumably an S.S. battalion—was matched against such a considerable number of guerillas, how many guerillas were there on the entire front?

The account which the same issue published was still more revealing. It told its readers that the "security-men" were S.S. men, Hitler's own party-troops. Instead of standing in the front-line they were "securing" the rear of the fighting armies. Part of their job was the fight against the guerillas. The report gives interviews with some of the captured Russians, amongst them a woman and a 13-year-old boy. Just as they were interrogating the boy, the door was opened hastily: there stood an S.S. sub-leader with his driver. A blood-stained bandage was slung round his right hand. "When they returned from interrogations in the village X. they were suddenly shot at from a wood." The S.S. fighting civilians—that was the job they had always done. Hunting hundreds of thousands of German Democrats, Liberals, Socialists, during the dark years between 1933 and

the War. . . . But at least—there were guerillas in Russia. And the S.S. was being shot at. However, it was not only the S.S. which was shot at, and every family in Germany, whatever their loyalties and political convictions, had somebody out there. Hitler's entire army fought at the same time against an enemy in front and in the rear.

And then there was the "Second Front" threatening. Not Hitler's "Second Front", the German Home Front, but the "Second Front" in the West; England, the U.S.A. A vast campaign was waged by Goebbels against the deep-rooted fear—and hope—of the people that the Western Powers might open a Western Front. This fear and this hope had never receded, particularly after the entry of the U.S.A. into the War. The effect of that event can hardly be overestimated. Ever since the last War the U.S.A. had been for the Germans the decisive military and industrial power par excellence. The description and analysis of what the U.S.A. have meant to Germany from the last War right up to the present moment would require a more extensive treatment than is possible in this study. But one quotation from an American correspondent leaving the Axis countries in May 1942 for Lisbon may be quoted. Louis P. Lochner, for years the B.U.P. correspondent in Berlin, declared:

"Adolf Hitler committed the gravest blunder of his career when he took upon himself the odium of declaring war upon the United States. This is the opinion held by those of us who have lived in Germany and believe that we understand German psychology. The Führer completely flabbergasted the German people. Apparently he also so effectively stunned his intimate followers that Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, hitherto a master-mind at propaganda, for once failed correctly to estimate German psychology. The rank and file of the German people," Mr. Lochner said, "even those millions who do not approve his policies, thought the Führer was 'too smart' ever to declare war against the United States. . . . In these circumstances Hitler's declaration of war came like an ice-cold shower to the German people. Their leader was slipping." (*Times*, May 18th, 1942.)

The Nazis tried very hard to disperse that additional fear—the fear of the Western Front. But the Home Front was apparently not impressed by their propaganda. On April 18th the Berlin correspondent of the Berne paper *Der Bund* wrote: "The German press and official spokesmen have contented themselves with ironic remarks on the loquacity of enemy statesmen,

generals, wireless commentators, etc. But when a German agency says that the Allied announcement of invasion is not to be taken seriously, but is regarded as mere 'propaganda talk', I must oppose this view. There is no doubt that the Germans are seriously reckoning with the possibility of a big-scale enemy offensive."

All the Nazi talk about the spring offensive, however, came to nothing. The uncertainty was prolonged, the faith of the followers was put to a more severe test than ever, the fear of those who knew that the next blows would cost thousands of lives again grew, and so did the hopes of those who were looking forward to seeing the machine smashed, the hour of liberation nearer. Into this growing hope of one section, the fear and sense of frustration of the other, the Nazis tried to pour stronger and stronger doses of psychological terrorism. While up to the end of April only the propagandists proper had dwelt on crude realism, on blood-stained pictures of the Eastern Front, Hitler and Goering themselves came out when it became obvious that no rapid improvement, but perhaps even further deterioration, was to be expected. The terrorist campaign against the Home Front was intensified.

## CHAPTER VII

### PSYCHOLOGICAL TERRORISM

ON APRIL 26TH Hitler started his spring offensive against the Second Front, the German Home Front. He appeared before the Reichstag and made a speech about which much speculation was to be heard beforehand in every country, but hardly anywhere with the accuracy which would have befitted experienced observers. The only people who had seen the trend inside Germany with comparative objectivity were men like Roosevelt and Stalin, whose appeals ever since Hitler's attack against their countries had made that clear enough. In other quarters the prognosis as to what Hitler would say was remarkably incorrect. This factor may seem unimportant in a description dealing with Hitlerite terrorism against his Second Front. Yet it contributed to the effect which the Nazi Führer quite clearly wanted to create, to the intended growth of despair. The Nazis felt that while there was formidable resistance on the First Front—the Russian Front—and the

Third and Fourth and Fifth Fronts, namely the fighting fronts of all the allies in the West, in the Middle East and so on, there was still no need for them to fear that the Second Front, the German Home Front, would be co-ordinated with the other fronts or vice versa. There was no diversion, no assistance, not even a faint hope to be seen anywhere for the Second Front on the eve of that offensive.

One thing which appeared clearly in Hitler's speech to every listener was that element of terrorism. For it is hardly necessary to mention that Hitler and the Gestapo had placed themselves above the law years before that fateful April 1942. Even though foreign visitors, or at least certain sections among them, had plainly considered this no valid reason for severing relations with the Nazis, the Home Front had not only seen but felt this anarchy severely. Thousands and thousands of tortured inmates of concentration camps and Gestapo cellars bear witness to this, as do thousands of nameless graves. Therefore the grotesque and absurd ceremony in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin, where the so-called "Reichstag" had been collected on that Sunday afternoon, brought nothing new in the way of laws or power to Hitler or his henchmen. But it brought a speech which amounted to the announcement of a campaign against the enemies on the Second Front.

The passages of Hitler's speech pronouncing this may be recalled: "But one thing I expect—that the nation gives me the power to intervene immediately and to act on my own initiative as circumstances demand, when the fate of the nation is at stake. The front and the homeland, the transport system, the administration and the judiciary must be governed by but a single thought—to achieve victory." Hitler testified here clearly enough that the Home Front was not to be regarded as set on victory as he understood it.

He continued: "I therefore ask the Reichstag for an explicit endorsement (and he meant endorsement!) that I possess the legal right to compel everyone to fulfil his duty and if, *in my opinion and in accordance with my conscience*, he does not carry out his duties, to dismiss him irrespective of who he is or what acquired right he may possess." It was an endorsement, as he said. For the Gestapo had received that very right long before. And in 1936 Frick, the Minister of the Interior, had already defined Nazi law as "Right is what is in the interest of the German people. Lawlessness is what is against that interest."

Hitler's speech was rounded off by Goering's proclamation and the "Reichstag's" approval. The text of this resolution

read as follows: "There can be no doubt that the Führer, at this time when the German people are engaged in a War 'to be or not to be', must possess the right which he claims, to do everything to achieve victory or contribute to it. The Führer must therefore without recourse to law, in his capacity as Leader of the nation, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, as Chief of the Government, as the supreme holder of the executive power, as supreme judge and leader of the party, at all times be entitled, if necessary, to compel every German, whether soldier or officer, civil servant high or low, or judge, official of the party, workman or employer, by any means he deems suitable, to fulfil his duty and, in the event of his neglecting his duty, duly to punish him after thorough examination, without regard to so-called duly acquired right, and in particular to relieve him of his rank or office without instituting the prescribed proceedings."

Hitler's speech contained more indirect threats which were also threats against the Home Front. For there was no doubt in the Army that the Commander-in-Chief, that the Supreme War Lord—that is to say, Hitler—had the right, nay, the duty to call to account anybody who did not obey orders. There was therefore no need to explain or to enlarge on this subject at all, from the point of view of the Army. It was even against all Army practice. Yet "in these gigantic and historic successes, it was necessary for me to intervene only in a few isolated cases. Only when nerves were at breaking-point, when obedience wavered or where a sense of duty was lacking in mastering the task, I made stern decisions by virtue of the sovereign right which I believe I have received for the purpose from my German people."

The deaths and accidents amongst the Generals and senior officers had already illustrated to the Home Front—and to sympathizers with a potential opposition—that Hitler would not hesitate to continue his long standing record. But the fact that he expressly stated this was going further than even he had done until then. It was a carefully deliberated action in this terrorist campaign which he was now waging. It was emphasised by the accounts of difficulties which the German armies had to face in the East.

These descriptions, grim though they are, pale against those which hardly a month later Goering gave in his unexpected one-hour speech in the Mosaic Hall of the Reich Chancellery, on May 20th, 1942. In this case the occasion was one of major interest chiefly to the Home Front. Armament workers were

to be decorated, as were miners, foundry workers, men and women farmers and agricultural labourers. To them a detailed description of the winter campaign meant little in a military sense, but it was intended to mean everything as a moral threat that they, the men and women on the Home Front, had the last word in the physical fate of their beloved ones out there. The campaign of psychological terrorism was carried one step further. Goering declared: "This struggle has grown on such a scale that it may be said that Germany has never been engaged in a more formidable war than at present. *We are facing two fronts; the one out there, the other in the Homeland.*"

He continued: "For years on end your sons, your brothers, your husbands have been fighting out there to defend the Homeland." These were the two centres of the entire campaign expressed bluntly: there are two fronts. The Home Front has to decide whether their "sons, brothers, husbands" should live or die. "Whatever lies may be spread from foreign countries," Goering went on, "every one of you knows that we certainly demand a lot, must demand a lot from the German worker, and similarly from the peasants, men and women alike. But never have machine-guns been mounted in Germany to drive workers to their work, for the German worker goes to work out of the passion of his own heart, to forge weapons for the Führer, for the people." Every worker in Germany knew what these words meant—if they would not go to work "out of passion of their own heart to forge weapons for the Führer, for the people"—what would happen? Machine-guns would drive them to work.

Goering then gave a description of what the "front out there" had to go through during the winter. It is worth while recording it since it shows to what degree of shrewdness these master-terrorists were able to go. "Now the front has to prove its endurance in the Russian winter. It is easier to continue being victorious once the Army is in its forward march than to stand in severe defensive fighting against enemy and elements, and yet not to fail in one's duty. There was no front as we veterans of the World War know it in positional warfare: here a firing-pit and there another one. Here a lightly fortified village, and there the edge of a wood. An endless area of many thousands of kilometres extended from the northernmost soldier to the southernmost. Swamps, lakes, rapid rivers in between—and then, all of a sudden the land became quiet.

"The rapid rivers were frozen, and so were swamps and lakes. A white blanket of death was spread over the limitless country.

Whereas natural obstacles had earlier enabled us to man some sections of the front more thinly than others, now the Russians were able to traverse the frozen rivers, lakes and swamps by night, and to penetrate to our rearward positions. Catastrophe followed catastrophe. The Russian in our rear in the North, the Russian in our rear in the Centre, the Russian in our rear in the South. Guerilla detachments blew up railways and waylaid the supply columns. Maddening cold almost froze our troops. It became necessary to send warm clothing to our soldiers as fast as possible. But the cold hindered railway transport and the lines cracked with the cold. The locomotives could no longer travel. For days the front remained without supplies, without ammunition, without food, without clothing. Out there the brave riflemen stood in the icy snow, their hands numb. If they touched the barrel of their rifle, the skin of their fingers stuck to it. Engines failed and could no longer be started. Tanks got stuck in the deep snow. One thing piled on top of another.

“The front for the first time got to know the terrible Russian winter, the hardest that had been experienced for a century. Some of you have perhaps read the story of the great Corsican, Napoleon I, who retreated from Moscow in the Russian winter, his Army being annihilated to the last man. There was one vast field of corpses then. Such thoughts could not but arise for all men are not equally strong. Many a leader was bound to think of that cruel parallel of 1812. But one thing was certain: however heavy the fighting became—the struggle was against the elements, for even in the iciest gale the German soldier felt immensely superior to his opponent. In actual fighting, weapon against weapon, and man against man, the Russian was defeated wherever he attacked. But icy gales, frozen obstacles, and deep forests had enabled him to penetrate into the German rear. . . .”

Then came a portrait of the Führer: “In his dugout the Führer marched up and down, his eyes burning, his boundless strength emanating from him. Everybody felt that the brain of a genius was now considering all that was humanly possible to help the front. At home everything was mobilized. The Führer saw to every little detail. *He himself directed every single transport, he himself gave instructions to every battalion where to take up its position so as to localize breaks through.* And then when one had the feeling that everything, absolutely everything that was possible had been done, one had to wait and wait, to see whether now at last things would move forward. One

had to wait to see whether rails broken, points damaged, railway engines destroyed by the icy winter could be repaired so that transports could move slowly forward.

"A sigh of relief was breathed if the news was received that an army had again been supplied with munitions. But immediately afterwards the report would come in that the armies to the right and to the left were without them. Sometimes things were at such a pitch—to-day this can be said—that normal people would have thrown their hands in."

No less revealing is the description of the waiting for spring. Revealing, too, that December had not been surprisingly harsh and cold, and throwing more light on the belated collection of winter-clothes, skis, etc., which had been postponed in order to conceal the real state of affairs from the Home Front. "During those weeks we were glad when December came, when January had passed. We said to ourselves: only another two months. February, too, passed, and the front still held out even if it had been slightly bent back here or there. On the whole the front still stood. The temperature began to rise. We rejoiced, we thought that it was over, and a week later the thermometer again fell below 40 degrees. All the same, with every hour we approached spring."

Then came the point of it all: "If, my fellow-countrymen, I have recalled to you the terrible winter in this hour, when once more the sun is shining out there, when our men are once more enjoying the warmth, now that a new fighting spirit awakens in them and they are eager to pay back what they have suffered during the winter, I have done *this for the following reason: you too, German men and women, working in the factories and on the land, must understand that it is sometimes necessary to be hard and that in certain cases hardness alone can lead to victory, and is the condition of success.*

"Three unbelievably hard winters lie behind us, nor did the elements favour our sowing and harvesting. How pleased I was last year when crops at first seemed to show promise of a record harvest. But floods of rain interfered and reduced its size considerably. Now again, although the weather is fine and although we welcome the sun, we have still to hope that the rain will give the farmer what he needs. All these things, however, must not discourage you. I know that it makes one despair to sow in autumn and to see in spring that a large part of the seed has not come up. It cannot be helped. You must plough up again, sow again, and prepare for a new harvest. All these obstacles must not deter you, even if additional work is needed, if bad

weather comes, if men and women workers are desperate because they have to go hither and thither, to part from their families, to work beyond their normal hours till exhausted. All this is difficult—but I told you about the Russian winter so that, if at times you are about to despair, you may recall that time, and *what millions of your fathers, husbands and brothers had to suffer.*”

In parenthesis it may be remarked that the strange belief, nay myth, which many peoples have attached even in this modern age to the weather factor has nowhere flourished more abundantly than in the Third Reich. One of the pseudo-myths built round Hitler was that the weather was always favourable to him. Propaganda gossip spoke of “Hitler Weather”. Superstition said that Hitler’s luck prevailed again and again in this. The big Party rallies, the Olympic Games in Berlin, the Campaigns in Poland, the Low Countries and France—all found Hitler’s luck extending to the weather. Only people with strong convictions and sincere knowledge inside and outside Germany were immune to this infectious propaganda. For there was less luck than scientific meteorological research behind Hitler’s previous actions and arrangements. He was lucky only in so far as his opponents were less prone than he was to use scientific instruments. The rather pathetic pronouncements of hope for a change of weather which signified the bewilderment of those who ought to have met him on quite different ground with adequate means and methods, only helped Nazi propaganda. At any rate, the entire complex crumbled in the course of the fateful year, 1941, and the decline of co-ordination between action and favourable conditions on the part of the Hitlerites was forced on them, rather than a change in their luck. This contributed to destroy the Hitler myth even among his followers and the awestruck masses who were less conscious, but hardly less effective, adherents of his flag, until then triumphant. From this point of view, Goering’s deprecation of the bad weather is not unimportant.

Interesting, too, are Goering’s following remarks: “I know Party Member Speer (the Armament Minister) said earlier that the armament industry has done and is doing its utmost and that in fact this spring it delivered more and better weapons than we could have hoped or believed. But nobody must think that to-day at this State Ceremony *we* have anything to celebrate. . . . *No!* This was *only a moment of reflection*, for leaders and those they lead. For the leaders, to honour the personnel at the end of a period, and for the personnel—after this hour

away from work—to go back to work with fresh inner strength. For them there is only one point of honour—the demands made by the Führer for the fulfilment of his programme, however hard they may be, however extensive, however great, *even if they require more than ten hours' work. If the Führer demands this, then it is just as necessary for him as his previous demand that the soldiers should hold the ruin of a village, even against a ten-fold Russian majority.*”

And then again: “Everyone must do his duty, prove his bravery and make his utmost personal effort where fate, through the Führer, has called him. *That is why I speak of two fronts. They are of different kinds, but they must be permeated by the same ideas and the same loyalty.* And just as out there the units hold together, the company, the battery, the squadron, the crew of the ship—so must you in your factories rally as comrades of the Home Front.”

And then: “But you must also feel deep and ardent gratitude towards the front, because it protects you, far away, from enemy troops so that you can work in quiet. But that alone is not decisive. Important as the delivery of arms is, decisive as the delivery of food is for the conduct of the War, there is yet something else which the Home Front needs just as much as the Fighting Front out there. I spoke earlier about the hardness which every German soldier who has fought through the winter in Russia to-day possesses. And I ask Providence only that *at home each individual may become harder and harder, and may tell himself that the war must be borne to the end, however long it may last.*”

The threats contained in this admonishment were plain to every listener on the Home Front—and, for that matter, on the Fighting Fronts who were interested in the well-being of their people in the homeland. For Goering's words practically contained the announcement of martial law. They declared that military discipline and military law would be applied to the Home Front. His gentle hint about machine-guns trained on workers has to be seen in conjunction with this further elucidation of how the Nazi masters envisaged the further regimentation of the Home Front. In most people's minds there must have been yet another comparison between Fighting Front and Home Front—Hitler's S.S. Army, which was carefully placed in strategical points “out there” and on the Home Front. Goering went so far to denounce all opposition politics as “enemy propaganda”.

“We must above all rally and cling together. Like the front,

welded together with blood, you must be welded together by work. *With proud disdain we must refuse to accept enemy propaganda, because it consists of nothing but lies.*" After having branded "all this propaganda" as the work of the Jews, Goering went on: "Do not always believe what you hear. After all, nobody has witnessed it. Reject all this stuff with indignation. Obey the war laws which we had to make. We did not make them, dear fellow-countrymen, in order to harass you, to make your lives more difficult. They were necessary for the preservation of the German people and the safeguarding of our victory. These laws must be carried out, too. They may sometimes appear somewhat unnecessary. The individual may at times not comprehend them. Leadership, however, has the duty of foreseeing things and, by foreseeing calamities, keeping them away. . . . *Since your leaders are exerting themselves to do all in their power for the people, the people, too, must be decent and good enough to show understanding and confidence in the actions of this leadership.*"

And then comes the direct attack against the enemies on the Second Front: "It is always the same few people who withhold themselves from the community. We know this lot well enough from their previous attitude. Nothing satisfies them. Everything is wrong. They themselves, of course, can do no better. But since they are only few they can easily be ignored by us." That old propaganda-slogan of the Nazis, so readily taken up by their friends and sympathizers all over the world, namely that the opposition against the Nazi regime was carried on by "always the same few people", "only few", was refuted by Goering's and Hitler's speeches. They were conducting a large-scale terrorist offensive against the Home Front—and it was not an affair of "a few who can easily be ignored". Every threat, every measure, every S.S. man stationed on the Home Front and—every word of Hitler's and Goering's speeches—testified against the genuineness of that first Nazi victory which proved no more solid than their other victories in Europe.

## PART TWO

### INCREASING TERROR

#### CHAPTER VIII

#### "S.S."

ON MAY 12TH the Swedish paper *Svenska Dagbladet* reported that Lutze, S.A. Chief of Staff—successor to Roehm—gave the foreign press some details about the part played by the S.A. in the War. S.A. men, he said, are to be found everywhere in the army. They were actually represented as the kernel of the army. Lutze openly admitted that his S.A. men were carefully distributed amongst the Divisions, even the Companies. *There are usually between ten and twenty S.A. men in every Company.*

This admission is invaluable, since it shows that the Nazis have taken great care to permeate the conscript army with their followers. It further shows that the Nazis have apparently never trusted the bulk of the conscripts. They therefore have built up a carefully planned system of Nazi control which works in the following way: in each Company there are ten to twenty S.A. men. This is about 10 per cent of the full complement of a Company. In addition it is known that there is at least one agent of the Gestapo in every single unit of the Armed Forces. This amounts to double control of the men. Not only do the S.A. men and the Gestapo agents keep watch on the men, but they also control each other. So, even if there were some hesitation on the part of single individuals to become informers to the Gestapo, the double-control system would pretty well force them all to stick to their Nazi bargain.

While the regular units of the Armed Forces are permeated by Nazi confidants and agents, thereby paralyzing possible opposition and insurrection amongst the conscript soldiers, there is a kernel of Nazi control and power in the form of the "Waffen-S.S.", the S.S. detachments placed all along the Fighting Front. These are self-contained units, disposing of their own armoured formations and even of their own air-force, and are placed not in one single solid block as part of the front, as for instance the B.E.F. which was responsible for part of the

Western Front in 1940—these S.S. Divisions have been reported all along the Eastern Front. From the Baltic to the Black Sea they have been mentioned as participating in actions side by side with the regular Armed Forces. Great prominence has always been given to the actions of these S.S. Divisions. It was prominence somewhat out of proportion to the actual fighting of the S.S. as a whole.

But the disposition of the S.S. Divisions seems to have been changed during the winter months of 1941-42. While in the battles of autumn 1941 the S.S. Divisions were rather more frequently flung into the offensives, this seems now to have been stopped. Then Hitler was clearly confident of achieving a rapid decision. But after having failed in this objective, and seeing that the German Armed Forces would have to undergo a severe winter campaign, it was the S.S. which was withdrawn from the Fighting Front before all other units.

This fact became known on the Home Front, was widely discussed and added to the grim discontent and disdain there. But since the Nazis no longer dissimulated, since they no longer held out any artificial hopes and promises, but had changed their tone altogether and showed blunt brutality towards the people, this mattered little. What alone mattered was that the Nazis did not lose their grip on the entire machinery of State and conscript armies. In order to retain it they had to be careful not to lose their most powerful weapon—the S.S. and the Gestapo. Consequently the S.S. Division was the first to be withdrawn to the rear of the winter front. There they were the first to receive warm clothing, sufficient shelter against the cold, and food. The transport difficulties which made it impossible for many Divisions in the Fighting Line to receive winter clothing and food in time and in sufficient quantities did not apply in the same degree to the Divisions in the rear.

The task officially allotted to these Divisions of the "Waffen-S.S." was that for which they were really intended—policing duties. They were the chief forces detached to fight the Russian guerilla armies. This they could do with superior equipment, and often with superior physical strength. For the Russian guerillas frequently employed men in their guerilla forces who were not properly trained in ordinary warfare, young people, oldish people. With supreme courage and patriotism these fighters carried on a campaign of sabotage and ambushes which became very costly to their enemies. Since the Russians have never published exact accounts of the composition of their guerilla armies, this impression has to be based on the innumer-

able descriptions from both sides of single actions of these guerilla detachments. There seems to be no doubt that there are also carefully trained "regular" guerilla fighters amongst these men. There are, above all, deliberately despatched forces, and forces who had the task of disbanding into guerilla groups, left behind when retreat became necessary. As a whole, however, the S.S. Divisions certainly had an amount of equipment, organization and physical fitness which should have marked them for front-line service. But this was not to be.

The fight of the S.S. against the Russian guerillas became known on the German Home Front through numerous descriptions of single actions which the S.S. carried out in the course of the winter campaign. There was a conspicuous lack of announcements and descriptions of S.S. men fighting on the front. The comparatively short period during which rather more was heard of the S.S. taking part in offensive actions came to an end in December. From then onwards there were only stories of S.S. men rounding up peasants, boys, women, and driving from village to village, terrorizing the population—that was what the S.S. did, and what they prefer to do. (Compare *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 6th, 1942.)

The Home Front, however, knew better why these able-bodied men were withdrawn from the front to the comparative safety of rearward positions. As the guardians of the system they had to be spared. But more than that. They were disposed all along the Fighting Front behind the actual lines, at strategic points from which they could act as potential striking forces against any single army unit which might choose to revolt. Some distance behind the line they controlled all the means of communication and supplies as well as the centres of distribution of the entire Armed Forces. In this way they formed an army behind the army, a striking force which had its spearhead and vanguards before it—namely the S.A. and the Gestapo distributed amongst the conscript armies.

This naturally does not imply that there actually was any trend in the conscript army or Armed Forces to revolt. There is little evidence to show that this was so. But it proves that the Nazi system at least counted on the possibility of such a movement amongst the troops and that this movement would be such that Nazism would be the issue. It is, however, interesting to note that these elaborate precautions were taken *vis-à-vis* the Armed Forces only after the outbreak of the Russian War. Before that, there had been less careful planning of a precautionary terrorism. For the Armed Forces employed in the previous

campaigns had been selected troops, shock-troops, amongst whom there was little inclination to be critical or to raise opposition. They were élite-troops, an instrument so highly developed that its masters could rely on its functioning under all circumstances. Only after it had become necessary to draft more and more "ordinary" men into the Armed Forces did the Nazis think it necessary to take these precautionary measures. This is important also in so far as it shows how very differently they regarded the Home Front, from whose ranks the necessity to provide more and yet more soldiers had forced them to draft these additional millions. For the Home Front knew perfectly well why the S.S. was there. The Home Front had seen with disgust how whole armies of S.S. Divisions had been kept back when all the other able-bodied men were sent to the front. Discontent with this state of affairs became so widespread and open during the summer months of 1941 that the Nazis, as we have already mentioned, sent at least some of their S.S. Divisions into battle. As a reply to this public criticism, their actions were as widely publicized as possible in the late autumn of 1941. But all the time the S.S. kept armies of their own back on the Home Front and many divisions in the occupied territories of western and northern Europe. Before going into detail about the expanding activities of the S.S. and Gestapo on the Home Front, it may be worth while to try to get a clearer picture of the numbers involved.

There have never been any figures published about the strength of the entire S.S. and Gestapo. Estimates are always rough and ready and they are bound to vary widely. The most reasonable estimates which have come our way are the following: there are supposed to be about 600,000 S.S. and Waffen-S.S. men in all. It is estimated that of these 250,000 are S.S., 350,000 Waffen-S.S. S.S. Divisions are chiefly stationed on the Home Front, Waffen-S.S. on the Fighting Front, or rather, behind it. Of these 350,000 about 250,000 may be assumed to be somewhere along the Eastern Front, 100,000 in western and northern Europe, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other occupied territories. The 250,000 S.S. men are chiefly stationed on the Home Front. To these S.S. armies must be added the Gestapo proper—plain-clothes policemen of the Secret State Police. Still less is known about their number but it is supposed to be extremely high and it has frequently been estimated that 400,000 may not be an exaggerated figure. In other words, S.S. and Gestapo are estimated at about one million in all. But this million controls not only all the strategic points in Europe to-day, but also all means

of communication, all postal, telephone and telegraph services. It employs a still larger army of agents, of men and women who either voluntarily or by force report to their local Gestapo centres. Since much publicity is always being given to the extent and efficiency of this network of control, spying, secret reporting, of checking and counter-checking, a general state arises of insecurity and helplessness of the individual. This makes anybody who has ever been part of the machinery an almost involuntary instrument of the controlling machine. It is a system into which no human emotion or thought, no opinion or free will is supposed to enter at all. The entire system is based on the complete mechanization of the human individual, and this gives it its cynicism, its utter frightfulness.

It is interesting to see that Lutze, the Chief of Staff of the S.A., has given figures revealing its present strength. He mentioned to foreign correspondents (as reported in the Swedish paper *Svenska Dagbladet* on May 12th, 1942) that the present strength of the S.A. is 1.4 million men. Out of these, he stated, 989,000 are at the Fighting Front. This shows that more than 400,000 S.A. men are being kept on the Home Front. These have to be added to the 250,000 S.S. troops. The whole Gestapo is not stationed in Germany nowadays, but has also taken up the terrorism of other European countries, including Italy. It seems unlikely that more than 150,000 Gestapo men proper are at present in the occupied territories, and this would leave 250,000 on the German Home Front. We arrive, therefore, at the figure of about 900,000 men in all stationed on the German Home Front, facing the Home Front and not the Fighting Front. To these we must add the Party hierarchy, the Labour Service hierarchy and many key-men of the system in the Civil Service, Education, Hitler-Youth, etc. All these are men with whom a possible revolution would have to reckon, without mentioning the Army hierarchy, which has to be considered as a potential ally of the Nazis. In other words, the problem of which the S.S. is only a kernel is one of well over a million well-equipped men in key-positions, stationed at strategic points, controlling all means of communication. This army is the problem of all revolutionary thought, and it is little use talking about revolutionary possibilities either on the Home Front or on the Fighting Front without realizing its existence.

Similarly, the sentiments or intentions of the Fighting Fronts count for little as long as the conscript armies are carefully separated from the Home Front, their moral and material base for revolutionary action. An S.S. army, as well as S.A.

and other detachments of the Nazis, separates Home Front and Fighting Front. The conscript armies are, therefore, caught between two fires. The Russians, understanding this position in good time, have engaged on a long-term policy of impressing the conscript soldiers with the idea that they can find friends and allies on their side, if they only choose to do so. A correct analysis of the internal situation of Germany and a clear-cut policy enabled the Russians to do this.

From this general survey of the position we can now proceed to a more detailed account of the structure and intentions of the S.S. Shortly before the attack against Russia in June 1941, the Chief of the S.S., Reinhard Heydrich, gave a frank account of the structure of the S.S. in the Prague journal *Bohemia and Moravia*. It was intended, as can now be seen, to act as a warning against any attempt on the part of the oppressed peoples to try to make use of the new situation. For it was then only a matter of days before the Armed Forces of the Third Reich threw themselves against the U.S.S.R.

Heydrich starts with a description of the S.S. as an integral part of the Nazi Party. It was the task of the Party to get a hold over the entire Police Force of Germany and to mould it into the S.S. (and Gestapo), so as to control the entire State with "comparatively small forces". Heydrich then shows how the origins of the S.S. go back to the period before 1933, when it had the task of acting as a special information and terrorist force against the "political enemies, particularly the Republican parties, Jewry, Communism, the political Churches, the Freemasons".

It is particularly valuable to have this evidence of Heydrich's that the struggle between Nazism and the "political" Churches goes back to the period *before* 1933. For many people who feel that they have realized this state of war between Nazism and Christianity somewhat belatedly stress the supposed recent character of this fight. This is wrong. Whoever assisted or tolerated Nazism before 1939, assisted also its war against Christianity. At the same time it has always been a deplorable source of weakness on the part of the various democratic groups inside Germany that they mutually tended to deprecate the efforts of their fellow-fighters. The list of opponents given by Heydrich proves this clearly enough. On the one side we find Nazism and its spearhead, the S.S.—on the other side such an unfortunately incongruous group as the Republican Parties, the Communists, the Fighting Churches, and—what else does Freemasonry mean in Nazi language?—the Liberals.

Heydrich then proceeds to show the methods of the S.S. and Gestapo. They have to "analyse and recognize the spiritual foundations of the enemy. Furthermore his organizations and personnel have to be strictly watched and discerned as in a criminal case. Finally, the enemy has to be fought on planned lines, destroyed, paralyzed, and eliminated".

The first part of the "police" duties was to fight the Jews with the object of forcing them to emigrate. Then parties "which were the enemies of the State" had to be dissolved, and the same had to be done with organizations such as Communists, Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, the Youth Organizations of the Churches, etc.

Again, it was the job of the Gestapo and S.S. to supervise refugees who had come to Germany, and to "persecute emigrants, i.e. the fugitive political enemies, in foreign countries". This leads to the natural question how far persecution of political refugees is either the direct or indirect result of Gestapo influence, or at least if it is in the interests of Nazism. The next part of Heydrich's account deals with other activities of the "Security Police", such as fighting "sabotage, espionage, terrorism", watching the frontiers, seeing that the Nuremberg Laws are kept, etc.

He then proceeds to show the activities of the S.S. and Gestapo against the non-German enemies of Nazism, which "following England's lead pursued the encirclement policy and the policy of destruction against the Third Reich", namely Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and "all the other vassals of England". After the conquest of Czechoslovakia the S.S. and the Security Service (a branch of the S.S.) received the task of "securing these territories both in a political and in an ideological sense". He frankly admits that it is the job of the S.S. to "supervise the Czechoslovak opposition which tries to work through the emigrés", the fight against the Poles in Poland who were supposed to have committed "crimes against 'Volksdeutsche', Poles of German origin", the "bringing back of fugitive criminals and the making room for the returning 'Volksdeutsche'". All this, Heydrich prides himself, is the job of the S.S. and Gestapo.

In the latter part of his article Heydrich deals with yet another task of the S.S., that of watching the German Home Front. In wartime the S.S. and Gestapo have to give a "blitz-artiges", a lightning mosaic picture of the reception of all measures by the people. All departments and all "Reichs-Statthalter" receive these composite pictures. This is to "enable them to recognize

and to eliminate all mistakes as quickly as possible". Innumerable death sentences and long-term imprisonments show that not only "mistakes" are eliminated by Heydrich and Himmler.

At the end of his exposé Heydrich reaffirms that the S.S. and Gestapo collaborate closely with the police of the allies of the Third Reich. We shall see that this applies also to parallel native organizations in occupied territories. Meanwhile it is important to make clear one point about the S.S. which will have to be borne in mind, that the Waffen-S.S. is an entirely independent body, not subject to the orders of either the Army or any other part of the German Armed Forces. On March 16th, 1942, the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* cabled to Switzerland: "The celebration which was held yesterday in the Berlin Zeughaus on the occasion of War Remembrance Day was very remarkable in many respects. In particular, the *Waffen-S.S.* appeared for the first time as an independent part of the Armed Forces. At yesterday's ceremony they received official recognition as an equal organization side by side with the Army, Navy and Air Force. This is unquestionably highly important and speaks for itself." (*N.Z.Z.*, March 17th, 1942.)

Meanwhile the S.S. and Gestapo extended their hold upon the Home Front, too. Hardly observed by the public, but of profound influence, has been the agreement between Himmler and Ley at the beginning of April, 1942, providing for the joint education of the Labour Front and the S.S. On April 6th, this agreement was published. It was announced that Himmler, as Reichsführer S.S., and Ley, as Reichsführer of the Labour Front, had agreed that the Waffen-S.S. and the S.S. would in future conduct joint planning and arrangement of classes. Mentioned are lectures, readings by writers, courses, classes, seminars, visits to important buildings, excursions, films, etc. On the face of it this agreement looks like an innocent cultural affair. But when one comes to think of it, it seems most unlikely that the S.S. would go to spare-time institutions of the Labour Front without having the special task of supervising them, of keeping an eye on the workers while they are not at work. While at work the workers are continuously under the supervision of their Nazi group leaders and foremen. The new agreement brings the S.S. and Gestapo into every assembly and lecture hall of the workers. Not that the Labour Front represented anything but the Nazi system. But the opportunities provided by it could naturally from time to time be welcome; and Himmler saw to it that good care was taken lest they could be used for anti-Nazi purposes.

Yet another extension of control over the Home Front was introduced when a decree was issued according to which the journeys of every individual had to have special permission. This decree probably originated in the acute shortage of railway carriages in the Third Reich. But it was immediately seized upon by the Gestapo. On March 31st, 1942, the Swedish paper *Goeteborg Posten* published a report from its Berlin correspondent. This says that regarding the rumoured total prohibition of railway travelling from May 1st except with the special permission of the authorities, it was understood in Berlin that the Gestapo was to decide not only the question of journeys but also the movements of everyone in Germany. In this connection the correspondent recalls the strict control of automobile traffic in Germany. An additional tightening of Gestapo control was introduced on April 16th when it was decreed that in future tickets for sleeping-cars had to be issued with the name of the holder. Travellers in sleepers are therefore obliged to hand over their ticket with their passports to the guard before starting their journey. They do not receive them again until they arrive at their destination. From this decree it is clear that on every night train there is at least one Gestapo man. These precautions give the Gestapo full control over all communications inside Germany. They know every single individual who travels about. Since they also control the postal services, open letters, tap the telephone, it is quite plain how nearly impossible it is to build up a large political anti-Nazi organization.

The hidden fear of the S.S. and Gestapo is therefore widespread, and perhaps more so now than ever, since everybody realizes that the tiger is nearly cornered and more dangerous than ever. This leads to somewhat grotesque and cruel happenings like the one reported by the Swedish paper *Svenska Dagbladet* at Malmo on May 15th, 1942. Three men "masquerading" as Gestapo agents entered a flat in Berlin, telling the "terrified" owner that they had been ordered to search it. The owner did not dare to oppose them. So they took fourteen Persian rugs, a typewriter, two pairs of binoculars and other valuables belonging to the apparently well-to-do owner of the flat. They insisted that they were Gestapo officials and that they had to confiscate these goods. Only later in the evening did the robbed man dare to go to the police. He described two of the men as very well dressed, the third as dirty-looking. The police naturally did not take any action. For this was by no means the first or in any way an isolated case. Thousands of similar things have happened ever since 1933. The point has always been that those men who

described themselves as Gestapo, S.S. or S.A. were exactly what they told the frightened citizens whom they had set out to rob.

Yet another but more tragic feature is the flood of rumours surrounding the Gestapo. Unfortunately these rumours are only too frequently based on fact, and often enough they are truthful reports of new acts of terrorism by the Gestapo and the S.S. Ever since 1933 this has been so, and lately the rumours have increased again. A sad instance is that of certain centres of opposition at Mannheim. On March 29th, 1942, the Nazi Party paper of northern Badonia, *Hakenkreuzbanner*, published a denial of such rumours. Wild and unfounded rumours, this stated, had been spread in Mannheim about Gestapo arrests. Disloyal elements had spread rumours about a wave of "arrests", "dozens" and lately "hundreds". The evil intention of these rumours was obvious. It was high time that rumour-mongers were caught.

After this denial a threatening remark followed to the effect that "every decent citizen has reason to be grateful to the authorities for keeping order and quiet. Anyone acting against our laws must be eliminated. The Home Front must be kept clean and firm. Everybody must help in this." This was on March 29th, 1942. Less than two months afterwards it was officially announced (and publicized abroad by *Transocean*) that fourteen "Communists" had been executed at Mannheim as members of an illegal underground organization. In connection with this announcement the Swedish paper *Aftontidningen* declared that it may be assumed that ten executions daily in Germany is not an underestimate, and one is justified in thinking that the figure is considerably higher. The executions in occupied countries are not included in this figure, and executions for black-market offences and similar crimes represent only a small fraction of the total. The majority of executions are, therefore, carried out for political actions against the Nazi dictatorship. But this figure does not include imprisonments or sentences to concentration camps.

The fact that this one tragic instance of Mannheim has come to light is interesting also in another respect. For at Mannheim and Karlsruhe, Belgian and Dutch S.S. detachments were also stationed, as has been reported by the daily news-sheet published by the Russian Embassy in London.

This, then, leads us to another aspect of the Nazi terror, the non-German S.S. and Waffen-S.S. detachments. Their establishment represents the typical and frightful realization of the Nazi-Fascist International. Not that this International was limited to the S.S., Waffen-S.S. or the Gestapo. There is striking

evidence of its existence in many occupied countries as well as in countries where the leading faction, the German Nazis, have not succeeded in overthrowing the existing State. But the participation of S.S. regiments of non-German origin as integral parts of the S.S. and Gestapo is perhaps the most striking symbol of this destructive force of Nazism in Europe.

It is important to keep in mind that the S.S. is recruited from volunteers. Then there is a constant watch over all youth organizations, schools, etc., for types particularly suitable for S.S. men. The greatest care is taken to find every likely candidate. As far as can be seen, this care has been rewarded, for the types who have been selected, but who had to volunteer all the same, have proved worthy of the tradition of the S.S. and the Gestapo. At the same time the need for more and yet more volunteers increased with the increasing signs of revolt amongst the oppressed peoples. We therefore see the strange tragi-comedy of S.S. leaders trying to recruit men for their despised and bloody gang. Stupid brutes are not excluded from these ranks; on the contrary they are welcomed. *Freiheitskampf*, for instance, reports a large meeting in Dresden (February 9th, 1942) which the Waffen-S.S. had arranged. Wounded soldiers and members of the Hitler Youth were present. The S.S. Obersturmführer Vogt finished his speech with an appeal to youth to join the S.S. and reinforce its ranks. "One does not judge men merely by their so-called education, but by their attitude and ability. The highest places are open to the competent," he shouted.

Similarly, a continuous recruiting campaign goes on in the occupied territories. The Gestapo weekly paper, *Schwarze Korps*, gives as much publicity as possible to the international character of the S.S. Letters are published from non-German members of their divisions. It is stressed that they may obtain leading positions, they are decorated, mentioned in despatches for services at the front, photographed and publicized by the entire Nazi press and radio of Nazi terrorized Europe. Only "Germanic" nationals, i.e. Scandinavians, Dutchmen, and Flemings, may become members of the S.S. and Waffen-S.S. proper. But the Latin and Slav nations and occupied territories are hardly less closely linked up with their Nazi and Fascist organizations. We find—apart from the French Legion—a Walloon Legion, a Lithuanian Legion, etc.

To give an impression of the variety of these organizations, and to show how closely they resemble their overlords the German Nazis, only a few instances need be quoted. *Moniteur Belge* (April 6th to 8th, 1942) published a decree according to which

350 gendarmes were to be recruited to establish a Flemish mobile guard at Ghent. On April 8th, 1942, *Pays Réel*, Belgian Nazi paper, writes: "at the request of some comrades who were unable to join the last contingent of the L.W., the Walloon corps fighting against the U.S.S.R., a new contingent will leave on April 10th . . . The new contingent of Walloon Guards will be called up on April 20th. All comrades wishing to join this unit should apply to their local Rex leader or General Staff." The same paper reports that "several comrades", namely Belgian Nazis, have been appointed mayors, naming Jean Brasseur at Jemappes, Jules Durant at Ressaix, and Henri Foulard at Bois Dhaine.

Enlistment in motorized brigades is called for by *Pays Réel* on March 29th, 1942. Men are to enlist in the N.S.K.K., the Nazi motorized troops, the motorized detachments of the S.A. They are offered 2,500 to 3,000 francs minimum pay per month, free lodging, food and clothing and free medical treatment. A contract for one year has to be signed. They are enlisted for *work in occupied territories!* On March 21st, 1942, the Antwerp paper *De S.S. Man* published a eulogy of the "Flanders Nobility", meaning the Flanders S.S. This, like most other articles and declarations by the Nazis of the occupied countries, implicitly admits, however, that the great majority of the people—in this case the Belgians—hate the new regime. In another article in the same paper a certain Wijverkens writes about the trouble which the Nazis have made, and cries, "Thus the bunglers and Ersatz National-Socialists severely damage the new popular idea. Our *people do not like the 'New Order'*. Severe measures must be taken."

On April 1st, 1942, an article on the Walloon Guards appeared in *Pays Réel*, declaring proudly that "for some weeks the chief towns of our Wallonia have had garrisons of Walloon Guards. Our country has seen the resurrection of the Walloon Guards, that crack corps which has displayed the heroism of its soldiers on all the battlefields of Europe. *The present task of the Walloon Guards is to maintain order in Belgium and to watch certain points of economic or military importance.* They receive a full military training."

Similar Nazi organisations, S.S. groups, legions, S.A. and Nazi Party organisations have been established in most occupied countries. It is everywhere the same story—the people retire into grim silence or into open hostility, and a very small criminal minority act as the masters of the country, protected by the German Nazis and following their terrorist methods. But this minority forms a solid block with the same spirit and the same

aims, is united too by its hatred of the people they oppress. There are "Danish Guards", commanded by a von Schalburg, there are Norwegian Quisling Legions and S.S. men. There are even non-German slave-drivers in the factories of the Third Reich. On April 12th the Danish Nazi paper *Faedrelandet* printed an appeal by a Danish Nazi worker, Orla Georg Christensen, who invited his fellow Danes to follow him to Germany where he had worked as a glazier for sixteen months in Hamburg with *twenty-five French prisoners of war under him*.

This, then, is another side of the Nazi picture, and in particular of the S.S. and Gestapo terror which hangs over Germany as over all the other countries of the European Continent—the Nazi-Fascist International, with the international S.S. as its vanguard.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE "MOOD" OF THE PEOPLE

THE FACT THAT there is dissatisfaction, revolts, sabotage in Germany is denied by no one. But it is very difficult indeed to see the position in its true dimensions. Even when there are court findings, sentences and executions only very few of these are reported; a fact corroborated by the Nazis themselves. *Aachener Anzeiger*, for example, says (Dec. 21st, 1941): "The public thinks that the special courts only inflict sentences of death or long-term penal servitude. But the public hears only of the big cases; smaller ones are very frequent and do not end with the complete extermination of the victim. Offences against the regulation concerning listening to foreign broadcasts, and the spreading of atrocity propaganda which aims at endangering the resistance of the nation, are particularly severely punished."

We have only these court findings to go by, a few reports from neutral papers, threats by low and high party-officials against the people and lately the revealing speeches by Hitler and Goebbels which told more clearly than many other things to what extent the people are against them. Acts of sabotage are, of course, not reported in the press, nor are the arrests, shootings and the newcomers to the concentration camps. The roots are still the same as in former years, and the new sufferers find their comrades in the concentration camps, prisons and forced labour gangs, comrades who have stood up for the same principles as themselves. The main stream of opposition can

roughly be classified into those coming from the churches, those from the former socialists, trade-unions and communists and those who resist Nazism for spiritual, cultural and intellectual reasons.

We have seen in the chapter on the S.S. how the German people are held down, how the numbers of slave-drivers and butchers are continuously increasing. The system is worked out in such a way that an organized large-scale revolt is impossible. If it were not the Nazis would have been overthrown long ago in the occupied countries as well as in Germany. The forces inside that iron ring wait for help from outside. Military blows have to melt the iron, then the explosive powers will do their work. Let us again look at the facts. There is resistance against the Nazis and there was a longing for peace in Germany long before the war began. The Anti-Nazis knew that war was coming and knew what it would mean, not for them alone but for the world. They gave their warnings but it was in vain. This resistance, then, takes different forms, just as human nature does. But its meaning is largely the same. Thus there is grumbling and helpless sorrow in letters to the front, there are those who work slowly and those who openly accuse the Nazi leaders, there is preaching and outcry, and it all goes to the limits of underground work, sabotage, attempts on the lives of Party-people and exposure to suffering, concentration camp or death. Here are the few proofs of the vast heroism of the silent, stifled people. Resistance and antagonism rose in a new wave when Hitler gained his great victories in the summer of 1940. It has never ceased since. The opportunity for the German people to feel and behave like "Herrenvolk" was only met with indifference, lack of understanding and antagonism. Freedom is indivisible. They knew that. They could not be free themselves if others were slaves. That very fact would print the brand of the fool on their foreheads too.

A great deal of importance is attached to the "Stimmung" (mood) now in Germany. The people are in a bad mood, the Party-bosses complain of that fact and try to force them out of it. Good spirits must be shown to the fighting forces, both in letters or when they come on leave, lest they should be alarmed that the home front may crack like "last time". *Schwarze Korps*, the extremist S.S. paper, goes as far as to want to punish people when they "spoil the mood" of their fellows. The Nazis have suddenly found out that what the people think is perhaps not so unimportant after all.

The Nazis react therefore in their own crude way, fabricating

a noisy gaiety which ill suits the tragic happenings and the apprehensions of those for whom it is intended. No doubt there always will be a section of the people who want to bury their sorrows and thoughts of the future by loud entertainment. But it does not work with the majority. The people turn to literature, to music, to religion to keep their hold on the real values of the tumbling world. That is a way the Nazis do not want the people to go, so they take action such as this: *Westdeutscher Beobachter* (April 20th, 1942): "The Reich broadcasting station has resumed its gay Saturday afternoon programme called 'Froher Samstag Nachmittag'. It was begun with a gay afternoon in the 'Grosse Kolner Messehalle'. This went well; people were a little unaccustomed to it, but it will soon be all right again."

*Schwarze Korps* (March 19th, 1942) in an article "Clear line": "The State must be able to rely on the fact that the shopkeeper will not harm the spirit of the people."

*Schwarze Korps*, same number: ". . . We have to-day to fulfil a still greater duty than to obey rules and paragraphs of codes of behaviour. That duty is to be careful with the mood of unknown people. Their mood is worth gold. (This clearly means not the mood of the S.S. or S.A. people or the party, but of the "unknown people".) That mood is not only a political asset or debit, it is also expressed in output of work.

"There is enough bother as it is, my dear friends, and enough sorrow. Let lines in the faces of our neighbours be caused by great and important things. Anyone who without reason deepens them, anyone who causes a man to drop 10 per cent in his output, is like a man who purposely hides important raw materials. Yes, it is you who is meant, my dear fellow, and you are almost a traitor by doing what you did!"

A story follows, still in the same number of the paper, of a firm in Stettin wanting to do business with a French firm. In order not to hurt the French they did not correspond in German, but they had not a French-speaking typist and thus they took the former English letterheads of their firm and wrote in—English. The Frenchman answered in German. The firm, however, hastened to assure him that they would understand perfectly if the French firm was not well acquainted with German (which probably means: they would understand perfectly if the French firm did not want to use the German language)—this annotation was made by the *Schwarze Korps*—"and therefore they would continue the correspondence in English. . . . Whoever is prepared so openly to blacken the German name will

not hesitate if it comes to the point to harm other German interests.

"We shall look into the worthy 'ship agents and brokers' (detailed address had been given beforehand) and we shall take care that they can harm neither the name nor the interests of the country."

All these items are taken from one number only of the *Schwarze Korps*.

In quite another vein Munich contributes to this picture. (*M. N.N.*, May 2nd/3rd, 1942.) Article headed "The Small Words". It tells of a Munich woman coming home to her town after a long absence and enjoying the "rough humanity" of the porters and other people belonging to the atmosphere of Munich. "There are many things which exist no longer. The 'natives' sometimes rejoice in walking the garden of memory. But the atmosphere still stays.

"This is connected with the inhabitants, with their small habits or defects. It does not make the slightest impression on the Munichite if someone talks to him excitedly. He hides behind an 'Oh well' ('Ja mei' or 'Ah da schaug her') and keeps his philosophic calm." And the Munich woman is happy in the midst of friendly people and tells us how much it means to have a few friendly words addressed to her. No one is required to answer, but it is an acknowledgement of one's own feelings by others. While riding in a tram her neighbour tells her, while both look at a clock: "Yes, this clock has stood at 6 o'clock since the war began. But before the war it was 10 o'clock." A Munich man assures me that no greater longing for peace could be expressed than by that phrase.

Back to the *Schwarze Korps*. This is the best guide to German morale. For the *Schwarze Korps* can afford to say what it likes and to "expose" its fellow-countrymen without being accused of "lowering morale". Sometimes the paper indulges in petty exposure, nosiness, interference in other people's business. At other times, however, they publish long articles of a more complicated "weltanschaulich" nature. Such articles run into one or two whole pages.

There is one of these in the edition of April 9th, 1942, which admonishes people to have a more positive attitude towards the war. "Let us make our peace with the war. Let us cease to fight against it. Let us try not to see a hardship in sacrifice, but a willing contribution to the war. Let us 'activize' the spirit of sacrifice."

The author gives examples: the hunting for presents for our

loved ones. "Isn't it painful to search like a hunted animal through shops and department stores, because one 'wants' to give a present", because there "has to be" a picture on that wall (to buy pictures is a typical inflationary happening in Germany) or because that hat really ought to be replaced by a new one? It is so easy to say "make sacrifices", or "Where there is nothing to be had the Kaiser presses in vain (Wo nichts ist hat der Kaiser das Recht verloren)." One can perhaps be resigned oneself; but for others whom you want to be happy? "But the 'booty' is then regarded with very mixed feelings. Before the war you would not have taken that rubbish for anything; and never would you have dared to give it as a present. It is a pity to waste your good money. Did not those to whom you gave your presents only pretend to be pleased so that you should not be disappointed?" Is this then what people experience or discover? *Schwarze Korps* does not invent these things.

In a more serious vein it goes on, "Let us in comradeship realize at last that there is a war on, a total war. Do not let us act like the ostrich. Why do we feel as such a burden those sacrifices which war asks from us? Because we try to avoid them. . . . Let us agree that we shall no longer give presents to each other because we don't want to. That we shall not undertake trips any longer, not because it is difficult or forbidden, but because we do not *want* to take trips. That our appearance falls short of the standard of peace-time not because we are short of coupons, but because it is an honour consciously and willingly to regard such things as 'non-essentials'."

"It is the same with that subject which dominates all conversations on the home-front: the rations. *We shall only get through it* (fertig werden) if we try to forget the role of passive sacrifice. We must see even here the active part required of us by war. You say that this is a small comfort? It is not a question of comfort at all. The soldier who is now at the front in the third year of war is not comforted by his superior." The comparison is elaborated in detail, accusing the home-front again and again of dodging the war.

An amusing sidelight: "When war broke out from the first day onwards the State saw to a just distribution. It was not a question of anyone getting less; it was a question of no one getting more." Then follows more abuse of those who thought the rations were small, with the remark that it was really their lack of knowledge of cooking which was at fault.

The long articles have sub-headings. The next one bears the threatening title "A sharper wind blows". "Anyone who

criticizes now has done so in peace-time too". And in brackets, "though it seems to us to-day a difficult question what it could have possibly been that people criticized in peace-time".

Now the typical Nazi-mentality: "At the beginning of the war things were not hard. Of course, we did not have to take the war more seriously than the war presented itself to us. The soldier partaking in the battles from Poland to Greece did not think them child's play. . . . Still the same soldier assured us later that 'really' the war had only begun on June 22nd, 1941.

"Looking back from the inferno of the gigantic battles and the horror of the winter war he felt that his previous burdens had been light. When the men of the Kremlin decided to commit treason and to stab Germany in the back, when the war developed into a world-war, then the soldier saw claims made upon him of which he had never dreamed before, either in France or in Norway.

"At that time the Home Front too had to envisage a changed war. The war-workers were the first to find out. Then the whole of industry, when it had to give up the last reservations of peace-time production. Those formerly declared 'unfit for military service' had to put on a uniform after all. But we stayed quite a while longer on the 'war-time organized peace level'. The State did wonders when it helped us over the next winter of war still 'as if nothing had happened'. This probably was not done to give us illusions. Nevertheless the State did not give us the right to live on as if nothing had happened. The State had only postponed the day on which the Home Front too had to realize, each individual in his own home, that the war had become a world war and had entered its decisive phase.

"We do not want to pretend to our housewives that they can still make magnificent meals with the reduced rations. That could perhaps be done if the gaps could be filled by potatoes and vegetables, if we had to go to war only with the Jews of the earth and not with the weather. The leaders of State and people have not glossed over the state of affairs. They have stated, objectively and crudely, things as they are, and at the same time they have appealed to the minds of all level-headed people.

"What is asked from us to-day is a sacrifice indeed, a very noticeable tightening of the belt for all of us. But it is our task to 'activize' this sacrifice. . . . Certainly we shall not get more by that. But if we tighten our belts, not because we get less, but because we want less; not with suffering looks, but with an eye

fixed on the goal; with the intention of getting somewhere, of forcing victory to our side—that then is an attitude with which one can do with an ounce less bread. It makes a great difference whether someone whines: 'They have taken 250 grammes of bread (9 ounces) from me' or whether he says: 'I do not want the 9 ounces of bread; I will give them as a contribution to Victory.' Even the *Schwarze Korps* must add, for once timidly. "Not everyone will understand this . . ." Later on: "Our people cannot consist of heroes only." "Dr. Goebbels made it quite plain in his speech that the State will not be timid in executing its new powers to strike and punish. The ever-increasing avalanche of drastic, unmistakable warnings is proof enough that the executive power has the necessary authority." They give instances of five such sentences in five different towns in one edition of one paper, the *V.B.* of March 31st, 1942.

It is not yet enough for the S.S. They go on: "Some of these judgments, as well as others, may seem still too mild. But we must note that these sentences were passed even before the new regulation of the Council of Ministers for the defence of the Reich." Defence? Against whom? It must be against an enemy. Language up till now decreed that this word was used for an outside enemy. The Nazis realized the true situation. They knew that inner enemies were equally dangerous and that they had to make special provisions against those enemies too, in a state of emergency. "In future," the paper goes on, "we shall deal with them (the guilty) as the people wish us to do: they shall be hanged.

"When the people feel the consequence of this stricter procedure, they will express their gratitude. Perhaps there will be less criticism than there was before . . ." "The German people are ready to 'activize' their sacrifices, but they do not want to see the grinning faces of those who think they know best how to deal with the war." This is truer than the *Schwarze Korps* ever knew.

The open antagonism to the élite of the party, as embodied in the S.S. and its organ *Schwarze Korps*, is frankly and somewhat whiningly admitted in this number. "We cannot call the reputation of the *Schwarze Korps* a good one everywhere. To right and left of the road we march along many a guerilla fighter hides, waiting for those of us who fired on him when he crossed our road. . . . This reputation is our pride. When we are considered unworthy by them, when to think of us leaves a bitter taste, we know that we have hit them hard. We are even grateful to them when they, from their guerilla hideout, try again to

throw stones at the fighting and working people. (Note the sudden change and identification of themselves with the people.) . . . We shall show this scum their place: in total darkness where they will perish from lack of light and air."

The paper goes on to admit that there will always be critics and nothing can be done about it. In most cases it is best to make them ridiculous because one cannot punish them all. "Fools will not vanish, and if we give them more attention than they deserve they persist still more in their foolishness. Secondly, in people like ours there will always be outsiders who prefer their grandmother's time to their own. . . . It is in their blood to live away from the time and its happenings. Their forefathers at the time of Frederick the Great probably longed for the time of the Great Prince Elect of Prussia just because the war was burdensome to them.

"And thirdly, the two former are reinforced by those of a more harmless sort who speak of our past as a 'heroic time' and probably praise the film of Frederick the Second . . . as a moving document. These people become unpleasant if one asks for the significance of this to-day; they grow more so if they realize . . . that this is addressed to them personally as a duty to help us . . .

"The reason why we address them is not because we are afraid there might be too many of them, but because we think they will one day thank us for it. And because we believe that there may come the day when even the most blockheaded wants to partake of our comradeship. We want to tell them that every decision for the people (!), for their fate and their future will now and always be accepted, if only the decision is wholehearted . . . Who could turn away from the great fight of our people without fearing the shadow into which such an act would cast them?"

In a February number (26th) we hear of the feelings of a soldier back on leave from the East. First we have the interesting statement that until now very few soldiers have come on leave from the front. He goes into a tobacconist's and sees many more people buying cigarettes than formerly: "He asked the sales-girl, Why do people smoke so much more than they used to?" "Because there is nothing else for them."

"Homecoming this time is not what it was in the last war; No marches past, no waving, no kisses, no hurrahs. Everything is so much cooler: the station, the ticket-collector, showing the leave-pass, the commandant's office, tram, home at last—just a soldier coming home." The paper suggests that a soldier on

leave might be made known by a badge so that he should get some attention.

This is only one of the expressions of the feeling generally held about the war. The suffering is great, as is the feeling of guilt towards the conquered peoples, but otherwise there is just a lack of interest. Even at the height of the victories all reports corroborated each other strikingly that there was no enthusiasm about the war nor even about the victories.

The paper *Westmark*, for example, throws a sidelight on how people behave when the news bulletins are broadcast (22nd February, 1942). "Have you ever been in a restaurant between 2 p.m., and 10 p.m. and watched the people? There you can find card players slamming their cards down and making a terrible noise while the radio tells of the successes of our troops in Africa and elsewhere. At another table women are sitting gossiping loudly. What do they care about Kerch and Leningrad? The soldiers can look after that! Finally a witty fellow tells rude jokes, so that the report of the latest U-boat successes is lost in the general laughter. In almost every restaurant glasses are rinsed and plates dried at the very moment when the news is given out. What I have written here can be observed in every restaurant. If a foreigner enters such a restaurant what will he think of us? He will not only be surprised but will judge everyone by the few, thinking that we are all indifferent to the events of the war. Apart from that there is another aspect: What would our heroes at the fronts and on the seas say if they know that to-day there still (!) are people who do not wish to be united with them even at news-time? Where is the respect and gratitude to our Führer and Generals who work day and night?"

In order to understand the following story one has to bear in mind that the Nazis have introduced "marriage by proxy"; also that the severe food restrictions apply to the private peasant who may not slaughter and sell any of his livestock, pigs, etc. It may seem strange to mention the two things together. But the story shows that they may occasionally be connected:

On January 21st, 1942, *V.B.* published a report that two peasants had been arrested. The reason was this: In front of a country inn was a car, decorated with flowers as though for a wedding. And, indeed, two men were sitting in the car with a bride between them, in a white wedding dress, a veil over her face. The two men left the car and entered the inn, but the bride stayed on in the car. Inside the inn the two men told other customers that they were on their way to town with a bride who was to be married by proxy. At that moment a policeman passed the car

in which the bride was still sitting quietly and greeted her. She did not move. He greeted her again, but again no reply, no nod, nothing. The policeman looked closer into the car, and took the bride's hand. The white glove slipped down and beneath was—a pig's trotter. And so the policeman discovered that it was a pig, dressed like a bride, and that the two peasants had tried to transport it to town in that disguise to circumvent the food laws, and to sell it there.

V.B. is furious not only about this "disloyal" behaviour of the two peasants, but particularly about the cynicism of their attitude to the new Nazi marriage laws. The chief Nazi paper writes: "We definitely do not understand the kind of humour of the two fine best men, who tried to explain that the bride was so sad because she had to go to a marriage by proxy. Marriage by proxy has been introduced in order to give men in the Armed Forces and similar occupations the opportunity of concluding a marriage when owing to their service for Führer and Reich they did not have the time to appear at the Registrar's Office. Everything possible has been done since the beginning of the War to make this kind of war wedding as dignified as possible."

Giving the example of the men at the front as an admonishment to the people to bear a stricter discipline is done again and again. It is easy for the Nazis to do so, because the people have no possibility of knowing—apart from a few letters and an occasional visit from a soldier—of what the front really thinks. This was particularly noticeable in the early winter. One elaborate example is to be found, for instance, in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, where it describes the intricacies of the difference between the spirit of the Home Front and the fighting forces. "The S.A. men will see to it that this does not happen again."

Naturally this is a delicate subject for the German papers and they cannot make an accusation except by implication or occasionally by a court scene like the following: "A woman from Rügenach passed a Military Training Field and felt compelled to express her so-called pity for the soldiers for being forced to do certain training; even told them to disobey their Commander. Court sentenced her to ten months' imprisonment for foolish talk." (Reported in *Aachener Zeitung* June 16th, 1942.) She must have had quite an effect on the soldiers. Surely British soldiers, for example, would have laughed off such "foolish talk".

Bereichsleiter Pachneck, too, let a few revealing remarks slip when he was speaking of effective inner opposition (April 9th, 1942): "Again and again in history German arms have

been successful, but it has often happened that lack of unity in the population deprived them of victory so that in spite of military successes defeat had to be accepted. It happened during the world war."

On another occasion this same leader spoke gloomily on "the sinister activities of our enemies who try to split our people thus undermining the strength of the nation. . . . The Home Front must back the Fighting Front firmly and with confidence. This confidence must be made clear, too, in all letters written to the front." At the same meeting Leader Oberdorfer appealed to the borough groups of the party which were below the average of the district in their collection for "Army Day" to make a great effort."

Neither did Rear-Admiral Lützow seem too pleased about the mood of his countrymen. He said in Mannheim (*Hakenkreuz Banner*, March 23rd, 1942): "One thing is certain: All faint-heartedness is out of place. Let us not be frightened by the uncertainty of future developments. Uncertainty is the chief element of war, and will last until the last day of it."

An article on "Tact" (also *Hakenkreuz Banner*, April 3rd, 1942) says: "People will think that questions of tact are of secondary importance these days when there are so many more important things to be tackled, but the case is quite the reverse! To-day we are living in an atmosphere of electrical tension when things normally childishly simple might become dangerous. We know that every detail of our life is dictated by the war. Lack of tact can, under certain circumstances, create a tension which can be as fatal as crime." The article gives an example "of the tactlessness which was shown to some people who were refused wine in a restaurant while the table next to theirs was continually loaded with full bottles. The innkeeper said that the wine had been ordered in advance. Another example is when people say, 'You do not look well to-day.' This is a very tactless remark. The same applies to the remark: 'I hear your husband is in . . . now. My brother wrote to me the other day that such and such a number of soldiers fell there recently.'"

And there are the observations of the neutral press. Here it must be borne in mind that Germany is a powerful neighbour who does not spare threats and protests. Provocations and irritations are therefore avoided, so much the more as the correspondents writing these reports are still accredited in Berlin.

*Die Tat* (Zürich) writes on 13th of December, 1941: "The German people are approaching the new phase of the war with

grim determination. It would be wrong to speak of enthusiasm for this war."

*Berner Tagwacht*, a socialist paper, on the 16th December: "Endless victories which produce no final decision have in the long run a more defeatist effect than defeats, which can spur the people on, as in the case of the Russians. First by Blitzkrieg, then by battles growing ever fiercer and demanding ever more sacrifices, the German soldiers advanced into Russia. In the rear there is no end in sight, but only scorched earth. Their homeland draws further away, and fades into the distance. At such a time as Christmas, military heroism loses all sense . . . the German soldier asks where it will all lead to."

*Der Bund* (December 13th, 1941) (From the Berlin correspondent): "The fearful question of how long the efforts and sacrifices will be demanded by the new phase of the war is arousing no spirit of enthusiasm among the German people. A heavy grimness weighs upon them, since everyone knows what is coming, and that it will be infinitely harder than anything that has happened already."

Even if the Home Front is not quite what it should be in the eyes of the Nazis, at least the soldiers at the front must not notice. Therefore instructions are given as to how to write to them. *Westdeutscher Beobachter* (March 6th, 1942): "With every letter we send a weapon to the front. If it carries thoughts of confidence, brave perseverance of unshakeable belief, then it is a source of strength to the soldier. If it contains unpleasant gossip or troublesome news then such a letter is an additional burden."

*Berliner Börsenzeitung* (May 1st, 1942): An article discusses what farewell greeting one should use to a soldier returning to the front or about to start on a dangerous undertaking. In the first world war we used to say: "Machs gut Kamerad" (Be successful, comrade!), but nowadays people no longer rely upon destiny and have started saying "Break your neck", so that fate, which is never gracious to one's wishes, may refuse this. The paper, however, recommends the former greeting as it shows a "more proper belief in destiny."

And, with a somewhat different purpose, *Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten*: "Treason is the most detestable crime, particularly unintentional treason—which in contrast to the intentional type has greatly increased of late. The reason is mostly loquacity and boastfulness and these can have the most devastating effects. More discipline is needed on the telephone and a better attitude in letters, especially in those sent to the front. It is not the thing

to sound soldiers about the situation there, about their regiments, and so on, as such letters may fall into unauthorized hands." (April 14th, 1942.)

The soldiers certainly do not feel very much better than the Home Front, otherwise they would not have to be so carefully "nursed" by the party. *Soviet War News* tells many stories of antagonism and opposition amongst their prisoners; even conferences have been held among them, where resolutions have been passed on a future Germany and on a fight against the Nazi oppressors now, and appeals have been made by them to the German Home Front. But this is not the place to speak about that. The soldier's mood is, of course, having its reaction on the people at home. There is a desperate letter by a woman to the *Schwarze Korps* reprinted in the issue of April 16th, 1942. "Suddenly I get a strange letter, saying I must not have any hope for the future. For by the time this war is over he will be too old to have children."

A new feature of this war, too, is that the Army has to be popularized. In the last war this was not necessary. A huge celebration, "Der Tag der Wehrmacht", was devoted to the Services. The population was bribed to attend by distribution of food without coupons (in Germany even in restaurants coupons have to be given up). This was the reason, as neutral journalists reported, why the Berliners attended in great masses—quite a neat cynicism on their part. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* (Stockholm, March 29th, 1942): "Berliners went in the early morning (!) to the barracks where food without coupons was being served. Soldiers dressed as Cossacks and Tommies collected money in the streets. *Social Demokraten* of the same date: "'Der Tag der Wehrmacht' will be celebrated with great pomp. Berliners especially look forward to the treat of buying soldiers' food without leaving coupons in the barracks. The troops in Spandau will sell wines, liqueurs and brandy: the two latter being in great demand in Berlin, where there is a shortage of strong liquor."

The strain under which the population is living is tremendous. People look for entertainment to divert their minds somehow from the happenings and the sadness of the day. They are escapist. Some go into the regions of literature and art, some frequent cafés, shows, dance-halls. The A.R.P. in Karlsruhe arranged a huge "Gay Afternoon" to meet people in this desire. (*Der Führer*, April 21st, 1942.) In Berlin it is announced that theatre tickets are to be rationed from May 1st, 1942. The public must register at ticket offices just as they do with green-

grocers. Tickets for the State theatres must be ordered in advance. A certain number of tickets will be reserved for tourist associations, and for foreigners and tourists. (Report in *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 28th, 1942.)

There are, of course, many other fields where this stress and strain is visible. It must never be forgotten that the Germans have had to endure not only the war, but for the six years previous to it also the Nazis.

*Stuttgarter Neues Tageblatt*, April 16th, 1942, in an article called "Slovenliness and Dirt" says: "War has not been without effect on those easily affected by slovenliness. This is specially noticeable as far as squares, parks, streets, benches, etc., are concerned. As a result these have become more and more dirty. Although there are baskets for paper everywhere, in parks, at tram stops, etc., people do not use them. If one remarks on this, one gets an unhesitating answer containing the word 'war', and that one has greater troubles to-day than that. People throw waste paper around them and let dogs and children trample down the lawns of the parks, leaving litter about and behaving as though rates are only paid for clearing up the results of slovenliness."

*Bremer Nachrichten*, 15th July, 1941: The Commissioner of Police forbids carpet-beating before 8 a.m., and referring to repeated nightly raids expresses the wish that no carpet-beating should begin before 10 a.m. unless unnecessary.

The Commissioner of Police at Bremen reports that cases have lately occurred of air raid shelter equipment being damaged. It is everybody's duty to help maintain these shelters and people committing misdemeanors should be immediately reported to the police.

A headline of the same paper describes the effective fighting against incendiaries. The Editor writes: "We have previously described the heroic behaviour of the Bremen civilian population in civilian air protection. In future we will often report similar exemplary deeds in fighting these menacing dangers", and episodes from recent raids are related. This time flattery was used.

*Svenska Dagbladet*, April 5th, 1942. Report by the Berlin correspondent entitled: "They say in Germany winter has been difficult." It is stated that hardly any civilians have been allowed to use the trains. "People look forward to their holidays so as to have a good sleep for once. This is due purely to physical fatigue in addition to mental strain. Holidays are also looked forward to on account of the special distribution of one egg per person and a small amount of nuts, raisins, etc. There are queues for alcohol, as everyone wants the best kinds and fears

that if they leave it too late, only ordinary brandy will be available. Apart from bringing paper and string, people are often obliged to return old material when they wish to buy anything new . . . There are ever increasing queues for flower-shops and places of entertainment."

*Nya Dagligt Allehanda*. On July 21st, 1942, the Berlin correspondent says: "It is clearly noticeable that the population lives under the highest strain. Everywhere it is realized that the great decision on the Eastern Front is now immediately pending."

*Hakenkreuz Banner*, April 10th, 1942, in an article "Mind curves": "It is easy to travel in a crowded tram while it is going straight, but the difficulty arises when the tram rounds a bend. Balance is lost, and then somebody is sure to lose patience and to start grumbling about the bad brakes of the tram, about the incompetence of the conductor, the impoliteness of the women tram officials, and about the administration of the town and trams generally. (!) This is most annoying for the majority of passengers. What can be done with such people as these? The best thing to do is for some of the braver passengers to turn them out. But there are many bends in daily life, and particularly so in wartime, and it is most important to behave well on these occasions."

This state of affairs seems to have taken a turn so much for the worse that finally Goebbels had to invent one of his "gigantic" salesman's tricks. It could not be hidden any longer—then propagate it. He launched his big "Politeness Campaign" complete with competitions, prizes and publicity with a capital P.

A Swedish report says that May must be a "Month of Politeness", during which everyone must be encouraged to be polite to his fellow-Germans. This is not always the case at present. The appeal makes special reference to tram-conductors, shop assistants and the general shopping public.

To give concrete reality to the idea, a special organization of umpires has been formed to award prizes to individuals who are judged to have been most successful in this "politeness competition, which is designed to restore gladness, kindness, and courtesy" to Germany. The first prize will be 1,000 marks; the second a gramophone, and the third ten theatre tickets.

So far the report. And here are some Swedish comments: (*Svenska Dagbladet*, May 6th, 1942): "Göbbels with his straightforward appeal has continued the tactics introduced in *Das Reich* which do not attempt to hide the difficulties. It remains to be seen whether the drive will be a success. If the weather is good, Göbbels will get great help and may perhaps succeed in

getting so far as to induce at least the officials to be polite, which in the long run must influence the public. The increasing rudeness is a sign of tiredness, and so is directly linked up with the conduct of the war. An official campaign cannot remove the reasons, but it can make the symptoms less obvious, and politeness often directly improves people's temper not only in important social intercourse but also in work and output."

V.B. (April 24th, 1942) publishes a prose poem on politeness, by way of opening the campaign. The queues in front of the green-grocer are mentioned, the overburdened shoemaker and above all the restaurants, where a case is reported of a soldier on leave not getting the attention and respect he deserved. Films, it is said, are going to help by extolling the ideal waiter. Things will become "less unbearable" and the results in the life of the polite person himself will be such as can never be fully appreciated.

A decree issued by the German Minister for Economic Affairs states that complaints about discourtesy towards guests by employees in hotels and restaurants have lately become far too numerous, and investigation has shown that the proprietors do not check this discourtesy because they are afraid that if the employees leave they will not be able to replace them. The Minister insists that proprietors must see that their guests are courteously treated, and discharge offending employees, if necessary without notice. Proprietors who tolerate unbecoming behaviour on the part of their employees, or are themselves guilty of such conduct, must be regarded as untrustworthy. If this warning is fruitless, the hotel or restaurant licence will be withdrawn. (*Times*, April 9th, 1942.)

Hamburg seems to have a very efficient local Nazi party. All orders issued from here are advertised to a larger extent than in other papers. The Youth graduations were given great publicity and here, in the politeness campaign, they are "one up" too. The reason for this might be that Hamburg before the Nazi regime was a very socialist town. It will be remembered that the sailors started the revolution at the end of the last war. The Nazis have of course kept a close record of these things and have in such cases installed specially ruthless and specially efficient Nazi leaders to run the town and its "public opinions". (The same is also true of Heidelberg, for instance; an intensely democratic and liberal town with a liberal tradition. After the Nazis came into power they transformed Heidelberg so much and their grip on the affairs of the town became so close, that it was worse to live there than in most other places.)

In Hamburg a "Plebiscite of politeness" was held, thus coming dangerously near all the yearning of the people for a plebiscite, a real one. This is the subject of an article in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* on May 25th, 1942. It is strange that this paper should have still kept its name "Hamburg paper for foreigners" for it certainly does not act according to the title; it is one of the most outspoken Nazi papers going. The trick in the politeness campaign is, then, that the Hamburg tube (which is not underground, but above the level of the houses and thus called not underground, but overground) invites the public to decide in a wide competition who are the most polite among their employees. Tram and bus personnel are included. The public is asked to send in up to the 15th of June short reports on personal experiences. Special pill-boxes were erected at the tube stations, the booking-halls and the tram and bus stops. The postal service was not to be used for these letters. Twenty prizes were fixed, among which the first was 1,000 marks. As a reward to the public for their trouble and interest, free tickets would be raffled among them.

One of the points of this campaign seems to have been to smooth the difficulties for the Whitsun traffic. At Whitsun an immense number used to travel. This has largely been stopped, because trains cannot be used by the public unless for very good reasons. The Germans, however, have not ceased to love an outdoor life and there are many big towns with pleasant surroundings. Thus a tram or bus journey had to make do for a longer trip. It is difficult to make any restrictions here except for the simple one of not providing many buses and trams. The public will crowd to the few there are and, as the staff of the public vehicles was usually an inexperienced one by then, this special device was used.

The article ends with a rhyme: "Politeness will bring you blessing—Don't lose your temper at the slightest provocation—Treat the public gently—Then you will win 1,000 marks."

"Höflichkeit, sie bringt dir Segen,  
Schimpf nicht wegen jedem Quark.  
Komm dem Fahrgast zart entgegen,  
Dann gewinnst du—tausend Mark."

Even the help of front line soldiers was enlisted by the authorities. In a German broadcast (May 7th, 1942), a soldier from the Eastern front declared "men coming home on leave are puzzled and shocked by the bad manners of the civilian population".

The speaker says that "people should learn to attach less importance to themselves and to the things of daily life". Like the soldiers, "they should get back to essentials".

*B.B.Z.* is more honest with the public and *Fr.Z.* even makes the campaign a pretext for some double-edged sentences. *B.B.Z.* April 14th, 1942: "People will say 'What is the use of being polite? By doing so the tram in which I travel has no more empty seats, the street is no lighter, or the rations bigger.' From many people you hear: 'I quite believe in politeness, but my nerves have not improved lately and consequently I sometimes lose my temper.' People with bad nerves, however, are recommended to exercise more will to discipline and keep in mind: 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.'"

*Fr.Z.* takes the opportunity to talk about "Berlin humour", not Frankfurt humour, which would be a more obvious thing to discuss in a Frankfurt paper, some several hundred miles distant from Berlin. And these astonishing things are said about "Berlin humour". "Berlin humour has a special basis. It springs from a completely general lack of respect. This is part and parcel of the common sense and intelligence of the Berliner." . . . "If the Minister of the Reich, Dr. Göbbels, in his courtesy-competition . . . looks for the most polite Berliner he will have a . . . somewhat surprising success. For this appeal will so highly amuse the Berliners, that the capital will live for a year in gay reminiscences of the jokes alone that will be made about this 'politeness'."

## CHAPTER X

### FOOD

**T**HE GERMAN PEOPLE are not starving. Yet they are short of many things, while others are altogether unobtainable. The lack of food is more than a mere pin-prick, a fact which is acknowledged and voiced even by the Nazis themselves. The food situation causes continuous thought, planning and headaches to the housewife; and a black market is flourishing in spite of the most severe penalties. The single items of the rationed foodstuffs are not exceedingly small, but the severe aspect is that the German housewife cannot seek refuge in a meal of potatoes or a picnic of sandwiches; because potatoes and bread and all the other simple staple foods are rationed too, and when

the husband has had a very strenuous day, or the boy comes home specially hungry, there is no extra to draw upon. It must be kept in mind, too, that for the German war is associated with starvation, a result of the bad years of the last war. The Germans therefore have been from the very beginning of the war, indeed before the war, food-conscious, with strong tendencies to hoarding. This immediately caused a certain shortage. Rationing was not introduced slowly as here, with a great many unrationed commodities, but was comprehensive and rigorous.

The outstanding feature of the food situation in 1941-42 is the reduction in rations in April this year. The German civilian population is classified into certain types of workers, with very different scales of rationing. There are the heaviest workers, the heavy workers and the ordinary people. All of these types have had cuts in their rations, while individuals have also been transferred from the first-mentioned class into the second; from the second into the ordinary class.

There are, moreover, unmistakable indications that the official rations are not always obtainable, and this is almost more serious than the official cut in the rations. The Nazis, of course, inveigh against this allegation, as they call it, yet even they themselves make slips. Goebbels, the propaganda lord, says in an article in *Das Reich*, quoted in the whole German press (*Social Demokraten*, March 29th, 1942): "Housewives are reminded that they are entitled to get their share from retailers without paying excess prices and bribes, which are punishable. . . . In especially serious cases the entire property will be confiscated and even the death penalty will be imposed."

Then we have the case of Mrs. Grüsser, quoted in the chapter "Opposition". She mentioned the fact that she received one sausage last spring which had to last her until the autumn. And the *Schwarze Korps*, reporting her letter, makes this comment: "Anyone who for incomprehensible reasons only gets an exceedingly small part of the rations certainly has no reason to be gay."

Then there is the passage in *Basler National-Zeitung*, on March 21st, 1942: "It is reported that a German soldier receives three times as much meat and twice as much bread as a normal German consumer. If it is calculated that Germany now has twice as many soldiers called up as those called up during the first year of the war, this alone shows how strained the German supply situation has become. Milk is obtainable only for small children and expectant mothers, and it is a well-known fact

that owing to shortage of goods German shopkeepers cannot always sell the whole ration."

Apart from the basic rations, food supplies differ in the different regions. Thus we hear that at Kiel salt herrings are distributed, while in Danzig you get skimmed milk, etc. The administration is very strict. Lost ration cards will not be replaced in future.<sup>1</sup> Nazi papers often give descriptions of well supplied markets, but generally in an obscure corner there is a remark such as: "demand exceeded supply".<sup>2</sup>

Another way of presenting the situation through rose-coloured spectacles is seen when people are assured that tobacco is not good for them and that it is so much healthier to go barefoot. There is one most touching example of the Führer's consideration for the health of his people in the *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, first March issue, reporting regulations by the Reichsstatthalter of Salzburg: "as the opinion of the Führer that tobacco is one of the most dangerous poisons of the people is well known, a moral obligation rests on every Party-member and Volksgenosse not to smoke. He therefore decrees that smoking is prohibited not only in the offices of the N.S.D.A.P. (Nazi Party), but also in all offices and sub-offices of the Reichsstatthalter."

The extreme shortage of genuine coffee or tea has caused the demand for cigarettes to increase tremendously. The old campaign that it is bad for women to smoke—as well as being bad manners—has been revived. "At the beginning of the war tobacconists could distribute their stocks among their customers. Then women were not supposed to get any, but to-day the quantities are fixed: four cigarettes a day for men and two for women." (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, April 27th, 1942.)

Apparently restaurants have a specially bad time in trying to please everybody: the food-offices, the public, and their work-staffs. In Germany you have to give up coupons for hotel meals and the scheme is worked out in detail, even as to how much fat is to be used for a certain dish and how much flour for thickening the sauce. It was a nice deception on the part of the restaurants to pretend that their dishes were made up of more ingredients than they actually contained, and now the regulations have become stricter. They must state on the menu

<sup>1</sup> *Westphälische Zeitung*, June 24th, 1941. "Applications become more frequent for ration cards to replace those claimed lost or destroyed by children, or stolen, etc. The proper distribution of available food supplies necessitates the rejection of such applications—ration cards must be treated as money."

<sup>2</sup> For example *Aachener Zeitung*, 25.6.1941.

how many of the different coupons are required for each meal. Since the cut in the rations in April a new scheme had to be worked out in collaboration with the leader of the Tourist-Trade Association Esser and the different Ministries. (*Völkischer Beobachter*, April 22nd, 1942.): "Less food will be offered, according to the simpler way of life introduced for the nation and a rationed cuisine. . . . There are two meatless days a week. . . . There will still be the meal without coupons. The hotel trade has introduced this meal as a service to the community; they feel it a duty to continue this even to-day under the difficult circumstances . . . for the coupon-free meal has become a help in the rations without which countless people could not manage."

As we have heard in the "politeness-campaign", the other difficulty with which the hotels and restaurants have to battle is the staffs. The latter are rude, often inexperienced since waiters have been called up, and there is much foreign labour employed. *Westdeutscher Beobachter* of June 26th, 1942, reports a story of a waiter replying "This is War" to a typists' protest on receiving a tiny portion for one Mark and 20 pfennig. The writer condemns this frequent excuse, saying: "caterers must compensate for small meat portions with larger portions of potatoes, vegetables or salads, or charge correspondingly lower prices. Customers must not be allowed to leave restaurants hungry."

The caterers themselves try to take action against too high prices being charged by their members, or customers not being well served. It is revealing when *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung* of June 15th, 1941, reports among other points from their meeting: "The Association will proceed energetically against unduly high prices; and no prices may be increased without a permit(!). Glasses must be filled to the usual level and insufficient filling is punishable."

The caterers seem to be reluctant to sell drinks in bottles for fear that they will never get the bottles back. This is what happens to bottles. *Westphälische Zeitung*, 14th June 1941, publishes a Soest report which states that housewives are hoarding beer bottles for the preserving season. "This is a punishable offence. . . . This hoarding aggravates the beer shortage."

Prices have been strictly controlled from the very beginning of the war. Nevertheless they have risen and this is what a Nazi official has to say about it: "I know that since the beginning of the war prices have not been maintained as all people might have wished. Consumers complain that in certain fields prices have been raised without a corresponding increase in income." And

the Nazi official is the Reich Commissioner for Price Control. (Reported by D.N.B. German official news agency, April 30th, 1942.) Promising that prices will not increase further, the Commissioner points out that higher prices have been caused by longer supply routes, by alterations in the distribution of raw materials and by the employment of unskilled workers, "whose performance is not up to that of their skilled comrades now at the front".

Dr. Claus in *Nationalsozialistische Landpost* (Dagens Nyheter, April 22nd, 1942) states that Germany has 17 to 18 million more people relying on her food (foreign workers, food sent to her allies and occupied territories, etc.). This is, of course, an utterly one-sided figure, since Germany may give to some occupied territories now that they are at starvation point (Greece is specially mentioned), but has previously looted the same countries. It is, however, important that this seems to be the only way to make the German people understand the reductions in rations and to accept them.

The trouble is that even the food which the Germans get is of a very poor quality. For example, the bread seems to be definitely injurious to health, as the Nazi authorities themselves state; and special precautions have to be taken when it is eaten: it must not be fresh, etc. Regulations have been issued to bakers how to bake the new flour, which now contains an even higher percentage of the ingredients which were formerly thrown away. It must be remembered here that the normal German loaf was always a dark loaf even in peace-time, and that very little white bread was ever consumed there. This dark bread, however, has become very much darker and contains an admixture not derived from grain, such as for example potatoes.

*M.N.N.* on April 24th, 1942, in an article announcing the "better use" of the wholemeal flour, has the hopeful sub-title: "Dark flour also makes good and digestible bread." It says among other things: "The working of this dark flour needs very special care and has, according to experts, made great difficulties for bakers. . . . These initial difficulties, which have been experienced at several places, are now overcome. The bakers have done everything they can to give their customers a digestible bread made with the new flour. It must, however, not be eaten fresh, but must be kept *for a few days* (italics by the paper). This rule should be also observed in restaurants. It will be more economical, too, than the fresh bread which is still preferred by many customers. Such old bread will not give rise to digestive complaints."

Hitler, with his good instinct as to what the people will take and what not, had to be consulted and, with Goering, had a personal hand in framing the rationing cuts. (According to the Swedish paper *Vaesmanlands Laens Tidning*, March 20th, 1942.) He had to be bothered with it in the middle of all his troubles on the Eastern Front. It was surely also he who had the idea or made the decision to have Darré replaced by the efficient and ruthless Backe, so that German agriculture should be put on a more rationalized basis and that more food should be obtained. (See chapter on peasants and agriculture.) In conjunction with this, people were lured to agriculture with the mighty bait of bigger rations, to which the Minister of Food agreed. They were also to obtain supplies of unrationed foods such as fruit, potatoes, vegetables. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 4th, 1942 writes that the fact that agricultural workers are to receive supplies of potatoes will be a great incentive to return to agriculture, even if it is very hard on those who are not used to it. More recent reports however indicate that this scheme has not worked.

Sometimes people deliberately eat foods which they know might be harmful, if not poisonous. D.N.B. message, May 5th, 1942, gives the warning by the authorities not to drink the anti-freeze preparations which have recently been put on the market to prevent the freezing up of motor car radiators. People have been drinking this mixture as spirits, with very grave results.

*Völkischer Beobachter* of April 17th, 1942, gives a serious warning not to eat a certain kind of mushroom (fungi) which can be deadly. They then give a description of how this mushroom can be prepared to render it harmless. It must be minced and cooked for five minutes; then the water must be thrown away. Washing alone or boiling up is not enough. Still, even when cooked in the approved way, not more than a pound should be eaten, and they should not be eaten more than once in a considerable period. One would think that such obviously poisonous mushrooms should not be eaten by anyone, unless there is absolutely nothing else to eat. In spite of this official warning, however, these mushrooms are not only gathered, but even, as the paper mentions, sold in the markets.

To supplement their rations and obtain the necessary strength to carry on, people have taken to vitamin tablets. But there are not enough of these to go round and priority is given to the Forces and to children and factory workers. *Schwarze Korps* therefore ridicules people who "eternally suck their

vitamin tablets". On April 27th, 1942, *Svenska Dagbladet* reports a new regulation prohibiting all advertising of medicines and druggists goods of which there is a shortage. All advertising of articles of additional nutritive value, such as vitamin tablets and invigorating preparations, is also prohibited.

Thus the continuous drive for substitutes has set itself a limit, for this is the end of the substitutes. The authorities, too, seem sick of the very word. First it was forbidden to call anything "Ersatz" and thus it became the practice to call substitutes by the prefix "German". The joke was current in Germany that "Germans buy German Van Goghs". Now the authorities have also forbidden the prefix "German" and surely we are not the only ones to smile when we read the following: "Expressions like 'German' pepper, 'German' caviare are forbidden from now on because they are apt to injure the good reputation of German products in general". All printed containers, bags and labels bearing the word "German" must have disappeared by September next. (*Deutsche Volkswirt*, April 24th, 1942.)

By far the most noticeable feature in the food situation is the very flourishing black market. Despite heavy sentences it is in full swing. The prices there are many times the actual value; and these black-market prices reflect the real scarcity of goods, for apart from the "danger money" they represent, they are the result of demand and supply. It has always been well known in Germany that the Nazis themselves are the ones who least keep to the regulations. This was so with the prohibited foreign currency—the Nazis all had their bank accounts in Switzerland, Holland, U.S.A., etc., and it is now the same with food. They are in a better position to buy in the black market because they can pay with foreign money, and, as Sefton Delmer has made clear in a B.B.C. talk, they can even get parcels of rationed food-stuffs direct from Switzerland. At fantastic prices, it is true, you can get what you want. Recently the party officially made its members immune from the punishment for possessing foreign monies. They can do now openly what they had done all the time. They, the Nazis, are the Herrenvolk, living on the fat of their own and other lands while they enslave all those who do not belong to their clique.

But as well as obtaining stuff in the black markets they are also the big dealers in the black market. Here and there, when things become obvious enough for everyone to notice, one or the other is dropped and in most cases they are high Nazi officials or people connected with the food or rationing systems, positions again entrusted to Nazis only. Naturally, once exposed

they are dropped by the Party, which still pretends with a loud and obvious voice that it is they (i.e. the Party) who stand for cleanliness and equality. *Schwarze Korps* has said touchingly that there is no graft and no favouritism in Germany, while both flourish throughout the system as never before, either under the Kaisers or in the Republic.

*Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten*, October 1st, 1941: "A member of the central Vienna food office has been sentenced to death for selling meat cards for 21,000 kilos (over 42,000 pounds) and fat cards for over 1,200 pounds, at a high price."

The mayor of a Rhenish community (Mayschloss, county of Ahrweiler) nominated his mistress to be head of the food office. Together they opened a big traffic in rationed foodstuffs. She made out the ration cards and gave them under the mayor's orders to merchants, who in turn had to give her rationed goods. She took big stocks while the mayor answered for them towards his superiors. He also owned a hotel, thus making a profit with the goods and gaining an advantage over other hotels. Several accomplices were also sentenced.

The director of a great armament factory, certainly a Nazi or a man agreeable to the Nazis, took more than 400 pounds of meat and more than 100 pounds of butter from the works canteen without giving coupons or money, while the workers had to give up their own food coupons for meals in the canteen.

It is a feature of the black market in Germany that it mostly is an elaborate affair with large organizations, many people involved and big quantities taken from the usual channels of supply. Thus *Wiener Beobachter* of April 9th, 1942, for example, speaks of a "centre for black slaughtering" in Berlin, where eighteen people were accused. The head of the organization was sentenced to death. *Stockholm Tidningen*, on May 3rd, 1942, reports a black-market trial involving 200 persons; for eight of them the public prosecutor demanded the death sentence. *Wiener Beobachter* of the *V.B.* on March 29th, 1942, speaks of a man who with his assistant has slaughtered 46 cows, 135 calves and 22 pigs, all in all more than 30,800 pounds of meat. Shops and restaurants took his stuff. In Weimar a butcher had bribed an official into helping him. Here, too, the crimes were extensive and punished with 12 years' hard labour.

*Basler Nachrichten* of April 9th, 1942, relates that many people trade and buy in the black market. From the Berlin correspondent: "Such a long winter with ice and snow as well as the early blackout, and the shortage of vegetables and fruit, is in any circumstance difficult to endure, but more so when there

are no extra meat or fat rations. Everyone felt the need or the desire to eat more, especially as because of the rationing of every food people had plenty of money and would have gladly spent it on food. Many were so unwise as to yield to the temptation of the black market. . . ."

There is a big official drive against these happenings. The sentences for the offences have been increased and now include also those who receive the goods and buy them. *Svenska Dagbladet* of April 1st reports from the Berlin correspondent: "The German press has started extensive publication of sentences for barter and surreptitious trading." *Stockholm Tidningen* of April 4th, brings the announcement from Berlin that people sentenced to death for offences against the rationing regulations will in some cases be executed by public hanging to increase the intimidating effect, while the *Government News Office* in Bavaria announces under the heading "Death sentence for surreptitious slaughterers" that to prevent an increase of this offence all concerned are again warned . . . that they will not be punished by fines, but will be passed on to the public prosecutor. If he thinks fit he can pass on the case to a special court which according to war regulations can pronounce the most severe sentences, and in certain cases the death sentence. The same penalties must be expected by buyers and sellers of such meat. . . ."

The new decree of March 25th, 1942, for more severe punishment (*Kriegswirtschaftsverordnung R.G.B.L. I. p.147*) says of the man thus sabotaging the war effort: ". . . he undermines the confidence in the cheap and equitable distribution of the existing goods, he disturbs the home front. . . . It is just as bad if a merchant or his assistant takes bribes as if an artisan takes an advantage of the lack of workers brought about through the war and only works if he is promised or given special advantages." These words are not said for nothing. These things exist and the Government office framing this order knows it.

Here are some of the prices of the black market: coffee 80 marks per lb. or about £4; tea 100 marks per lb. or about £5; butter up to 60 marks per lb. or about £3. *Basler National Zeitung*, which gives these figures on April 9th, 1942, adds: "All the people who risk such a lot to purchase in the banned black market could obtain tea, coffee and chocolate through the normal channels. There are huge reserves of coffee and other luxuries in Hamburg and Bremen and they are sold in large quantities to Germans who possess "connections" or

friends and relatives abroad to whom they are prepared to send "love" gifts against payment in foreign currency. The authorities fully realize how much the health of the people depends on an adequate supply of food, and vitamin tablets are distributed in schools, factories, large firms and even offices." The Swiss paper *Die Nation* gives the same facts and figures.

Of course there is also a funny side to this picture. People trust so little in the German Mark and have so little use for the money they get that the only way of getting any enjoyment and remuneration is through barter. "The good old days," one would say, but the Nazi authorities take a very different view. Sometimes this barter takes grotesque forms and even press reports sometimes cannot help giving the impression that the authors wrote them with a twinkling eye, in spite of all the obvious and thickly painted moral indignation. There are, for example, lovely stories in the *V.B.* of March 29th, 1942; they, however, lack amusement on the part of the writer and are written in grim determination. "There are people who consider our Mark, which now in war-time (!) has become so famous because it is so absolutely stable, as a currency of second order. They deem it good only to fix the comparative value of commodities, but otherwise resort to barter according to the principle of scarce goods for scarce goods or scarce labour. And what goods are not scarce to-day in the third year of war, and what labour is not scarce, that is, obtainable only with difficulty?"

The writer goes into details about dentists. "Those few that are left . . . work like galley slaves. . . . They only do what is necessary while they leave the beauty improvement to a later day. But there is one who cannot say no. He has such a soft heart, surrounded with refrigerators. . . . Durable teeth for durable sausages (*Dauerzähne für Dauerwurst*) was his motto . . . and the police found in his consulting rooms more than 50 lb. of sugar, 70 lb. of flour, 16 lb. of bacon, 4 lb. of rice, and a goose. . . . We do not mention the wireless dealer who exchanged valves only if he got something for his own heating stove and we pass over the hotel owner who was so wrapt up in his black-market dealings that he even gave salaries to his employees only in commodities such as meat and fat (15 marks per lb.) but we shall go to the cabinet maker. . . . A few years ago he had no work. With the advent of war, the Mark is not good enough for him. . . . What did he and the dentist think? . . . Everybody gets his pay in Marks and must rely on the none too abundant rations which from April 6th onwards will be further reduced. . . ." The article is concluded: "The dentist

will now be treated by the authorities and this treatment will not be painless."

*Svenska Dagbladet* of April 1st speaks of other such cases, among others a shop assistant who sold a coat for a gift of ten marks and a shoemaker who only carried out repairs against meat coupons, until the customer refused to surrender more than 50 grammes (somewhat less than two ounces).

It is, of course, not only in the food trade that these black-market dealings, as well as acute shortage, exist. Clothing is very short in Germany. Rationing was introduced much earlier there than in Britain and there are fewer articles to be had on the coupons. People are exhorted to be very economical. Nazi officials come into their houses and inspect, a fact which always arouses the greatest anger in the population. Only if the wardrobe of any person contains less than a certain specified number of articles is he allowed to buy new clothing for his coupons (this applies specially to coats and shoes). Yet there are still accusations of "extravagance". In the opinion of authoritative circles, says a letter to *Textil Zeitung* in October last year, the following objection is raised: the fashion in women's hats in Germany "is not quite suited to the present situation, as should be expected of an industry properly guided and under an obligation towards the war effort. The members of the study group are urgently requested to fight all eccentricities in the millinery trade and to oblige the affected enterprises to bring out reasonable fashions and to advertise in an honourable manner."

The worst difficulty in German clothing is poor quality. Almost everything is "Ersatz", and long before the war the famous jokes were made of people choosing their trees in the woods for their next suits. (Ersatz materials were often made from wood.) The shortage of raw materials is most felt in shoes, as except for wooden shoes and wooden soles no durable substitute for leather has yet been found. Therefore the drive to collect and re-use old leather is considerable. Children's shoes are exchanged and all sorts of economies are enforced. Here are a few of them:

*Westphälische Zeitung, Rote Erde*, April 23rd, 1942: "Between April 27th and May 2nd, men and women members of the party will visit households and collect all the old leather shoes and children's knapsacks which can be spared, for every German knows that leather is available only in limited quantities and that it is needed first of all by the Forces."

*Westdeutscher Beobachter* of June 14th, 1941, in an article urging

parents to encourage children to run barefoot during the summer, states it is a pity that town children do not save their boots for the long winter.

All these things no doubt make people angry. They mean everyday problems and they are infuriating when graft by the Nazi officials is added, as is the case. But even here we have seen that the German people are told that they have to go without food so that the starving people of Europe may be fed. This is deemed an answer to which there can be no objection. It is the human and the spiritual sides which make for severe objection to the Nazi regime. Food has a nuisance value, no more. Real starvation would bring despair to the people and result possibly in some violence here and there. But the Gestapo would be quick to quell it. Food riots would not be a foundation for the revolution which would bring to the surface that other Germany trampled down by the Nazis, and many other things must happen first so that this torch can obtain the air it needs to flare up and shine.

## CHAPTER XI

### BOMBING

SINCE THE OUTBREAK of War in 1939 it has remained an axiom of Nazi propaganda that the Democracies were helplessly exposed to the overwhelming striking power of the Luftwaffe, and that they, in turn, were too weak to strike back. Furthermore, Goering and the other Nazi leaders assured the German public that their defences were too strong to be penetrated in strength. This myth collapsed during the first few months of 1942. The turning point can be clearly seen from the reaction of the Nazi press. Just as in the case of the Russian campaign, where an unwilling realism was forced upon the professional optimists in Goebbels' Ministry, the destruction of the ancient town of Lübeck forced them to come into the open with an uncoloured admission.

All of a sudden numerous pictures of the destroyed Cathedral and streets of the town of Lübeck appeared in the Nazi papers. The men who had glossed over or even jubilated about the bombardment of Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, Belgrade, and innumerable other towns and villages, suddenly began a chorus of woe about Lübeck. If it had not come from them, the German Home Front might have been impressed.

As it was, they were impressed merely by the raid, the death and destruction brought upon them, and the threatening disasters looming in front of them. There is, strangely and at the same time logically, no evidence of an increased anti-British feeling as a result of the R.A.F. raids. But soon enough we shall find signs of an increased anti-Nazi feeling.

With Lübeck it started. Neutral correspondents describe the amount of damage done there. *Svenska Dagebladet* reports that three thousand houses seem to have been totally destroyed, amongst them the Buddenbrock House. Only a few houses in the centre remain. *D.A.Z.* foams about the attack (April 4th, 1942). On April 4th the victims of the air-raid were buried. Gauleiter Kaufmann announced that "endless caravans are speeding towards Lübeck with relief troops, food and material which are evidence of the dogged determination which the world sees only in the German Reich". This Gauleiter cannot abstain from boasting even at such a moment. But he refrains from publishing the figure of losses. Much later the Propaganda Ministry issued a figure: 295. This was about a week after the funeral (April 12th, 1942). But on April 7th it was announced that "another large field kitchen has arrived in Lübeck capable of serving 25,000 meals a day. All the homeless who have relatives in the country are getting free railways tickets to go and stay with them." On April 19th, 1942 we find a full page with pictures of the town and the destroyed Cathedral in *Fr.Z.*

On April 23rd *Kieler Neueste Nachrichten* published an article about "Air Attacks and the Population". There the significant sentences are quoted: "The best shelter against air-attacks is a strong heart, and not concrete. Although concrete is not bad, one must admit that in this War the heart counts for more." Particularly, one has to add, if no concrete shelters have been prepared.

The paper then admits that the lot of those who have been bombed out is bitter. They, so the paper asserts, take it uncomplainingly. It is mostly "the others" who complain. "To these people one can point in this connection to the English people, who, during the German air attacks in August and September 1940, endured a hundred times more unflinchingly without weakening. For at that time whole towns or part of towns were destroyed. But who wants the enemy to be given as an example?" The paper then complains that the people rush about the town, not only to see what damage has been done, but also to spread rumours, each more ridiculous than the other.

This somewhat hectic line is to continue henceforth. The

Nazi papers sometimes praise the population for their bravery, sometimes encourage them, sometimes threaten them. But they dare no longer conceal the true facts from the masses who know by practical experience how severe the air-raids have become. Since thousands and thousands have to be evacuated into the country or to distant places, such as Austria, Czechoslovakia or Hungary, and also Bavaria, Württemberg, and simply nearby country places, the news is bound to spread.

After the attack against Lübeck the next heavy shock was the raids against Rostock, another ancient town on the Baltic Sea. The Nazis were soon forced to close all traffic to the shattered town. On April 29th, 1942, we read in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* that "it is entirely senseless to travel to Rostock because the inhabitants left long ago for places in Mecklenburg. Thus there is hardly any chance of finding relatives".

The period when the Nazis could still gloss over the effects of the R.A.F. raids was definitely over. From then onwards the Nazi press was forced to admit the severe losses and destruction which the cities of the North and West of Germany began to suffer. Above all the papers of the towns themselves described what had been destroyed. Particularly realistic is a long article in *Kölnische Zeitung* of June 3rd, 1942, giving a picture of the effects of the 1,000 bomber raid on that city in the night of May 30th/31st. The larger part of the centre of the town as well as many suburbs were ruins. The paper praises the charity of the population in helping the homeless, trying to save belongings of their neighbours from burning houses, looking after the wounded. This description was withheld from the public for several days, and the entire censorship-monster of the Third Reich enforced complete silence about that fearful night—until too many knew of it all over Germany, and it was no longer possible to conceal the truth.

A major effect of these air-raids has been a hectic large-scale evacuation, by no means under the auspices of the authorities, on the contrary, often against their orders. Only children, and sometimes women, were evacuated. But not even they, the children, altogether. Only groups of them—according to the local Gauleiters. It is significant that the article in *Kölnische Zeitung* mentions children helping in fighting the fires, minding the wounded, evacuating houses. On April 24th, 1942, the *National Sozialist. Zeitung Westmark* announced that "if possible" no children under twelve should now be employed in civil defence in Germany. It further threatened that police measures would be taken against members of the Hitler Youth who stayed away

from these duties without excuse. "Cases of illness must be certified by a doctor. Everybody must keep in mind that air-raid service is a service to the country."

On April 29th *Essener Nationalzeitung* tells the story of the bravery of a boy of seventeen, who saved his father, caught in the debris of a house partly destroyed in an air-raid. The paper calls upon the population not to shame themselves by letting boys teach them bravery.

At the same time children are evacuated to Austria, Hungary, etc. The evacuation is often hampered by shortage of transport facilities. *Westphälische Zeitung* of April 30th, 1942, and other papers refer to it. The same paper appeals on July 12th to the parents to refrain from visiting and writing letters to their evacuated children. Visits are in principle "not wanted because of causing unrest and dissatisfaction among hitherto joyful children, and also the trouble to "foster" parents who are busy with summer agricultural work. Letters can cause just as much unrest when dramatically describing air-raids, and telling about parents longing for the child, so that the children also begin to long for home."

But not only children leave these threatened districts. Towns like Constance are crowded by visitors. The Berne paper *Bund* describes the scene at Constance on July 13th, 1942: "In spite of the warnings and difficult travel conditions, in spite of the appeals to refrain from making unnecessary trips, all hotels and boarding houses are crowded out. Most visitors come from places which have suffered from air-raids."

The Nazis naturally tried desperately to restore the confidence which had crumbled under the nightly attacks. On May 7th, 1942, the German radio assured the population that night-fighters were doing all they could to protect the population. But "no state can draw a complete network of night-fighters over its territory". These attempts remained sporadic. In their place a ruthless propaganda campaign was initiated, plainly intended to stir the people to a moral resistance and strength which the Nazis by their previous propaganda had themselves torn down. The change in policy was surprising. On April 4th, 1942, the Swiss radio pointed to the publication of pictures of the devastating result of R.A.F. raids on German towns. The Swiss comment was: "Since the German authorities have so far always tried to minimize the effects of the British attacks, this sudden change of policy indicates that the destruction caused is so great that it can no longer be concealed."

Soon also those parts of Germany which so far had suffered

little from air-raids were clearly aware of the development. At the end of June and the beginning of July, 1942, *M.N.N.* informed the population of Munich through a series of articles about the destructions in the Rhineland, the Ruhr District, and Westphalia. One such article contains the significant opening: "When a train approaches Western Germany, the most discussed subject is 'The big attack on our city'. It is of course impossible to protect such a great area fully. . . ." And then, again, the open admission: "Only such women and children as are not needed for work in the town are evacuated to neighbouring places."

How far the moral effects of the raids, of the Nazi measures to counter them—such as employing children, evacuating children and preventing their parents from either seeing them or writing to them frequently—how far all this has affected the political and moral resistance against Nazism is difficult to say. Significant are soldiers' letters home, and letters from home to the soldiers on the fronts. Still more significant is the fact that after the heavy raids on Cologne and the Ruhr in May and June 1942 suddenly all the A.R.P. services were taken over by Himmler and placed under the direct control of the S.S. For whoever may have an opportunity to leave these towns—and the Nazi leaders are amongst those—one section of the population cannot leave, namely the workers. It is also interesting to read an announcement by the German State Railways (published in *Oldenburgische Staatszeitung* on June 24th, 1942): "the use of all electric torches, even though fitted with blue bulbs, is henceforth strictly prohibited on all railway grounds, premises, stations, etc."

## CHAPTER XII

### THE GERMAN WOMAN

**T**HE POSITION OF the German woman necessarily underwent a great change with the advent of war. The Nazis never left any doubt about their attitude towards women: they put them in an inferior position. Women were, as far as possible, driven out of all positions of influence; there was serious discussion whether the right to vote should be taken from them (but then this discussion itself became pointless, as practically the whole German people was deprived of their right to vote) and all their intellectual or artistic qualities were disputed. Rosenberg, the

cultural leader of the Nazis, said that the only intellectual act any woman had ever performed was the invention of a mowing machine.

The Nazis prided themselves that they did not wish women to come to any harm. According to the extremes to which they carried views they wished for them either a quiet family life or a life in a sort of women's community, as opposed to the community of men—where women would live and bring up their children to a certain age, from when onwards the children would be taken over into special child education communities.

Then the war and the ensuing redistribution of labour suddenly made it necessary to rely on women once more. Since 1933 the woman has been "liberated" from the drudgery of factory and office. Suddenly she became again intelligent enough to work as never before and to take on more and different jobs. The woman often is the only one to keep the economic life going. The farmer's wife has to keep the farm going; the wife of the shopkeeper now runs the shop as well as her family; there are girls in auxiliary services in the Forces, especially in communication work such as telephonists, etc., factory workers, some with special training. The whole official attitude had to be swung round.

All this, however, lies only on the surface. We find very cautious wording regarding the value of the training of women. Yes, it is good enough to work in factories now, to be entrusted with such and such machines or to learn this and that trade and perform the jobs during the war. But it will not entitle the women to continue in these trades after the war. All these are emergency measures only. It is a strange reasoning falling from one extreme into another. The woman is intelligent enough to do these jobs now, she has to do them and her work is appreciated, yet it is not up to standard and in normal times it would not do.

*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, April 15th, 1942, deals extensively with the training women receive by other women, which, however, is not valued as a proper course and does not entitle the woman to work in this field after the war. Special schools have been instituted for women doing the teaching.

All women had to go into some form of war work, except housewives with families to look after, and even they are now requested to put in "voluntarily" some hours as shop assistants. The announcement to this effect stresses that this is voluntary work, as it concerns the exempt classes only, and that, though the Labour Exchange has a hand in it, it should not be taken

as compulsion. All women are taken for this job whether suitable or not, and they can give as many hours as suits them and when it suits them. (*B.B.Z.*, April 10th, 1942.)

It is also stressed that women are expected to perform the more simple types of artisan work such as repairing shoes, doing the less complicated electrical repairs, etc. (*Fr.Z.*, March 29th, 1942.) The same article says that the clothes coupons do not suffice for anyone, especially for growing children, and that therefore the mother has to perform all sorts of miracles to clothe the family at all, such as making slippers from old felt hats, making tunics, so that the children can wear torn and worn-out dresses underneath, making coats from linings, etc. In addition, she must buy foods whenever they are available and has to store them herself until she needs them, a process which is sometimes difficult (such as storing potatoes and cabbages for the winter) and gives her a great deal of additional work. For weeks, the article says, there is often only one single vegetable on the market. The housewife is expected to prepare all sorts of interesting dishes from it so that the family does not find it monotonous.

These are but few examples taken at random. It shows the enslavement of the German woman to a day of hectic drudgery, to continuous strain and overburdening which, however, can never give satisfactory results, because there is a lack of everything. The same article gives the hint that neighbours and on-lookers should do something if they see women near to collapse so that some way out is found for them before it is too late.

Added to all this, and by far the worst preoccupation, is the anxiety for husbands and sons at the front. "The thought of them can give strength to a woman; but it also can mean a burden specially hard to bear." We shall go into this again later.

In spite of these many tasks and heavy burdens the German woman is in other respects treated as a mentally backward child. There are now three testimonials required when she wants to be married—apart from the usual proofs of racial "purity", etc. (*B.B.Z.*, November 21st, 1941.) The writer reporting this seems himself a bit taken aback or amused by this state of affairs, for he gives his article the title "Marriage without objection". The three certificates are called: Suitability for marriage, fitness for marriage and marriage without objection (*Eheignungszeugnis*, *Ehetauglichkeitszeugnis*, *Eheunbedenklichkeitsbescheinigung*). None of these is yet enforced, because there is not enough manpower available to do the necessary routine-work and checking up, except in those cases where couples have asked

for a marriage loan. But each registrar has the right, if he thinks fit, to delay the couple and to ask for one of these certificates.

Again, women are told when they are allowed to travel, on what date, if at all, and to which places. They need certificates for that too (every civilian does) and only mothers with children under six are free to travel if they evacuate from areas exposed to bombing. The Nazis do not approve, however, if anyone takes the initiative in this. There is a big evacuation scheme and people are supposed to partake in it. Now the large modern Winifred Wagner Home has been completed with all the newest inventions. It is an old story with the Nazis to make a showpiece for everybody to see, but it can help only very few and the conditions on the whole are worsened.

Much light is thrown on these conditions by the new "Law for the Protection of Motherhood" of May 1942, which is hailed by the Nazis as a great achievement. (Among other sources: *B.B.Z.*, May 17th, 1942.) Its main items are the following: that expectant mothers are no longer to be asked to work longer hours, do night-shifts or work on Sundays or holidays. (!) Expectant mothers may no longer be dismissed until 4 months after confinement because of their pregnancy. Women are not allowed to stop work because of pregnancy (except for 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after the birth of their babies), but they should not work in jobs which might harm their or their child's health. In such cases, therefore, they must change over to another type of occupation.

Bluntly women are told that they should fulfil their duty as mothers to make up for the losses of life at the front. A particularly shameless article in *Schwarze Korps* gives as an example and encouragement the case of a woman in her forties who, having lost one son at the front, now "gives the nation another child instead".

This sphere cannot be treated otherwise than by admonition. In other respects, too, the women are bullied. In connection with the wool-collection we find many such examples. Women are urged and urged again to give even those things which they still need, as they cannot possibly need them so much as their menfolk at the front. Not once but several times Nazi officials visit their houses to "ask" for another blanket, another pull-over. Who would dare to keep many woollen things for their own use under these circumstances? The usual procedure in the press and in speeches by the Nazi leaders is to tell the people what is expected from them and that they "know it will be forthcoming." *B.B.Z.* has a good example of this on January

10th, 1942, entitled "Two more days". You can interpret this headline as you like. "Two days' grace," or "Two days to right the wrong of keeping things back." Thousands of volunteers have collected, sorted and mended the woollens, says the article. Our enemies want us to believe that the collection is not a success. And, between the lines: You want to stay behind? "The last two days will, we know, bring a record of things brought in. The German people will create a monument for itself in this collection which will equal the sacrifice of its forefathers at all times of national crises." And all that for a pair of woollen stockings or a pullover.

The writer in *V.B.* does, if possible, still more. We have a grotesque article on March 29th, 1942: "The Hearts of Women in Battle." Again the same technique: Everybody is giving his last ounce of strength; and you refuse to do anything at all? It gives the half pathetic and half comic figures of volunteers for Red Cross nursing from the age of 14 to 70. But the Nazis are generous, they only accept from 16 to 60 years of age. After 60 they accept women only in auxiliary service to the Red Cross. No front nursing for them. And again the hidden threat: "This eagerness to serve has made up for the fault of those women who would be just right for the task if they would only sacrifice their free time. But they, too, will learn to understand now." And further on: "There is no excuse except other, more urgent, work for not serving in the Red Cross. We know that everybody will have understood what it means in this war to serve in the Red Cross."

Yes, the Red Cross nurses will get a glimpse of what this war means. Countless numbers of dead and wounded, wounded who have to be put into a railway-truck and left there without medical attendance, because it is not available. And the endless numbers of killed and missing. That is the glorious war, the heroism, if you come close to it—and who does not? Reports from the most varied sources say that there is not one family in Germany which has not at least one of their menfolk killed. (Among others: *M.N.N.*, April 15th, 1942.)

The women are the most silent part of the silent people of Germany. They cannot do much to express their feelings, they come less into contact with others than the men, they do not occupy positions. The only way of showing some of their despair, their grief, their anxieties, their suffering and their utter lack of understanding for war lust and conquest is in the pitiful death announcements. There are the Nazi women, no doubt, those who speak of their pride when announcing the death of

the loved one, those whom Mrs. Grüsser called "people with a sick soul". You feel it immediately on reading their death notices, even before you see the Pg. or S.S. sign in front of their names. (Pg. means Parteigenosse, Party member.) This is an example: *Schwarze Korps*, May 7th, 1942 "Storming at the head of his comrades (Seinen Kameraden vorausstürmend) my loved husband Horst Bluhm, in fanatical love to his Führer, suffered a hero's death in the East . . . A life dedicated to the Führer and the Movement found its crowning." Same issue of the paper: ". . . Helmut Schulz . . . His life was a fight for National-Socialism." *Schwarze Korps*, March 19th, 1942. . . . "Waldemar Riedl . . . His life was a fight, his death is our sacrifice for the Führer." The phrase "In proud sadness" occurs repeatedly in these Party notices.<sup>1</sup>

The overwhelming majority, however, are the others, those who indignantly speak of their husbands, now lying "in foreign soil", thus accusing the Führer.<sup>2</sup> They do not say "killed in action", but on foreign soil. They would not have had to go there had not Hitler commanded them to. The Russians would not have killed them had not they invaded the country. It is, therefore, not the Russians they hate and reproach, but the ones who are responsible: Hitler and the Nazis.

The cruelty of the Nazis has not even halted before this, the most private and the saddest sphere of personal life. At the beginning of the war death notices were not allowed to appear at all and the family of the killed was not allowed to show their bereavement by wearing black. This hypocritical mask soon had to be dropped. There simply were too many killed; the family learnt of it, soon their friends and neighbours knew and it looked worse for the Nazis if the family was not even allowed to show its grief.

The next phase was that the people spoke freely in the death announcements, still in guarded language, but everyone knew the real meaning. The Nazis were very afraid of this and tried time and again to enforce a single type of death notice, beginning "For the Führer and the fatherland — — was killed in action." There are days when the whole page of death announcements looks like this. This is when the paper concerned has had a rebuke for printing dangerous matter in death notices. The formula-notices run for a few days, but then the indignation and the pressure of the population grows and the paper protests to the authorities that in this way they will either infuriate—and lose—their readers, or will make them more hostile, and that thus no purpose is served. For a few days then, again, we

get the personal notices, to be exchanged in turn for the formal ones.

In spite of the control of the press, the notices, of course, vary from paper to paper. You will not find the Führer left out in the notices of *Schwartze Korps*. A paper like *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, too, has many Nazi notices, while you do not find many Pgs. but many aristocrats in *D.A.Z.* Again, *M.N.N.*, for example, is so much a paper for the whole of Munich that you find in it side by side notices of an intensely religious and ecclesiastical character and crude Nazi ones.

Much against the wish of the Nazis, "the Lord's will" appears in many of the notices of people who dare to mention Him, and many families, too, arrange for a church memorial service.<sup>3</sup> Here are some examples: "According to the will of God, Joseph Hirschmann was killed in action . . . two days after his leave had expired . . . He will never come home again. Joseph is with God. He lies, far away, in Russian soil. We love him, mourn him and will never forget him. In sorrow not to be expressed in words . . . the parents . . . Memorial service." This boy had just left school. He is called "Abiturient". No word of the Führer, no word of victory or heroism. (*M.N.N.*, May 5th, 1942.)

"Instead of a happy reunion we learnt the unbelievable news that my beloved husband was killed in action. He was not allowed to see his home again and to come back to his family. I gave what I loved most . . . Memorial service." This is a feature always returning in the notices. "His only wish was to come home," "he longed so to come home."<sup>4</sup> Such words are clearly based on letters, probably shown to friends and relatives. In the face of death no one would like to put up a show in this respect. In this issue three notices out of six carry words to this effect. The others are: "Our Toni will not come back from Russia." The next: "Fate has pitilessly ended all patient waiting and hope. We received the unbearably sad news . . ." and finally a man mourning his son: "Pitiless Fate took my only son from me . . . All my hope and joy . . . is buried in Russian soil". *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Nov. 8th, 1941: "My beloved husband died from his wounds in a field-hospital. He died believing in a reunion with us. Please do not pay any visits. You are well, dear, but we live in sorrow."

Even the less personal notices, those laconically making the announcement, mention the "foreign soil". This is what they all cannot forget or forgive. Then there are others who like to evade the issues. They cannot face up to the fact that their beloved

ones have been killed for nothing, to satisfy the desires of a small clique. Therefore we find often "in the defensive position", "in the battle for the defence of the country". The word "defence" means to them that their husbands, their sons have given their lives for their country, for the protection of women and children, for a war that was not wanted by Germany, but by some other aggressor. They must put up this show before themselves, they cling to it, because they cannot bear the thought of the truth, looming behind these frightened words. Others speak of the "defence against Bolshevism", or "defence against the enemy of the world". They long for the thought that they have protected someone, something higher than their country, that they have fought and died for some cause.

Whole families are exterminated; often we find only women making the announcements, sometimes three generations. *D.A.Z.*, April 16th, 1942: "Now our youngest son too has been killed on the field, Heinrich Bachmann . . . He was a soldier and a Christian (ein bewährter Christ). And the same paper, in July 1942, "Werner Gross . . . he followed his brother, who was killed at sea in November 1940, into eternity." Or the obituary notices of the well-known professor of theology, Dr. Hans Lietzmann. "One year after the death in action of our son and many of his loyal students, God took my husband to eternity. He had been seriously ill in that year and went to Locarno where he hoped to regain his strength. He died at Locarno. Jutta Lietzmann, Sabina Lietzmann, Regina Lietzmann."

The despair and hate of such families apparently has become so obvious that the Nazis have during the last year issued the decree that, in cases where all male members except one have been killed, the last son is to be brought back from the direct front to some duty in the rear.

From death notices, too, we learn that 17-year-old boys are sent to the front: *D.A.Z.*, November 6th, 1942: "Just after his 18th birthday our beloved son E. S. was killed". The word accident has gained a special meaning in Germany to-day. After the incidents of General Fritsch and others at the beginning of the war it became common knowledge that the regime sent to the front such people as they wanted to get rid of. If an enemy bullet was not quick enough, there had to be one from the rear, or a so-called accident. The quick succession of the deaths of the air aces Mölders, Udet and Wilberg, of whom the first was known to belong to the oppositional church-circles, made this plain enough. From the Mölders death notice we

learn what was not mentioned in the newspaper reports; that the accident which brought about his death was in a plane not piloted by himself, which makes the story still more evident.

In Wilberg's case only the Ehrenzollern House Order is mentioned amongst the decorations in his obituary notice, a plain hint of the royalist leanings of himself as well as of his family. Furthermore it is only stated that "he died for his country", significantly omitting the routine phrase "and his Führer".

Visualizing the number of lives that were lost during the Russian campaign, the amount of suffering and sadness it has caused among the population, we can imagine what it feels like when Hitler superficially expresses his "appreciation", and, in a way, insinuates that only the strong and "valuable" will get out of this war alive and indeed those killed are not such: "Fate has ruthlessly measured the true value of the soldiers." (*D.A.Z.*, March 17th, 1942.) Or when the S.A. was kind enough to invite the wives of soldiers for a "Merry evening". (*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, April 27th, 1942.) Perhaps they do not dare not to accept, for such things never are entirely voluntary in Nazi Germany, but they will not fail to think that here there are able-bodied men in uniform "looking after the Home Front", while their husbands have to be in the Russian cold and mud. There were singers, acrobats, comedians and magicians that evening and a few days before, on April 21st, the *National-Sozialistische Zeitung, Westmark*, even graciously allows the people to laugh still. "Laughter—even during war? Yes, of course, one is allowed to laugh in war, because laughter does not exclude seriousness from the heart. It keeps you fit and gives you new strength." "Kraft durch Freude" arranged a gay evening here, and you could see much gaiety and laughter there. "The soldiers' wives will be thankful indeed to see that at least the Party is gay. The many performances and social evenings for the wounded certainly also contribute to their 'gaiety' as well as that of their relatives." What a dance of death, what a hollow, demonic nightmare.<sup>6</sup>

The Party has arranged for the adoption of war orphans on a large scale. *Schwarze Korps*, March 19th, 1942. Article: "We shall continue." It says that the whole Party feels responsible for the War orphans and though there are many more than when the scheme was adopted, they will not give it up now because of the increased difficulties. The Adoption Scheme, however, is by no means designed to help the mothers and the children of killed soldiers only. No, the Party men are wise enough to realize

that these families will not be inclined towards the regime. They will therefore "help such fathers to supervise the education of their children".

East Prussia is specially mentioned as generous. Their action started in the autumn of 1940, before they could know that "this was only the beginning of the war" and that the fight in the East would bring so many more liabilities. Yet they kept their promise. There were 7,000 adoptions at the time of writing, but the paper hastens to add: "This does not mean that 7,000 heads of families have been killed, since usually many children have one father." Yes, but many killed have no children at all. The article concludes that this example showed that one should not shirk responsibilities. "After all, the soldier cannot stop fighting, either, because the war lasts longer than he thought. East Prussia has thus shown that the Home Front has to accept equal sacrifices with the soldier at the front."

The casualties have been so heavy that even the Leader of the Germans in Rumania has now established an organization for the adoption of the children of fallen soldiers, in spite of the bad impression this would create. (*Donauzeitung*, April 18th, 1942.)

Gauleiter Wagner, in a specially tactful way, combines friendliness to soldiers' widows and the propaganda drive for more children. With the Party taking the husbands away, he will make a lasting impression by this encouragement. He thought fit to give premiums to soldiers' widows with many children and he graded them thus: Mothers with four and more children received for each child a bank book with 30 marks (about 30s.) Each mother with three children received a certificate to enable her to take a fortnight's holiday at public expense with the guarantee that her children would be looked after during that time by the N.S.V. All children got cake, biscuits and oranges and a large packet of toys. The women were, moreover, called the first ladies of the land. *M.N.N.* on December 22nd, 1941, gives the following touching description: "The care for the families of our dead heroes is near to the heart of the Gauleiter. He gave expression to this care and to his compassion by inviting the widows and their children to the Löwenbräu on Sunday afternoon . . . With the Gauleiter was the Führer of 'Care of the Killed' (Reichskriegsopferführer) and representatives of the N.S.V. (National Socialist Welfare, Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt) and army-officers." All very appropriate indeed and surely most congruent with the feelings of the widows and orphans!

Such is the lot of German women to-day. Many of these women have still the horror of the last war in their hearts.

There are some among them who have lost a husband in the world war and a son in this. But they must be silent for the sake of those left to them.

#### NOTES

Examples of notices giving religious items.

1. Nazi notices. *M.N.N.*: ". . . S.A.-Obertruppführer Wunibald Hieber . . . he died for his Führer and thus (!) for his country." Same paper: Willi Sauerland: "From his very youth his heart belonged to his beloved Führer. All his deeds aimed at bringing victory for the fight for Freedom."

2. Notices mentioning with bitterness that the relative was killed on foreign soil. *M.N.N.*: ". . . Johann Aicher . . . All my happiness now lies in foreign soil . . ." Same paper: ". . . Karl Kerschreiter: with him all my happiness lies in Soviet Russian soil . . ."

Same paper: "Heinrich Oberberger . . . we all were so looking forward for a reunion at home; it was not ours. We all love him, grieve for him and shall never forget him. Our beloved Heini now lies in Soviet Russian soil."

3. *D.A.Z.*, April 9th, 1942: "We received notice to-day that according to the will of God . . . Joachim Michalsky . . . has given his life." Follows quotation: Romans xiv. 9 . . .

Same paper, same issue: "According to the will of God . . . Lippold von Gustedt died for his country." In this issue there is no mention of the Führer in any notice. Religious passages are quoted in several other notices of this particular issue. *M.N.N.*, April 1942: "The Lord who gives life and death took my beloved husband home." In one issue of *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, taken at random, out of eleven notices one mentions the Führer.

4. Notices giving as a main item only the wish to come home, to his family. *M.N.N.*: "Karl Pentenrieder . . . A happy reunion, to which we were all so looking forward, was not to take place."

*D.A.Z.*, April 9th, 1942: "Dr. Rudolf Bumm . . . Now he lies in the East, far from his beloved home for the protection of which he went into battle . . ."

*D.A.Z.*, loc. cit.: ". . . According to the will of God . . . my beloved husband the father of his little daughter whom he was never allowed to see . . ."

5. Other examples. *Wiener Beobachter* of *V.B.* March 29th, 1942: "The 'Wintergarten' plays for the wounded for the 41st time," is the headline. Text: "The next performance for the

wounded by the cabaret of the 'Wintergarten' will take place on April 9th at 3.30 p.m. On this afternoon the 30,000th visitor is expected and will receive a souvenir from the director. The 'Wintergarten-players' thus put themselves for the 41st time at the disposal of the wounded."

Or: *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, April 27th, 1942: "In the Reserve-Lazarett (auxiliary military hospital) VI, artists have brought gay hours to the wounded on several occasions. The other day such a 'gay afternoon' was given in style at the Hotel Faesecke at the Holstenwall with the help of the German Red Cross. About 350 soldiers as well as guests of Party and S.A. were present. S.A.-Sturmbannführer Rehagen, the leader of S.A.-Standarte 76, which collaborates in looking after the military hospitals, brought greetings from Obergruppenführer Fust. Then there was a long programme including different items, among others the Accordion-Orchestra Nordstern with Joseph Albrecht. The soldiers were in very good spirits and expressed their thanks by collecting a gift of 400 marks for the Red Cross."

Hitler and the German Home Secretary take special trouble with the notices as well as the graves. Here is what the Home Secretary allows you to do: "*Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Amtsblatt des Reichsinnenministeriums für Wissenschaft Erziehung und Volksbildung und der Unterrichtsverwaltungen der Länder*; April 5th, 1942." Decree by the Reichsinnenminister in the name of all other Reichsministers, to all authorities, concerning wreaths, obituary notices for officials, in which it is stated: "When giving wreaths, only ribbons with the Swastika may be used. The Swastika in a white circle should preferably be applied to the lower part of red ribbon, so as to allow space for an inscription, which, in the interests of uniformity (!), should be in silver writing. The cost should be adapted to local conditions and kept within narrow limits. Not more than 20 reichsmarks must be spent on a wreath with a ribbon, inclusive of extra costs, during the period from May till October, or 30 reichsmarks during the period from November till April, until further notice."

Regarding obituary notices the decree observes that a notice "seems suitable when a civil servant on the active list dies whose standing and achievement deserve public observation". A list is then given of categories entitled to a notice, and "other civil servants may be honoured with an obituary notice if they have been employed for at least five years with true fulfilment of duty. A notice may be inserted in only one newspaper, and should be made as short as possible. A party organ should be

preferred. As a rule a notice 96 millimetres broad by 80 long must be regarded as sufficient. The costs must be kept within the tariff prices for public announcements. . . ." This is solicitude indeed and no room is left for personal feelings. Indeed the relatives cannot even prevent such notices appearing in the "Party organs".

Here then is Hitler's care for his soldiers: *B.B.Z.*, April 17th, 1942: Hitler has taken special trouble about the graves of dead soldiers. The crosses on them will be made according to a certain design, resembling the Iron Cross. The soldier's name, his unit, etc., will be carefully noted on the crosses. There are to be large cemeteries of soldiers' graves. The paper remarks that people are beginning to realize that it is a poor service to a dead soldier to remove his body from these cemeteries, and transfer it to another. Soldiers sleep "on for the Day". Their names and deeds will shine even brighter when, according to the Führer's plans, permanent monuments can be erected.

## CHAPTER XIII

### OPPOSITION

**WE** HEARD OF passive and latent opposition and discontent. These trends will result in nothing and the persons concerned will not partake in any revolt unless help comes from outside. Not even that will prove sufficient, but should a new regime be introduced they will gladly change over from the Nazis and feel free and able to breathe once more. They are not the active type, though they may feel keenly the horrors committed by the Nazis even when they are not directed against themselves or their families.

There is another way of proving opposition, "by old-fashioned ideas", in short decency and humanity. It is more dangerous to show this form of opposition than to grumble and show general discontent, yet it seems to be widely practised. Simple kindness and a helpful attitude have become politically suspect in the Nazi state and are punished with severe sentences if found out. They imply an attitude deviating from the official one, especially towards prisoners of war, foreign workers in Germany, and Jews.

Some cases have leaked out and have been made widely known through the press all over the world: that of the woman dressing the bruise of a prisoner of war working on her farm;

of the proprietor of an estate and his daughter having a glass of wine with another prisoner of war every evening and engaging in long conversation; of the woman baking a cake for a prisoner of war; and of the two girls, mere children in their early teens, of whom the elder one had to serve a prison sentence because they had spoken to a prisoner of war and given him a piece of bread. These cases have come before the world. A few more have been published in Germany, but never very much leaks out. The best indication is that the persons doing these acts of kindness can apparently count on the understanding and approval of their fellow men (indeed the *Schwarze Korps* speaks of a conspiracy among people in not reporting each other, while always finding fault with party officials). As reporting and denunciation have become an official institution created by the Party there must be trust indeed among the general public, as every personal grudge could be avenged in such a manner.

*Ostseezeitung, Stettiner General Anzeiger*, 19th June, 1942, contains a warning headlined: "An enemy remains an enemy. Do not associate with prisoners of war."

*M.N.N.* gives a longish article with the title "No German money for prisoners of war" and the sub-title: "Clear separation line between Germans and Poles." The article states that prisoners of war often act as assistants to greengrocers or coal-merchants and deliver such articles to households. Often the housewives give them money. "This is forbidden and punishable. Prisoners of war may not receive money except from their employer. It is especially wrong to give them German money. Prisoners of war get their pay in so-called 'camp-money'. German money may on no account come into their possession as it could facilitate their escape." This is of course known to any person with common sense. Perhaps it is even the intention.

"Our relations, especially with the Poles, must again and again be made clear to our people. It is not permissible that through indifference (!) a Polish worker should be encouraged in actions against the law. The best regulations and measures of any state can have no success if the people do not comply with the required attitude. Reservation towards the Poles by the part of the German population has decreased to a marked degree. Experience proves that this is very misguided and dangerous. Working together cannot always be avoided but a Pole can nowhere and never be a member of the family community. In the country it often happens that people, especially young girls, have cause to complain. Every peasant is expected to understand and help his female workers. Policemen and

mayors of the villages must see to it that the regulations on the relations between Polish civilian workers (male and female) and the population are applied with double strictness, and that thus the protection of German women and girls is ensured. The authorities must help specially in cases where the peasant is at the front and his wife finds herself all alone with the Polish workers."

*Stettiner General Anzeiger* again warns the population not to help prisoners of war when they escape, but to help in their recapture. It adds the threatening warning that most escaped prisoners report again for duty against Germany.

*Bodenseerundschau*, 21st August, 1942. In an article entitled "Another Warning" it is told how a thirty-two-year-old widow living at Kiel (late husband a soldier) visited friends in the country, where a French officer, prisoner of war, was working on the farm. She allowed him to kiss her three (!) times in spite of the warnings of her host that such conduct was reprehensible and punishable. The weeping woman was sentenced to five months' imprisonment for her "irresponsible levity."

A touching story is told in *M.N.N.*, June 2nd, 1942, of two girls and a French prisoner of war. It is again a court-story and bears the title: "They helped an attempt to escape". "Twenty-eight-year-old Klara Umbricht from Munich and twenty-one-year-old Erna Danner, born in Regensburg, had to appear in Court for the help they had given to a Frenchman in his attempt to escape. The Frenchman was occupied in the same factory as the girls. Umbricht, who knew about his plan to escape, waited for the prisoner in the street on March 14th and took him to her room where she hid him, fed him and allowed him to sleep until March 31st. She confided in Danner and they decided to smuggle the prisoner into a goods train operating regularly between Aubing and Friedrichshafen, and to get him thus to Friedrichshafen. They hired a car and told the driver that Danner intended to go for a day's outing with a friend. On March 31st Danner drove to Aubing with the Frenchman in order to meet the goods train there, but they arrived too late. Nothing could be done then except to bring the prisoner back to Umbricht. On the following day the hiding place was discovered and Umbricht was arrested. A special court sentenced Umbricht to one year in prison while Danner got a sentence of three months."

It is less dangerous to show a kind attitude towards foreign workers, but in general this is regarded in much the same way. Here a great deal depends upon the country from which the

worker comes. With the support of Nazi racial theories it is, for example, difficult to find fault with Germans for associating with Norwegians or Dutchmen even if they do not belong to the Fascist International. (In the latter case, as we have seen, they are treated as belonging to the Nazi Party and are equal to German Nazis and superior to German non-Nazis.) But in the case of the Poles there is very little practical difference when the German population tries to alleviate the cruel lot of these unfortunates, may they be prisoners of war or civilian workers brought to Germany after the close of the campaign and even of their own so-called "free will".

*National Zeitung*, 12th April, 1942, criticizes those members of the community who give food, etc., to foreign workers. "Everybody knows that all foreign workers receive sufficient food. Good nature is therefore misplaced, and begging should be reported to the nearest police station."

*Kölnische Zeitung* feels compelled to give the German people the following lesson on the treatment of Russian workers: "The Russian workers are backward culturally, and cannot be treated in the same way as German workers. They are therefore not entitled to holidays, either with their families or without."

The Flensburg local Nazi Party felt disturbed on racial grounds about the relationship of the population with the foreign workers. The district officials for Racial Protection therefore held a meeting where the Party Leader gave voice to the following: "Foreign nations are to-day the crux of the problem . . . To-day's motto is: 'Keep your distance.' We can never create the German Reich in Europe by maintaining equality. Every time Germans mix with members of a foreign race they commit a crime, because the purity of our nation is the foundation of our future."

And *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 16th May, 1942, found it necessary to print another appeal to the population on the subject of giving food to foreign workers, reminding them that it is an offence to hand over foodstuffs without coupons, although "again and again retailers give food to foreigners without coupons".

The same is reported on the attitude of the population towards Jews. Several sentences have been passed at different places in the Reich on butchers and grocers who supplied Jews with extra food against the regulations. (For example H. Bengsch, Berlin, and L. Fritz, Buckow, *V.B.*, 18th April, 1942.) American reports say that the German people often help the Jews with food in spite of the fact that Jews may not be spoken to or visited. Last summer Jews leaving the country were no longer allowed

to be accompanied by their family to the station. Such scenes had apparently so moved bystanders that the authorities felt they were not "good for morale". See *Aufbau*, American-Jewish paper, 18th July, 1941: "Measures against the Jews are carried out so to speak behind closed doors. Usually the Jewish community has to carry out the orders of the Gestapo. The average citizen has not the slightest idea how his Jewish fellow-citizens are tormented. The latest measure is that relatives and friends of those Jews who emigrate are not allowed to come to the station to see them off. The public must not be moved by the leave-taking."

When the wearing of the "Star of David" for Jews was introduced in Germany it was frequently reported that Germans went out of their way to greet Jewish acquaintances in the street. Among others, *The Spiritual Issues Of The War*, October 9th, 1941, number 101, quoting the Swedish paper *Karlstads Tidningen*, gives news of this: "German citizens completely ignore the yellow star." The paper quotes an article from the Berlin correspondent of another paper showing that the German people behaved very discreetly and did not stare rudely at the new Jewish star. Furthermore, Jews were politely served in the shops and Aryan Germans could be seen raising their hats with pronounced courtesy to Jews.

The paper continues: "Is it not moving that the mass of the people refuse to follow their leaders in this primitive act of persecution and tyranny . . . ?"

On the whole we have in this book confined ourselves to things said and done within Nazi Germany. Let us therefore now see what the coarsest of all Nazi papers, the *Schwarze Korps*, says about it: The S.S. has misgivings. The S.S. has misgivings about the poorest, most persecuted people on earth. They find it necessary to warn their countrymen. In an article "The Proletarian Loophole" (April 16th, 1942): "We do not think that the German worker will believe this new trick. Still it is as well to show him that it is a trick. And we wonder whether the bowler hat should not be made obligatory wear for Jews" (so that they should be known among their fellow-workers and made ridiculous by it).

What is it, this new trick by which the Jews have outwitted the S.S.? It is simple and almost sad. The Jews wear workmen's clothes. On the whole they used to be fairly well-to-do in Germany and therefore suspect among the workers as capitalists. Now they have lost most of their possessions and live in continual danger. They have become workers like the others and look like it.

They seem to try to do their jobs well and the workers seem to respect them.

*Schwarze Korps* interprets thus: "The Jews do not wear workmen's clothes because they are suitable for their work. No, the Jew does it out of 'psychology'. The Jew masquerades as a miner. He tries the proletarian loophole. He wants to be the same as all the others. He speculates on the 'proletarian brotherhood'. He believes that it is easier thus to enter into conversation, to win confidence as a miner amongst miners. If he leaves the bowler hat at home and exchanges the morning coat for a leather jacket, then he believes that the hand of the German worker will be held out to him. He will be pitied, he the poor 'comrade'. They will listen to his sorrows, hear how badly off he is and how unjustly he is treated in spite of his being their brother and in the same position as they themselves. Thus he hopes to bore the channels through which 'his poison' will enter. And then the words quoted above: 'We do not believe the German worker will not see through this trick. Still, it is as well to show him that it is a trick...'"

All this by no means eliminates the guilt of the Germans to these oppressed minorities nor, except in isolated cases, does it substantially ease the lot of these minorities. It might, however, show the Poles, the slave labourers, the Jews, that their lot is part of a terror and slavery which embrace the whole territory where the Nazis reign, and that a certain degree is shown of that solidarity which makes the *Schwarze Korps* so angry. The fact that it is shown under great pressure and against heavy odds makes the few signs of it more important.

In other fields besides that of pure human kindness, attempts at a decent attitude are shown. There is, for example, the case of the publishing house of the non-Aryan Jakob Hegner. It is well known that businesses were aryanized and that this whole change over was supposed to have been accomplished a long time ago. Now in the year of 1942, three years after the outbreak of war, we find the following advertisement inserted in *Fr. Z.* "We announce that the firm Jakob Hegner has been transformed into a company and is now called the Heller Publishing house, Dr. Schmidt & Co. *The change has been made because official regulations have now to be followed, that is as a matter of form. The way in which our publishing house has been run will not be changed.*" This is the more remarkable as Hegner himself is an emigrant and actively working against the Nazis.

The public supports such attitudes or at least condones them. Otherwise they would not be possible. It is interesting, too, to

see that the Party usually rages against the public and not against the culprits. The Nazis know that not everybody belongs to their Party; but what they are really afraid of is such attitudes on the part of the public.

Unless a man is known to be a Nazi, he is taken by his fellows for an anti-Nazi, or at least as a non-Nazi who can be trusted. This is true not only of personal contact. But there are many cases, such as the following, which point to this: a woman talks against the Nazis in a train to a stranger. Suddenly he reveals himself as a Nazi and reports her. This will certainly not have been the first time that this woman has shown herself as against the Nazis. That she did so shows she must have had confidence in her fellow men. Or take the case of the gas-cookers. Second-hand cookers are price-controlled like new ones. An advertisement appears in a paper that a gas-cooker is to be sold for the controlled price of seventy marks. *Schwarze Korps* is good enough to tell us what happened. Perhaps they even put the advertisement in the paper as a catch. At any rate there are at least twelve examples of people wanting to pay more (one offer is of more than double the price allowed); several people offer such exquisite rarities as shoes (one; two pairs) or gloves, to be thrown in. And all that is done in an absolutely matter-of-fact way, no one dreaming that the receiver of these offers would report their illegal actions. It just would not appear to be done.

Therefore burning appeals are made to the public. Unless the public gets the spirit of tale-bearing in its blood, unless the public works more, is more confident, etc., no victory can be gained. The following not very confident-sounding article was printed in an important local paper, March 13th, 1942; "The National Day of Mourning": "No one knows whether we shall celebrate this day next year in peace or war, but one thing we do know—this year we shall be asked to give our last ounce of energy. We must exert all our forces to the maximum and throw in all our reserves. We must be afraid of no sacrifices whatsoever. Of course some will say that they have heard this talk of sacrifices before. It is nothing new for the people of the Reich to make sacrifices. They 'made sacrifices' for the monarchies during the World War, for the Jews (!) after the Versailles Treaty, then for Democracy and now there is a new war which demands new sacrifices. But this time it is different—it will bring us well-deserved success, definite liberty for the German nation, peace for many generations and bread and prosperity in the newly-formed, wide and just fatherland."

*Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, May 4th, 1942. Gauleiter

Sauckel, speaking at the large Nazi Party meeting in Weimar on May 3rd and broadcasting to all workers, pointed present problems out clearly in their full gravity and importance. He thanked the Führer for the absolute frankness with which he, in his last speech, had shown the unavoidable necessity of this world struggle and of its prosecution to the end. Sauckel referred to the labour question, showing by various examples the importance for the future of everybody making the maximum effort and mobilizing all energies. Sauckel goes on in that vein.

*Hamburger Fremdenblatt* on April 4th, 1942, publishes a three-column article entitled: "A Little Everyday Advice", which asserts that total war imposes upon everybody the duty to do their utmost. "We cannot afford to squander our nerves and our strength . . . It is certainly not bad faith which causes the appearance of disagreeable symptoms everywhere; it is generally human weakness, shortcomings and nervousness."

A local report, March 24th, 1942. Deputy Gauleiter Gerland speaking at a workers' meeting said: "Everyone has the duty not only to work harder, but also to help in the fight against the excesses which are due to white Jews among us." White Jews are Aryans showing a Jewish attitude. "Outsiders in the community of the people must be stopped . . . We know what to expect if the Home Front falls : . . and therefore we must not revert to old mistakes." He contradicted the rumours of inflation . . . and went on: "The slogan is 'work more and produce more'; our social order was not invented so that slackers should have an easy time. Women who do not want to work because they are supported by their husbands are a disgrace to their husbands."

The Nazi sense of humour is limited. An article headed "Political Joke" reads: "Jokes dealing with German home affairs no longer deal with political parties, but with the Philistine who holds himself aloof from great events, the bleater who sees merely the unfavourable side of things, and the unsocial person who stands aside. The State can abolish clubs, but can only influence the opinion of an individual after the work of a lifetime. Where power has functioned, the political joke must stop, since power is humourless. It follows that power is insufficient where the joke appears. It therefore loses the right to existence as victory proceeds . . . The political joke has limits, like jokes about one's boss . . . If we devote too much attention to the enemy, then both friend and enemy may think that we have no other means of dealing with him, which of course we have (!)."

*Flensburger Nachrichten*, April 25th, 1942: "The war will grow harder and sacrifices greater . . ." People are trusted less and less. The Berlin correspondent of the Swedish paper *Social Demokraten* reports on April 12th that the facilities for German business men travelling to Serbia, Greece and Rumania have been even more restricted. Certificates from the Chamber of Commerce and other authorities are required and these are only issued when cogent general economic interests necessitate the journey. Apart from other reasons it is certainly clear from this that the utmost vigilance is necessary, and towards both sides. German business men should not be given the opportunity to travel abroad, to see how things really are and be influenced by other people; while they in their turn should not be given an opportunity to spread reports on the situation in the Reich and possibly influence members of the dependent states in an unfavourable way.

*Westdeutscher Beobachter*, March 22nd, 1942, has an article by Heinz Müller covering a page and a half, dealing with the Home Front which stabbed the fighting front in the back during the last world war. It is headlined "Traitors Behind the Front", and the sub-title is "The Grave-diggers of the German Nation", and contains the following passage: "The enemy wants Germany to disintegrate. The enemy is quite wrong. There will never again be such a stab in the back as that in 1917 which we recall in this article. The knowledge of it should be a warning to every German not to relax in watchfulness for any attempt to weaken the internal front."

*Westdeutscher Beobachter* eight days later, on March 30th, has again to issue warnings. This time it reports a speech by Deputy Gauleiter Schaller on the occasion of installing Hermann Schaffrath as borough-leader (Kreisleiter) of Bergheim and releasing Reichsleiter Theo Müllenmeister from this office. In his speech he dealt very sharply with grumblers. He too spoke of the "stab in the back". This seems to be the general topic and the Nazis seem to be genuinely afraid, as is also proved by the speeches of Hitler, Goebbels and Goering. Schaller said that a collapse of the people as in the last world war was impossible because the party was a bond of steel and iron.

Kreisleiter Alfons Schaller, addressing the Deutz group of the Nazi Party, said: "The hardships of the war will by no means be removed with the appearance of spring, but black pessimism is just as unsuitable as frivolous optimism. The near future will require more and harder work from the homeland." He went on to discuss the different groups of grumblers and critics and

divided them into good-natured ones and the bad ones who want to destroy our unity; and he announced the severest and most radical measures against them. He then spoke about the reduced rations and said: "What does not exist cannot be given."

He discussed the careless chatterboxes, rumour-mongers, nosy parkers and amateur strategists, saying: "England and the U.S.A. have already lost the war, but they have not yet realized this. Our duty is to lead the people so that they will not say 'Peace at any price' as in 1918 but 'Victory at any price'. If we deserve it, destiny will now give us what it refused us in 1918. We are fighting for the liberty of our nation. The question 'What shall I get out of it?' must not be asked."

The Nazi Party has started a Reich-wide propaganda campaign under the slogan "The Front fights—the home country works for victory". The Party leaders seem to feel that such a campaign is necessary and that it has not the general support of the people. We have seen elsewhere in this book that the Nazis have erected forts and fortifications, have built strategical roads, etc. for the event of civil war. They know that the opposition against them is serious and that, given a chance, their opponents would attempt everything. They complain therefore, in a whining tone which ill becomes their belief in super-race and power-politics, "that the people hold together while the Party officials are easily subjected to distrust and criticism."

*Schwarze Korps*, May 6th, speaks of mistrust by everyone of everyone else. And in another issue, on April 30th, 1942, they use the expression "the small people's solidarity". This feeling is also revealed, the paper goes on, in the pleasure that the small man gets "from suspecting and gossiping about officials, Party members and employers; whenever one of these is sentenced, the public's pleasure is colossal. Every death sentence is unanimously applauded, and every sentence of mere penal servitude regretted". The paper urges the public to discard "these old class prejudices"(!). It is very convenient for the *Schwarze Korps* to dismiss the hatred of the population against the "Nazi-bosses" as "class prejudice". They go on to say: "The State cannot keep sentencing 'big people' in order to oblige the small man."

The front-page headline of another *Schwarze Korps*—that of March 19th, 1942—to an article covering a page and a half is "Vitamin B". Now to the outsider this sounds harmless enough, but it is the German nickname for wangling or graft, B standing for "Beziehung" (connection). The *Schwarze Korps* kindly explains that it usually means "connections with government offices".

Of course the paper has no interest in stressing the importance of this; on the contrary it belittles and ridicules the idea, asserting again and again that there is no such thing and never could be. It explains how such an expression gradually grows into a "slogan": "If one listens to what people say at different places, one will find very often that 'Vitamin B' plays a big part. The first person knows the expression and uses it according to its original meaning as a joke. The next is already taking it seriously and a third swears by all the saints (schwört Stein und Bein) that the 'good connections' are really the elixir of life, the stone of wisdom with which a war-time existence can speedily be transformed into a peace-time one. . . .

"The important thing is that those who believe in the effectiveness of good connections must also believe that there are highly placed people who are prepared to leave the path of duty for money or good words." They themselves then come to the conclusion that it is really "corruption", and the "joke which surrounds Vitamin B as chocolate does the pill has completely vanished. It should be said that corruption means not only the possible buying of some advantage, but the buying and selling of each and every illegal advantage". It could certainly not be made clearer and we thank the *Schwarze Korps* for this illumination.

Besides, the *Schwarze Korps* goes on, if corruption did exist, it would leak out. "Someone who is not a well-wisher might answer that the people are tired of reporting such cases as in any case nothing would happen. But the State itself can give an answer to that", and two cases are quoted: In these two cases, however, it is not mentioned that the two persons convicted were Nazis, the proprietors of munition factories. In this article the *Schwarze Korps* addresses itself to the "little man" and plays on his hatred of the capitalists, but it overlooks the fact that this was not the question at issue. "Connection" in the Nazi state means connection with Nazi officials, for these are the only ones who can grant favours; in the same sense "corruption" means corruption of the Nazi officials. It is possible, then, that the Nazis may have had quite different reasons from those given officially for convicting the two persons mentioned.

This is a typical example of how the paper works. It starts by giving a real reason. It probably speculates that no one will read sentence after sentence of an article a page and a half long and it ends by completely twisting the issue and flattering

the people for their marvellous "sense of what is right and wrong"; with the conclusion that therefore the German nation is immune against corruption. Thus the end of the article completely contradicts the beginning and the final words again inveigh against the few outsiders who, on the one hand, are severely dealt with, while, on the other hand, they are the only people to have and to make use of influence. These mental acrobatics will not remain unnoticed by the Germans.

The *Schwarze Korps* is a gossip-paper of a certain acrimonious type and it often makes political accusations. The tone which the quotations inevitably introduce in this part of the book should therefore be forgiven. The facts, however, are very important and must not be overlooked. This time they concern a letter that a German woman wrote to Germans abroad to warn them against Nazism and to show them the real state of affairs in the Reich. The woman is called Mrs. Elisabeth Grüsser and she lives in Berlin-Pankow, Ringstr. 5. She writes to the woman leader in the village of Petersdorf near Bistritz in the north of Siebenbürgen. The paper compares her with "Frau Schnack", the wireless actress who ridicules such types every Saturday.

Mrs. Grüsser went cleverly about it. She took part in a "pen friend plan" (Sendschriften-Hilfswerk), but the addressee was not the person she had hoped for, but a real Nazi who reported her—if the censorship had not already forestalled that action. This "Sendschriften-Hilfswerk" is designed to create personal bonds between Germans of the Reich and Germans living abroad. It provides names and addresses and German families write abroad and send books and magazines, etc.

This, according to the paper, is what she wrote: "You envy me for being a German of the Reich because I live in the midst of great happenings?" Well, she will show them how much she is to be envied. She starts with the fate of German mothers, who have already sacrificed almost all their sons. To speak of "proud joy" in such cases, according to her, is an abnormal attitude of the soul. She speaks of the "insanity of war" about which one cannot think without losing one's reason.

Then she talks about her every-day life which is "with a few alterations . . . the life of all the women in Germany." In the market she usually queues for hours, but then a soldier home on leave or a pregnant woman gets served out of turn and gets the last cabbage. Thus one and three-quarter or two hours pass. "Then I get cross and I frequently say: Now only a 'special victory news bulletin' could save me." (These special

news bulletins are frequently issued by the German wireless and the people seem to be so sick of them that the expression is used as a joke in place of some bad language.)

The letter contains eleven typewritten pages. *Schwarze Korps* goes on: "Naturally Mrs. Schnack must suffer this not once a day, but six or seven times. 'My hands are grey and sore (open), because I have to clean them with abrasive and cannot look after them because I have no creams.'" The paper comments: "Now should come the claim that Mrs. Schnack makes soup out of the soap and puts the cream in the sandwiches. Of course she has lost weight tremendously, 'for to-day (Sunday) there are two slices of rye-bread and butter with apple-tea, in contrast to week-days when I always eat porridge, semolina or something similar, boiled in water.'

"At the beginning of April 1941 she got 100 grammes (about 3 ounces) of meat-roll (Dauerwurst), of which she has in November still 30 grammes. That would be exactly 10 grammes per month, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  grammes per week, or 0.35 grammes per day. No wonder that Mrs. Schnack disapproves of the 'fabricated gaiety', in which the wireless indulges. But anyone who for some incomprehensible reason only gets an exceedingly small part of the ration certainly has no reason to be gay.

"The letter is eleven typewritten pages long. We only selected some of the worst parts. It contained everything to undermine the bravest attitude of any woman. They were moved, indeed, but not as Mrs. Schnack thought. Otherwise this letter would never have reached us."

Apart from all the other and obvious conclusions contained in that letter, it also brings to light the fact—otherwise kept strictly secret—that the official rations are not always obtainable for everybody. The Nazis might therefore be quite right in saying that "Vitamin B" does not ensure even their getting more rations (though this I should doubt), but it may nevertheless be useful in getting rations which others do *not* get.

*Soviet War News* reproduces in its issue of October 13th, 1941, another utterance unmistakably directed against the so-called "leaders". In a letter the Russians found on the body of the German Corporal Gustav Fluor, his wife writes to him: ". . . They ought to hang the one who is responsible for all this war on the nearest tree."

The same paper reports that twenty-eight German air force and army officers who are prisoners of war wrote to the German Officer Corps strongly condemning Hitler and his gang and all they stand for. (March 17th, 1942.)

The Swiss weekly *Die Weltwoche*, quoted by the *New York Times* (March 21st), says that every German when he comes home asks: "Are we really to be rewarded for our efforts?" These soldiers, says the paper, do not feel that their hardships in battle are worth while if they only help to enrich the Nazi Party members who have become the privileged class.

The fact that this new type of class feeling is stronger than ever is also realized by the Nazis. *Schwarze Korps* again gives an elaboration on this theme (April 30th): "It says that the instincts of the small man against the bigger people (in this case the Nazis) are too long established to have been obliterated after a few years of Nazi educational work, especially as they have been fed with too many slogans of fiery class-warfare." This proves that the workers still stick to their old ideas.

The police know very well how difficult it is to "pick a bad Miller from the good Millers" (Miller standing for any sort of ordinary name). "One Miller does not give away another, but it is great fun suspecting and gossiping about officials, Party men and employers even if nothing particular is known." Some sentences have been passed, but "as soon as this wave passes, Miller reappears clamouring for justice". What is a mere five years of penal servitude? The judge must have been persuaded to let the accused off lightly, or how are such light sentences to be explained? Millers are not interested in cases that entail less than the death-sentence; all they are interested in is the connections the accused must have had, and they study the papers carefully, noting to which trade he belonged. Recently a much respected man was sentenced to death and this caused much satisfaction, although the State only did its duty as in hundreds of other cases.

"The State could not help it if the culprit before discovery was its supporter(!), and it cannot keep sentencing even bigger people just to oblige every Miller. We wait for something really bad. It is high time that the public discarded old class-prejudices.

"We have already invited the public to give us the facts about many rumoured offences, but very little has been received—far too little." There is more then! It is small wonder that the people do not give such evidence. Nobody wants to hang for it. *Schwarze Korps* lamentingly goes on: "The people who know things are not really keen to clear them up; to them the facts are no more important than rumours. They need the annoyance of rumours as something on which they can vent their inhibited instincts of class-warfare."

The people are not only angry because the Party members get more food and all sorts of other advantages: "through connections"; what they hate most is that the Nazis, after beginning this war, are now not even fighting it. They complain loudly about young men not being sent to the front because they belong to the "security" troops of S.S. and S.A. which are continually being increased. The more uneasy the Nazis get, the more men they need to hold down the German people. Even such important papers as *Fr.Z.* and *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung* have had to take up that challenge and explain it away because it cannot be left unanswered any longer. (See details about the "home-security-forces" in the chapter on S.S.)

*The Times* of May 22nd, 1942, quotes *Fr.Z.* of May 8th: "The war effort of the S.A. is prominently written up in *Fr.Z.* for May 8th. After enlarging upon the rush of S.A. to join the armed forces in various capacities the journalist says: 'It is not surprising then if S.A. men are less and less often to be seen in the streets. The complements are only up to 40 per cent nowadays. None the less, the widely ramified S.A. organization in the rear of the front carries on its activities without diminution. Each man bears a heavier share . . . not all S.A. men were fit to bear arms. The others have been engaged on such activities as propaganda and the counteracting of enemy propaganda; assisting in organizing rationing, agriculture, etc.' The S.A. really must be a force of cripples if 40 per cent are admittedly left behind at home!"

Ley, the Labour Front leader, as reported in *Der Angriff* (again quoted from *The Times* of the same issue), has stressed the need for the unity of . . . Germans within the Party: the Party protects the people, cares for them, thinks for them (sic): "It is not enough to be a German, every German must be a National Socialist. . . . Nothing escapes the party, the least stir or fuss or grumble or agreement is recorded as if by a seismograph. When all else fails the Party will not." Ley knows then that there are not enough Nazis. *The Times* comments: "These are not mere empty catchwords, for the Party is taking on new powers. It is the Party that has to act for Hitler in compelling every one to do his duty."

*Hamburger Fremdenblatt* shows a picture of a review of Storm Troops' "Appell" by Gauleiter Kaufmann. It was held in the open and the whole square is filled with people wearing S.A. uniform. Apparently all of them are necessary to hold down the Hamburg people alone!

*Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 1st, 1942, in the same

vein explains, "for the benefit of soldiers at the Front who grumble", why everybody cannot be at the Front. The writer turns to the question about Party officials and says significantly: "If soldiers see Party officials in Party uniform they must remember that they are not shirkers either; they have probably been at the Front but are now urgently needed somewhere else where their labour and experience are necessary."

And finally a story which illustrates the same thing, but has an amusing side too. *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, on the 29th of April, 1942, reports: "A political leader (Blockwart) lived in a block of flats and among his duties one was to put up propaganda-posters in his beat. When he fixed a large poster on the door of the cellar of the block of flats facing the street the manager of the house went up to him and asked him to take the poster away, as it was damaging(!) the door and when the lodger did not do his bidding he began to take the poster away himself. The political leader prevented this action by hitting the manager several times and calling him saboteur and enemy of the State. The owner of the house then sued the Party official, his lodger, with the intention of making him vacate his flat, on the grounds of 'considerable annoyance'.

"The lawcourts in Berlin have refused to do this. In the sentence of November 4th, 1941 (reprinted in *Deutsche Justiz* periodical of April 9th, 1942), the court of law stresses the high importance of Party propaganda in peace time and even more in war-time; propaganda does not allow, as in the last war, people to be influenced by all sorts of ideas; it sees to it that the whole people bear one mark only. Naturally no person may hamper or limit its execution but must endure small disadvantages from it. Propaganda is solely in the hands of the Party and its Political Officials, who know by experience how best to spread it. No other person can say how many posters there may or may not be, nor where they are to hang. The political leader is obliged to hang all posters given to him in such a way that the utmost propaganda value results from them. Official space must not be used by him. So that he can only hang them inside or outside the houses on his beat. He had to place the posters so that the greatest possible number of persons could read them. It is the spirit of propaganda that similar announcements catch the eye of the people everywhere. The leader was right therefore not to hang the poster inside the house, but on the door to the cellar so that people passing the house could also read it. The damage to the cellar door is inconsiderable, so that this is without import. Even if for this reason

the cellar door has to be repaired earlier than it would normally be, the amount of money spent by the plaintiff would be so small that it would have no relation to the importance of propaganda for the whole people. Other people sacrifice much more for it.

"At any rate the manager was not justified in removing the poster from the door and the leader was right in protecting it. If the manager, to prevent the orderly spread of propaganda so infinitely important during the war, gave such an unimportant reason as that of damage to the door, the leader's only answer was to protect the poster. He was justified, too, in using the type of language which he did use, especially as a crowd had gathered, which in this case did not harm the propagandá; this had happened through the action of the manager. Annoyance to the owner of the house was only caused through his manager . . . and therefore there cannot be any question of the leader having annoyed him".

Poor people. The manager and the owner of the house had hoped in this small, pitiful way for a chance at last to get rid of the leader, or at least to get him out of the house. No one who has not lived in Nazi Germany knows what it means to have such a person living in the house, who can enter your flat at any time, who can probably listen if you turn the wireless on. This was a little chance for them to fight against the Nazi machine. It is so tragic really, and yet the whole story reads as if taken from a comic paper.

#### CHAPTER XIV

### ACTIVE ANTAGONISM TO THE NAZI PARTY

**A**CTIVE ANTAGONISM, AS long as it is not anonymous, is usually reported in court sentences, so that it can tell only of the unsuccessful attempts. Successful antagonists are not found out and Nazis try very hard not to give any publicity to such manifestations. It has therefore been a regular feature throughout the Nazi period that in every locality, are found stories and accounts of happenings that have taken place within the surrounding few miles. Unless a traveller passes the story on to some other group he trusts somewhere else, the tales are buried there. That is why the organizing of resistance is, under

the existing terror, so very difficult indeed. But even the small number of reports which have become famous, and thus cannot be kept dark, are impressive in the attempts they report and the suffering they reveal.

*Stockholm Tidningen*, May 9th: "The number of death sentences has increased in Germany as a result of Hitler's orders to the judges."

*Schleswig-Holsteinische Tageszeitung*: "Thirteen former Communists, all of them functionaries of the German Communist Party, are at present being tried at Görlitz for the murder of an S.A. man, Richard Solinger, of Rothenburg."

*Schenectady* has broadcast that Berlin dispatches in the Swedish press disclose that five more Germans have been sentenced to death for Treason . . . etc." (February 14th, 1942.)

*Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung*, April 14th, 1942: "The Vice-President of the People's Court, in a speech in Düsseldorf, pointed out that it was high treason if any German citizen passed on leaflets 'which were distributed by either internal or external enemies'."

In order to keep such happenings secret, the Nazis often report as quite harmless, often as child's play, actions which could not possibly be performed to such an extent by children. We have to recognize here acts of sabotage against which the public must be warned, but if possible without realizing their implications.

*Westmark*, April 15th, 1942: "The Chief of Police of Saarbrücken states that recently children have damaged walls erected above air-raid shelters as protection from blast. Parents are instructed to prevent their children from doing this."

*Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung*, April 10th, 1942: "Even during the last ten days of March badly behaved youths have thrown stones bigger than a fist, metal plates and other hard objects at goods and passenger trains, usually from bridges. Trains have been shot at with firearms (in Germany no one—and certainly not a youth—is allowed firearms without special permission), windows have been smashed and train officials and passengers hurt. Train signals have been damaged and various objects laid on the rails and between the switches, causing the delay of trains.

"The railways have repeatedly approached parents of school children in this matter but have noticed no improvement. They ask all Volksgenossen for their assistance; at the same time pointing out that people who witness such occurrences and tolerate them silently are also guilty.

"Once again we ask all parents, and particularly those who live near railways, to admonish their children most severely, and we call attention to the fact that parents may also be made responsible for their children's deeds."

A broadcast on Tuesday, April 25th, at 8 p.m., said that a big fire had been caused in the wood Grunewald, adjoining Berlin. It took several hours to put out the flames. Children are supposed to have caused it.

Another most unbelievable story is that a peasant, in a "state of idiocy arising from chronic alcoholism", set fire to his farm. It seems that either this is a typical insurance swindle or that the peasant was fed up with the supervision of the local Nazi peasant leader, who ordered him what to sell and what to keep of his produce. The local law courts found that the man was not entitled to insurance as alcoholism was the cause of the damage. The central Reichsgericht, however, made the finding that "up till now no special inclination to cause fires could be observed in persons under the influence of drink".

Another thorn in the flesh of the Nazis is the listening to B.B.C. and Moscow broadcasts, in spite of the very severe penalties imposed for it. Such penalties have no relation to the actual "offence" and must be understood as a measure of terror to prevent listening. The Nazis have not succeeded. There are even secret transmitters still operating despite the S.S. vigilance.

*Basler National Zeitung*, the Swiss paper, writes: "In spite of the ban on listening to the foreign news from London and Moscow, the London news circulates all round Berlin. Such 'radio criminals' have recently been sentenced and some condemned to death, but this does not hinder the fanatical opponents of the present regime from establishing secret transmitters. One of these illegal transmitters in a busy Berlin street worked for a long time before it was found out. When they knew they were discovered the men who operated it threw themselves out of a window and were killed." (April 9th, 1942).

Another significant communication about German secret transmitters is given by the *Polish News Bulletin*, July 3rd, 1941, number 82. It says: "The German High Command has issued a warning which was published in German newspapers, including the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 24th, 1941, to short-wave wireless amateurs: 'The secret sending of news by wireless transmitters incurs heavy penalties, including imprisonment, even in peace time. In war time secret transmissions are detrimental to the Army measures necessary for the defence of the

country, and thus are of benefit to the enemy. Anyone sending out secret transmissions in war time *ipso facto* places himself outside society and must face the possibility that as a traitor to his country he will be punished by long imprisonment or death. This affects all persons irrespective of position or age, especially wireless amateurs who make transmissions, even when they think they are broadcasting only innocent matters. So beware, "Black transmitters!" "Black transmitting" is treachery to the country!"

*Kärntner Grenzruf* (Klagenfurth), April 3rd, 1943. In an interview with the head of the broadcasting office of Gau Kärnten, Engineer Kogelnik said: "Propaganda measures—for example, the Wool collection before Christmas—are important. At present another measure is being carried out: a measure on listening to enemy broadcasts. Our enemies have realized that they cannot win the war by means of arms. They therefore try to infect the home country with insidious, lying reports. In consequence, listening to enemy broadcasts is treason to the nation. Radio sets will be provided with slips which continually admonish thoughtless people; a little booklet gives information on this subject and tells every Volksgenosse clearly: to obey or be a cad."

*Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung*, March 25th, 1942, when reporting Karl Engert's speech at Düsseldorf on "leaflets from external and internal enemies," says: "It is the duty of everybody to hand such a leaflet to the police." But how are the poor citizens supposed to know that it is an enemy leaflet if they are not allowed to read it?

Another anxiety for the Nazis lies in "chain letters". These cannot so easily be traced as, for example, a printing press or a Gestettner machine, and they can have a snow-ball effect. In a way they are better than the distribution of leaflets for they bring the receivers into some form of *action* for the opposition. (*Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, April 25th/26th, 1942.)

*Münchener Zeitung*, April 24th: The Chief of Police announces: "Recently chain letters have started *again*. Volksgenossen are warned against participation in them and are requested to report any knowledge of them to the police. As these letters do harm—at least as far as time and labour are concerned—the perpetrators must expect severe measures from the police courts."

*Münchener Zeitung*, March 26th, 1942: "A warning has been published in Ingoldstadt against chain letters which allegedly started at Lourdes. Receivers of these letters are asked to make

three copies and send them on to their friends. The police ask for information about the distributors of these letters as this is a punishable offence."

The Mölders letter (see chapter on Church) was distributed in this way.

Even with nine years of experience behind them some people in the Nazi State still dare to speak up against the leaders. Sentences for this have always been specially severe.

*Ostseezeitung, Stettiner General-Anzeiger*, July 17th, 1941: "Ernst Haenig, of Greisenberg, aged 56, who in 1939 was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment for malicious utterances about State Institutions, and slanderous talk about the Führer, is now sentenced at Stettin to eighteen months' imprisonment for the same crimes."

*Breslau Neueste Nachrichten*, April 10th, 1942: "The Breslau Secret Police (that is the Gestapo, standing above the law) arrested a number of people who had slandered leading personalities. They are accused of crimes against 'Heimtücke-gesetz'."

*Thüringer Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 26th, 1941: "A special Tribunal at Erfurt sentenced a fifty-year-old war veteran, Walter B., to nine months' imprisonment for grumbling and displaying an attitude hostile to the State. B. denied the offence, but official denunciations of certain witnesses were accepted by the Tribunal. In the verdict it was emphasized that any attempts at lessening the German State's prestige or undermining the Home Front would always be severely punished."

And finally there are street fights and sabotage.

*Kieler Neueste Nachrichten*, May 6th, 1942, speaks of several Communists who had fought in the streets. The organizer committed suicide; two other assailants escaped to Russia. The remaining accomplices were sentenced to long-term penal servitude. Two of them had "incited people against Germany". This is very typical of the way the Nazis describe their opponents. (See also chapter on the Churches: the Evangelical Church in her memorandum especially states, as one grievance, that the State gave an untrue description of the struggle and did not allow the Church to state its case.) Surely these men did not incite against "Germany" but against the Nazi Party. In such cases, however, the Nazis always want to arouse sympathy.

Soviet War News gives the following examples on April 9th, 1942.

"Special police commissions have now been instituted at German war factories to combat sabotage. The armed S.A.

detachments in the factories have been reinforced. S.A. units are being withdrawn from occupied countries for this purpose.

"The number of police contingents in working-class districts has increased. These detachments are openly training in street fighting. In Wedding and Neuköln, two Berlin districts known for their 'red' sympathies, police barricades have been built in the streets and machine-guns are stationed on the roofs of houses. 'Training' is purposely carried out in the morning hours, in order to impress workers going to and from their shifts with the strength of the forces prepared against them.

"Fresh disturbances have occurred in a number of German towns owing to the reduced bread rations. The *Bergwerkszeitung*, which represents the interests behind the Ruhr heavy industries, recently stated that 'outbursts of dissatisfaction are possible in some districts.' The *Essen National Zeitung*, the newspaper owned by Goering, followed with the warning that 'anyone neglecting his duty will be reminded of it by force'.

"At the same time Essen was the scene of hunger riots. The workers demanded increased bread rations. The slogans 'Bread!' and 'Down with Hitler!' constantly appear on factory walls in Essen.

"In one of the war factories in the Chemnitz district in central Germany 179 breakages of machines due to sabotage occurred in February alone. Several shops had to reduce their output considerably and the productivity of labour in this factory had dropped by 21 per cent as compared with January. During the first days of March the police, acting on the order of the directors, arrested a large number of foreign workers. A strike broke out in the factory as a result. The authorities were forced to release all who had been arrested.

"A woman named Maria Nimsch was recently executed for 'wrecking activities'. She was stated to have set fire to four landed estates, destroying large grain supplies. The number of people executed for high treason and for 'supplying military information to Germany's enemies' is constantly increasing.

"Three-quarters of the total number of letters sent from Germany to the front expressed discontent, dejection, complaints and indignation against the war. The acuteness of these complaints and their marked anti-war character confirm that a serious change of mind has taken place among the broad masses of the German people.

"From June to August, 1941, letters containing complaints and expressions of resentment at German losses constituted 25 per cent of the total; 23 per cent contained complaints about

the protractedness of the war; 30 per cent complained of the bombardment of German cities and 19 per cent of food difficulties.

"In the period from September to October the picture was as follows: 81 per cent of all letters contained complaints connected with losses, 64 per cent contained complaints about the protractedness of the war, 47 per cent complained of the bombardment of German towns, and 41 per cent of food difficulties.

"In the months which followed, and particularly in November and December, 1941, and January, 1942, when the Red Army passed to the counter-offensive, letters complaining bitterly of losses rose to 89 per cent of the total.

"The following is an analysis of 2,000 letters from the German-Soviet front: In July and August, 1941, letters containing expressions of discontent and pessimism and complaints about difficulties constituted 27 per cent of the total. In September and October this figure rose to 38 per cent, in November and December to 54 per cent, and in January, 1942, to 66 per cent.

"The Nazi soldiers who wrote their letters in the summer of 1941 and those who wrote them in March, 1942, represent, morally speaking, two completely different armies."

*Danziger Vorposten*, April 21st: The trams will no longer take school-children. It has often happened that "workers arrived at work late, because they had missed several trams owing to overcrowding. Thus, certain departments of works started late as the key man had not arrived." Blaming school-children and the trams seems a very poor reason indeed for such events.

*New York Daily Worker*, March 14th, 1942, reports from Berne: "Workers in Western Germany reveal an ever-growing anti-Hitler mood and are more and more frequently asking the question: 'Why do we keep on with a war we cannot win?' This is the prevailing sentiment in Western Germany . . . There is resentment among workers . . . Workers in the war industries resort to every conceivable method to slow down output . . . Sabotage is particularly widespread in the chemical industry where practically every day important machines are found out of gear or with screws or metal shavings clogging the wheels. . . . Many soldiers on furlough here for the winter showed not the slightest desire to return to the front."

*The Christian Science Monitor* gives some penetrating facts and figures on the slowing down of German industry due to internal sabotage by the German people. The paper has confidential information of a whispering campaign spreading throughout Germany with the slogan, "Work more slowly so that Hitler will perish more quickly". Anti-Nazi elements and foreign

workers are the power wheels behind this drive. The amount of sabotage that has resulted from this slow-down campaign is tragic for the Germans . . . There are so many guards that they would make enough workers to run an ordinary factory.

A local paper reports on April 14th, 1942, that a thirty-year-old smith from a large nearby village had been sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment by the country court of the town after frequent warnings, "for being an unreliable and useless worker. He took on new work in May, and though he worked well for a time, his attitude soon changed and it amounted to little else than frank sabotage. He came late, left early, worked slowly, took time off in the middle of the day, so that he needed twenty-five times the normal time to do his work, and 75 per cent of it was faulty. He was constantly offending against discipline by disturbing his fellow workers and by his behaviour to his employers. All the warnings of the management and their efforts to give him the most suitable work were useless, and so the special court had to intervene."

*Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, April 23rd, 1942: "David W . . . has continued his association with other 'Bibelforscher' in spite of the existing prohibition of this organization. He has arranged meetings and distributed prohibited pamphlets. A special court at Halle sentenced him to three years' imprisonment for active participation in forbidden organizations."

*The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* of June 9th, 1942, report that seven men were executed in Berlin alone.

*Social Demokraten* reporting on the recent wave of executions in Germany: This is yet another result of Hitler's order to judges on April 26th, when he warned them to be more ruthless. Official reports are available that executions have risen from just under one a day in the period January 1st to April 25th, to just under two a day since then. Swedish correspondents in Berlin, however, estimate the number at certainly ten a day and probably higher still. Of the "verifiable total of death sentences, 25 are for sabotage . . . Some 13 of those executed are women."

*Schwarze Korps* devotes one of its usual long articles covering the front page and half of the next page to the opposition. It is called "We Watch" (March 12th) and it is noteworthy that it was written *before* Hitler's speech against the internal opposition of Germany.

Among other things *Schwarze Korps* says: "Even in wartime they cannot be converted or improved; nothing can be done with them except to hold them down. And we need not be ashamed, or hesitate in this task. The National-Socialist State has always

tried to strengthen the good; but we have had only nine years' time. It is not our fault that people are as they are. We can speak about them (the negative elements). Even the Front knows that that part of the population for which before the outbreak of war some thousand secret policemen, public prosecutors, judges and prison wardens were employed will not suddenly change during the war. . . .

"Even though we could not change the people, we have at least tried hard to eliminate them. The Jews, the criminals and all declared enemies of the people of all kinds, *saboteurs, revolutionaries*, people who will not take part in the war effort, are well protected in the *prisons and concentration camps*. All parties, groups and clubs where such negative elements could find shelter and help are destroyed and their leaders and organizers are locked up; this is true from the free masons to those sects which parade as peace loving. . . . All these actions already hit hard the manifold opposition of the sub-human (*Untermenschen*). . . . Formerly it was possible for such groups to make peace resolutions, to go, equipped with passports, to the enemy in order to negotiate . . . people . . . who tolerated a strike of munition-workers. . . .

"Thus in the end *those British and Jewish speculators were right who had hoped for the victory of the German Opposition*. Only it is wrong from the historic point of view that this opposition was against the German State. Opposition and State were the same thing. The State itself was in opposition to the army, to the war and therefore to Victory.

"No one will claim that the Kaiser himself or a few of his counsellors represented the party of *saboteurs and traitors*, but they were not capable of seeing the danger and were too weak to meet it. But to-day, they say, everything is different. They do not say that the craving for peace and the hatred of the war do not exist. No, they even admit that they do exist, but that they feel capable of holding them down by terrorist methods. The S.S. even prides itself of that fact. And they have to thank the Führer for this, they say, for he is not only a 'Führer who talks, but a Führer who acts'.

"Our enemies are wrong in not reckoning upon this. . . . *They are right in the assumption . . . that, as in every people, there are also in Germany a certain percentage of swine . . .* But they forgot that these swine are in the opposition, in the only possible opposition of a healthy State; that they are treated as criminals. *They are fighting with their backs to the wall, they are attacked ruthlessly and decimated still further. There is not the slightest chance of their entering politics, or the leadership of administration or*

industry under any cover whatsoever, or of their winning over the people as the so-called representatives of some sort of 'ideal'; this is the advantage and the blessing of an authoritarian State and a 'Weltanschauung' whose claim to totality reaches to the farthest corners of everyone's existence."

"The opposition . . . is pitilessly put in its place. There are no excuses; no so-called rights, no 'I did not know', no favouritisms, even among themselves . . . There is a war on, my friends. The soldier is responsible for the Victory of the whole battalion and so the individual on the Home Front can assume the responsibility of the State and its power if he meets an enemy." That means that everybody can without any consequences punish, even kill, someone whom he suspects of not supporting the Party.

"National-Socialism in the form of the Party has forged arms for itself. The Party keeps the will of the Führer alive and carries out the responsibility of the Führer. . . . The Party leads the State. That means that the conscience of the individual member decides the power which the State commands. No one can leave to the State what he can do himself.

"Anyone who knows of something wrong, anyone who sees the opposition in action and does not strike, leaves things to others. He is satisfied with complaining and whining. He does not deserve Victory. He is not worth the sacrifice of the soldier.

"This is the advantage which we have in comparison with the first World War and it cannot be estimated too highly: now everyone can recognize and destroy the swine, because we have separated them so carefully. Because they have not the slightest possibility of playing the part of the decent citizen or even of assuming power." Here the S.S. paper has really hit on one important point. Apart from the danger which the opposition has to face when not only the police and the Gestapo hunt them, but even the ordinary person is allowed to assume police powers, apart from all that, there remains the problem of the "good cause". The Nazis do everything to prove them "traitors" and as traitors—ten are executed daily. They have no organs to state their case to the public. Here they must be helped as much as possible from outside. The Russians have started it; men like Barth and Brunner in Switzerland have raised their voices to this effect. They have called for the "Holy Revolution" and spoken of the opposition as heroes and martyrs for a noble cause, as their own brothers in arms who fight a battle not less courageous than the soldier's at the Front. On the other hand it torpedoes all the efforts of the opposition if Allied propaganda

to the Germans describes a German soldier who has gone over to the Allies as a "traitor" (Überläufer).

*Schwarze Korps* concludes this momentous article thus: "We do not want to be content with that achievement. For the contented sleep and cannot watch."

The culmination of these disclosures by the Nazis themselves about the German opposition and the threat it means to the Party is the speeches and articles by the "Big Three", Hitler, Goebbels and Goering. We have dealt with the two latter elsewhere in this book. To deal with Hitler's speech is unnecessary, for it was brought to the notice of the British people by being widely reported in the press. It spoke of a major victory of the German opposition and thus of the Democratic cause. The German opposition has to pay for it by still heavier sacrifices and casualties. They will do so unflinchingly for the sake of peace and the New World.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE WORKERS

THE MATERIAL SITUATION of the workers in Nazi Germany is bad. But the political situation is worse. The material situation is determined by the common difficulties of the German Home Front, namely insufficient food; housing, clothing; sleepless nights through air-raids, and the increasing strain of the general feeling of insecurity owing to growing Gestapo terror. Evidence of this state of affairs is abundant. Typical examples are the survey given by the Mayor of Munich, Fiehler, one of the oldest and staunchest Nazis, on January 20th, 1942, and a report published by the Finnish paper *Suomen Sosiali Demokraattii* on March 17th, 1942.

Fiehler, describing the situation in Munich in 1941, declared that the "difficulties amongst the doctors, emergency doctors, the administration and other employees have increased considerably, a fact which could no longer be remedied by 'Ersatz' but only by *more and more* day and night overtime by the employees". The Chief Editor of the Finnish paper wrote (after a visit to Germany): "At least in some of the factories I visited the Stakanov system is being used. It has been scientifically proved that an eight-hour working day is important to the individual and to the community, and therefore it is probable

that not even Nazi Germany will deny the implication of the present situation, where every worker does up to 50 per cent overtime, days and months on end. If it is continued for long it must lead not only to physical, but probably to extreme mental, tiredness." This Editor of a Finnish, i.e. pro-Nazi, paper corroborates the evidence available from other sources to the effect that the workers in Nazi Germany are forced to work a twelve-hour working day. Officially it is admitted that a ten-hour working day exists. For instance *Svenska Dagbladet* mentions this on the 13th of May, 1942, in a despatch from its Berlin correspondent. The additional two hours are overtime which are not mentioned in these reports. The system is based on the two-shift day—twice twelve hours.

These conditions are aggravated by the fact that workers and employees are forced to work even on Saturdays and Sundays. There is no exception for women workers, as the same Swedish correspondent reports. The latest development is the compulsory employment of children from ten onwards. In order to rule out any control or interference by their parents, many are taken away from home and sent into the country. On April 24th, 1942, the official German News Agency (*D.N.B.*) published details of this forced labour for children. "Employment away from the normal place of residence has been introduced for pupils of the 6th and 7th forms of the middle and secondary schools for boys, and for the 7th form of secondary schools for girls. They will be employed between the 15th April and 15th November in spells or intermittently, according to the agricultural requirements. The 5th and 6th forms will as a rule be employed at their place of residence or in a neighbourhood that can be reached daily from their homes. Boys and girls over the age of 10 years from elementary schools will be employed for short term local purposes."

Small wonder that this vast slave organization simply overruns such traditional and individualistic professions as handicraft. This is particularly ironical because the Nazis always backed the lower middle classes, and particularly the handicraft professions, in the years following the last War when industrialization narrowed the basis for handicraft. But now we find Funk, the Nazi Minister of Economy, proclaiming (on May 17th, 1942): "The New Order is dropping such traditional institutions as the industrial and commercial handicraft chambers . . ."

This speech of Funk's is important also in another direction, for it shows that the total control of all non-political organizations of the working classes (and handicraft-workers belong to working

classes now in Germany) has not left out even the Handicraft Chambers. The reasons are political, as will become clear if we go into the details of this amazing development in the spring of 1942. Here it is sufficient to quote the relevant sentences of Funk's speech: "The important and valuable tasks (of the Handicraft Chambers) will be carried out by the Gau-Economic-Chambers." These new organizations are the control organs of the Gauleiter who are henceforward to "lead", control and terrorize the economic life of their district or "Gau". Funk stated furthermore that "the new executive regulations stipulate that a member of the artisans' department in the Gau-Economic-Chamber will be called 'Gau-Handicraft-Master', and he will be in charge of the former Handicraft-Chamber."

It is most revealing to find that the trade organization established by the Nazis themselves, but still organized chiefly as a professional "corporation" (in a Fascist sense), seems to have provided a field for political anti-Nazi work. For why otherwise this radical change-over from Handicraft-Chambers to "Gau-Handicraft-Masters"—directly responsible and entirely dependent upon the Gauleiter? In other words no longer a professional organization—however much Nazified—but an exclusively *political* leader even amongst handicraft workers. If one knows the rigid and even narrow individualism of the handicraft people in Germany, one realizes the amount of resentment, hatred and antagonism which such a measure must have caused amongst them. The Nazis would never have estranged these groups in such a way, if estrangement could have still been caused by such an act. As it is, all the evidence tends to show that this political stroke has been the result, and not the cause, of antagonism amongst the artisans and handicraft workers.

The most important development in the relationship between the German workers and the Nazis since 1933 has taken place between 1941 and 1942. We shall confine ourselves to a mere observation of the new situation. It is a situation which may have been caused by many reasons and factors, but which is primarily political now. Little can be said about the actions, organizations and policy of the workers themselves. But much becomes apparent if we look at the reaction of the Nazi system. For reacted this system has, and in the most radical and revealing manner. An army of Nazis has been tied down by the solid mass of labourers.

The concern of the Nazis seems to have been well founded. It is obvious that they would not otherwise have touched the precarious machinery of industry in war-time as they have

done. Indirectly, observations by neutral observers, by foreign but pro-Nazi observers such as the Editor of the Helsinki paper *Suomen Sosiali Demokraattii*, and by Nazi speakers and writers themselves, testify to the fact that the output of the German workers has fallen below expectations. Ley, the leader of the "Labour Front", Sauckel, the Labour Dictator appointed in 1942, Gauleiters and other official Nazi speakers have been referring to this fact bluntly. Sauckel declared in his inaugural appeal that he would have to "strengthen and increase" the "resolution to work of all German male and female labourers" (April 29th, 1942).

The reasons given by the Nazis themselves explaining the insufficient output are well-known—long working hours, bad management, etc. The real reasons—in addition to those others which undoubtedly exist—are political; and the Nazis know it, for their answer has been political. It is naturally very difficult indeed to give examples and to prove this politically inspired large-scale sabotage. For in cases where details are known they will have to be kept back until the end of the War and of Nazism. And on the part of the Nazis self-interest demands that nothing whatsoever should become known abroad. Neither are there any statistics showing potential and actual production figures—also for obvious reasons in war-time.

Yet there is one vital part of the Nazi war effort where their own revelations give conclusive evidence that large-scale sabotage is taking place. This is transport. It is well known that the transport workers are amongst the best organized, the most courageous and the most efficient in the Labour movement. It is, therefore, only confirming general knowledge if we submit evidence about the existence of sabotage there. The evidence can be derived from the statistics of the German State Railways dealing with accidents. With characteristic ruthlessness and that typical Nazi mentality which considers human suffering as irrelevant, these statistics have been published. They throw light on the increasing number of accidents in connection with railway traffic.

A survey shows that the accidents compared with the number of employees have been rising steadily from 1937 onwards. The statistical material setting out the reasons was analyzed by *Fr.Z.* on February 1st, 1942. "Reorganization, exchange of personnel, blackout, too heavy usage of machines and material are some of the unavoidable causes." The statistics show that between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of the accidents occurred owing to material reasons. 80 per cent to 85 per cent of all

accidents can be attributed to "the insufficiency of the men themselves". But here we come to the decisive point. Only 5 per cent of the accidents could be attributed to "non-observation of regulations", whereas 85 per cent had to be classified under "reasons of chance and other reasons"—without any further specification. The only commentary to it can be found in the announcement that severe penalties would be introduced in case of "accidents", and that these penalties would be carried out immediately. *Fr.Z.* itself points out that penalties could only be meted out if and when it could be proved that regulations were not observed or were violated. But what could be done here where only 5 per cent of all cases had been accounted for in this way, whereas 85 per cent could be attributed to "reasons of chance and other reasons"—other than those covered by regulations? And the 10 per cent not mentioned at all?

As already mentioned, the Nazis have shown that they entertain little illusion about the strength and power of the workers' opposition. In 1941 they openly admitted that they had placed their own "political shock troops" in the factories as early as 1939. *Westdeutscher Beobachter* writes on November 28th, 1942: "The formation of these shock troops two years ago has proved a success, their duty being to transmit National Socialist ideas to their fellow workmen. They have five divisions: National Health, Trade Education, Strength through Joy, Healthy Living, Press Propaganda and Radio." In other words, all these organizations were controlled and constantly spied upon by the Nazi agents. In addition, as is well known, Ley, the head of the Labour Front, and Himmler, the Gestapo and S.S. Chief, came to an arrangement in April 1942, according to which the S.S. was to be "educated" by the Labour Front. In reality this agreement meant the complete control of leisure-time organizations by the S.S. and Gestapo.

Yet another measure was taken towards the end of 1941. In addition to the ordinary A.R.P. services maintained in all factories, a considerable number of workers has been regimented into "special works guards and fire squads". So they come under *military supervision* and discipline. An order issued late in 1941 contained the phrase that the military authorities had the right to "confine the works guards and fire squads to barracks", confinement to barracks meaning in this context prohibition from leaving the factory grounds.

The evidence showing the direct interference of the Nazi Party proper in the industrial life of the country increases during the winter of 1941-42. Gauleiters and their subordinates travel

up and down the country, threatening the workers who fail to recognise their duty, encouraging the Nazis in the factories who may be beginning to feel rather uneasy. Soon it is to be seen that these individual exhortations by the Nazi leaders will not suffice. The working masses of the Reich are placed directly under the dictatorship of the Nazi Party. The State is ruled out altogether. The old reactionary Seldte who, funnily enough, is still Minister of Labour, is not even mentioned. His sixtieth birthday passes unobserved. A few lines, a carefully-placed picture in a remote corner of the papers, is all. The dictator who is to force German labourers to comply with the wishes of the Führer is Sauckel, a Gauleiter, incongruously the Gauleiter at Weimar. He is the unintellectual ruthless bully type of Nazi. He has to act jointly with the new head of the Party—Bormann. The appointment was reported by neutral observers in Berlin as early as March, 1942. But not until the end of April did the German public learn about its new master. The reason is obvious—the organization giving him all the power he needed had to be completed before it was revealed how far-reaching that power was.

Sauckel's announcement left little doubt as to his intentions and powers. Sentences like ". . . particularly the *national socialist care* for all brain and manual workers will be the chief task of all participants . . ." or "naturally, all peaceful intentions and wishes, however justified, will have to give way . . ." told everything. Sauckel announced in the same proclamation of April 29th, 1942, that the Gauleiters would be the "Bevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz", the labour-dictators, in their Gaue—in other words, it was the Nazi Party which took over in all provinces and districts, and the workers were placed under its direct control.

But not only the workers but also the craftsmen and artisans and above all the employers. Sauckel made it perfectly plain that they also had been placed under the Gauleiter, and that in each factory the "Betriebsobmann", the representative of the Nazi Party, was to deal with the employer concerning all questions of workers and employees. The employer remained the one who was responsible to the authorities—but the "Betriebsobmann" was the one whose word was law. This development is very significant, for it shows that in many districts employers, employees and workers had joined in their resistance to the growing Nazi terror from without. Now the Nazis carried the terror into the midst of this new and—for them—dangerous combine. The "Betriebsobmann" was to drive a wedge between

employer and employed. The employer was responsible to the Gauleiter for everything happening in his factory, particularly for the output. His private interest was plainly limited by Nazi taxation, so that he had no personal interest in inducing his workers to work harder than they did. But now he was responsible, and according to the new regulations he was to be held responsible. The one who gave orders, who noted slackers, who would send them to the front, the one who was to smell out sabotage, was the "Betriebsobmann".

The Nazis felt quite sure about this extension of their dictatorship. On May 10th, 1942, Goebbels' paper *Der Angriff* published an article by Ley, the leader of the Labour Front. He deals with the "Betriebsobmann". "I warn you against the relics of the liberalistic, patriarchal world of Jews, and in future wherever I find them I intend to treat them as an expression of conservatism if not as an offence against the National Socialist order. The 'Betriebsobmann' is completely independent and is thus a guarantor of the National Socialist movement . . . He must speak up . . . to the employer, but also to the workers."

Ley is clearly attacking at that growing feeling of unity between the workers and the employers when he speaks of the "liberalistic, patriarchal" world which is still in existence. Therefore a "pillar of the New Order" is necessary in every German factory—the "Betriebsobmann". "It rests with him whether the enterprise and its personnel keep their promises to the community. I see a factory as so many troops who must defend their sector of the national existence. Workers! Employers! You are exactly like soldiers . . . We therefore refute equally the Marxist principle of the class struggle and the bourgeois patriarchal system of a social director and a social referendary. There is no place for these in the National Socialist Order . . . The 'Betriebsobmann' is completely independent and is thus a guarantor of the National Socialist movement. He is nominated by the Labour Front and this represents the Nazi Party. As we National Socialists have completely eliminated the elective system from the factory the 'Betriebsobmann' is quite independent of the favour and good will of the factory personnel and the Betriebsführer. . . . He must be civilized in his language and must speak up, not only to the employer, but also to the workers, when, in the interests of the community, it is necessary to say disagreeable things or demand sacrifices."

The Berlin correspondent of the Swedish paper *Svenska Dagbladet* comments on this article on May 12th, 1942, and

states that the entire Nazi press is out to give an impression of the severity with which individuals who try to "avoid their duty" are treated. "The penalty is usually hard labour. One sentence of four years' penal servitude at Magdeburg, one of one year in Berlin and two others of nine months each."

The power of the Gauleiter over both workers and employers has been made plain in many statements and by many reports. As early as April, 1942, employers were held responsible that not more workers should be employed in their factory than was absolutely necessary for the war effort. This, in effect, makes the employer also responsible for the quantity and quality of output. For if he has once declared that he can do the job with so and so many workers, what is he to do if this proves false? On April 11th, 1942, the Swedish paper *Svenska Dagbladet* carries a report from the Berlin correspondent describing the helpless situation of the German employers under the new regulations. "Every industrialist must now realize that he himself is responsible for calculating the number of workers that he requires and the number that he can surrender for other work. Past offences have not been punished provided that they were registered within three months, but only providing that the investigations and proceedings have not yet commenced. Speer (the Armaments Minister) declared that the new regulations are primarily to educate the industrialists in their increased responsibility."

On July 5th, 1942, *Fr.Z.* explained in a leading article that "the Party is about to assert itself more strongly in certain sections of economic policy. This action is typified by the establishment of the *Gauwirtschaftskammern* and the task recently given to the Gauleiters in directing the use of labour. At the same time the Party is taking over these important functions and taking the initiative in binding all business circles close to itself, and instilling into them the strongest possible National Socialist spirit."

After this frank admission that not only amongst workers but also amongst employers there is still a lot of Nazi spirit to be instilled in order to satisfy the German Nazis, the article, referring to a speech of Avieny, points to the "advantages which can be derived from giving employers greater scope for making decisions and taking responsibilities. The Gauleiter trustee only desires to give the right impulses, not merely on paper, but so that they are fully understood and put into practice. Only in this manner is it possible, in a totalitarian State, to give a wide scope to economic activity." These explanations are perhaps the most cynical ones which have been formulated in this terroristic

campaign. Every word is double-edged, behind every sentence looms a threat.

An earlier comment by a Nazi leader, Gauamtsleiter Roth at Karlsruhe, Badonia, illustrates still further the functions of these Gauleiter-trustees, the "Betriebsobmänner". "The management of personnel is the basis of all success in factories. As heretofore, the 'Betriebsobmann' is instructed to negotiate in all cases with the employer, and if necessary to induce him to make decisions. Employers are on principle not permitted to refer the 'Betriebsobmänner' to higher authorities. Only employers and 'Betriebsobmänner' are to co-operate and complement each other in the direction of personnel."

What does this mean in practice? The Party, through the Gauleiter and the "Betriebsobmänner", has absolute power over employers and employees, workers and industrialists. Exempt from this total terror are only those who themselves are members of the terroristic machinery, as, indeed, many industrialists, but also some workers, are. As to the rest, they simply have to obey in each and every respect. For the organization set up under Sauckel and the Gauleiters is supreme authority. The employers have had to look on passively when their organizations were placed under the Gauleiter. The workers can speak only through the "Betriebsobmann" who is the trustee of the Gauleiter, and is not elected by them, not even meant to have their confidence. He has to give orders, both to the worker and to the industrialist.

But also another possibility has been killed, namely the collaboration between workers and employers. For the Nazis have made the individual industrialist simply the executive organ of the Gauleiter trustee. Unless the Nazi orders are carried out he, the employer, will be held responsible. If they are carried out—against the workers—then it is the employer, and not the Gauleiter trustee, who is responsible. This is the system—and, indeed, a political system it is. For there is no doubt that the Nazis came out with this open terror only when they could see no other way, only when they had realized that the opposition of the workers—sometimes with the support of the employers themselves—had become an acute danger to their hold on the country.

There is ample evidence that the Nazis have felt the pressure of this opposition. The Gestapo weekly, *Das Schwarze Korps*, has made frequent reference to it. A series of conferences was held in April, 1942, in the Ruhr district, and was concluded with a meeting of foremen from the mining industry where a leading

Nazi, Deputy Gauobmann Kasper, made the threat that "work must always be complemented by political adjustment, without which this war cannot be won." And later: "The Party and Labour front know very well that the right kind of leadership of the workers precedes even the much welcomed introduction of coal and mining machinery." At Kagran a Nazi speaker, Krueppl, made the remark: "If harmony between the Home Front and the Front can be achieved the Führer's desire for a people's community will have been realized." At a previous meeting of miners, in March 1942, Gauobmann Stahl declared: "Only practical co-operation can lead to complete success . . . The machines themselves will never be the decisive factor. The thing that really matters is the attitude of the workers towards their machines." In Saxony, Gauleiter Mutschmann visited numerous factories in April, 1942, and tried to win over the workers with flattery and threats. "Everyone must work untiringly for what the Führer demands from us. Our goal must be that we can say 'I did not fail' once the War is finished." Sauckel himself spoke to the workers of the Sauckel works at Weimar on April 8th, 1942, and said that he knew that every working German may be convinced that they could never again fill their stomachs if victory were snatched away. Therefore the work programme must in all circumstances be fulfilled and he relied on the good sense of the German workers.

Interesting references are also made to the solidarity of the workers, not only in *Das Schwarze Korps*, but also, for instance, by Ley. In his May Day speech he declared: "I hope you have got over that Marxist solidarity." In Vienna, Gauleiter Jury declared in a speech to workers: "Anyone trying to sow dissension again among the German people will be expelled from our ranks."

The picture as it presents itself in the summer of 1942 is clear: the vast mass of workers politically opposed to the Nazi regime and the War, sabotaging on a considerable scale by direct actions as well as by working slowly. In many factories the employers side by side with their workers, both realizing the mortal danger to their very life and existence. At the same time, the employers forced into a position where they have to become the tools of the Gauleiter. They obtain the right (not sought for by most of them) to fine their workers. The workers are not permitted to visit their far-off families, nor the families, the wives, to visit their husbands. (*Fr.Z.*) The all-powerful machine controlling, terrorizing, forcing both workers and employers, is the Nazi Party. There have been attempts to strike. Strike leaders are shot.

Absenteeism is punished with hard labour. Employers are sent to the scaffold if they do not satisfy the Gauleiter and the Party. Behind the Party, the executive branch of it, the S.S. and the Gestapo have full control over the Labour Front, the leisure time organizations of the workers, the entire "shop", and—the individual. The Gauleiter has the right to send the children away from home on forced agricultural labour, and neither father nor mother has the right to visit them.

Under these circumstances the less said about underground organizations of the workers the better. That they do exist the ceaseless death sentences show clearly enough. Posters and freedom signs on the walls appear in the morning after a dark night, and illegal pamphlets and leaflets also appear here and there. But all this is comparatively unimportant as against the grim and unbreakable spirit of these millions whom the Nazis have now been forced to guard with an extra army which they need so badly on either front. It would also be unwise to over-estimate the number of organized Socialist (or Communist) workers in the factories or on the farms of Germany. They are bound to be small, and they want to be small. A French worker who came back from the Third Reich in the summer of 1942 said that in every factory only four or five men belong to the politically organized groups. The others are sympathizers. This is not far off the mark.

Similarly it would be unwise to enlarge on the question of the extent of influence wielded by the Confessional Church and the Catholics upon the workers. Only this can be said: an increasing number of workers have joined those who have already found their centre in these spiritual groups. And the more heavily the persecution of the workers makes itself felt the closer all these groups and movements and faiths draws together

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE PEASANTS

**T**HE TENSION BETWEEN the German peasants and the Nazis dates back to 1933, when the Nazis had promised them profound alleviations, and release from taxes and high prices, and did not keep their promise. From then onwards we observe an increasing tendency on the part of the Nazis to regiment under various disguises what was not offered voluntarily. The

distrust and hatred amongst the peasants has increased correspondingly.

The moment the war situation demanded an increase rather than a decrease of the agricultural output the local Nazi organizations became instruments of oppression. The method by which this ruthless compulsion was put into effect was the same as was everywhere employed; an impersonal apparatus was created which functioned more or less automatically. Local ties were disrupted. The peasants were forced into a general organization, and the local leaders of this organization—those who really exercised power and control—were brought in from outside. Usually a man from a distance was transferred to a village or district where neither tradition nor personal ties would hamper his soulless exercise of absolute power.

In spite of this rigid organization, agricultural output fell steadily. Furthermore, the individual showed less and less inclination to deliver his goods to the Nazi centres as he was supposed to do. His main consideration became to supply himself and his family, perhaps his friends—also those from the town or city nearby. With that silent and sly stubbornness which is so characteristic of the German peasant—if not of the peasant everywhere—he let his production slip. There just wasn't so much output as in previous years. The weather, you know, the cold in the winter and the heat in summer. The Nazi leaders shouted, they issued decrees and made speeches. It is amusing to see how all the leading Nazis who were supposed to be responsible for production came out with fiery appeals to the peasants. Goering was the first. (V.B. March 19th, 1942.) He told the peasants that spring sowing would take place later this year than usual owing to the ice and snow of this, the worst winter for a century. He particularly stressed the fact that special care would be taken, by the supply of spare parts, to make repairs to tractors possible. Clearly the peasants and farmers had already been using the scarcity of spare parts as an excuse.

Goering's appeal ended on a patriotic note. A few days afterwards the reports on the impression he had made upon the peasants seem to have been so bad that a threat was added through the official agency N.D.Z. The agency pointed out that 122 persons have to be fed from produce from an area which provided food for only 100 at the beginning of the war. Therefore, the agency continued, it must be understood that although Goering's recent appeal was addressed to volunteers, "if the response is not sufficient it will become possible to conscript people by law and to inflict heavy penalties".

Sauckel, the newly-appointed chief of war-time labour, also addressed himself to the peasantry of the Reich. So did the successor of that romantic and cruel Nazi theorist Darré, who was pushed out in face of the increasing resistance of the peasants. In his place Backe, a shrewd administrator, was appointed. All pretence of friendship and prosperity for the peasant was dropped. The machinery of the terrorist system was pressed upon him. Its most effective representative and executive is the "Local Peasant Leader". It is worth while to have a look at him. For in the growing antagonism between the peasants and the Nazi system he has come out more and more into the open. What do we see? A large number of Nazi leaders, of impersonal terrorists, are slave drivers. They do what is expected of them—assess the possibilities of the local farms, announce their findings to the farmer and peasant, but also to the Gestapo. The peasant and farmer will have to find very, very good excuses to avoid being caught out by these statistics. If he does not deliver the amount of produce which he is supposed to deliver when the crop is ready, he may as often as not have to deduct the deficit from his own allotment. It is obvious what power these local leaders exercise.

It is interesting that he has lately become quite famous. On April 17th, 1942, *Fr.Z.* dedicates a long article to him: "He has to see that agricultural production is steadily increased, and above all that an *increasing percentage is sent to the towns*. Since he knows the soil in his district, he knows how much can be *demande*d. He distributes the amount of foodstuffs which the district has to deliver amongst the farms. He is the one who has to see that a 'Delivery-Must' ('Ablieferungssoll') is achieved. He is the middleman between the organizations of the 'Reichsnährstand' and the peasants in his village. He is the interpreter who translates the orders and directions from official language into peasant language and 'comments' on them for the benefit of the peasant." In other words—he is the local dictator, and his is the power to terrorize.

In face of this powerful organization it is too much to expect a highly organized opposition from the peasants. At the same time there is overwhelming evidence to show that the peasants in all parts of Germany have been acting on similar lines. They have plainly used similar methods of sabotage—for sabotage it is. They have used similar excuses and explanations. To a certain extent this can be explained by the obvious choice of means and a marked similarity of outlook amongst the peasants. But only in part. One indication which seems to come out of the

available evidence is that the peasants have succeeded in retaining at least some administrative positions for their own men. Some of the "Local Peasant Leaders", and perhaps even higher officials, seem to show an outlook identical with that of the oppressed masses.

However that may be, it is remarkable that the peasant front has become so formidable that the Nazis have had to devote more and more space and time to these problems in their official organs. Threats increased. With the advent of foreign labourers, prisoners of war, civilian internees from the Eastern countries who were put at the disposal of the peasants and farmers as agricultural labourers, the control of the Gestapo also increased. The power of the peasantry was gradually weakened by the transfer of more and more men to the Armed Forces. The individual German peasant has become more and more isolated. All the same, he has, according to much evidence available, tried to make friends with the foreign slaves on his farm—a slave amongst slaves. There is a continuous series of lawsuits against peasants—men and women—for acts of friendliness towards the prisoners employed on their farms or neighbouring farms. Of course, there are also other cases of Nazi peasants and farmers who keep that "distance" from their employees which Nazi doctrine demands. But it is strange that there is very little, if any, boasting at all on the part of the Nazis that this Nazi behaviour has spread amongst the peasants.

But there is very strong evidence to the effect that the peasants have come out openly on the side of the two great Fighting Churches, the Catholic Church and the Confessional Church. There are reports of local priests and pastors who live amongst the peasants almost secluded from the outside world. Travel restrictions make it difficult for them to leave their districts even for short visits. The peasants support them openly.

How widespread the resistance of the peasants is can clearly be seen from the many reports of peasant meetings where, directly or indirectly, reference has been made to current criticism and even to opposition. One has always to allow for the strange wording usual now in Germany. Those who express opposition often concentrate on practical points; those who speak for the regime use such non-committal phrases as the "lack of understanding" which they find for this or that measure. Understatements on both sides are a characteristic of this strange situation.

Here are some examples. In March, 1942, Spickschen, the "Landesbauernführer" of East Prussia, spoke at peasants

meetings at Ingerburg, Goldap, Neidenburg and Allenstein, and said that present conditions necessitated certain regulations *which are not always understood* in the villages, that he considered it important to have an open discussion with the farmers about their *troubles* and worries. He then warned the farmers against sending their children away from the land as they do—an amazing feature in view of the shortage of labour on the land.

In March a peasant meeting was convened at Heidelberg, where several “leaders” spoke. The “Kreisbauernführer” explained that under no circumstances should anything be neglected which helped the nation’s food supply. “Stabsleiter” Koch insisted that additional labour should be forthcoming from the German population. “What German man, woman or child would in future like to have to blame himself for standing aside in the colossal struggle?” A representative of the Labour Office, Schneider, pointed out the importance of Party Members going on the land.

On March 21st, 1942, Landeshauptabteilungsleiter Backhaus writes in the Weekly of the “Landesbauernschaft Weser Ems”: “I am fully aware that it will not be easy to extend the sowing as much as we desire, since this is the third successive year that winter oil plants have been more or less destroyed by the cold” (“ausgewintert” is the significant word which is used in that article and amounts to an open admission that large-scale sabotage is going on). On April 1st, Spickschen, previously mentioned, finished his tour of East Prussia with a meeting at Neukirch. There he told his audience bluntly: “At the present time there is no question of working for the just demands of the peasantry. Economic equalization and the balancing of incomes between town and country must be left till after the war. Now we must hold the Home Front . . .” The growing demand for a peasant Socialism to which he refers here is once more refuted with an appeal to the present emergency. But the demand is there, and not even the Nazi leaders are able to neglect it completely.

It is interesting to see that the peasants of East Prussia are by no means content with mere protests. It is strange to find that the stock of seed potatoes was exhausted in the spring of 1942, after it had been clear in the autumn of 1941 what amount would be required. But we find an announcement by the County Peasantry Association of East Prussia in their Weekly on April 25th, that all producers should surrender all edible potatoes. The same appeal was directed to the potato trade and co-operatives. The same day the *Pommersche Zeitung* writes of the potato situation in Pomerania: “The question (of increasing

the potato crop) would be easy to answer if we could give the potatoes as much fertilizer as we wish . . . We must not lose our nerve and sow grain in wet soil or wet furrow, as in either case small yields will result." The article was signed by Oberinspektor Wehrend, a local Nazi official. But what farmer would "lose his nerve" in that way—unless with a definite purpose . . .

It is important to compare with all these lamentations of the Nazi leaders an article by the Berlin correspondent of the Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter* on April 29th, 1942. There he refers to an "obviously official statement" circulated in Berlin, according to which the autumn sowing suffered less this winter than in 1939, 1940, 1941, as there was more snow this year. The correspondent further states that it is "absurd that Germany has not enough seed for resowing, as several months ago seed was procured for Hungary among other countries." In other words, the Nazis had reason to trust the peasantry of the satellite countries more than that in Germany! The correspondent mentions in this connection, rather significantly, "the bad humour existing here and there".

Still more outspoken is a decree of the Association of the German Grain and Fodder Trade, published in the *Pommersche Zeitung* of May 16th, 1942. The Grain Associations are thereby authorized to close bran mills generally or singly. "The Grain Association in Pomerania has not so far utilized the authority, but District Peasant leaders recently authorized the closing of bran mills which are obviously unreliable in delivering bread, fodder and grain. District Peasant Leaders will therefore intervene accordingly in cases of *obviously intentional non-fulfilment of delivery quotas*, after careful investigation of delivery results."

It is hardly surprising that from the beginning of the year we find the Nazi leaders worried about the attitude of the farmers. At a meeting of the "Landesbauernrat" of the Rhineland in February, 1942, at which Gauleiters, Generals, mayors were present, Baron Elz Ruebernach, a well-known old reactionary, proclaimed: "The task of the Farmers' Leader Corps is to strengthen the farmers' belief in their own power and final victory." Landeshauptabteilungsleiter Kraemer shouted: "It is especially important to-day to look after the attitude of the farmers." The successor of Darré, now Acting Minister of Agriculture, Backe, threatened and encouraged his sub-leaders: "One must view the position as a whole and not lose sight of the goal through trifles and small worries. New tasks must be carried out under all circumstances, even if they involve sacrifices." An open invitation to terrorism against the farmers.

On April 24th, 1942, the Nazi economic publication *Wirtschaftsdienst* published a contribution by Borkenhagen. He sadly states that "owing to the variety of farms and the different nature of the climate, etc., it is impossible to issue regulations as to what to do and what not to do as in industry. Only the general outlines can be given, everything else depends upon the farmer. . . . The 60,000 local peasant leaders have to carry out a colossal amount of work, and it depends upon them whether the breaches caused by farmers and farm hands being called up can be filled, whether co-operative help will be effective and whether each farmer is convinced that it is essential to follow the directions. These local leaders are also *decisive factors in strengthening the will of the farming population to deliver the produce . . .*"

In summer 1942 direct reference to sabotage by the peasants is no longer avoided. On June 27th *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* writes: "The life and death struggle of the German people demands more than ever from all authorities and all sections of the population. The most important task is to pay special attention to the gathering of the harvest. The German people can no longer afford, and do not want, to see the harvest ruined by irresponsible persons who still think they can contravene the regulations for its protection. The Reichsführer (Himmler), as Chief of the German Police, has, therefore, decreed that all measures for protecting the harvest are to be prepared with the full co-operation of all bodies concerned. All dangers to the German harvest must be averted in good time. Prior to the announcement of gathering the harvest, the threshing places must be examined and the machines and implements also. These measures carried out in previous years must be even more strictly adhered to this year. Any persons found damaging the harvest, whether by negligence or by intention, by setting fire to farms, corn fields, hay or straw, must be reported immediately so that they may be punished more severely than ever before. Children must be looked after so that they cannot obtain matches; this frequently results in fires which destroy valuable grain."

The counterpart to this warning issued in Saxony can be found on the same day in Western Germany. *Westdeutscher Beobachter* asks the population, under the heading "Be calm but be on your guard", to keep its eyes open. The paper gives an example of a person who noticed several suspicious characters in the vicinity of a barn which was set on fire near Eitorf. But when this person informed the authorities it was already too late. "The country population needs very good nerves. It has been said that country

people can stand more than townsfolk, but on the other hand many more rumours are spread in the country than in the towns. And it is very much more difficult to get hold of the real truth. Keep calm, don't be nervous, but keep your eyes open." This article is interesting also in so far as it is written by the local Party organ which goes primarily to the Party Members proper. It testifies to the nervousness of the Nazi officials and Party Members in the open country.

## PART THREE:

### YOUTH

#### CHAPTER XVII

#### HITLER YOUTH

TO THE STUDENT of Central European affairs and of plans for post-war reconstruction German youth represents one of the major problems. There is no doubt that grave difficulties will have to be surmounted, and not the least of them will be to make good the results of the official Nazi attitude towards education and spiritual values. It seems, however, that the Nazi leaders themselves do not subscribe as they did in former years to the much-hailed theory that Youth is their natural ally. On the contrary, complaints are voiced again and again against the "civilian attitude"; and the "selective process" has had to be further detailed and extended in order to find suitable persons to take over. If the youth of Germany were unquestionably Nazi, such measures would not have been necessary.

The fact, however, is that the Nazi doctrine of shaping the life of their citizens is being carried still further. Recently "gymnastics" have been introduced from the tender age of two years onward for all children before their entry into a youth organization. If it is kept in mind that even in sports clubs examinations on "Weltanschauung" are held, it becomes clear that this newest measure will also have the effect of at least impressing the minds of the very young in one way or the other with Nazi totalitarianism.

German Youth must be thrown out of balance. The tradition of centuries, decreeing that it is the parents who first form the environment and influence of their children, has been systematically first counter-balanced and then slowly eradicated. This has gone so far that an official spokesman says in the important paper *M.N.N.*: "Outside the school only the Hitler Youth commands." The parents exist merely to "give" Youth to the nation. Gauleiter Rainer made this clear recently, saying: "Youth no longer belongs exclusively to its parents' house. The nation demands you. Your parents must give you to the nation.

Lucky Youth, how great is the time when you experience the day of honour . . . !” And a sidelight is thrown on the subject by the discussion in *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* as to whether or not a third person has the right to punish children. This article comes to the conclusion that however this question is decided, it is not the parents who have to be asked about it. “Even if the parents would not have punished their child in that particular instance, a stranger’s action could not be regarded as an act of violence or an insult. The decision as to the right of a third person to punish children should not be based on the will of the parents.” (March 11th, 1942.)

All these are nothing but consequences of the policy instituted by the Nazi Party long ago, not to allow children into the hands of anybody but approved Nazis. They could not be sure of the parents, but they wanted to make sure of the children, believing that the process of education is nothing but a materialistic putting two and two together. They started by undermining the authority of the parents; exalting the young, telling them to follow their own wishes and instincts and not to obey their parents, but on the contrary even to spy on them and to report them should there be any suspicion of their not being true Nazis. But all these things are already well known.

Then the Nazis tried to make the school the supreme authority, hoping that only Nazis would be employed. At the time of their coming to power there were many unemployed intellectuals; thus they hoped to be able to select their own party for the job of teaching, and force the rest into submission. But they soon found that this was not feasible and thus they told the young people that their teachers were old-fashioned and of no use and that, again, they had to follow their own instincts only and to feel very superior to their teachers. We shall have to deal later with the many problems connected with school.

The third force which had hitherto formed Youth was also done away with by the Nazis: Church organizations were forbidden, regulations enforced such as the double-edged one that boys and girls were not allowed to attend church in their Hitler Youth uniforms. But they had to wear their uniforms on Sundays; or Hitler Youth marches were ordered just at the time when Church Services were held at high Church festivals. It needed great courage to disobey Hitler Youth orders, because the Hitler Youth and Party organizations controlled all future employment, etc. The parents mostly had not the courage to forbid their children outright to follow regulations. Had they the right to curtail all the chances of their children and—a

question which went even deeper—had they the right to throw their children into the abyss of doubt and inner resistance? Perhaps the children would be less influenced by Nazi teaching if they accepted it unconsciously without realizing its implications? The quiet, non-militant Christian attitude at home could perhaps impress itself more on the children than the open struggle so ill-suited to spiritual matters: that was the great danger. The Churches warned again and again that people would say: "At heart we are the same, believing in eternal values, in freedom and decency; but no one is helped if we say so and land in the concentration camp for it." That, the Churches said, is not enough. You cannot leave the Church and yet say "I am a Christian". And this is true of every other field of human experience. Yet it is a hard principle to apply to everyday life in Germany. Thus, gradually, the Nazis could attack all sections of the people one by one, just as they did the other nations.

This then is the background against which children grow up in Germany: parents, teachers, clergymen ridiculed. But what are the institutions that represent the will of the Leviathan: the Nazi State? It is perhaps interesting to put the negative side first. A boy and a girl in Germany can have different reasons for not going to school, indeed there are now instances where they are *ordered* not to attend school; they can disobey their parents and their teachers. But they must *not*—except for the most serious reasons, such as a medical certificate—miss the activities of the Hitler Youth. Here are the formal directions newly issued in the year 1941. (*Fr.Z.* 29th November, 1941.)

"*H. J. Leave.* In order to obtain leave from H.J. service application has to be made at Government offices. Short leaves of three months can be obtained from the Hitler Youth itself. Regulations have been issued covering such leave. It is the rule that leave can only be granted for a short time. The individual attitude towards service is to be taken into consideration with each applicant. For leave on medical grounds covering more than one attendance a certificate of the Youth Council is needed. Illnesses of a temporary nature have to be certified by a medical practitioner. Before taking final examinations, young people can get leave if this is necessary to obtain satisfactory results at such examinations. If young people, in special circumstances, are not able to pass their school, or professional examinations, leave can only be obtained if such a state of affairs is brought about by longer illness or a change of profession. No leave can be given in order to enable the

applicant to devote his time to private music lessons. If family reasons are given the necessity has to be carefully examined and verified. Man-power may not be saved by taking time from Hitler Youth service! In agriculture leave can be granted at harvest-time, if special conditions make this advisable. Applications giving professional reasons (note direct contradiction to previous sentence) must be specially carefully examined. It should be kept in mind that holiday orders are carried out in such a way as to enable young people to spend their vacations with their parents. For that reason any further leave for holiday trips or excursions with parents are not permitted. In particular Hitler Youth cannot allow anyone exemption from its summer camps. Any young person on tour with his parents has to have a special leave pass."

Everyone will realize the implications of this regulation. What ordinary working or middle-class parents can afford to spend a vacation with their children and, on top of it, to send them to a summer camp? And now, at a time when children of ten years old are used in the war-effort, it does not seem likely that they will have a double vacation. If one or the other has to be sacrificed, Hitler Youth makes it quite clear that it will not be that one.

Nazism pretends to be fond of culture, indeed to foster music especially among their young people. But what kind of music do they want? Anyone having ever heard the rough, tuneless singing of their choirs and marching columns will know the answer. But if a young person is really fond of cultural things and wants to devote some time to practising an instrument, for instance, Hitler Youth expressly discourages such a course. Overburdened as youth is nowadays with school as well as services of all kinds, it has not much time or strength left for great individual efforts in that respect. The consequences of this order are endless.

Why, then, have the Nazis made the regulations applying to youth still more stringent? Why have they enmeshed it still more in their net of party-organizations, not trusting them to be themselves Nazis in their own hearts? It is, perhaps, the new feature of this year that the young are now treated just like the old, with suspicion and even a certain amount of terrorism on the part of the Nazi Party. The *Schwarze Korps* mentioned that education had the task of turning boys and girls into Nazis and that education had not played its part. But formerly they had said that youth in itself would be Nazi, if only left alone to develop according to its own devices. This

had not worked. Youth grew up and, in spite of its education, in spite of all the Nazi organizations, was not Nazi enough for the Nazis. But the Party is not inclined to sit back and resign. They cannot do so except by giving up their claim to the future. Therefore, they decided, they had not moulded youth enough. They had allowed the young still too much of an individualistic upbringing. That had to be stamped out. Not a moment in the life of the boys and girls, but particularly of the boys, had to be unguarded or devoid of Nazi impressions. The different Party organizations had to look after that, and Hitler Youth itself had to be given a bigger part to play, to embrace more of the activities and the life of the young. Hitler Youth was to be the predominant part in education, at the expense of school, home and church. Individuality and independent thinking could be stamped out after all, the Nazis hoped, if the supervision was only close enough; even they had to admit, in 1942, that they had not so far succeeded.

While up to the age of ten years there are a number of pre-Hitler Youth organizations, the Nazis consider ten years the right moment to make use of Youth, be it for agricultural or factory work or collections of herbs or firewood, scrap, etc., or to put them as proper cogs into the State-Machine. The "Service" and the uniform start at that point and with them the absolute right of the State to shape the life of its youngest members. It should be remembered that there were, in pre-Hitler Germany, a great variety of Youth organizations like boy scouts and girl guides. But then it really was nothing but fun, hiking, camping, outdoor life, gymnastics. The Nazis, with their own genius for perversion, made use of this national habit and created "one gigantic" Youth organization (everything had to be gigantic), and not understanding or desiring the voluntary character of these bodies they gradually made attendance compulsory: first making it awkward for those not attending, then threatening, and finally adopting outright compulsion. They also saw to it that their commands were obeyed and for disobedience instituted an absolutely new penal code for Youth. The privilege of Youth to be given time for development and only gradually to accept responsibility was thus removed.

While formerly boys and girls were taken into these organizations individually, there is no longer any question of anyone being allowed to remain outside, and the Nazi-State simply calls up the age-groups. The whole organization is strictly centralized and the call-up took place throughout the Reich at the same time, namely, on the eve of Hitler's birthday.

This year then it was the age-group 1931-32 which was thus called up. Over a million boys and girls were affected and the call-up was prepared from lists and statistics. They enter the service for eight years. It is the last time (except for social activities) that the parents may attend the meeting. The festivities were begun on April 18th, 1942, at the famous Marienburg-castle when the Youth Leader of the Reich, Artur Axmann, spoke to "Germany's Youth". He said inter alia: "I take you, the age group 1931-32, into the community of the H.J. From to-day onward you are the property of the Führer". (*M.N.N.*, April 20th, 1942.) A message from him was to be the climax of all the local festivals on April 19th also.

*B.B.Z.*, identically with the other Nazi papers, comments, almost word for word (April 15th, 1942): "In very many cases the fathers and brothers of these 10-year-olds bear arms. They will feel proud that even their 10-year-olds can help, according to their ability, in the war-effort of their people; for the activities of the Hitler Youth too, like the whole of the Home Front, are now carried on under the motto 'war-service'. Men will be formed through this war-time conscription of youth and these young people will in their time be able to carry on that life for the nation secured to them by our victory." The sub-title of the whole article is "School of the Nation".

The smallest units for the boys is the "banner" (*Fähnlein*) and for girls the "young girl's group" (*Jungmädelsgruppe*). A representative of the Party supervises the final celebrations. During the first half of their eight-year service the boys are called "Pimpf" and the girls "Jungmadel". But they are only allowed to bear these names after their "examinations"—suggestive in the typical Nazi pseudo-romantic way of a medieval tournament—during the first or second year. The requirements are revealing. After an initial assurance that the uniform will not be a financial strain on the family (which is generally not true), and that no other financial liabilities are incurred through the service—this in order to create a more acquiescent mood in the parents—the syllabus is enumerated. As usual the stress lies on sports, while the mental faculties are regarded with more leniency. The boys have to fulfil seven requirements: they have to run 60 metres in 12 seconds, they have to jump 2.75 metres; to throw a ball 25 metres; they have to be able to pack a rucksack; they have to partake in an excursion of a day and a half. This is the gymnastic part. Two points are allowed for the mind: knowledge of the "sword-sentence" of the Hitler Youth and—knowledge of the Horst

Wessel song and the H.J. banner song. Now this knowledge of the Horst Wessel song is a most peculiar thing. For more than eight years now, which means, for these boys and girls, since they were between nine months and a little over eighteen months old, the Nazis have been in power, and with them the Horst Wessel song has become the Nazi national anthem. It is a well-known joke outside as well as inside Germany how much overdone this singing of the anthem is on each and every occasion. Is there a ten-year-old child in England who does not know "God Save the King?" It indicates that not all children are acquainted with it and it also means that many had not much opportunity to hear it at home. Again, therefore, Hitler Youth has to fill that gap!

The sword-sentence for the boys is: "Pimpfe (Hitler Youth boys) are hard, trustworthy and loyal. Pimpfe are good comrades. Their highest treasure is their honour." And for the girl: "Young girl, be a good comrade, be loyal, obedient, brave and trustworthy Young girl, keep your honour!" Ill-meaning critics have compared the two mottoes and found that the boy need not be brave and obedient while the girl's privilege is not to be hard. But, to be serious, it is, of course, not by chance that in the girl's motto obedience is included, if one holds that fact against the light in which the Nazis see their womenfolk.

All comments stress the continuity of the organization from now on. On the foundations laid in the next four years the "additional national-socialist education of youth is built up until, after eight years of service, the best are taken over into the Party. For the Party must forever *win over* fresh forces from each younger generation for the leadership of a strong Adolf Hitler's German State." (*B.B.Z.* April 15th, 1942.)

The whole celebration is entitled the "roll-call" of 19th April.

By far the greater celebrations were, however, held in honour of the fourteen year olds, who were entering the second stage of the H.J. All the papers printed big headlines, long front-page articles, and the picture pages showed photos of huge, impersonal gatherings. The Party officially demonstrated its interest in this, and they took the opportunity for a huge propaganda drive. Again the centre of the celebrations was the "German Opera-House" in Berlin, in obvious parallel to the other State functions which, since the burning down of the Reichstag, have always taken place in the second of Berlin's opera-houses, the Kroll-Oper, where Hitler delivers his speeches and decrees.

The idea in itself, to interest Youth directly in the affairs of State, to show them their responsibility and at the same time to demonstrate that they are looked upon as the nation's future, is good enough. This is especially so in Germany, where youth for generations has felt "pushed aside" and was kept as long as possible from competing with their "elders". That belief, which was not entirely without foundation, had disastrous effects; whenever youth did succeed at last to some position of responsibility, it wanted to change the whole of political life. Continuity was thus broken and a certain instability brought about, noxious indeed to a state without long and well-founded political traditions. However, not the forms that are chosen, but the spirit that fills them are the deciding factor, and we shall see how perverted, how far from filling these children with a real spirit of responsibility, these forms were meant to be. Either the Nazis speak impressive-sounding words without meaning, (some parts of Hitler's speeches, when they are not abuse, are a good example of this: after hearing them it is difficult to find out what he really meant with his abundance of words) or else the meaning is far too clear and distinctly undesirable.

A preliminary article in *V.B.* especially directed to the parents prepared the ground for the way in which this day should be celebrated. It says that the oath of loyalty to the Führer does not include only the service in Hitler Youth, but also the beginning of daily work. Thus, it continues, it is a celebration for the whole nation. And now the orders to the parents with a very obvious "woe if you don't": "For at home, too, this day will be celebrated. Some spring-flowers, a few small gifts to make the girls and boys happy, will make this a red letter day also in the family-circle, so that it is kept in the memory of the children as their deepest and most beautiful experience. No father and no mother will fail to attend the actual ceremony and the taking of the oath by their children."

And now the important change. Hitler Youth has taken over the functions of the school. While formerly the schools arranged their own celebrations when a year-group had finished school, "now there are no longer two festivals" (*V.B.*, March 18th, 1942) and there can be no doubt as to who arranges the celebrations. The teachers, however, are allowed to attend, not on the platform, of course, but in the upper circles. Indeed, Youth Leader Axmann, to smooth over the embarrassment of the change, addressed a few friendly words of gratitude to them. The children themselves are not allowed to express their

feelings, may they be positive or negative towards school; the Youth Leader does it all for them.

It may also be stated that, here again, the celebrations are one big organization, carried out locally, it is true, as it would be impracticable to have all the young people come to Berlin, but centred definitely in the Berlin festival. This fact will make them still more endearing to, let us say, the Bavarians and the people of Baden. For the first time, too, the festivals have been extended to German Youth living in Poland.

As to the celebrations themselves, especially in Berlin, Goebbels seems to have recalled all the memories of his schooldays, which were spent in good Catholic traditions and surroundings, and his Heidelberg student days where the teachers were the highly cultivated Jews, v. Waldberg and Gundolf. Such things are not easily forgotten and can be made use of, even for such a big-scale show. On the eve of the celebrations there were concerts and plays in all the theatres, to which the Nazi Party invited the boys and girls and their parents. Goebbels himself had ordered the theatres (a good many of them private enterprises) to devote that evening to the service of Youth. The Nazis always have conveniently understood how to mix Party and State. The Party invites—and the State either pays or gives the powers to enforce the wishes of the Party. It is like the father who orders his wife to punish the children while it is he who gives them the sweets.

It is evident that there had been an "order from above" that this affair had to be artistic. Four days beforehand, *V.B.*, the official party organ, says that throughout the entire country, in the villages as well as in the towns, music will be part of the celebrations. Youth Leader Axmann, too, sticks to that direction. In a speech dealing with the war and the hard realities of the day, suddenly without context a phrase like this occurs: "In spite of manifold war-services, in spite of the war itself, youth is to be led to the sources of strength of our people, to its culture and art. In the *community of youth* the way is paved for them to our great spirits. Whoever can feel and understand Goethe and Schiller, Bach or Mozart, loves Germany more than those who only see in Germany the comfortable background of their small daily life." It seems a pity that Herr Axmann himself understands them so little. Had he understood them, he would know that the last thing they intended to create was a narrow-minded nationalism and a "help in the war-effort", as he conveniently puts it. Their minds and hearts belong to the world and not to Mr. Axmann and his Hitler Youth. In

true Nazi-style we find, after Beethoven and the Mozart-choirs, a "quotation from the Führer". That, of course, was to be expected. However, this year there was no message from Hitler. This winter, in true soldierly spirit he had confined himself to foreign policy, to "his" army, and to the collecting of woollies, abandoning his usual artistic inspirations.

It is noteworthy, too, that the *V.B.* does not trust its readers to be interested enough to read this article. Therefore they give a short summary of eleven lines first. Good business people that they are, they know their public. Let us follow their description further. First they paint the environment, the decorations in the Opera-House. Then they give the names of the Party-leaders who attend. It is significant that among the five people mentioned should be Lutze, the chief of staff of the S.A., naturally interested in the future members of his organization, and the notorious Count Helldorf, President of the Berlin police, one of the cruellest men in the cruel Nazi Party. The other Party chiefs attending were the Gauleiter Sturtz of the province Brandenburg (where Berlin is situated), the Reichs sports-leader, von Tschammer und Osten and the commandant of Berlin, General von Hase. Trumpets open the celebration; then Dr. Frotscher, of the Office of Culture of the Hitler Youth (note that Hitler Youth has its own executive and is organized like a State itself), plays the organ. Vice-Gauleiter, Party-member, Councillor Görlitzer makes the first speech and oddly enough emphasizes first and foremost the impossibility "of reconciling our enemies" which, he regrets, makes this war necessary, thus casting a shadow on the life of youth. For that reason more service and sense of duty is to be asked from the boys and girls. It sounds almost like an apology, like a cautious feeler trying not to offend an audience of which he is not sure. The orchestra of the Hitler Youth Saxonia then plays the Leonora Overture III.

Now it is Youth Leader Axmann who speaks and a fresher wind blows. No regrets here, but the same old stubborn line which is too well known already. Among the more significant themes he touches is that of the "manifold" sides of Hitler Youth, thus eliminating from the beginning any idea the young people might have as to their future. Yes, school is over for them, but it does not mean that they can follow their inclinations and their calling. "In the community of youth" they may seek culture, but Hitler Youth offers everything to them which they might need. No individual inclinations or efforts are really called for. The real meaning is, of course, to be found when he

speaks of the war effort and what youth must be prepared to do. (V.B., March 18th, 1942.) His high praise of the volunteers in agriculture and specifically those going to the East creates the impression that in spite of the involuntary character of all volunteering in the Third Reich the response was not so hearty as the Party had hoped. Another proof of this is the institution recently of special homes for these Youth workers. They demonstrate the need to make life more pleasant for the volunteers.

His allusion to the parents can only be considered a joke: "Be grateful to your parents and repay them by love and goodness. Pledge yourself to loyal service in our magnificent movement, without which (the movement) we cannot live." He goes on in the pseudo-mystic vein: "Recognize and feel that it was divine Providence that you were born among the German people. . . . The Grace of Heaven gave us the Führer, and we are faithful to him until death."

The article continued: "After this pledge the Youth Leader, with the young people and their parents, thought of that man who is the soul and the head of our people, and who to-day in his headquarters guides the fate of our people into a great future." The boys and girls now had to give their oath of loyalty: "I swear and promise<sup>1</sup> always to do my duty in the Hitler Youth, in love and loyalty to our Führer and to our flag." . . . "In paying homage to the Führer, the celebration came to a dignified end with the national anthems and organ music." Every boy receives a diploma with Hitler's photograph. The local Party Leaders, moreover, pay a visit to the homes of the boys and discuss the boys' development and future with their parents. (*Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, March 22nd.)

This celebration was instituted not only to wrest power and influence from the schools, but, more important, to wrest it from the Churches. Very obvious parallels with confirmation are noticeable. It takes place at about the same time and affects the same ages. The renewed drive against the Churches points in the same direction. The whole festivities have a mystic appearance and there are even parallels with the liturgy. Oaths of allegiances are sworn, hymns are sung, passages from "the book" are quoted (from *Mein Kampf* at the Hitler Youth celebration).<sup>2</sup>

In Vienna the celebrations were held by Kreisleiter Arnhold. His words do not always give the impression of confidence.

<sup>1</sup> Note the tautology: "swear" and "promise" used together mean that one of them is not taken seriously, besides the second being the weaker one.

<sup>2</sup> See also the chapter on the Church struggle.

When he seems to talk to the "non-believers", it sounds almost threatening. "Now we have to be hard and make sacrifices for our honour and our Freedom against the nations whose tradition it is to envy us and who do not want us to live. We shall be victorious, thanks to our unity and to our *unchangeable belief* in the Führer. Even after victory, however, there will be no paradise for us, but we shall not fail to do our best." He continued in admirable taste: "You bear the name of that man who marches as a unique historic figure over the Continent. Never forget that you bear the name of the greatest of all Germans . . . and I ask the parents to educate their children for ever in the belief of the Führer and to pray with them 'O Lord in Heaven, save the Führer'." (*V.B., Wiener Beobachter*, March 23rd, 1942.)

Also from Vienna came an article in the *V.B.* the day before. "Early Seriousness, thoughts after a *V.B.* conversation with Gebietsführer Schopper, Niederdonau." It depicts at length the difficulties of former generations, especially the post-world-war generation who found themselves exposed to so many influences, parties and groups. All this is now quite different. In spite of this fact, however, the author admits that youth does not necessarily find its way naturally to the ideals of Hitler Youth. "Through doubts and difficulties they fight and win a clear conception of the world and of events." With surprising candour he sums up the tasks and aims of Hitler Youth: "To form its members into persons of full working capacity, political fighters and versatile soldiers." No mystic idealism here. He gives instances of what even the smallest children can do and are doing already, in pre-Jungvolk days, and he mentions "collecting of scrap and medical herbs, thus contributing to the war-time raw-material economy as well as saving the Reich's foreign currency. A hundred jobs are done, one replacing the other; they and the older members of Hitler Youth give their help where man-power is lacking. Thus youth gets to know war, even if their own family does not suffer."

The final transition from Nazi Youth service to Nazi Party service occurs when the boys and girls are eighteen years old. Another celebration in the same style is staged, again in the presence of Nazi State functionaries. This, too, seems to indicate that youth is not trusted as being really Nazi, although they have been brought up in the movement (they were ten years old when Hitler came to power), but again with an undertone of threatening demand that now they have to be Nazis through and through. "Now they will have to prove their worth in the

circle of the old Party fighters and they will prove it too." It also seems necessary to impress on them: "Everybody in Germany should realize that it was the Nazi Party which has created the unthinkable. Neither the industrialists nor the men of science, nor the soldiers nor the artists, nor the philosophers, thinkers or poets have saved our nation from the abyss, but only the Party. We feel its good work is only beginning; later generations will realize its importance. *Everything else can go, but the Party must stay.*"

## CHAPTER XVIII

### SCHOOL

WE HAVE SEEN how close is the grip that the Nazi organizations try to keep on children. Naturally the Party has also tried to influence schools widely. That they did not entirely succeed is proved by the fact that they do not entrust their selected future leaders to them, but have instituted special Party boarding-schools for them.

Education is one of the fields where deterioration is felt only slowly, and therefore the Nazis went ahead with their conceptions for a long time without the results being very obvious. But even here the pace has been too fast and complaints are voiced everywhere, even from the most unexpected quarters such as the Army. This is particularly amusing, as it was the Army which in pre-Hitler days had scorned the "intellectual education given by the German Republic".

The chief of the Office of Education has had to admit the quality of the schools of the Republic: "The peasants and workers come from the old German people's school. That can only prove the worth of the old school." Yet he says that there have to be changes. The Nazis have changed a lot in the schools, but admit their fiasco themselves. Even trades are not satisfied with the knowledge with which apprentices start their training. *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of November 30th draws attention to that fact and specially complains about weaknesses in accountancy and punctuation. The shortcomings were mainly due to "a lack of knowledge in certain elementary subjects". *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, on the same subject, speaks of "the urgent need for improving performance at school. . . . Only the highest standard of knowledge will enable youth to achieve the highest possible performance."

The teachers, *M.N.N.* said, "tried to work against encroachments on the time and strength of their pupils, just as the Hitler Youth and its health policy meet all dangers of too great claims on youth"—that is, too great claims by the schools. And now follows in *M.N.N.* one of those passages which show the whole sorry state of affairs. This comes directly after the statement about Hitler Youth and no doubt refers to its policy: "Pedagogic quarters have objected most strongly that everybody can interfere in school affairs. Again and again the importance of full use of school-time is stressed. In this connection the account of a principal of a Westphalian school is of great interest. His finding was that in his school with 870 pupils, during the year 1937-38, 23,000 school days were lost through avoidable disturbances. Goethe has pointed out that the 'abundance of diversions' is a dangerous aspect of modern life. This still holds good for the position and future of the people's school. Therefore the call for greater concentration of school work should become an important point of the programme." (*M.N.N.*, January 10th.)

New regulations for passing from one year to the next have been issued. This, in Germany, has yearly been a critical point and a number of pupils were transferred to the lower age group, having not reached the required standards. During the time of the Nazis the required standards have differed somewhat from former conceptions. Every good Hitler Youth was automatically transferred to a higher class. Now, it is stated, "certain standards of knowledge have to be reached", a conception that apparently had to be newly formulated. A leading article in *Frankfurter Zeitung* deals extensively with this question and the new regulation (in fact the old one). After some elaboration the author concludes that a certain rigidity has to be applied, that psychologists throughout the past had urged again and again against this mental burden on young people. "But when there is no more fear, vanity easily takes its place, and that is less favourable to true education than fear." The pupils must realize the necessity of these standards and must be led to collaboration.

A new Nazi feature is that certain requirements in History and German Literature have to be reached by all pupils. While formerly good results in some subjects made up for deficiencies in others, this "individual" rule is no longer kept; now *all* secondary pupils have to have good knowledge in these two subjects in order to pass. "It stresses again the Germanic basis of the present secondary school . . . the school cannot leave room for individual talents. It must teach the basic

subjects to all pupils and must demand results from all. Otherwise the school would lose or dilute its special national and national-socialist character."

An amusing sidelight is the following: The Nazis announced with great fanfares when they came to power the general introduction of Gothic script. The offices changed their typewriters, many people had to learn it again after having forgotten it since their school days. All official business had to be written in German script. Apparently this has now proved too difficult and thus they now call the normal, Latin script the "German normal-script". They do it for Europe's sake, so they say (*N.Z.Z.*, Sept. 12th, 1941). *M.N.N.* (Sept. 10th, 1941) writes: "The Germans are here only returning to their original German script which meanwhile has been taken over by the whole world." The paper, however, also gives another reason, namely that it is simpler and therefore will not take up so much time to learn. There have been special orders issued for exercise-books which have to be the same throughout the Reich.

While the development in the elementary schools already shows certain revealing trends, comments about the secondary schools are still more significant. Let us have some dry statistics first; they are taken from the Reich plus Sudetenland, Austria and Memel; but they probably give the true trend of things just the same. Among the 1,752 secondary schools for boys there are 190, or 12 per cent, which give a classical education. These are the traditional secondary schools. But the lower forms are small and will, as far as can be seen now, dwindle still further in favour of the Oberschule (school with the stress on science). Classical education is definitely discouraged by the Nazis.

For girls the Nazis instituted a new form of secondary school with stress on household subjects. This is not at all in keeping with girls' secondary education in Germany hitherto and there is no doubt that the underlying meaning of this is to devalue the girls' training, so that later on it can be said "after all, you cannot expect this to count as a full school certificate", which again is to promote "back to the kitchen" trends for women. Attendance at this type of school has risen from 31.3 per cent to 47.2 per cent. Such a rise is unthinkable without official direction, if not compulsion. This increase has occurred at the expense of the usual type of secondary school for girls which lays stress on languages.

Not only in subject-matter has school been made easier, so as to leave the young boys and girls free for Hitler Youth service, but also very drastic measures have been taken to

reduce the required standards still more. There are no longer examinations for the school certificate. The general ruling is that no papers have to be handed in by any candidate, but some of the boys and girls do not even have to attend school when they are given their school certificate, they can gain their "maturity" as it is called in Germany by digging or peeling potatoes or some other kind of manual work. Significantly the only subjects which did not have to undergo a change are physical education and for girls the household subjects in that type of school. This shows the official wish (*Fr.Z.*, November 13th, 1941 and *D.A.Z.*, November 11th, 1941). Another new order is that religious teaching is no longer to take place in schools.

A special feature of getting the school certificate without even attending school for weeks and months is the so-called "Ost-Einsatz" (service in the East). We learn of this when Deputy Gauleiter Schmalz bids farewell to 101 girls who thus obtained their school certificate in Posen on March 31st, 1942 (*Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, April 2nd, 1942). They had done agricultural work for almost ten weeks in different places in the "Wartheland". Or the *Vienna Beobachter* (the *V.B.* Vienna edition) of April 9th, 1942, with the significant headline: "War school certificate without a headache (Prüfungsangst)," and the sub-title "*V.B. conversation*" (which replaces with the Nazis the normal word "interview", which is supposed to be democratic and old-fashioned) "*V.B. conversation with a B.d.M. girl (Hitler Youth girl) coming from winter service in the East.*"

Apparently the parents are not too well pleased at the idea of their girl going East, into a foreign country, often working alone at farmhouses, etc., without supervision except by the Party whose views as to morals, for example, they do not always share. This service, therefore, is brought down a little from its pedestal of high-sounding heroism and has been made "bourgeois". "The East service of our B.d.M. (Hitler Youth for girls) does not mean a romantic adventure on an unsound, shaky basis. For it is systematically built up, organized to the last. Thus this welcome work-service of our female youth brings as a result only fresh and healthy young girls back to their parents." It is well known that young people, be it in the Hitler Youth, in the labour-service or in military training, are very often overstrained and come out of it with ruined health. The word "fresh" is unusual too in that context; it is supposed to suggest that the girls are under just as strict supervision as they would be at home.

“They are girls who have learnt in good time to start a job at the right end; besides their judgment gets surer and strength grows to master their future. We talked on Wednesday in the Hitler Youth House to fifty-two girls who went away as schoolgirls and returned after four to six weeks with the school certificate in their pocket. What a marvellous opportunity, some weak candidate might think.” And the public too might think: “How marvellous for the good Party girls who are spared the trouble of examination without this fact being too much noticed, or who perhaps avoid the awkward situation of not passing.” But the paper forestalls these very obvious objections to the whole scheme. Well, it is not as easy as all that. For only those girls will obtain their school-certificate in this way who have proved in the latter part of their school life that there would never be any question of not obtaining the school certificate. “It is the doctor, however, who has the last word.” Now the voluntary service as teachers or kindergarten mistresses can be started. These were the main forms of service for the girls in the highest forms.

This shows as nothing else does how short of intellectual staff the Germans really are. Young girls with no training and no experience, with not even the school certificate, are asked to perform the duties of teachers and kindergarten teachers, and all this for several weeks. There would perhaps be some explanation—if not justification—if only girls were taken who wanted ultimately to enter these professions, who would therefore stay for some time and would in view of their future profession carry out the task conscientiously. It should not be said that with youthful enthusiasm there might not be individual good results, but as an institution this shows an abominable state of affairs. Children handled in this way, changing teachers and thus their mental surroundings all the time, must become unbalanced and undisciplined. Even in that short time, the school certificate girls change their different places of work. “The motto is: every girl has to do every kind of work for a time. The main task for them was to improve language faults in the children of Galicia and Bessarabia, to look after the village kindergarten, to hold village schools for the bigger children, to hold adult courses and to help in the households of farmers with large families.”

“The girls live in camps.” This is usual for a Nazi institution, for the main thing, for the Nazis, is the supervision through the Party. They want at all costs to avoid members of their organizations coming into continuous contact with persons of views

possibly differing from the Party standpoint. If they want the labour value they cannot quite avoid that contact. On the other hand in the country people are usually busy during the day-time. The girls, however, have to be in the camps at an early hour, mostly 6 o'clock or earlier, when the Nazi schooling takes place. So that when other people would have time to talk to them, they have to go away and come again under Nazi influence. It is interesting to see, that all these strict regulations are still enforced even with their "own youth". When the Nazis came into power, they themselves called all these transitory measures.

Their hold seems never to have established itself firmly enough to be able to carry out everyday routine in a normal way, so that the "transitory measures" had to be established. "Borough officials of the Nazi Party who have nothing to do but to look after these camps have been nominated. Statistical enquiries have shown a gain in weight throughout from 4 to 6 kilogrammes (somewhat more than 8 to 12 pounds)." This is the only comment made on the effect of these camps. And now in the good old Vienna vein, or what the Nazis think is Vienna: "This suits only too well the not-too-slender Viennese girl and it suits too the gaiety of her heart, which is such a help in bringing the farmers of the different counties together. . . . For in summer this service will this time not only go to the East, the Wartheland, Danzig and West Prussia but will be extended to South Carinthia and the Styrian lowlands (Yugoslavia)." E.Z.

After this small sidelight as to what the Nazis expect in the way of intellectual training and achievement of their youth (which will be followed up more extensively later) we return back to the schools proper and their influence on the life of youth.

The distraction from school tasks proper has brought about a concentration on necessities and limitation of school-subjects in order not to prejudice too much the general standard of knowledge. This, however, does not seem to suffice. Accumulation of knowledge is not a process of education. The mind has to be developed to cultivate the aptitude for thinking or appreciating spiritual values; only then can knowledge be co-ordinated and made use of for general outlook as well as for practical purposes. This, however, has been sadly neglected and the consequences have made themselves felt. We have already touched upon some of these grievances voiced from different quarters. Here, however, are the most outstanding documents of this kind, one

from a professional quarter, realizing the slow ruin of education; and one from the Nazi quarters proper, heaping abuse on youth for those things which were instituted and fostered by the Party itself. The first: Dr. Bengl says in the *Deutsche Erzieher* of November 1941: "Both in speech and in writing the soldier must be able to think simply, clearly and in orderly sequence. There is no need to fear any longer that too much importance is attached to mere knowledge. Too many people who have no fault to find with mental sloth are even of the opinion that it is enough to be a good sportsman and to have one's heart in the right spot to make an efficient officer. Such optimists will probably be surprised to learn that the O.K.W. (Supreme High Command) has asked the National Socialist Teachers' Association not to allow the standard of performance and knowledge at school to fall." The author concludes his article by saying that outside interferences (read the Party) with schooling must be reduced to a bearable minimum. "In view of the tremendous tasks in hand, nobody can any longer take the responsibility for light-heartedly disposing of hours or whole days which should be devoted to learning."

The other highlight of complaints on education was voiced by the Bavarian "Gauleiter, Minister of State, Party Member" Wagner, when he opened the spring term of Munich's Institutions for Higher Education, Schools, Institutes, Universities. The lumping together of these also is a new feature, and is in specially striking contrast with the former freedom of the Universities. The latter were almost outside the State, having even their own jurisdiction. The Party, however, abolished all these liberties and brought the universities, like everything else, under its own control. Significantly this opening took place in the Circus Krone! The other speakers were the Chief of Staff of the Ministry of Education, Emil Klein (even education has to be guided in military terms. The results are in keeping!), and the last speaker was Party-Borough Leader Kremers. No representative of the educational profession, no professor or teacher was permitted to speak. They were, however, as in the Hitler Youth celebrations, allowed to be present—or at least the principals among them—together with "leading men of the Party, State, fighting forces and town, among them the commandant of Munich, Lieutenant-General Kieffer and school-supervisor Bauer."

(*M.N.N.*, April 20th, 1942). "Chief of Staff Emil Klein stressed the sole claim to education by the National Socialists." It could not be made clearer. "Education, inclusive of school

education, is carried out by order of the National Socialist Party. School and Hitler Youth have the same supervisor: the Party. In war time young persons too must join in the war effort. But time diverted to war work must not have the effect of prolonging school longer than necessary, because less is asked in the schools. And those who try to lay the blame for bad results in school on the H. J. gain themselves a bad mark indeed." It seems to be an open secret that school results have gone down and it is to the credit of the teachers that they give these bad marks; because they are the first to know the reasons for these bad results: the interference of the Party and outside claims on the boys and girls. With the Nazis such an open denial is always the best proof of the thing denied, uttered at a time when there is no other way of stopping talk about it. Anyone continuing to talk about it from such a moment onward is then an "enemy of the State" with all that it implies. This is the only effective way of stopping it. It is always the last resort: terror.

Klein continues: "The youth of a nation in war time cannot afford to loaf about in the streets, to play or to lose themselves in romantics, far from the actual happenings around them."

This then is what happens: This youth, trained for "heroics", this youth, supposed to be tough and far from ideas, is warned against indulging in idle dreams. "They have to take peasant youth for their example." "The learning of languages to-day is more important than ever." This is contrary to an old point of the Nazis. Feeling so superior to everyone else they did not deem it necessary to speak any other language than their own. "Only ability justifies the claim to guide Europe. Schoolboys and girls too must strive to improve their work. Party Leader Kremers also stressed the education-unit of school and H. J., which, for example, proved so successful in the vacation service." (This again, like most so-called social achievements of the Nazis, was instituted in the Republic days, and extensively used then. It means that farmers and other families in the country take in children from towns for the holidays.) Kremers also feels it necessary to state: "An efficient Hitler-boy and H. J. leader, according to his experience, is always a good pupil too." This might even be correct, for it is difficult to give bad marks to an H. J. leader, the system of denouncement being what it is. All personal grievances can too easily be vented in that way. Kremers, too, seems to be aware of the common saying among the people, that Hitler Youth leaders almost invariably are "Hammeln", i.e., silly asses.

Gauleiter Wagner is rather slow. While the others have thus, in a veiled manner, admitted the bad results of Nazi education on the minds of the children, he has not understood the new trend and still plays the old favourite records. "His speech culminated by stating that in daily life not only intelligence, the mind or knowledge is decisive, but rather the values of the character which are rooted in the heart."

How deeply this barbaric Nazi attitude towards education has taken root is shown in certain non-German publications dealing with the educational problems of Germany. Although they claim to be anti-Nazi they follow exactly what we are inclined to call the orthodox Nazi line, namely they reproach German education for stressing too much the intellectual side and neglecting what they call "character". They also show their origin in the Nazi mentality by accepting a supposed German national character as the basis and object of education. This is plainly against all the ideals and principles of education of the Free. It leaves out the multitude of causes which the educationist has to take into consideration, the variety of characters and aims for which he has to educate youth. If they prove anything the educational systems of successful democracies prove this.

The Gauleiter goes on: "In his heart, however, every young person *should* be a National Socialist." Gauleiter Wagner does not seem to think that this is so. "In this sense, as far as it is still necessary, we shall have to take every measure in the schools and classes to bring this about." (Nach dem Rechten sehen, an expression which strongly states that things are not as they should be.) "And this applies not only to the pupils, but to the teachers too. The number of pupils not in uniform must become smaller and smaller in the secondary schools." Pressure being what it is on the boys and girls to enter the Hitler Youth, it will be surprising to every student of Nazi Germany that there are any at all not in uniform. "The basis of all schools is the Nazi Weltanschauung, and it always will be. Whoever does not adhere to this Weltanschauung does not belong to the secondary schools or any other institutions of higher education."

And more revealing words on morale in general: "One of youth's duties is to keep up public discipline. It is also expected that they shall behave in the required manner when there are air-raid warnings. The same holds good when on public vehicles and in community life generally. In many cases war requires the service of youth. The duty of the leaders is to provide the

channels for such services. This job is the H. J.'s exclusively, for the school has to look after school tasks. The teacher has the right and duty to give orders in the school. But there is only one organization outside the school which can give orders and that is the H.J. Thus the H.J. is also the centre of the youth service where necessary war tasks are concerned. There will be manifold claims on the youth of the secondary schools. . . . There is no room in our society for aesthetes, for long-haired individuals, cranks such as we saw after the last war. The Nazi State will not allow its youth to be spoiled." These then are the results of unintellectual, tough Nazi education: "aesthetes, long-haired individuals, cranks"—quite a good certificate for the soundness of German youth!

Another light on this "crankiness" of the youth is thrown by a report in *N.Z.Z.*, May 24th, 1942. It says that German booksellers cannot find enough books to satisfy the thirst of German youth for reading, which means for the inner values of life, for the humanities, for individualism, for all those things which the Nazis dread and away from which they did the utmost to educate youth. "Youth and Book" this report is entitled and the terms are strong indeed: "German booksellers who order books at publishing houses have given up asking for books on the lists of those publishing houses or even asking for titles. Their urgent request is only: 'Please, please do send me one or two boxes of books, as many as you can possibly send us. We can sell all we get!' So powerful is the urge to read in German youth."

The S.S., too, is not at all satisfied with the affection and veneration shown by youth towards the Nazis. The *Schwarze Korps* complains bitterly about young people. It is amusing to see that the Nazis, who claimed to be the young and daring ones, now have to play the part of the grandfathers not understanding youth. The paper (March 19th, 1942) begins by stating what wonderful possibilities youth has now. How boys leaving school and training do not encounter any of the difficulties their fathers had to grapple with when they were that age and how Nazism, so to speak, had really done everything to please them. "They are not really so wonderful as they think they are and they are only sought because there is such a shortage of manpower . . . They take all the advantages we give them for granted."

"It really is education that is at fault. The State can only issue measures to rectify and undo what education did. It is not the hard necessities which will form our young people into Socialists

(read National-Socialists) who know their duty towards the community. Education . . . must look after that . . . War is here the best test, also for the parents."

The discussion about youth has evidently aroused wide interest. Their qualities, their attitude to life are debated. *M.N.N.* even voices one of these aspects in detail. On November 2nd, 1941, the papers bring out a long article with the headline: "Is the Youth of To-day Uncultured?" It goes into the many conversations which have taken place on this subject and the grievances voiced about youth. The conclusions are the following: Since roughly the nineties there has been a cultural crisis and a development of new values. The process is still going on and youth stands in the midst of it, very much attracted by the problems as such: "Those fearing for the future of culture need not only be comforted by the fact of its imminence. They should listen more carefully with their hearts and they would see how much this destructive war raises the hunger for the embracing might of the spirit here at home and in that youth who shelter our homes with their bodies. There is thirst for genuine culture 'without empty words', as this shallow expression says, for this deep and beautiful force in hundreds of thousands of human hearts. This will be the source of new cultural vigour when once this bloody war is only a remembrance, as a purgatory which made their spirits thirsty for things which other people might never experience."

There are other hopeful signs too, such as composition subjects for school certificate which show definite opposition to all Herrenvolk measures and attitudes, such as the following: "Recognize that we are human beings, that it is not we who have created the world, that we, too, are a creation only. 'For no one shall hold himself equal to the Gods'" (*Fr.Z.*, February 22nd, 1942). The paper comments: "Thus youth can cross the threshold and need not fear the loss of illusions." And very significantly: "There is confidence in the world here which moves us, and not confidence only, but even an open heart to look for new leaders who influence in a quieter way."

New types of school, except for the Adolf Hitler schools, are not especially favoured. But some of them have survived, such as the "artistic secondary school" (*Musische Gymnasium*) at Leipzig, which this year added two new classes to its former body (*Fr.Z.*). Otherwise the experimenting which was so prevalent in the Republic has mostly come to an end.

Apart from the Adolf Hitler schools, one new and rather sad

type of school has been introduced by the Nazis, the so-called "German Home School", which is established mainly for the children of fallen officers and men (*N.Z.Z.*, Sept. 8th, 1941). "The 'German Home School' is meant for war orphans and the children of Germans living abroad, of officers, civil servants, political leaders, technicians, business men who are forced through their professional duties to change their place of domicile frequently or to have it beyond the frontiers of the Reich. It also serves to prepare intelligent children of poorer parents for studies at the universities. The 'home schools' are under the same command as the 'national political education centres' (National-politische Erziehungsanstalten). That is, under the command of the normal school-authorities as well as the S.S." "This measure," the paper goes on, "is specially characteristic of the present German development, under which a great number of qualified persons have to take over work on foreign territory for the huge and manifold Nazi undertakings; and where so many people have to be always at the disposal of the ever-changing requirements of the State apparatus. Such persons can now be relieved of the burden of families and at the same time the best possible training is assured for their descendants. A secondary result of this measure will be that a part of the remaining boarding schools still existing side by side with this new type of school will gradually change over into 'German Home Schools'."

This, then, has been the result of the "Herrenvolk idea", that children have become homeless just because their parents have become machines to serve the State. Oppression shackles the oppressed and the oppressor. It combines slave-drivers and slaves in an unhappy union. The leviathan State created by Nazis and Fascists wins against its own creators and gains life of its own. A dead and senseless machine, it grinds parents and children, ironically insensitive of what they, in vain dreams of a master-race, intended it to be.

#### NOTE

Germany now proposes to take over the "main" type of school from Austria and Sudetenland. That means that after the customary four years' elementary school which every boy and girl has to attend, another four years will be introduced. Formerly the school types diverged, the lower education being completed in four more years in the "people's school", while the secondary schools took over their pupils from that age onwards.

Co-education is to be aimed at, which will make it possible to build more schools, enabling almost every child in the country to attend. For the few very scattered and outlying families, however, there will be boarding homes in the school, run by the staff or the principal. The boarding costs will be 50 Marks a month, which in case of lack of means can be paid by the State.

The lines on which these schools have to work were publicized in April, 1942 (*M.N.N.*, April 28th, 1942). They have to be introduced immediately in Austria and the Sudetengau, while a gradual change-over will have to take place in the Reich. It is to be the preparatory school for all those professions "which require skill of the hands and deeper insight into economics, as well as the whole of the life of the nation. The school is specially suited to prepare for all institutions of progressive (mainly adult) education which do not require secondary school standards for the students." (The requirements of school certificate have been substantially reduced for a great number of these institutions, such as art-schools, technical schools, etc.) "This task requires a close relationship of the Hauptschule with the professions."

This is a clean break with all former views of education, even elementary education, in Germany. School-time was held to be the time in the life of a human being when professional considerations did not have to be taken into account and therefore was, even in the lower types of schools, intended to approach intellectual standards. This was held the more necessary as for the greater majority of people this was the only time in their lives when spiritual matters could be brought near to them, as otherwise faculties of the mind might not be discovered from pure lack of opportunity, leading to waste for the individual as well as for the nation. The Nazis, however, have always stressed that they are not interested in the individual and "things in themselves" as Kant puts it, but in the hard and dry results for the State. (See also chapter on social questions. The phrase "laws to protect workers" has been changed to "Law to protect work".)

This underlying principle continues. "Practical work and methods are preferred to the theoretic. Except for the inclusion of languages, mainly meant for use in the professions later, stenography and geometrical design, a strong emphasis is laid for boys on mathematical, scientific, technical and artisan subjects, and household subjects for girls.

"The Hauptschule replaces in its four classes (forms) the four upper forms of the 'people's school'. The pupils selected for it have to attend it, unless they enter a secondary school

instead. Thus the Hauptschule heightens the former principle of a general school-attendance duty to a duty to avail oneself of higher education as well. This is made possible by the fact that no fees are asked and that there will be many such schools available even in less accessible parts in the country."

Then the boarding-home possibilities are briefly outlined. The establishment of these schools in the countryside is designed to avert if not stop the emigration of peasant youth to work in the towns. "One of Germany's and every industrial country's big problems." Adapting itself in its subject matter to local surroundings in the country, the Hauptschule shall always treat particular features and problems of its surroundings and the main industrial or other work practised there. School-hiking and school-country-homes shall be especially stressed in the Hauptschulen. "This is a comparatively new development, mostly in secondary schools: a school has a home in the country with good facilities for sport (near a lake if possible) and each form goes there for a few weeks a year, accompanied by about two teachers. Only the subjects of the accompanying teachers are taught during those weeks, while before and after the lost time is made up in the other subjects while these are neglected.

"Education and learning must always combine. The local community shall impress itself on the school. In the train of natural experience and observation, exhibitions, radio, newspapers and periodicals have to figure in the syllabus of the schools." Except for the practical outlook there are, no doubt, good possibilities here. The question, however, is always in what way and in what spirit they are carried out. The conjecture seems possible that here again the professionals, the teachers, have tried to impress their views and have, for once, succeeded, just as they did not succeed in their struggle for supremacy with the Hitler Youth organization. It would be natural enough if the Party took an interest in all questions of practical politics such as the Hitler Youth, while they left such "highbrow" things as a syllabus to the professional teachers.

A couple of months ago new guiding principles for schools for the mentally weak were issued (*Fr.Z.*, April 1st, 1942). The practical principles are stressed even more than in the Hauptschulen, the sole aim being to get working capacity out of these children when they grow up, in just the same manner as the Nazis force the old, the consumptives and pregnant mothers up to the ninth month, etc., to slave in their war machine. However, there are a few more sinister words which can only be read with apprehension by those bearing in mind the mercy-killings and

the general attitude towards the weak. The task of the "Hilfsschulen" is represented as threefold: "to relieve the people's school, to enforce the measures of the State as to race and biology . . . and to make useful workers." There can be only conjecture as to what the second task of the three can mean, but it must be realized that Nazism sees in every mental or physical deficiency a "racial" fault of some parent or ancestor, which is thus not only a punishment in itself, but should be punished by the Herrenvolk. Whatever may be meant by this phrase, one thing is certain, that the souls of these poor creatures will not be especially delicately dealt with if the teachers of these schools (they used to be specially trained teachers) have been replaced by Nazis. It does not seem however, that this is generally the case. The teachers, by the way, are very much overworked. Their duty-hours have been fixed at twenty-six per week for women teachers and twenty-eight for men.<sup>1</sup>

If the result of the "Hilfsschule-education" has been good, however, and the boys and girls can be put into the working machine of the State, the Nazis are not sparing with praise. On the whole it is easier for them to have to do with mentally weak persons than to come up against awkward questions and attitudes. Thus these former pupils of a Hilfsschule got special praise from a Nazi leader for their splendid output.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE PROBLEM OF THE TEACHERS

THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS during the last few years show a sharp decline in the number of teachers. The schools have to "make do" with what can be spared from the front; old and retired teachers are re-employed as well as those not fully qualified. It is in keeping with this that the lower grades of schools are praised while the higher and secondary schools are scorned. Even the good "man-power material" supplied by the "Hilfsschulen", schools attended by those who cannot follow a normal, ordinary elementary school course, is commended. The effects on the lowering of the standard of education required has, of course, been substantial and all sorts of "service substitutes" have been instituted. Let us again look at the documents.

<sup>1</sup> With the special strain in this field, this is excessive.

*Kölnische Zeitung*, March 21st, 1942:<sup>1</sup> "The high schools must again reduce their staffs, although 50 per cent of the teachers and 33½ per cent of the secondary teachers are already serving with the colours. It is often necessary for teachers to take over subjects which they have not studied." There will not be much change in this situation, for the Nazi State has always made it quite clear that they did not mean to give the intellectual any honoured place whatsoever in society. Thus of the boys leaving school in 1941, "only 2 per cent chose intellectual subjects (one-third went into the Army and one-quarter took up Natural and Technical Science)".

The same paper speaks of the additional burden of supplying teachers to the occupied countries. Men and women are sent to the East, without, of course, being asked and without hope of returning. The paper says: "For many of them this is the final farewell to their work in the Reich, for there is no appeal against transfer." It seems, too, that the Nazi propaganda about the romantic East has not been a shining success with them. No one volunteers. Where, too, is the "Herrenvolk" idea grounded in the people? Surely they can nowhere have a better life, nowhere feel more superior, more the "boss" than in occupied Poland, where practically the whole country is there to slave for them. No, they have had a taste of what it means to be bound, to slave and to be ordered about. The whole atmosphere does not change for them, if for once it is not they who are the slaves but the slave-drivers. The work has of course been made very attractive financially. But they know too well that it is part of the policy of the Nazi Party, for nothing can stifle resistance and opposition so much as a change of surroundings. At home you know where you are with people, you have known them for years; you know against whom you have to guard yourself and with whom you can talk freely. In a state like Nazi Germany all the most private connections become thus highly political; they can mean life and death and the Nazis know it.

Therefore they move as many people as they can into different communities where they are rootless, have to be careful and can only slowly find out where they stand with people. Until then valuable time is lost, old connections broken off and—should the man continue with "subversive actions" in his new surroundings—well, there can be another convenient transfer. For, after all, one does not want to miss the working capacity even of an enemy. Even many Jews have work in Germany now. One method of the Nazis is merely to make things unpleasant

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the periodical, *Weltanschauung and School*, by Dr. Jantzen.

for their enemies, hold them under close supervision and cut them off from their old friends. Then the Nazis have reasonable safeguards against them.

The transfer of teachers does not take place only to the Eastern countries, but also to the South. It is noteworthy that here the Nazis are not quite so crude as in the case of Poland. They make the teachers of Steiermark and Kärnten go to the neighbouring provinces taken from Yugoslavia, while the Steiermark and Kärnten teachers are replaced by newcomers from the Reich. Six hundred teachers were thus required and they, too, had to go by order. (*Fr. Z.*, August 25th, 1941.)

The shortage of teachers, however, and the resulting overwork for the remaining staff, is only one of the reasons for the bad way in which the schools find themselves, as is admitted in German circles themselves and even in official papers. The results seem to be so evident that the Nazis have had officially to deal with them. Of course, they show plainly that it is *not* the cultural side of education which is near to their heart; but the consequences of poor education have shown themselves in practical life, and the claims of "Army, industry and public opinion" can no longer remain unconsidered. (*M.N.N.* January 10th, 1942.)

This had to be stated officially and a conference of Nazi Party leaders of the teachers was convened to discuss the best methods of obtaining "better results". A memorandum showing the difficulties and the best way to solve them was worked out: "After seven years the time has now come to reduce the new syllabus to a reasonable measure (i.e. the Nazi teachings) and to adapt it to the mental abilities of the child . . . teachers are to prepare the syllabus . . . who have the whole of the elementary school in mind . . ." A specially important point seems to be the demand for smaller classes of children, which no doubt ensure better results. However the necessary limits of this justifiable demand cannot remain unconsidered. The school-buildings, too, should be beautified, as this, too, might have an effect on better results. A big competition is proposed at the end of the year—an idea entirely alien to German schools and in contrast to their tradition. *M.N.N.* comments that these measures are proposed in order to conform with the words of a general in this war to the effect that school results should equal those in peace time and, if possible, even excel them.

Of course the Nazis try to remedy this disastrous shortage of teachers. They do so mainly by inducing young people to take up the teaching profession, one can almost say by hook or by

crook. The German papers are full of it. A memorandum issued by the Nazi teaching profession states that the "basis of the teaching profession has broadened" (*M.N.N.* January 10th, 1942). This has been called a reform. It can only mean that the required standards are lowered (see also later: schoolgirls are employed as short-term teachers). The employment of more women in consequence of the shortage of teachers must be checked. "Teachers must be taken from all walks of life, from the towns and from the land, so that the profession will be near to the people. In order to stimulate the profession, the memorandum suggests a national competition for teachers which would give an opportunity of appreciating the teacher's work."

*Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 18th, 1942, has this double-edged beginning to an article: "Training to be a Teacher without Cost"; it says: "Also the new form of training for teachers at the new institutes formed in 1941 has kept up the tradition of the teaching profession." It goes on to show the multiplicity of institutes: there are "the old teachers'-seminaries (from the Kaiser-period), then the pedagogic academies inaugurated in 1926 (the Republic) and the teaching institutes founded in 1933 (the Nazis)." And now the, new ones. Germany should swarm with teachers by now.

Another new feature is that not only are no fees asked by any of the institutions mentioned above, but also the county in which such an institution is situated has to pay for the candidates' board and lodging in special homes which must be erected (or in the Reich counties, the Reich must do this). The parents pay as much for the upkeep of their children as they can afford, and if their income is less than 100 Marks a month they have not to pay anything. (A hundred Marks a month, or £5, is such a starvation wage that no one could possibly pay anything from it.) "Training for teachers in elementary schools has never been an expensive affair. Formerly in these training colleges scholars were boarded in special homes at very moderate prices. There were plenty of Fellowships to enable young persons without means to take the course."

Reports also have come in of the foundation of such a new teachers' training college on the new Nazi model 1941 (not 33) in Schwabisch Hall, Württemberg. They state, too, that conveniently, a labour camp for girls has been established in the same small town (*Fr.Z.*, April 18th, 1942).

The paper then gives statistics of the family background of ninety-six such new girl candidates and it does not look as if a

great change has taken place here. For the greatest number, twenty-five, come from families of clerks, civil servants or shop stewards, six from farmers' families, twenty-one are the daughters of artisans, twenty-two of skilled or semi-skilled workers, two of unskilled workers and eighteen are orphans or illegitimate children. The male candidates number seventy-nine and their family background is similar. Later in the article it is plainly admitted that not the apparent social feature was decisive in this step, but the "necessity of circumstances" (Not der Zeit). True socialism would never allow itself to be used as a cloak for ineffectiveness, though the Nazis may call it "near to the people" (volksnah) as much as they like.

*D.A.Z.* in an earlier article gives the facts more crudely (November 4th, 1941). It describes in what ways the "social basis of the teaching profession has been broadened" namely: "The institutes for training elementary teachers can now be attended without first obtaining a school certificate." The required school grades do not even insist upon "Mittelschule", that is secondary school up to a certain age grade (15 years), but merely the general elementary school.

*M.N.N.* speaks of the "example of Bavaria" in finding a solution for the problem of the shortage of teachers, with, however, a picture of the situation which could not very well be clearer (May 5th, 1942). "Candidates for this profession, so very vital politically (teaching), had dwindled in a way which can almost be described as catastrophic. The Reich minister for Education decreed the abolition of the former institutes for the training of teachers in order, as a first measure, to draw greater numbers to the profession. That alone, however, was not enough. In many parts of the Reich the shortage of teachers is even to-day a cause for deep anxiety. It is therefore the more important to stress the solution found by Gauleiter Wagner. . . .

"The causes for the temporary disinclination of youth to adopt the teaching profession are financial and psychological. As to the latter, the status of that profession *should be raised*. This has been guaranteed since the time when the Party, Hitler Youth and school first endeavoured to relieve the shortage of teachers." This is a clear proof that it was the Party which had previously deliberately deprecated this profession as well as all forms of intellectual work.

"The H.J. is specially needed here for propaganda. But this propaganda is made still more effective by measures which enable every intelligent boy to enter the teaching profession

independent of the income of his parents." For this endowment of scholarships half a million Marks have been awarded by Bavaria alone. From 1938-41 1,000 young people have thus been *won* for the teaching profession. In the autumn of 1941, 450 boys were selected directly from the schools for that profession. This selection takes place in camps (similar to those for the fellowships at the universities). "It works in the same way as in the selection for the Adolf Hitler schools. In general the principles of the Adolf Hitler schools will be applied more and more to the elementary schools. School inspectors have to select the candidates in a five days' camp, where the character and abilities of the pupils are once more examined. A commission then decides whether the pupils should receive their training from scholarship funds or not." (*M.N.N.*, May 5th, 1942.)

Candidates receive 80 Marks during the time of training (sufficient to live on for a very moderate standard of living) and for the period before the examinations a hundred Marks a month. During the practical part of the training candidates receive the pay usual for the first stage of that profession.

The new term started on January 5th, 1942. Bavaria still asks a school grade higher than elementary school, while in every other respect we have seen that they make the profession as cheap as possible. The intellectual training again is reduced to a bare minimum, while stress is laid on "practical experience" which has the double advantage of relieving the shortage of teachers by including teaching as part of the training. *M.N.N.*, November 16th, 1941: "The *training* includes a three months' preparatory course, after that a practical course of *one (!) year's teaching* at an elementary school (if possible at the place of domicile of the candidate) and following on that a course of nine months at a training institute which terminates with the first examination for elementary teachers."

That means quite plainly that the former two years' course is now reduced to one year. For the practical experience was, of course, also gained in the former training, only it was not counted as the time of the training itself.

This "reform", however, does not seem to go down easily with the public, which has always been sensitive about the lowering of the standards of education. The paper turns sharply against these critics: "The opinion is often prevalent that elementary teachers trained in this way are not equal to those trained by the former methods. But there can be no question of a 'shortened training'; this is only another kind of training, broken up by

one year of practical experience. Otherwise it equals the former 'whole course' (Vollausbildung)." The very fact that the paper mentions this word "whole course", and describes the new course as being in contrast to it, gives away the whole story.

"And another error was *spread* about this matter, namely that teachers trained in this way will be sent to the East." The "East" has become for the Germans what Guiana was for the French! "On the contrary candidates trained in this way have to be employed in their own counties, since, during their training, they have to be specially, professionally looked after." No one "spreading" these rumours will have had any doubt about that. But what about afterwards, not during the training? That is the question.

The Gauleiter of Bavaria, Adolf Wagner, has given this problem a very special urgency. The Gauleiter deigns to give cultural questions his personal attention and has made himself Minister of Culture and Education as well. Of course he—the ex-director of the Bavarian Saline works; ex, because he was dishonourably discharged during the Republic—does not know anything about education, but here again he imitates his "great" friend by doing everything from "inspiration". And he first grabs all possible fields which he claims to come under his ministry: education of youth, elementary schools, secondary schools, universities and institutes, people's education (art) and churches, the last being for him also the least important item. Architecture and Health he also wants included "among these main fields which throughout are under the firm, personal supervision of the Gauleiter" . . . (M.N.N., May 4th, 1942).

"The winning and guidance of teachers is one of the main anxieties. The personal department of the Ministry examines all the teaching staffs as to their politics. . . . It is essential to augment the joy of teachers in their profession and the propaganda for it . . . Revolutionizing the schools cannot be gained through changed school books and methods only, but mainly through the right kind of teachers"—which they apparently still have not got in the year of 1942. Gauleiter Wagner gives as the main reason for the shortage of teachers: "the unclear relationship between school and H.J." Gauleiter Wagner thus vouches personally for the fact that teachers just did not want to stand for the ideas of the H.J. and its constant interference with education as they saw it, and that this really was the reason that kept would-be teachers away from the profession. All this the Gauleiter said not in public, but in a private conference in his ministry, with "Chief of Staff" (Stabsleiter) Klein.

Wagner then goes into the difficulties of education. "There are naturally many restricting influences in war time. The only way to get the necessary knowledge into youth is through the Youth Movement (H.J.). In every way," he continues, "it is necessary to promote the thirst for knowledge in youth."

This whole drive for teachers does not, however, imply that once people have entered this profession they are treated with more consideration than during the former Nazi years. Even their holidays are kindly "managed" for them. *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of May 13th, 1942, allows us the following glimpse: "The headmasters, principals and teachers of the schools have to take their shortened holidays during school vacation according to the directions given out by the Minister of Education of the Reich. During the other holidays they are at the disposal of the community for different services. This has been so in Hamburg since the beginning of the war."

"This summer the teachers of Hamburg have even greater tasks before them. Besides the permanent scheme 'Town Children to the Country', a great many of the teachers must be prepared to accompany the children on their Hungarian trips, which means that they have to stay away for six months. Teachers are required for the 'Harvest Service' of the 5th and 6th forms of the secondary schools." Moreover the teachers have to do additional service in civil defence, at the Food Offices and other Government Offices. Finally they volunteer for work in the social services during the holidays. "All these services are executed willingly and joyfully by the Hamburg teachers, and this holds good also for the older ones up to seventy years of age. Only a few of the teachers will be able to take a personal holiday and among them specially those who on the grounds of a medical examination (Note that a medical certificate is no longer trusted. 'Medical examination' means by an approved doctor, which in turn means by a Party man) urgently need a curative holiday or a time at a certain spa." (Signed —) The last phrase is again made in the typical Nazi threatening tone. No teacher who wants to keep his position and who does not want to become a suspect will dare to ask for a holiday before an actual breakdown.

## “NATIONAL POLITICAL SCHOOLS” AND “ADOLF HITLER SCHOOLS”

EVERY SOCIETY TENDS to create special forms of education for those whom it wants one day to take over the leadership of the community. Nazism very early recognized this and consciously built up a “new aristocracy” as they called it. They applied this formula throughout their structure. In this way the Party is the “aristocracy” of the people, and the S.S. is the aristocracy of the Party.

It is therefore only natural that the normal school, however much they intended to change it, would not be suitable for prospective Party leaders. They introduced new schools. These are the Adolf Hitler schools, the “Aufbau schools”, and finally the “national political schools” (Nationalpolitische Anstalten). For the last no expense, no trouble, no man-power is spared.

Let us first see it through the eyes of a neutral. (*N.Z.Z.*, Sept. 7th, 1942.) “. . . the national political schools have in many ways taken over the heritage of the former cadet-schools (before 1914). They are under the jurisdiction of the normal school authorities (Board of Education), and are directed by a high leader of the S.S. Apart from these there are the many ‘Adolf Hitler schools’, which select new blood for Party leadership. They, in their turn, are directed by Party bodies and are under the command of the youth leaders.”

There are ten of these highest selective schools in Germany. They are boarding-schools and are mostly situated in castles, in beautiful surroundings with every conceivable amenity for sport and recreation. In this way they are an imitation of the English public schools and consciously so. There is an interesting German dissertation by an Englishman, John Marsden, who was educated at Eton and who compares the two school-types. However much the exterior conditions may be comparable, the spirit in which these schools are run is certainly vastly different and so are their educational aims.

If the original Nazi ideas on education are considered, it is strange to notice how even here certain changes have taken place, or better, how in some of the exponents Nazi ideas have been exchanged for fragmentary educational and cultural conceptions. This can have no effect, for the fundamental idea is different and any schools supervised by the Party and S.S.

cannot basically improve, but it is of importance that here and there there are certain developments.

We can see this, for example, in a speech made by Schirach. This vague and woolly thinker or artist or politician has a veritable hotch-potch of half-understood ideas about tradition mixed with Nazism and a certain personal élan. He gives a severe warning to youth for the first time entering upon their lives as citizens; he almost shouts at them. It is usual at such a time to encourage young people and, if anything, to praise them. What, then, led to this strange speech by Schirach? Was it perhaps the sudden realization of what abnormal, brutal, empty persons this "highest education" has formed? It is difficult to find another explanation. Here are extracts from a long and illuminating article in the *V.B.* (March 22nd, 1942.) "To-morrow they will go out into life. They will leave behind them the protecting walls of the fort. They will no longer be supervised by their teachers nor be *under the observation of the highest collaborators of the Führer*. For years they have been protected by the community of youth; their life had a stable order and an unchangeable form. Now, however, they have to be individuals, personalities in the fever of life. They will have to go on into other communities, but first and foremost in their own selves they have to change from being the guided to becoming the leaders; from being the educated to becoming the educators, through the maturing hardness of life. When this selected first age group enters life, the people have a right to ask: Have they reached the aim to which they are pledged through bearing the name of the Führer? Are they worth the time of so many highly placed leaders and all the money spent through the Party on the education of the élite? Has the educational aim of the youth movement (significantly not the educational aim of Hitler Youth!) done well at the pupil's desk? Are these products of the new education mere athletes, or, at the other extreme, are they intellectuals out of touch with nature? Or are they the 'Jesuits' of our idea, small, narrow, dogmatizing fanatics? Or easy-going men of the world and internationalists?" The paper does not give the answers to all these questions, but simply goes on with the description, which is given by county leader (Gebietsführer) Günter Kaufmann:

"The two leaders, Dr. Ley and Baldur v. Schirach, to whom the Führer entrusted the organization of his schools in January 1937, have come personally to Sonthofen for the final examination of the oldest class. The great feeling of responsibility felt in his task was shown by the fact that Baldur v. Schirach put several

questions to each of the 230 boys before handing him, at the end of the final days, the certificate. It shows, too, the hard requirements as to their human value and the hopes the Party puts in these future servants of the State.

"It is not a question of marks here; only life can give those. Nor is it a question of competition among the pupils themselves, nor of the confirmation of good old school habits. This is not a reflection on normal school regulations. Everyone will understand that this youth, selected for leadership, has to be educated according to other principles and with other means and surroundings than the ordinary pupil. The Reich leaders will interfere in nobody's business. (Apparently they have been accused of this, and there seems to have been, too, opposition on the part of the teachers.) They have indeed more to do in the midst of the war than to take over temporarily a head master's job. In the living community of teachers and pupils it can soon be found out and recorded what each single pupil has or has not learnt, but at this first stage in the political life of the boys it is personality only which wins the honours. On Fort Sonthofen they were won after a great tournament (deliberate medieval expressions), after a magnificent show of spiritual achievement, artistic (musisch) understanding and physical prowess."

The narrator goes on to describe the different shows and presentations, expressing the joy it means to those like him "coming from the Russian inferno". It is expressly stated that great value is attached to all artistic taste and achievement as well as to artisan skill, and that the main task of the school is to have these different sides combined in the pupils, so as not to have them one-sided only. "Certainly, not every one is gifted in every way. No one is then forced to play an instrument or to draw or paint. But each one of the pupils has at least to grasp with the mind the laws of art."

Baldur v. Schirach examines them. The boys make a speech on some subject, and he interrupts with questions. The social aspect of the school is stressed and then a clear indication is given of what professions will be automatically open for the boys. It is perhaps nearer the mark to say "reserved for these boys". "The future diplomat is asked to state his thoughts on the attitude of another nation towards an essential question. The future political leader must work out the details of organizing a rural borough. Dr. Ley's chemical and technical questions are feared and a future officer is sunk when asked of what material gunpowder is made. But he can make good this deficiency by clearly

expounding the strategy of the Schlieffen plan. We do not want to go into details of the questions. They all give a picture of the maturity, the self-assurance of the personality, the means of expression and the general knowledge."

The following are most important passages. "Each one of them will now go into a profession. *No pressure is brought to bear.* In art and science, in the Army and in industry the politically able, meant for leadership, the valuable National Socialist, is just as needed as in the Party. The inner enthusiasm which is inherent in leaders and gains the confidence of the people (this comes rather meagrely at the end) results in these taking up their profession as Party leaders (!) after their Army service and their professional training. They will do so via the Ordensburg" (their former school, which is a centre of Party life in general and is not only for the training of young leaders). It is interesting to note that apparently the Party leaders are the only young men to be exempt from the Army—there are no conscientious objectors in Germany. Anyone objecting to military duties is shot! But with these boys only "military service" is mentioned, that is, the ordinary peace-time conscription. It would be normal for this age group to be sent to the front and to stay there for the duration. No doubt, many of them will do so, especially those who go in for the military profession, but it seems to be by no means the normal, compulsory thing as for all the "non-élite". The "élite" seems to stay at home.

And now the Party has threats and abuse even for its own selected pets: "The Party is no nursemaid. Each selected boy has to master his own life. But the Party watches them and helps the boys in their further training. The hardness of the individual will be the measure of our success. We shall have losses, said Dr. Ley. One or the other will be satisfied to marry the daughter of a rich industrialist . . . But *all high offices of Party and State will be open to those who are with us.*" (!)

"We, who are used to the darkness of the Russian East, have yet not allowed ourselves to be blinded by self-assurance, skill, racial selection and all the advantages of community school-life." It is the second time in this article that the exclusiveness and the "high walls" of the castle are stressed. The author seems to be very well aware of the fact that in life itself, in contact with ordinary people, no true Nazis can be formed. The "ordinary" seems not to be full enough of Nazism, to be too critical. The youth might be spoilt. It is better to put them behind the walls of a modern monastery, or—a luxurious prison?

And threats again, mingled with the typical Nazi misunderstanding of other people: "No, we are not blinded and prejudiced. But even with the most objective judgment the result of the schooling will be terrible for our enemies. Eton and Oxford formed the snobbish weaklings, the monastic schools formed the Jesuits, the well-versed political racketeers of all nations—we must not be expected to educate German Michels (derisory term for a stupid, awkward German peasant type)." This is the only allusion to the specific "political education" received by these selected. It is not good for the German people to know too much about that. They would not like or understand it anyway. But be sure they are no "German Michels!"

This is what the *V.B.* tells us of the remarkable education, about which even in Germany so little leaks out. But *M.N.N.* (Nov. 8th, 1941) apparently also had a journalist at this function. Now *M.N.N.*, unlike the *V.B.*, has not always been a Nazi organ, and in spite of the Nazification of the German press sometimes the good training of individual journalists creeps through—consciously or sometimes even involuntarily. It is very essential to compare the two reports. This is what *V.B.* has left out but *M.N.N.* reported: Schirach stressed that from *now on* the school certificate of these institutions will enable the holders to enter a university. This, then, had not been originally planned. It probably had not seemed necessary at first, because the Nazis had thought that with their propaganda against the universities no one fit for anything else would ever dream of going to a university, least of all those to whom they opened up the leadership of the State.

"Schirach warned those boys in the oldest age groups, who in a few months' time would be leaving school, not to be overbearing when entering life. Whoever wants to be a political leader has first to learn things he cannot acquire in any school. The best training and the best education do not justify conceit. (All these words in German have the same basic word education, that is 'Bildung': Beste *Ausbildung* und *Vorbildung* berechtigen nicht zur *Einbildung*.) The education in these selected schools gives no privileges."

"Many of the pupils will become politicians, many enter the diplomatic service, many will become officers, many artists and scientists." So far the report tallies with that of the *V.B.* But the conclusion seems rather different. "Some of these professions require a long and expensive training. Their school-training was a present from the Leader, the Party and the German Labour Front (the one compulsory trade union in Germany). The

training for the profession, however, must be earned. A future doctor no doubt will get a scholarship as a sort of loan for later services. But when he earns he must pay it back to that branch of the Nazi movement from which he got it. The future cannot tolerate dependent and inefficient people. It is expected that the pupil of such a selected school who goes to the university will stand for universal knowledge (universelle Bildung).” This is a remarkable passage considering how much the Nazis have scorned everything which could in the least have resembled the universal humanities. “At least during the first terms the new students will have to study general spiritual fields.”

“Their former school keeps them in contact with the political work. Their political responsibility remains with them for life. Each one of them has to try to acquire the knowledge for political work; for political work requires what is meant by the old, much scorned conception, spirit. That is the crucial point in the future of our people and in the future of culture.”

And finally Dr. Ley stated that this school had during the last five years acquired as its aim the education of and for the Party and had thus created a guarantee for the continuity of the Party. Laconically the paper concludes: “In a long dissertation Schirach spoke to the boys on the tasks before them.” This would have been especially interesting. It is not impossible that the reporter, too, had thought so, and either was not allowed to be present himself or was not allowed to report the speech, and thus wants to indicate that fact. This, however, is pure conjecture.

The outstanding fact remains that the Nazis themselves are now faced with the problem of their own youth groups, with their own future leadership. They begin to realize that the test which the Nazi principles of education and all the underlying moral political and social values have to stand looks depressing. The results of their efforts are such that the older generation of Nazi gangsters is faced with a new generation of gangsters who are prone to deprive their elders of all the positions to which these older ones cling. They see the rot in their own ranks.

Another method of fitting older Nazis for jobs for which they do not have the knowledge or training is the so-called “Lange-marck Studies”. This is a device for men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five to obtain the school certificate and then to enter a university. It stands for the former “Begabten-Abitur”, “school certificate for the talented”, of which Nazi Germany says that the examinations were too stiff and that, besides, Nazi-selection lays its stress on “character”. It is

significant that also people of the "right Weltanschauung" of foreign countries can obtain such scholarships. We find, then, here, the same Fascist International at work.

The men, again, are selected in a camp where the authorities interested come and pick them out, i.e. "the racial-political office of the S.S.". The men might bring testimonials of political services. Entrance examinations are "not only health examinations, but also consist of a biological survey of the whole clan (Sippe) and a racial examination of the applicant". Family trees and questionnaires of biological heritage are examined by experts. As to the intellectual side, an essay on a "Weltanschaulich" theme is required. Orally the candidates are examined in conversations.

The subject-matter in the school is based mainly on science and technology. The director "is the leader of the teachers and of the units (Mannschaft, military term)." Young men thus selected are, as in the "National-politische Anstalten", never again left to their own devices. They are already at their entry "cells of the National-Socialist student-group". The directors are responsible to the Leader of the students. (Reichsstudentenführer.) "The men wear a special uniform with the insignia of the 'Langemarck Studies' worn on the lower arm. Langemarck students are educated according to strict military-political principles. They live in boarding schools and are divided into units (Mannschaft)." The costs for a normal unit of fifty men are 140,000 to 160,000 Marks (£7,000 to £8,000), that is about 3,000 Marks for each man (£150). This, for normal German training fees no small sum, is borne by the State.

After the first term of their year and a half training, they are allowed to attend a few lectures at the university as visitors, while after their full course they have to be accepted by any German university as full members. They are again supervised at the university, with the intention of keeping them apart from the ordinary students, in order to preserve their loyalty to Nazism. To let them run loose would be too much of a danger. "At the university the unity of military education and scientific work is kept up further. The student can choose his university, but once there he has to report to the leader of the 'Langemarck Comradeship' of that university. He will remain a member of that Comradeship for the duration of his studies."

The report stresses the importance of selecting people for future leadership even during the War. The Nazis feel that they cannot trust the ordinary young people of the country to do the work as they want it done. This is why they monopolize

and carefully plan the education of their followers and make them so indebted to, and dependent on, them that they cannot very well go their own ways. Even with them the Nazis deem constant supervision necessary.

It is significant that those selected are not required to interrupt their studies to perform any of those dreaded duties which disturb serious and concentrated studies and which are asked from all other students. "It is desired that labour service and military training should be completed before the studies are entered upon, so that the regular course should not be interrupted nor the results jeopardized by such interruption." This is what has been and is disastrous in all other studies, and the results are alarming, even to the Nazis. (All the quotations on the Langemarck Studies are taken from *D.A.Z.*, June 28th, 1942.)

Beside these general courses for "leadership" which fit the candidates for every profession selected by them, there are, of course, also the direct courses for "Nazidom as a profession". Even in Germany very little is known about this and only here and there does it leak out. There is for example an "S.S. Knighthood School" (S.S.-Junker-Schule) at Bad Tölz in Bavaria.

A strange and almost amusing feature of this selection is that it is made from the results in the present professions of the candidates. They are selected through the "professional competitions". It is, after all, a well-known fact that someone might be a very poor welder and yet an excellent professor of philosophy. Is it not a wrong scale of values to try and make something else out of a good welder instead of leaving him at the work which he enjoys and does well (unless he himself feels that he would like to have a try at something else)? To make this the grounds of selection seems barking up the wrong tree.

The extent of these selections is seen from the Berlin report in *V.B.* of July 10th, 1942, "Selective Camps for the Gifted in War Time", report by the Reich Youth Leader; ". . . Selective camps are organized by the Labour Front and the Hitler Youth Party, industry and factory select gifted young people and send them to camp during their vacation, to give them personal advice and professional advancement. A pre-selection is made in the communities and provinces. In the year of 1941 alone there were thirty-six camps for boys and girls for the selection of the Reich. For the professions in the group "Iron and Metal" alone there were 1,130 members of such camps. After the camps have ended, general help is given to the members. Apart from

professional skill, political character and physical capability are also taken into account. The hard, but just, selection according to performance and character brings results . . . *Quick* and unhampered advance of the able is a necessity of our time from the point of view of 'Weltanschauung', as well as of economics, and is thus the expression of National Socialism, battling for the fruits of its labour."

## PART FOUR

### THE WORD BECOMES ACTION

#### CHAPTER XXI

#### BOOK STORES

GOING THROUGH BOOKSHOPS in Germany nowadays is a strange experience. One has heard so much about a flood of Nazi literature that one instinctively expects to find all the bookshops full of it. But many visitors from neutral countries have come back from Germany bringing with them strange stories. One of them, a neutral publisher who travelled from north to south Germany and visited dozens of bookshops—his customers—told me the most remarkable tale of them all. Wherever he went he found two stores in one. One consisted of the Nazi publications. The other one consisted of literature; it was literature of all descriptions—novels, poetry, plays, history, philosophy, sociology—everything. Very few new books, but all the old ones, second and third-hand copies, and, of course, the few books which German bookshops could still get from abroad. Until the outbreak of the War with Poland and the Western powers there were a good many translations from the English. Many English novels, books of travel, etc., had been translated, and they were the only ones which sold. Of modern German literature only a fraction sold. But this fraction will be important for us to consider.

More than anything, this consists of "banned literature". A vast underground sale of all the banned authors has been going on since the burning of the books in 1933. The bookshops have been right in the middle of it. The booksellers have known their customers for years and most of them are themselves intellectuals, the majority Liberals, Protestants, Catholics, humanists, anything but Nazi. A peculiar intellectual communion has grown between the bookseller and his customers. My neutral publisher friend described how this relationship has grown into something much more intimate than a mere business relationship. Wherever he went—and he insisted that there was no exception in any of the book stores—he found small gatherings the

whole day long. A new-comer would step in, and another participant would leave. It was a quiet and matter-of-fact community. If a stranger entered the bookshop the conversation would turn naturally to quite a neutral subject, only to come back to more urgent and profound topics when he had left. The subjects as well as the spirit in which they were discussed were such that my rather timid neutral friend apparently got frightened to death by them. I met him only a few weeks after his return to his native town. He was still rather nervous and told me that as a result of this experience he had had many a sleepless night even after he had left Germany. He confessed that after a short while he had hardly dared to enter a bookshop because he, as a neutral and foreigner, was scarcely in a position to show more fear than those people who were plainly not at all frightened. But he felt frightened enough, and was convinced that the Gestapo was on his heels, a fear which apparently was not justified, for he has gone on selling his small book ration to Germany as before.

He then said that there was hardly any need for him to visit these people as a business man, because they all told him that foreign books sold like anything. He could have sold many times the number of books, which however was not possible owing to severe restrictions. This impression is confirmed by almost all neutral publishers—the demand for non-Nazi or anti-Nazi literature is so great that one can describe it as almost unlimited.

This situation seems to have become so acute that even the German papers had to take note of it. On December 14th, 1941, we find the first indication in *Frankfurter Zeitung*. It is carefully stored away in the "Commercial Page"—for a long time a treasure-hunt for things which are meant to escape the eye of the Nazi censor. This article is carefully wrapped up in Nazi terms, contains numerous references to Nazi literature, Goebbels' speeches, etc., but there are a number of facts which are revealing and look as if they had been meant to be so.

"There has hardly ever been such a rush on the bookshops as in the past weeks. This pressure has forced the booksellers in the end to protect themselves. Sometimes the shops were closed when only the crowds which had squeezed into them had been served. Frequently only a limited number of books is sold in order to ensure an even distribution, and in various cities some second-hand dealers are said to be no less frequented. They have therefore introduced a special register of old customers." It is probably a unique experience in the history of

European intellectual development that "in many towns there were queues outside the bookshops".

"Even books which could previously count on only a small number of readers, and often remained unsold, are sold nowadays without the slightest difficulty. That customer who asks for a work on the history of art and then is quite satisfied with a study of Roman numismatics is certainly no exception to-day."

The article then gives remarkable figures of the net sales of books in Germany since Hitler's access to power in 1933. The figure has to be compared with the general situation as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: Nazi books and Nazi authors—be they political, ideological or fiction—have not found a market in German reading circles. Their sale is not through bookshops to the reading public—which generally refuses them—but through the State and Party public libraries, schools, etc. This secures them a handsome sale, and the public is not asked whether they like them or not. *Frankfurter Zeitung* mentions the following figures of sales through bookshops: from 1933 to 1939 there was a steady increase from 540,000,000 to 1,000,000,000 Marks. In 1940 there was a further increase of 15 per cent—in other words the figure was 1,150,000,000 Marks, or more than double that of 1933. A comparison with the regular decrease of newspapers since 1933—in spite of Nazi pressure—shows the deeper reason for this amazing figure. The public—while refusing to trust or read official propaganda—turned towards publications which they considered more reliable. We have nevertheless to bear in mind that all this applies chiefly to that section of the population which refused to be drawn into the Nazi orbit.

The Nazis, who are well informed about the true mood of the people and take much trouble to obtain regular and objective reports of it, were quite aware of this trend. How did they react to it? They more than doubled the number of school libraries in Germany between April 1st, 1939, and June 30th, 1941. They increased the approximate number of 24,000 by about 31,000, making a total of 55,000! They increased the number of Public Libraries by more than 25 per cent to over 20,000. These libraries—and we have to remember that libraries for schoolboys far exceeded those for grown-ups—were "depots for the protection of the Home Front just as military depots store the war-material for the Fighting Front". These depots were duly stocked up with Nazi books. But the public turned to the bookshops for second-hand books. Even *Frankfurter Zeitung* was forced to admit that people—particularly middle-

class people—were and perhaps even now are prejudiced against “tendentious art”. “Even to-day one occasionally hears in discussions about films or plays amongst acquaintances the objection that they are tendentious, and this usually means that the film or play in question is not worth looking at. Indeed, the word is generally used as a term of contempt.” And then there comes the half-hearted admission that it is “a legitimate and sound sentiment. A healthy human being revolts against the attempt to be persuaded under the cloak of art with the suggestive means at the disposal of the theatre or novel. ‘Why in this roundabout way?’ he asks. ‘They should tell me straight away what they want. Then I can think it over, can see the point and may if I choose refuse it.’ And if he is artistic he may add that he wants to be entertained or moved if he goes to the theatre or reads a novel. The standard of art is lowered if a message appears everywhere like the cloven hoof under the cloak of the devil.” Had the paper forgotten that the comparison with the cloven hoof had become almost taboo since the advent of Goebbels . . .? Or did they not wish to think of it? At all events, this was at the end of November 1941.

A few months afterwards *Frankfurter Zeitung* takes up the same subject from a different angle (April 18th, 1942). In a leading article the paper discusses the increased interest of the reading public in old books, i.e., in books published several years ago and particularly in more profound works. The inference of this is clear enough. The article draws a parallel between this tendency and an overfed body which is now being starved and is beginning to “live on its flesh”. The over-feeding took place during the years when there was a “hunt for novelties. The cult of best-sellers, which had spread all over the Western world, the need to have read *the* book of the season in order not to appear behind the times—in short the phenomenon of literary fashion—has ceased and is giving way to a certain reaction.

“Books which had been sent back to the publishers and had been stored away by them are now finding their way back to the bookshops and filling the shelves there. A great process of re-valuation is taking place. Good novels which have been overlooked during the years of hunting for fashionable books, historical books and essays are now being bought and read. But,” the article goes on, “it is still more surprising that even the boom in scientific books shows a similar tendency.” Book-sellers confirm that large tomes, even works of several volumes which in the past few years could not be sold, are finding a renewed interest among customers. These are not people against

whom it could be said that they want to make a good investment. Part of the development is unquestionably due to the shortage of paper in Germany, but only part.

*D.A.Z.* notices this same development and describes how the windows of bookshops are now filled with old books. "A general return to the past is apparent. If one walks along the bookshops of Berlin one can see a few decades of German book-history. These are not unsaleable remains (*Ladenhüter*), books which nobody wants, but valuable literary products which have been temporarily pushed aside by other things. Part of the history of the past few years, of their research and work, is to be seen. This history has remained only vaguely in our memory, but now the light of day makes it a reality once more. The book trade and the bookshops have taken a new lease of life; their activities belong not only to to-day but have something of the dignity of history. They impress on us the great role of the bookseller and his work now and in the past, in our intellectual life. It proves how very much to-day is based on yesterday, and yesterday on to-day, where spiritual matters are concerned."

## CHAPTER XXII

### DOUBTS AND THREATS

**T**HERE CAN BE little interest in a review of Nazi literature. It has not changed since the War; it has just continued. Nevertheless a new and hitherto almost unknown campaign against their internal opponents has been started, and this campaign is different from the no less violent attacks which the Nazis made at the beginning of their terrorist career. Then, during the years when they were coming into the foreground, and in the first year or two of the dictatorship, their fight was against the representatives of the Weimar Republic and all the forces such as Communism which were then thriving. Now the fight is against forces which the Nazis all over the world had declared dead long ago, which the Nazi-Fascist International had done their utmost to kill with silence. These forces have become so active and powerful that the Nazi propagandists inside Germany could no longer afford to neglect them.

In the speeches of Hitler and the other Nazi leaders such references appear, while more and more articles are published in the Nazi press. The attacks against religious and political

opposition are widely known. But to understand the strength of the movement which the Nazis now see rising against them, it may be valuable to note some more subtle threats and reproaches. These are directed not only against large and well-organized bodies like the Socialist workers and the Churches, but against smaller intellectual groups, and it is clear that the Nazis feel threatened by them, as well they might. For the longer Nazism has prevailed the more it has become obvious that its representatives were introducing certain standards and methods, certain values and thoughts which were themselves the very core of destructive force. Similarly, there has been a constant and ever-growing stream of thought which, while seemingly unpolitical, was liberal, humane and genuine, and therefore dangerous to the totalitarian nihilism of the Nazis. These rather general remarks may be amplified in the following examples.

On February 3rd, 1942, *V.B.* published a leading article on "The Generations in our Time". It was written by a leading Nazi essayist, Franz Hauptmann. This article was a reply to a new book by Otto Gmelin. Gmelin himself belonged to a nationalist group of writers and certainly did little, if anything, against the spread of Nazism. Instead, he retired into an idyllic world of his own. This author has undergone an inner development which is finally expressed in his novel *Das Haus der Träume*, *The House of Dreams*. The leading article of *V.B.* is a reply to the political and intellectual thesis contained in this novel. It begins with the question: "What aims do we place before the writer of our time?"

"I read Otto Gmelin's novel *Das Haus der Träume*, and was gripped by the tense, wonderfully maintained atmosphere of the book. But the more I read the more I saw that I was waiting for something which did not come. Again and again I came across sentences which I was sure I myself could not have written. . . ." This is the beginning of the official Nazi reply. After another acknowledgement of the literary beauty of the book follows an insistence on "a deficiency which has nothing to do with its literary value". This threatening explanation that the question is not a literary but a political one is carried farther in the following exposé.

"I feel Gmelin's book belongs to a *previous generation*. This is strange, for Gmelin is only a few years older than I am and between 40 and 50 a few years usually makes little difference." To realize the significance of the statement that this is the work of a previous generation one has to remember that in

Nazi terminology this has often been used as an expression of opposition, as a threat against opponents. "Generation" is not used in the sense of an age-group but of a political and/or intellectual movement which the Nazis try to dismiss by declaring it a thing of the past which therefore has to be eliminated by the "modern" state, their state and system.

"The War (the last War!) created a generation of men who are in the prime of their manhood to-day. They had formed an aim and a standard for themselves out of the experience of their youth, when this War overtook them. This is the generation of Gmelin. They regard this war as a problem. They see it as a consequence of causes which they themselves have experienced. Consequently this War plays the part in their works of an impending threat, of an end. They have material and experience enough from pre-war days to deal with the problem of war, and to represent it as a dangerous cloud over the horizon. They included war retrospectively in their own past. Their previous post-war days caused them to think that war was really finished with, and its after effects could be healed by pain, struggle and error."

This is the "generation" against which the Nazis have fought and are continuing to fight to-day. The Nazis, that is "the second generation alive to-day who went from school right into war. They had no opportunity to become conscious of their youth. They lived through the years when life and experience become stabilized in wartime. They had no material and no experience with which to master or even to control that War, which broke upon them unexpectedly and found them unprepared. When the War ended so unfortunately for us Germans they stood with empty hands. Many who knew nothing but war sought a continuation of war. Many perished, body and soul, in the time of inflation, unemployment, political struggles. Many who survived the War sought a deeper meaning in it. They could not get rid of it and could not disregard it. They only could drug themselves and try to forget it. War is for them not an event or a catastrophe—it is life itself, and they labour to find its inner meaning.

"The third generation is that which did not live consciously through the first World War. Their youth was determined by the struggles and disturbances between the Wars. They were prepared for the second World War, knew of its coming, perhaps of its necessity. Even those who have gone into this War straight from school may have understood its purpose and the aims

it must achieve. For them the War is something visualized, expected; they must not justify, but merely understand and welcome it. The writings of this generation are therefore full of the actualities of the War, partly a preparation for it, in part a hymn of welcome.

“ . . . Because I belong to the second generation I have found phrases in *Haus der Träume* which I do not think I could have written. These are sentences which elaborate in detail the feelings and impressions of a boy, such as we have felt ourselves. But they have found no response in us, they are unimportant to us now because they lead us nowhere. If the book had dealt with the men of a century ago perhaps we could be moved by it, perhaps even slightly envy it. But because the characters in this book are men who live to-day, men who ought to answer our questions, solve our problems, fight our struggles, for this reason the book leaves us distrustful and dissatisfied.”

There is little one can add to this declaration of a Nazi against Gmelin. We find a parallel case in a rather delayed review of a book by another author who is still more prominent in the movement leading former nationalist authors to a genuine humanism and pacifism. This is Ernst Jünger. His book *Gärten und Strassen* is one of the most remarkable publications with which we shall have to deal. It is the diary of a German Captain who took part in the campaign against France in 1940. Jünger holds such a commanding position amongst wide sections of the public that *V.B.* attacks him only in guarded language. There are many deliberate falsifications of the meaning of this diary. An attempt is made to mould the book into a Nazi publication, although it is a determined, though carefully guarded, frontal attack against Nazism and against this War. The review in *V.B.* (March 24th, 1942) points out that it is a book by an individualist, an “*Einzelgänger*”. This classification, from the Nazi point of view, is equal to dismissal.

The review is equally important for what it says and for what it leaves out. What does Jünger want? it asks, and replies, “he is a searcher for any symbol which helps to solve the mystery of life. . . .” He does not hunt for glory or victory, quite the reverse. . . . “Ernst Jünger is the shock-troop leader of the first World War. As a Lieutenant he received the *Pour-le-mérite* (the German V.C. of the First World War) in trench warfare. The bar to his Iron Cross second degree (the least the Nazis could do) he received for ‘saving men’ (*‘Rettungstat’*). He brought back wounded on the Western Front at the Upper Rhine.” There is an undertone of contempt in the reviewer’s

words when he says this. He significantly adds: "This describes the change which he, Jünger, himself feels is fatal."

The attack continues in equally veiled phrases, the meaning of which leaves no room for doubt. They are intended to convey the impression that Jünger is no longer the real soldier, that he may even be a coward. All the attributes which the article attaches to him are such as the Nazis themselves would consider insults. It is an attack from the rear. "Promoted to the rank of Captain, he takes over his Company, thrown out of the frosty quiet of the working-man, out of the 'gardens' into the 'roads'." The title of the diary is *Gardens and Roads*. . . .

And further: "He experiences the campaign in the West, from Belgium down to Bourges, without ever coming into the fighting zone with the marching infantry, generally in the role of commander of a town—the part of Lâon with Cathedral and Citadelle, for instance—or in some other job such as nursing, waiting, lingering behind the Front. So he walks on the fringe of awe and devastation which sometimes impresses itself more terribly and strikingly upon the onlooker than upon those who live through it in the exaltation of fighting." Every word in this review is and is meant to be an insult, coming as it does from the Nazis, coming from those conducting this War, enjoying victory and mastership, domination and control.

It would lead us too far to go into every detail of this article with its many other revealing attacks. It culminates in a remark about one of the most important passages of the diary. Jünger puts the question to himself and his readers whether they should follow Bellona or Athene, the goddess of war and victory, or the goddess of the spirit, the intellect, of truth and poetry and science. He words the question so as to present a definite alternative; a decision is needed, and whichever it is, it cannot be a decision for both. He goes on to make clear what he means, and the reviewer follows him grimly: "If to-day Fate were to ask Jünger whether he wants twenty regiments for a battle or twenty words to build a perfect sentence, he would probably reply that he wanted the perfect sentence." And the reviewer, thus giving a meagre account of Jünger's proud "no" to war and victory, "yes" to the eternal values of Athene, ends by saying: "Here Jünger leads beyond all question of masterly authorship to an absolutely *decisive antagonism*. Twenty regiments are always more important (for us)."

The importance of Jünger's decision lies in the fact that it had been reached before the defeats in the East. He is only one of the entire "generation" of which Franz Hauptmann spoke

in his attack against another writer of the same group, Gmelin. This decision was reached even before the War broke out. Jünger's first great book on the same lines appeared in 1939. His diary was written after the great victories of the Nazi armies. And it is just this element of unquestionable integrity which forces even the Nazis to try to destroy its effect by sly and hidden rather than open frontal attacks.

Only a short while after this attack against Ernst Jünger in *V.B.*, the Gestapo and the S.S. intervened in this campaign on behalf of the Nazi terrorists. *Das Schwarze Korps* published a full page article: "German Art—a Secret Society?" It was an open and violent threat against a whole group of the intelligentsia whom the Nazis now accused of being a "Secret Society" ("Geheimbund"). This was on April 9th, 1942. It is interesting to see that the opponent is again classified as "old-fashioned". The Nazis were very careful never to give the impression that they had not the entire youth of the nation behind them. Only occasional slips such as the one which occurred in Gauleiter Adolf Wagner's speech to the University Students at Munich provide evidence that this propaganda is nothing *but* propaganda. This is important in understanding the full significance of the attack in the *Schwarze Korps* of April 9th, 1942.

The attack begins with sarcasm. Men with long beards, and the fashion of long beards before 1914, are ridiculed. It is suggested that the same unreal and outward pretence of strength is inherent in the style and the arts of that time. By inference it is, however, indicated that this description is by no means confined to those of pre-1914 days, but applies rather to younger men of to-day. "The same affected expression of strength determined the style of other expressions of life. It would be easy to write a satire on the ecstatic, dignified and languorous disciples of literature and art." The description switches over to the present as if by accident. "Their passion has been devoted to a mere form without content. They have turned what we understand as German art and education, and what we fought for, into a *secret science* mystically clouded. But this is only a façade behind which real life has gone its unquiet, striving, uncertain and unguided way."

From here the attack is continued against another section of the intelligentsia, those whom the Nazis fear as revolutionaries and yet have to brand as the opposite of revolutionary. The article performs this feat in the following sentences: "In the years after the War many of the dark and severe lines which had appeared on the faces of the Germans under the shadow

of an always threatening death began to vanish. In the faces of the post-war period one feels something of the rebellion against threatening disaster. We see also passive and weak faces, but more and more we find the line of rebellion in German physiognomy.

“ . . . Not all faces show the mark of this newly rising force. We still see on some foreheads the tired spirit of the nineteenth century. This weariness comes because there is not much substance left, and what is left has no leadership. This is only natural, because the leaders of the new forces do not gather their strength from the *moods of the present time*, they are not so much a part of a vast and inspiring movement, as the fathers and creators of this revolution. They remain lonely, subject only to a heroic duty, to pave the way and fight ahead. They have to break the lethargy of the masses, they have to awaken one face after the other amongst the masses.” What an admission!

But to go back to the attack against a group which the Nazis are still unable to define clearly. The entire attack is characterized by a somewhat vague tendency to fight an enemy whose structure and personnel they have not yet entirely grasped. It is more a threat in a certain direction than against a specific group. They realize its existence, and see that many, too many for their liking, are reading those writings which the Nazis are not quite able to fathom. They feel that hostile thoughts are hidden behind carefully guarded words.

“The voices of those who, throughout the first years of revolutionary power, tried to defend the doors of the supposed holy shrines have become less and less frequent. Across the shouting and arrogance of yesterday the Nazis have proceeded to put their ideals into practice.” Then a somewhat more specific attack which is particularly amusing in face of the fact that every third- and fourth-rate writer and artist has received more than support from the Nazis if only he belonged to the Party.

“It is always those who stand aside, the semi-geniuses, who announce with bitter irony that they are not recognized. They furiously condemn the spirit of our time because it sweeps over their works. They talk of the break-down of the creative power of Germany, of the mediocrity of our paintings, of the decline of dramatic art, of the prevalence of mere craftsmanship in every direction in which the artistic feeling of the people has sought expression.” The remarkable thing is not that this artistic revolution of which the *Schwarze Korps* speaks here is

taking place at all, but that it has apparently gathered a strength which forces the Gestapo to intervene.

"One would not need to take them seriously if it were not for the fact that they are sometimes taken seriously by innocent onlookers. Furthermore there is a certain trend in the soul of Germans which inclines towards these voluble attacks. This is their rigid bent towards tradition and the still prevalent conception that art must be inflexible and of a certain dignified bearing.

"Like a remnant of former times, when people liked façades and remained silent about the back streets, the ghost of a dignified art appears before the people, its head in the clouds. It is led by no less dignified representatives who do their best to resemble each other.

". . . Art has to be renewed out of the community of the audience; it must not be based upon the pedestal of a holy tradition. The exception is, of course, if art is confined to small circles of amateurs. . . . There people may discuss the problem of a line in the work of sculptor X or the tragic conflict in the play of poet Y, over a cup of weak tea." And finally the threat again: "Secret societies of the arts will vanish . . ."

The time is not yet ripe for the answer to these threats to be given and little can be said about these "secret societies" of the arts. But one day it will be possible.

Finally, here is a remarkable paragraph in an appeal by Paul Hartmann, the actor, on the occasion of his appointment to the post of President of the Theatre League (Reichstheater-Kammer) in May 1942, published in *Die Bühne*. Hartmann states: "Furthermore, my work will be devoted to advice to beginners and their education. I shall do everything in my power to mould them not only into true artists, but into true National Socialists—for I personally believe that the one is not possible without the other in the Germany of to-day."

## CHAPTER XXIII

### ESCAPE

**ESCAPE FROM THE** present is the most common and at the same time the most effective counter to the high pressure of Nazi propaganda and pseudo-religious intensity. There are numerous publications by more or less well-known authors

providing the people with escapist stories of this description. There is no revolutionary value in these stories, nor is there even an attempt on the part of these authors to attack the present system and to stand up for another one. There are, however, some political aspects worth mentioning in this escapist literature.

The Nazis themselves have encouraged escapist literature in order to provide the public with a drug. These productions are usually written in the cheapest and most valueless style. They appeal to the lowest instincts, to the vanity, even to the cruelty in man. These Nazi-fabricated escapist stories make plain what has been plain to the closer observer all along: that there is really no escapism, that man cannot escape his own world, his own surroundings and belief and faith and all the values which he, the reader, may take for granted. Every escapist story, even the cheapest and least valuable, imbues a certain spirit into its reader. In order to make this clear, one might point to an example in English literature: the detective story, the crime story. This is a type of literature which can presumably be described as escapist. Yet if we look at the social types these detective and crime stories deal with, we frequently find that they are very similar types, with very similar habits, values, behaviour. There is often the well-to-do elderly country gentleman and the pretty niece who is to come into a fortune, if . . . There is often the ex-captain or ex-major of the World War whose sergeant is now in his employment as gardener or chauffeur or butler, and so on. In a surprising number of cases financial swindles, wills, etc., are at the bottom of the trouble. All in all, it is the English social structure and the values of the years between the two great Wars which these detective stories take for granted and, by taking them for granted and describing them, help to support.

Nobody has realized this function of so-called escapist literature better than the Nazis. They used it to the utmost, but they introduced with its help many of their own values, of their ideology, of their types and even of their language, for they have deliberately developed their own language. At the same time, the Nazis have realized better than their political opponents abroad how much harm has been done to their totalitarian purpose by a different kind of escapist literature, a literature based upon values, ideas and forms of life which the Nazis themselves would describe as "liberal", "weak", "democratic", "old-fashioned".

In this connection a large number of English, American and

Scandinavian books, published between 1933 and 1939 by a few liberal publishing houses in Germany, such as "Insel-Verlag", have done a great service to those who refused to read Nazi books. But this supply dwindled when War broke out. There remained only a few copies to be sold, and the German anti-Nazi reader was more or less dependent upon German authors who continued to work on the above-mentioned lines. They wrote their novels and poems as if Nazism were non-existent. A certain melancholy characterized many of these writings. Their language and style are usually very quiet, soft, often idyllic.

One book, out of a great number, seems characteristic of this tendency. It describes, in a collection of short stories, the return of a man to his native town and district. He describes how he sees the girl again whom he has loved in his youth, and how he doesn't really dare to make love to her now, because he knows that he has to leave soon. In another of the short stories he describes a young man who prefers to appear a coward before his bride and his family because he feels that it is his duty to follow his moral principles rather than the political call of the day. Significantly this story is placed in the period of the Napoleonic Wars. Another of these stories describes a sort of silent War between the peasants of a village and the brutal and sly governor of the Province. The action of this story, too, takes place a long time ago. And yet another story leads us back to the time of the peasant revolution of the sixteenth century. In the centre of this story stands a wood-carver who creates a statue of Mary and the child. In all these stories there is an atmosphere of freedom, of a rather gripping peasant-like simplicity.

A particular section of this literature is written by Catholics for Catholics. It is mostly provincial in attitude and is directed to a public of particular provinces, such as Upper Bavaria, the Maine district, the Black Forest, the Rhine, etc. This literature has never lost its importance in maintaining Catholicism amongst the lower middle classes, peasants and even Catholic workers.

Apart from the religious and social background which these novels use, there is the very important factor of language. A certain terminology is kept alive, a certain style kept in circulation, and this means very much to those used to it. Quite apart from what they have to say in the field of politics or social life, of economics or ethics—do not speakers and writers of different outlook reveal much to the eager public merely by their accent, by the tone in their voices, by the values and the style

they use? In other words, could an aristocrat, simply by using Labour phraseology, pose as a workman? Could a workman pose as an aristocrat educated at Eton and Oxford? They can and they do stand side by side in politics, on both sides. But if it came to underground work the style, the phraseology of the labourer would be of importance for certain purposes, simply because a hint, a smile, a certain touch of irony in the voice could express things which people of the same surroundings and upbringing would understand immediately, while the outsider would stand there and see and hear nothing. How many outsiders—German and non-German Nazis—have stood there in the Third Reich and seen and heard nothing. . . .

Again, the Nazis have always been conscious of the value of the language, the style, the moral attitude of writings which had nothing or little to do with politics. Perhaps the outstanding example of this awareness is their hostility to Thomas Mann. Thomas Mann's novels have hardly ever touched politics. They have generally been—if this word can still be applied—escapist. Yet they have always been of the utmost importance to the German middle classes who were striving for a certain liberal tradition. They were liberal with all the good and some of the bad which liberalism in its later period has produced. The Nazis burnt Thomas Mann's books at the beginning of their career in 1933. They struggled against the spirit of these books. And certain political groups of German émigrés who feel a similar antagonism in this liberalism of Thomas Mann's are quite typically opposed to his writings even now. For instance, his novel *Lotte at Weimar*, describing an episode in Goethe's life, and in particular the patrician style and outlook of the Goethe period more than a century ago, this, together with Mann's peculiar style, his roundabout way of saying things, his cautious and quiet approach to the kernel of a matter, this may still be called "escapist"—but it is certainly political in its implication and value.

Another type of "escapism" which we can observe in Germany is that which tries to find consolation, beauty, ethics in ancient Greek and Roman culture. This is largely a movement amongst the educated middle-class, amongst the intelligentsia. It reaches into Protestant and Catholic circles. A surprising number of books have been written during the past few years dealing with aspects of ancient history, art, philosophy. It would lead us too far to go into details. Here are a few examples. Roland Hampe, the son of the Heidelberg historian, published a book about the famous "Driver" of Delphi, and included a number

of photos of that masterpiece. Professor Howald published a large volume on *Ancient Greek Culture*. Howald simply ignores the distorted Nazi theories about the Germanic master-race which brought civilization to Greece, and elaborates the story of how the various sections and peoples developed their own civilization and finally brought about that unique mastery which we still admire in Greece. This may seem little, but it is much in a state where a dictatorial class tries to impose its ideology upon the entire people. Books like those of Howald mean resistance against this ideology.

Another category in the revival of classic culture is to be found in valuable new translations of ancient epics. One example is Thassilo von Scheffer's translation of *The Argonauts* by Apollonios Rhodios, a Greek epic poem of the third century B.C. This work was published in 1940. In 1941 Scheffer published a further translation of a Greek epos, namely that satirical story of the *War between the Frogs and the Mice*. All the sarcasm which the Greek poet expressed in this work about the great heroes comes out in Scheffer's translation. Who could fail to see contemporaries in that arrogant mouse called "crumb-thief" which is going to fight the fat frog, and is enraged that the frog has never heard of his immortal deeds? Who could fail to understand the dry irony of the story which describes how the treacherous frog leads his passengers into a swamp so that they perish?

While these and other works are intended to give, and actually do give, the wide and continually increasing circle of readers a genuine impression of Greek culture, the Nazis themselves have realized this modern trend. As usual, they have shown little hesitation in adopting this tendency and using it for their own purposes. A flood of plays has swept over the German stage, dealing with ancient heroes, trying to idealize Cæsar and other figures whom the Nazi authors have done their best to represent as Nazi-like dictators. A particularly amusing example of Nazi literature is a translation and "improvement" on Homer's *Odyssey* by a certain Boltze, a Nazi teacher. This man undertook to find out parts of this immortal poem which he, Boltze, considered later and bad additions. Furthermore, he has come out with a translation of the rest which is both comic and completely Nazified in language.

This book, published in 1941 at Breslau, has, however, been openly criticized by one of the leading translators and poets of the older generation, still living in Germany but yet no Nazi, Rudolf Alexander Schröder. He has reviewed the book

at length both in *M.N.N.* and *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, and both papers have given his review much prominence. Schröder accuses Boltze openly (May 15th, 1942) of incompetence, falsifications and other glaring faults. He shows how this man who uses very strong language about Homer has not mastered his own, the German, language, let alone verse and poetry. Schröder is almost rude in his language, and frankly ridicules Boltze. Again it should be remembered that such open criticism of a book which seems so remote from politics may seem but a small contribution to the fight for freedom. But it is hardly less a feat than the scepticism of a Socrates in ancient Athens, or the criticism of men like Bacon or Swift.

But there is still another type of literature dealing with the political, social, economic, and ideological questions of ancient times. Very little can be said about this literature, but it is of great importance for maintaining clear conceptions about the issues at stake. There are a number of publications dealing with various aspects of ancient dictatorships. The spirit of Athens and of Sparta is invoked. Methods and types of city states ruled by demagogues, by tyrants, are elaborated in great detail. There are brilliant accounts of popular upheavals against this type of government, there are truthful historical narratives of ancient revolutions. Blasphemous attempts by dictators to make themselves the supreme law, and even the God, of their realm are described, and the true philosophy and liberal thought worked out in ancient Greece against these destructive elements are given in detail in some of these valuable contributions.

An example of ancient history as an impressive narrative of certain political and social developments is offered by a popular history of the Byzantine Empire, written by a well-known writer, Frank Thiess, whom the Nazis have long regarded as a liberal author. The Byzantine Empire, or, as Thiess significantly calls it, the "demonic Empire", is full of vital experience of all shades of autocratic government. Thiess lends all his art to the description of these Emperors and peoples of Byzantium (Constantinople). He paints vivid pictures of the Emperors, who have to appear in the arena before the crowd and stir it up with demagogic speeches.

Another attempt which may be mentioned as an example is a popular history of the *Decline of the Antique World*. This attempt is interesting because it is chiefly a compilation of ancient documents, letters, imperial decrees, excerpts from books, etc., of the period. The persecution of the Christians, the

dream and failure of a world-Empire of the Roman Emperors, offer ample opportunities for remarkable historical sketches.

While this profound interest in the ancient world is one of the chief features of contemporary German literature, and while it has increased rather than decreased since 1939 both in books and on the stage, the search for truth is by no means confined to that period. A remarkable number of historical studies dealing with other periods continue to appear. A good example of these is a collection of autobiographical sketches describing the youth of famous Germans from the beginning of the modern age until the First World War. This collection has been published by the Insel-Verlag, and the editor is Rudolf K. Goldschmit-Jentner. Much relevant material is offered in it, in a form quite attractive to the reader. He finds deep and valuable thoughts expressed in retrospect by great poets, writers, artists, politicians. A picture of youth is drawn which cannot but impress itself upon a reader who may have less opportunity to see such young men around him.

This type of literature is by no means confined to German subjects. A typical example is Andreas' essay on *Richelieu* which is in reality an essay on power-politics. Andreas is at pains to draw the portrait of a man in whom he sees the personification of the absolute state, of machiavellian cynicism with all the splendour and disaster deriving from it. Another publication on these lines is an essay about the development of "Power-State and Utopia" in modern Europe. This book attempts to show that since the beginning of the modern age there have been two principal types of state, the machiavellian state and the moral state.

Yet another type of publication which we have to consider is that which deals with great principles of ethics, of moral and social principles in social and political life and even with the problems of international life. An example of this kind of book is the study by Alfred von Martin of *Burckhardt and Nietzsche*, the two great thinkers of the late nineteenth century. This book is remarkable not only as a contribution to one's knowledge of the two men, but as a dialectical analysis of two conceptions of life.

Martin describes Nietzsche as the representative of a philosophy of power and absolute cynicism, and Burckhardt as the representative of liberal humanistic Christian civilization. One wonders whether he has ever attempted to do justice to either of them. However that may be, he elaborates his theme with extreme clarity and deep conviction. He quotes Burckhardt

extensively—who as early as the nineteenth century had seen enough of modern tyrants to give impressive descriptions of them, and to say what he, as a responsible European, thought of them. Burckhardt was a Swiss, but, as was the case with many German—Swiss thinkers, his influence upon German thought can hardly be over-estimated. Burckhardt was a liberal through and through. He knew history, and he wrote history, as few historians have succeeded in doing. Martin quotes words like these: "I for my part have never admired tyrants and outlaws in history. I have rather regarded them as flagella Dei (scourge of God), and have preferred to leave the psychological analysis of them to others. I have rather followed the beneficial and creative forces, and these I believe I can find in other places."

Against this love for the creative, positive, constructive, and humanist which Burckhardt has expressed again and again, Nietzsche is quoted with his most destructive ideas. He is represented as the destroyer of all human values, of the European liberal standards in which Burckhardt believes. The love of danger, of war, of force and power which Nietzsche has so frequently expressed, is confronted with Burckhardt's modesty, his deep religion, his human warmth.

But much as these historical writings are bound to contribute to the enlightenment of the reading public, there is probably less inspiration in any of them than in real poetry and in the creations of the human imagination which a great talent is able to express in perfect language and diction. It is pathetic to see how the Nazis have tried to create a literature of their own, how they have spent much money, a great deal of money, to promote literature in their own ranks, from their own group and in their own spirit. That this attempt proved a complete failure provides yet another supreme example that whatever may happen to man, the spirit cannot be forced into slavery. After almost a decade of absolute power and lavish support for their followers the Nazis cannot point to one single piece of literature, to one single talent which they have given to the world.

But while this fact stands undisputed, there have been interesting developments amongst a section of authors of whom we have already mentioned two: Gmelin and Jünger. Both belonged to those nationalist and militarist groups of the Right which seemed the very forerunners and protagonists of Nazism. Yet a decade has passed and has left its mark upon these authors. We have already seen what the Nazi press has to say about

their latest books. It therefore seems appropriate to return for a moment to the books of the most important of them all—Ernst Jünger.

To give an impression of their importance in contemporary life—and not only that of Germans—it seems to me best to quote remarks published by the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* about these books. The first of them appeared as early as 1939. Its title is "Auf den Marmorklippen"—"On the Marble Cliffs". *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* refers to a lecture which Dr. Carl Helbling gave at Zürich in December 1941 (*N.Z.Z.*, December 17th, 1941).

The paper writes: "Jünger's work is as though carved out of stone. There is no romantic glow, but open flames. In his book the two chief persons retire into solitude in order to find true knowledge and to become clear about the essential things in life. Previously they had belonged to the order of the 'Mauritians', a militant organization. But they entrust themselves to the guidance of a wonderful monk who is a great scientist. Through him they find their way to eternal things, to real things which express themselves in powerful words. They denounce the claims of brute force and power."

No explanation or comment seems necessary; the meaning and the implications are clear enough. Jünger's book has been widely read. It has created a deep and lasting impression in Switzerland, too, where otherwise the sale of German books has gone down by something like 90 per cent. But this book sold as many copies as the Swiss could obtain, and so did his next book. This is his diary and we have already mentioned it. It may be interesting to give a few passages from an article which *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published about it on March 2nd, 1942.

"The book begins in an idyllic vein. 'Have worked in the new house for the first time'. The poet seems safe. He plants radishes and cabbages. He writes, forms sentences, strikes them out, like a potter smashing his jugs. He reads books from foreign countries, looks through a volume with pictures by Toulouse-Lautrec, reads Chateaubriand, and admires Maupassant—he refuses to have his conception of world literature destroyed. He dreams: 'Dreamt that I stood on an escalator, unpleasant like almost all dreams of technical things. I see staircases with their landings broken down, and beneath their fragments I see an abyss. The world of to-day is a ruined piece of architecture. Without doubt these technical things have their gripping moments—as in the pure geometry of form, in squares, circles and ovals, as in the straight lines of the Autobahnen

from which one must deviate so that the driver doesn't fall asleep. The same is true of their rhythms, their fast and loud and singing tunes, of their interruptions, of their flowing run and their powerful lullaby of—monotony. This is particularly obvious where appeals are made to the mind—as in propaganda. Propaganda proves to be a species of machine in its sharp, black-and-white pictures as well as in its monotonous repetitions.'

"The best description of this completely mechanized situation is contained in the story, *Down into the Maelstrom*, by E. A. Poe, whom the Goncourts quite rightly describe as the first author of the 20th century. . . .

"Into this happiness of peace, one's own house, one's own garden, one's own thoughts, the War is breaking. No poet could accept the decision of fate with less of empty pathos: 'Celle, 30th August, 1939. Departure. I look into the mirror and see myself, not without irony, in the uniform of a lieutenant. However, I feel that many men in Europe who had never thought to go to war again feel the same to-day.' He confesses that in these times desperation, melancholy, sleepless nights may become the master of everybody, like himself. In passages like these one feels the demonic power of this book, because one sees behind it seven and more diaries, unthinkable ones, which could never have been written. Ernst Jünger stares down into the concrete grave of the bunker and feels the depression in these buildings. In his grass hut he is moved by Hesiod and a copy of *Corona*. He compares the novel *Bartley* by Melville with Gotscharoff's *Oblomov*, and how brilliantly he does it!

"He describes how the frank and fresh Rostof in Tolstoi's *War and Peace* talks to his friend about the battle; how he, Rostof, would have wished it to go. Ernst Jünger, however, sticks to the painful picture of what he has seen in the destruction of death's ante-room. He admits he is 'terribly moved', but one feels more between the lines, one feels the will which becomes almost a compulsion to come into the firing line in order to lose his life. This is so strong that he hardly expresses emotions, but only thoughts which shine as clearly as cold stars. He notes down the remark of a sergeant that it is curious that one is certain always to find the musical instruments destroyed first—'this is a symbol of the anti-poetical ("anti-musisch") character of War'. He is in despair that as a soldier he will have to destroy (but fate saved him from that), while as a man all his inclination is against it. 'Picardy with its soft slopes, the villages which dissolve into orchards, its meadows lined with rows of tall poplars. How often has this landscape delighted me. Here one feels profoundly that

one is in France. This is the reason why my fatherland has to remain within its valleys and mountains.'

" . . . This unique diary will remain a lasting document. The poet believes in the necessity of differentiated cultural spheres in Europe from which everybody takes what he needs for his intellectual work. 'At certain cross-roads' in our youth Bellona (War) and Athene (Spirit) may appear, the one with the promise to teach us the art of leading twenty regiments into battle, while the other promises the gift of forming twenty words so that a perfect sentence will be built from them. Then it could happen that we chose the second laurel—which flourishes more rarely and less observed in the cliffs.' It cannot remain unobserved that this Diary is sometimes diplomatically darkened; sometimes it may strike us as veiled. But no one can deny that it shows a gallant attitude. In the art of prose the book *Gardens and Roads* is not to be compared with anything else in contemporary German literature."

We shall have to leave this subject where the reviewer of *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* has left it, and proceed to another subject. The evidence is scanty, but it exists, of publications dealing with the future of Europe. There is, of course, nothing new in Nazi literature, nothing which was concealed before the War, nothing which the world did not know; nothing which those who were always opposed to it have not opposed ever since it appeared in spoken or written words; nothing which those who are of similar Nazi and Fascist stamp have not consciously or unconsciously overlooked, or even accepted and shaped in accordance with their national and group interests. The mere fact that Nazis and Fascists sometimes fight each other does not make them anything else. Gangsters shoot each other, too, and no sensible person would call the killer a policeman any more than the killed.

It is therefore not necessary to mention post-war and reconstruction plans as put forward by various shades of Nazi opinion in Germany during the past two or three years. When compared with previous Nazi writings they show no real development. We find all the old conceptions of armed control over subjected peoples, annexation of territories which do not belong to them, Fascisation of all culture, abolition of civil rights, of individual freedom, of economic justice and control—all the well-known items of Nazi-Fascist thought. The conception of a master-race is extended to include first of all the Germanic Nazi-Fascist cliques, that is to say, among the Scandinavians, the Dutch and Flemish, and then come the Romanic groups, the Italian, French, and Walloon Nazi-Fascist sections.

Even the Slav nations are accepted as master-races as long as they appear under the sign of the Swastika. Slovakia, for instance, is an honoured member of the Nazi gang, the Croats and Roumanians also fit well into the picture. In all these cases only fractions of the population appear as the oppressors, and the vast mass as the oppressed. But Nazi theory accepts this stage of transition and works on the assumption that the hoped-for victory will give the master-group an opportunity to consolidate its position after the war. Intellectual leaders of this group pay frequent visits to the various countries. The German press is full of pictures of authors and painters and politicians from all countries of Europe who accept invitations from their co-Nazis still more openly than they did before 1939, and similarly, the German Nazis travel all over Europe, bringing the message of Nazism in familiar form to all the oppressed countries. It is a heartening sign of the love of freedom and national independence in all these countries that no response whatsoever is anywhere forthcoming, just as all decent people, in Europe and the world over, refused to accept these messengers of terror before 1939.

But as has been said, there are publications from the Democratic side. These are mostly so carefully concealed under a neutral cover that the time does not yet seem ripe to unveil their political content. There are other valuable publications, too, circulated by the various underground movements, which it seems hardly fair to reveal now. They contain little which the Democratic and Socialist movements of Germany have not proclaimed time and again ever since 1933. But one or two books have appeared in Switzerland which can reasonably be considered identical with views held in the Socialist, Democratic, and Christian circles in Germany which naturally have no means at present to express them.

A typical example is that of Professor Eberhard Grisebach's *The Fate of the West (Die Schicksalsfrage des Abendlandes)*, published at Berne in 1942. Grisebach is a Professor of Philosophy who is at present teaching in Zürich. He is a German. His book has found a wide response in general as well as in intellectual circles. There are many points about which people disagree. But there are a number also about which many do agree. And it is these which are relevant here.

Grisebach considers the essence of all philosophical truth is that crystallized in the thesis of Socrates—"I know that I know nothing". This is also the result of our experience. We have arrived at a stage which the old Dilthey named "the anarchy

of beliefs". We see a multitude of faiths, beliefs and religions which claim exclusive rights of truth for themselves, and yet they contradict one another. They exclude one another. There is no universal system of thought, faith, or religion to-day which could be considered as all embracing, hence the expression "anarchy of beliefs". Already the recognition of this situation is remarkable. For it shows those who know the developments inside Germany that the claims of the Nazis, and the accusations of some casual observers from foreign countries that there is a "German Weltanschauung", are not founded on fact. They are wish dreams, or, worse, the very essence of Nazi propaganda.

But this situation is by no means a German one. It is a European situation, even a world situation. Many systems and religions, many thoughts and beliefs compete with each other and exist side by side. Now Nazism goes out to destroy all those which do not fit into the Nazi pattern. Grisebach, however, together with all those who hold similar beliefs, considers this terrorist attempt to become the exclusive faith in a world characterized by different ones as the beginning of the evil. In a future Europe, note has to be taken of this "general concrete situation", of this "dilemma of the Europeans", that there is *not* one single religion, faith, belief, and force of order—there are many. In other words, he arrives at the postulate which President Roosevelt has formulated and proclaimed as the Four Freedoms.

In this connection it seems appropriate to mention the paramount importance of English and American freedom for the freedom-loving sections of Germany and of Europe. The darker the European horizon became and the higher the storm of Nazi terror rose on the sky of European thought, the more millions turned to the great Democracies of the West for leadership and guidance. Just as hope was never given up that from there active political and military resistance against Nazism and Fascism would be forthcoming, just as the last straw of hope was England's heroic stand during those fateful summer months of 1940, so there was a continuous tradition of friendship with progressive thought and literature, with the Labour and Christian traditions of England.

It is this continuity and friendship which we find implicitly accepted in Eberhard Grisebach's book. It is from this basis that he proceeds to point towards the "common mistakes", the "common fault" of all those Europeans on whose labour and thought the future will depend. He indicates clearly that only the guilty ones fail to realize their responsibility, and pretend

to be and to have always been righteous. This he understands both in a political and in a religious sense.

He goes far in his criticism and self-indictment, but also in his plea for a new and more vigorous departure. "We have taken everything for granted, in education, as members of a social and economic class, of a profession, all our conceptions of truth, morality, art, law and state, of education, freedom, progress and humanity. We were used to accepting all these standards as the real values. But if we think of the future, and worry about things to come, we see that all this has become entirely problematical."

One of the greatest dangers is that the partial truth which many of us believe we hold has become a sort of Imperialism. This imperialism of thoughts and beliefs he considers as the basis of political terror. Only the realization of the limits of human understanding and the binding truths of God he considers as safeguards. The very fact that Grisebach oversimplifies these ideas shows that they have been expressed with a political rather than a philosophical purpose. He fights against the terror of ideologies and against the ideology of terror. He fights against them as a Christian, as a European, and, as we shall see, as a Socialist.

Grisebach works on the assumption that we can count on a European conscience. This European conscience expresses itself in certain principles, particularly in the scepticism of Socrates, in the Christian Faith, in humanism, and in socialism. He considers that we have to face the truth that no universal idea binds Europe together to-day, nor even the various schools of thought in the various European nations. He considers it disastrous to try to squeeze European thought into one single ideology. But he is convinced that there are "material and constructive ideas, fragments and ruins" out of which we can and must build the future. "We must not and we need not look for new building material," but "we have to beware of merely reconstructing the past."

Particular stress is laid on the need for creating socialism in Europe. No longer are socialist ideas the property and task of one nation or of a few nations. "One of the particular tasks of our time is to mould together all the social ideas in the Europe of to-morrow." The great corrective and controlling element is the human conscience, the individual. Grisebach is at pains to make clear that this does not imply a mere return to the individualism of the nineteenth century, out of which the present chaos emerged. The human conscience which he recognizes

as the great counter-balance to the collective ideas and forces at work to-day is, in his opinion, chiefly a negative force, namely a "protesting conscience". The individual has the right and the duty to insist on his prerogatives as a man, if and when these are challenged—as they indeed are in the totalitarian states. This is a link between that literature about the antique world and the literature about the present and the future. For Grisebach brings up the figure of Socrates, who stands up against the demagogues at Athens, and prefers to die for truth in obedience to his conscience, rather than give in to their terror.

This leads us to yet another type of literature which has become highly important, namely the literature of the Catholicism and Protestantism of to-day. In the course of the years before 1939 it developed an acute sense of politics, of social and economic responsibility side by side with religious and ethical rejuvenation. It has further developed during the years since 1939, but not on any new lines and with an *ad hoc* political purpose. It has often been suggested that some hidden purpose on the part of those in power in the Third Reich has caused the leadership of Christianity in Germany to stand up against Nazism. These accusations originate chiefly in international Nazi-Fascist circles, in circles which mostly know of the desperate struggle which the real Christians in Germany conducted long before 1939, but failed to assist the Christians there, even assisted the enemies of Christianity and modern civilization. Many of those, for reasons of their own, are now casting doubts on the sincerity of this Christian fight, some certainly in order to cover up their own guilt, thus adding to it. It is this literature of militant Christianity in Germany which we shall have to add to the already mentioned examples of a lively fight for freedom.

#### CHAPTER XXIV

### CATHOLIC LITERATURE

THE IMPORTANCE OF Catholicism in the struggle for freedom inside Germany had hardly been realized before the famous sermons by Bishop Galen. Yet these sermons are only part of a struggle which has been going on since 1933, and before. There have been Catholics who have lined up with Nazism. There is also a trend in Catholicism to come to statutory agreements with the State, even to take a leading part in the State

irrespective of what the State itself stands for. The typical example of this trend is the role of Papen and the Papen clique in Germany. Another example from the realm of the "New Order" is the leading part of the Catholic hierarchy in establishing a Nazi-Fascist order in Slovakia.

But opposed to and entirely on the other side of this autocratic and authoritarian political Catholicism we find a Catholic radicalism which has played and is still playing a leading part in the opposition to the Nazis. How important this movement is can be gathered from the great influence it has had upon the policy of the Vatican. The various encyclicla by the present Pope and his predecessor relating to socialism and justice on the one side, to totalitarian states on the other side, are well known. A speech of that type is that of May 13th, 1942, when the Pope broadcast on the eve of Ascension Day. It was a call for a forward-policy, a warning against reaction.

"Neither the Church nor the Christian soul can retrace their steps towards the past. They must go forward towards the future. In a sense, however, the return of the Church towards its beginnings has become in present days a hard but noble reality. Pugnacious atheism, systematic anti-Christianity and cold indifference fight against her, taking advantage of concessions which have nothing in common with the learned controversies of the past, but degenerate into the vulgarity of violence. To-day, as then, in certain countries the authorities, forgetful of moral ties, and inclined to replace right by terror, reproach Christians for the same offences against the law as those for which Peter and Paul were reproached by the Caesars of the first century . . . The families and the schools must not be made the ante-room to the battlefield. Husbands must not be separated from wives, and children must not be taken from the vigilant spiritual and physical care of parents. The roots and prosperity of the family must not be destroyed. The cry from the family front which reaches our heart is unanimous: 'Let us return to peace!' If you care for the future of mankind, if your conscience before God gives any weight to the value which man places in the name of mother and father and to what makes the true happiness of children, restore the family to its work of peace!"

The connection between the protest against the system making family and school the "ante-room of the battlefield" and the system destroying both by its mad war, is apparent enough. The Pope in his speech concluded the long and powerful line of appeals and arguments which originated in the fighting Catholic Church in Germany. We shall find similar arguments

and a similar aim in the speeches of Count Galen, Preysing, and Bornewasser, and in the memorandum of Cardinal Faulhaber.

But we have to repeat that these speeches would have been of comparatively little importance, of a journalistic and demagogic rather than statesman-like importance, if they had only been dramatic outbursts. They are not. They are the culmination of a powerful and continuous movement which has its foundations in the remnants of the former Catholic Trade Unions, the Peasant organizations, and the illegal Youth organizations. It ranges over a wide field, and, as in the case of the other opposition mentioned, it extends to a literature which is entirely unpolitical, and therefore does not come into the realm of Nazi censorship. This literature is—like the sections already mentioned, and in the case of the Confessional Church—of importance for the maintenance of the continuity of thought. Without it there would have been increasing difficulties in keeping clear and well trained the minds of all those on whom freedom will depend. Without it there would have been no visible reaffirmation of its own case. All the things these groups stand for would have remained unmentioned even by implication, all the values would have become formulas, instruments of propaganda and counter-propaganda. They would have lost their reality, would have become tales, museum-pieces, memories of the past. But they have continued. One may wonder how and why they have continued? Why the Nazis did not stop them? Strangely enough the Nazis were caught in their own network of propaganda. They had picked a small number of authors, chiefly of a more popular type, and of Jewish ancestry. These they made the scapegoats. But the larger part of the intelligentsia they merely drove out of office, though they confined themselves to barring them from all political influence, and did not care if at least some of these men and women continued writing. Some had to confine themselves to the circulation of manuscripts, some could even publish their writings in small editions. They were *only* intellectuals—and Nazism was triumphant. . . .

So we find a considerable number of publications which are entirely unpolitical, but all the same valuable. There is, for instance, a new publication about *Thomas Aquinas* by Josef Pieper, the well-known writer of the Hegner Publishing House. The same publishers announce the *Diaries 1834-1855* of Sören Kierkegaard, translated and introduced by Theodor Haecker, the greatest stylist of modern Catholicism in Germany. It is interesting to see this approach to the great Danish thinker by German Catholicism.

In many ways remarkable, too, is yet another approach of the Catholics in Germany, namely to that type of secular literature which until recently was considered with the gravest suspicion by the various Churches. Romano Guardini had already in 1939 published an important study of Hölderlin, one of the greatest poets of Germany. He tried to show how, in spite of the classical allusions in Hölderlin's poetry, there was a strong Christian element in him. Guardini has now followed this remarkable book with a study of another German poet about whom the Churches were not certain, that is, Rilke. Guardini deals with *Rainer Maria Rilke's Explanation of Life (Zu Rainer Maria Rilkes Deutung des Daseins)*, and did this work on the basis of two of Rilke's most important poems, the eighth and ninth Duinese Elegies. The book appeared in 1941. Apart from its intrinsic value, its chief importance lies in the fact that it furthers the process of increasing mutual trust and collaboration between the various sections of the intelligentsia in Germany in their common fight.

It is curious how the Nazis have become the victims of their own primitive materialism. For them ideas and the arts meant little, but material positions which they considered positions of power meant much. Consequently they concentrated their attacks on the material positions of their enemies. Actually it was the same profound misconception which induced them to overlook England's pride and power of resistance in the summer of 1940, when they were convinced that England would sue for peace after the heavy defeats in the West. Similarly, they thought that the "Blitz-Krieg" against the convents and finances and journals of the Churches would force them to their knees. After a war against the position of the Churches which had lasted for more than eight years, they felt that their own material position was beginning to weaken under the stress and the repeated failures to force a decision, and they began to intensify the struggle. As they had always considered this war a War of Two Fronts, namely against the enemies outside and inside the Reich, it was only logical that this campaign should be launched.

We therefore observe an increasing number of blows against the Churches. Only a few cases have reached the outside world, but they are significant. On July 12th, 1941, the Gestapo confiscated two establishments of the Society of Jesus, the Sentmaring House and the Ignatius House at Münster in Westphalia. On July 13th, 1941, the house of the Sisters at the Steinfurterstrasse at Münster was confiscated. (1st Sermon by the Bishop of Münster.) In November the Nazis confiscated St. Augustine's

near Bonn in the Rhineland, after having confiscated thirteen other establishments of the same order, the Fathers of the Divine Word. Fifty priests, 300 theological students, and seventy lay brothers were deprived of their homes. In April in the *Reichsanzeiger* an announcement by the Regierungspräsident of Oppeln was published that all movable and immovable property of the Ursuline Convent "Marienfried" at Ziegenhals in Silesia was to be confiscated. "For it is used for or intended to promote purposes which, according to the statement of the Reichsminister, are regarded as hostile to the people and the State."

On March 10th, 1942, the Berlin correspondent of *National Zeitung*, Bâle, wrote to Switzerland that the Bishop of Berlin had made it public in the churches of his Diocese the previous Sunday that property belonging to the Catholic Church had once again been confiscated. The correspondent adds that information available, particularly from the *Reich and Prussian State Gazette*, suggests that this is only a matter of houses and real estate belonging to the dissolved Catholic Workers' Organization, the Christian Unions and the Hirsch-Duncker Trade Unions.

On April 17th, 1942, the *Times* correspondent cabled from the "German Frontier" that "two of the greatest German Benedictine abbeys—Beuron, at Sigmaringen, in the Upper Danube Valley, and Maria Laach, on Lake Laach, in the Rhineland—the last remaining houses of the Beuron congregation, were recently closed by the Nazis.

"Beuron was world-famous for the school of Church art established there by Fathers Desiderius Lenz and Gabriel Wueger, for the austerity of its liturgical style, for its singing of Gregorian chants, and for the palimpsest researches which were carried out by the monks . . . Maria Laach, which is one of the most beautiful churches in the Northern Alps, was founded as a Benedictine Abbey by Count Heinrich of the Palatinate, who died in 1095. It was closed by the French in 1802 and became the property of the Jesuits in 1863. It was famous for the publication of the periodical *Stimmen der Zeit*."

Against this campaign there was little the Catholics could do. Yet that little they did. Hitler's armies were marching against Russia. In the West the Luftwaffe was gradually pressed back by the R.A.F., and the possibility of an allied invasion of the Continent increased with every week and every month. Behind England stood the U.S.A. This was the situation in which we suddenly heard the voice of Catholic leaders who denounced

not only the Gestapo and the Party, but the entire intellectual and spiritual basis of the Nazi State, the very foundations of Hitlerite or any other terrorism. It is true, they all insisted that if there was War every Catholic had to obey orders and had to support the State. But much more important, and actually opposed to this conception, is the claim for another system of State, for another social, economic and political structure, for another system of Law, of Government, of public control. This claim has to be heard, and it has been heard all over the Reich. This claim the anti-Nazi Germans knew to be the kernel of these burning addresses. For one thing is plain to anybody who has ever lived in a totalitarian state and has worked against it—that an attack against even a few of the pillars of this state means an attack against the whole of it, against its policy, its leaders, and its aims. These statements are, therefore, of such importance that it seems appropriate to give them as fully as they have been received abroad. For even those who are not Christians will feel some of the prophetic spirit inspiring the sermons and may see that we are here faced with historical documents which it would be unwise to edit in any way. They speak for themselves.

But first we shall have to add a special word about a different kind of literature which, however, also has its importance in the fight against Nazism. This is the circular letter. It is used by many groups, particularly by the Catholics and the Protestants. It is usually a political appeal. Its contents are often not of a general political character, and very far from the slogans and headlines of the usual type. They are often guarded in language, full of concealed meaning. The reason why we mention them here is that perhaps the most famous of all these circular letters originated in Catholic circles.

On March 12th, 1942, the Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter* reported that the Gestapo had offered a prize of 100,000 Marks for the capture of the forger of the so-called Mölders-Letter. It was added that a number of persons who had distributed the letter had already been sent to concentration camps. It was not then known whether any of the priests and pastors (Catholic and Protestant) who had already read the letter from the pulpit had also been arrested. The following day *N.Z.Z.* and *Bund*, Berne, gave the news too. *N.Z.Z.* also published extracts from the attack in *Schwarze Korps* of the previous day where it was stated that the "only people who could conceivably have gained" from this forgery "must have worked hand in hand with British-Jewish lying propaganda and have shown themselves of the same mind as the enemies of the Reich".

This declaration from the organ of the S.S. and the Gestapo is valuable in so far as it shows that the Nazis find this opposition identical to the military action from outside. What, then, was it they hated and persecuted so much? On March 12th, 1942, *Das Schwarze Korps* published an article "Nothing is sacred to them". The relevant passages of this article read as follows:

"We have to announce the terrible fact that among our own people there is still a group of active political opportunists who show the cheap and miserable attitude which up till now we attributed only to the Jews and the British. In the midst of War there are people who do their utmost to look after their own interests. They are docile pupils of the enemy. This is such a unique case and requires such a united refutation and detestation that it is not possible to pass it over silently as in the case of the Jews and the British.

"Soon after the death of Werner Mölders (the air-ace), in all parts of the Reich there appeared alleged copies of a letter which Mölders was supposed to have written to the Canon of Stettin. These were distributed anonymously as chain-letters. *The letter was meant to give the impression that the hero had won the strength for his deeds not from his obligations as a soldier, but from the force of prayer and the hope for a better beyond . . . 'but the fear of death we have lost, for what else is death but a short farewell, followed by a better reunion in eternity.'*

"In this innocently camouflaged theme the real, the *political sting* was hidden: 'Many of the so-called "believers in life" ("Lebensbejahenden"—meaning Nazis) who ridiculed and derided us when the great battles started, are now coming for courage and strength to the Catholics who "negate life". They envy us because we overcome earthly life more easily than they who cling to life with every drop of blood. When faced by the strength of our soul which we owe alone to our faith, they have forgotten their ridicule and derision. Many are converted and place the ideal higher than earthly treasures and temptations. I believe that in all this there is a deeper meaning of War. I am glad to be able to tell you that our Catholic example has made many happier and better. Their derision changed to respect, to love. . . .'

"One need hardly tell the politically-thinking individual what is covered up by these peaceful-looking phrases. Here it is declared that 'believing in life' is nothing; here is stamped as invalid the soldierly attitude and fighting spirit which are based upon the belief that it is the task of our life and work to make secure for all time the earthly existence of our people.

“Not for the earthly life of the country, of the women and children, not for the freedom and happiness of the future, the honour and greatness of the Reich, is the soldier fighting. All this is vain, is a phantom which dissolves itself in face of death into cowardliness and fear. Since the soldier is forced to fight death at least loses its horror through the help and faith of a certain Church. At the moment when another and ‘deeper meaning’ of the War is proclaimed as an opportunity of turning the masses against the real meaning of our struggle, the ‘believers in life’ are outlawed as scoffers, as atheist murderers, who are not even able to perform great deeds if they do not return in time to the ‘right faith’.

*“This is a fabrication with an entirely unmistakable tendency. It has been spread further, it has created uncertainty in the minds of still more unsuspecting compatriots by the eager collaboration of a number of organizations, whose brotherly assistance was probably not even expected by the real authors; the so-called letter was also read from the pulpit of Protestant churches. This has shown exactly what its purpose was: it was not intended to solicit for a Church. No, it was intended to debase ‘lebenbejahende Weltanschauung’ (Nazism) and to destroy the ideals and aims for which the German people are engaged in the greatest war of their history.”*

THE FIRST SERMON OF COUNT GALEN,  
BISHOP OF MÜNSTER

Preaching in St. Lambert’s Church, Münster, after the city had been bombed by the R.A.F., the Bishop said he had intended to speak on the meaning of the people’s sufferings.

“But,” he went on, “I must forget this to-day since I feel obliged to speak here publicly of another matter—of a frightful thing that happened among us yesterday at the close of this week of terror. . . .

“Here yesterday, at the close of such a week—yesterday, July 12th, 1941—the Gestapo confiscated two establishments of the Society of Jesus, the Sentmaring House on the Weselerstrasse and the Ignatius House on the Koenigstrasse; drove the occupants from their property, and forced priests and brothers to leave without delay the same day, yesterday, not only their houses, not only our city, but even the province of Westphalia and the Rhineland.

“And the same cruel fate also befell yesterday the Sisters of the Steinfurterstrasse. Their house, too, was confiscated and the Sisters driven from Westphalia, and they had to be out of Münster by 6 p.m. on July 13th.

“The houses and properties of these religious orders have been expropriated for the Gauleitung of the District of North Westphalia.

“And so the tempest which has been raging for a long time against convents in Western Poland, in South Germany, in the newly-conquered territories, in the Vosges, Luxembourg, Lorraine and in other parts of the German Empire has struck also here in Westphalia.

“You may expect that in the approaching days shocking news of this kind will accumulate, that here too one convent after another will be confiscated by the Gestapo, and their occupants, our brothers and sisters, the children of our families, faithful German citizens, will be thrown into the streets like infamous helots, driven from the country like malefactors; and this at a time when everyone trembles and shudders at the thought of another night attack that may kill us all or make each of us an exile without a country.

“Yes, it is at such a time that they are driving away from their modest possessions men and women who are not only innocent but highly meritorious, and who enjoy universal esteem. At such a time they are converting German citizens, our compatriots of Münster, into exiles without a country.

“Why? They tell me: For political motives of State. They give no other motives. Not one occupant of these cloisters has been guilty of a crime or an offence, nor accused beforehand or condemned by a court. And if one of them had been guilty, then that one should have been brought before the court. But should the innocent also be punished?

“I ask you, under whose eyes these Jesuit Fathers and Sisters of the Immaculate have for years conducted their lives?—gentle lives consecrated solely to the glory of God and the welfare of their neighbours. I ask you: Who holds these men and women guilty of a crime meriting punishment? Who dares to make an accusation against them? Let the one who dares to do so prove what he is advancing.

“But not even the Gestapo has made such an accusation, much less a court or a public ministry. . . .

“At first, because of the harsh trials to which you have been subjected by enemy attacks, I did not wish to speak to you publicly about other measures recently taken by the Gestapo even though they call for a public protest from me.

“But if the Gestapo has no regard for these events which have left hundreds of our compatriots without shelter; if it continues, even at this moment, to throw into the streets, to drive from

the country innocent citizens, then I must no longer hesitate to express publicly my legitimate protest and my serious warning.

"Already a number of times, and again quite recently, we have heard of the Gestapo imprisoning irreproachable and highly respected Germans, without a verdict from the court and without defence, depriving them of their liberty, driving them from the country, and interning some of them.

"In recent weeks two members of my immediate council, Canons of the Chapter of our Cathedral, have been dragged from their homes by the Gestapo, transported out of Münster and exiled in spots far from the place where permanent residence had been assigned to them.

"To my protest, made to the Ministry of the Reich, I have received absolutely no reply. But at least this much has been established through telephonic information from those close to the Gestapo; neither of the two Canons was charged with either a suspicion or an accusation of punishable conduct.

"Absolutely without any fault on their part, or accusation or possibility of defence, they have been banished. My brethren, listen well! It is officially affirmed to you that no act of the two Canons Frs. Vorwerck and Echelmeyer is guilty of reproach; they have done nothing that merits punishment; yet they are punished by banishment.

"And why? Because I, their Bishop, had done something that did not meet with the approval of the Government of the Reich.

"In filling four vacancies in the Chapter of the Cathedral during the last two years, the Government informed me that in three instances the nominations were not agreeable. Because, according to the terms of the Prussian Concordat of 1929, the right of opposition on the part of the Government is excluded, in two of the four instances I maintained the nomination. Why did they not bring me before the courts if they thought I had acted contrary to law? I am confident that not an independent German court would have condemned me for my action in filling the vacancies of the Cathedral Chapter.

"Is this the reason why the intervention was made not by a court but by the Gestapo, whose decisions, alas, are not subject to judiciary revision in the German Reich?

"Before the physical superiority of the Gestapo forces, every German citizen is absolutely without protection and without defence—without defence and without protection.

"This is something that many German citizens have experienced for themselves in the course of the last year. For example, our dear Professor of Religion, Fr. Friedrichs, who,

without deliberation or trial, is being kept a prisoner; the two Canons of the Cathedral who are in exile; and now our religious who experienced it yesterday and who are to-day suddenly separated from their property, their city and their country.

“Not one of you is sure, no matter how conscious you may be of being the most faithful citizen, the most conscientious, although your conscience may be one of complete innocence, not one of you knows when he may be dragged from his home, deprived of his liberty and shut up in the cellars and concentration camps of the Gestapo.

“I am taking into consideration that that could even be to-day, and that it could happen to me, myself.

“Since under such circumstances I could no longer speak publicly, to-day I want to protest publicly against continuation along this line which, according to my firm conviction, is bringing down upon men the divine chastisement and unnecessarily leading to the misfortune and ruin of our people and country.

“If I protest against these measures and chastisement of the Gestapo, if I demand publicly the reversal of this state of affairs and judiciary revision or the retraction of all these Gestapo measures, I am not doing otherwise than Governor General Reich Minister Dr. Frank, who, in February of this year, wrote in the review *Akademie Für Deutsches Recht*:

“We want a solid adjustment of the internal order which would prohibit absolute administration of the penal law by the punitive authorities with respect to those not proven guilty but condemned *a priori* and deprived of any means of defence. The law ought to afford individuals the legal possibility of defending themselves, of throwing light upon the matter, and of safeguarding them against arbitrariness and injustice . . . or else let us speak no longer of the right to punish but of the force to punish. It is impossible to reconcile the edifice of the law with a condemnation totally without defence. It is our duty to represent, to express authority as clearly and strongly as others, in such a manner as to defend courageously the authority of the law as an essential principle of all durable power.’

“That is what was written by Reich Minister Dr. Frank. . . .

“The right to life, to inviolability, to liberty, is an indispensable part of all moral order in the community.

“Certainly the State has a right to inflict upon its citizens punishments limitative of this right; but it is authorized to do so only against violators of the law, and their guilt must be proved by an impartial judiciary procedure. The State that transgresses this limit willed by God and that allows or occasions the punish-

ment of innocent persons saps the foundation of its own authority and ruins respect for its power in the conscience of citizens. . . .

"How many Germans are languishing in detention, in concentration camps, or have been driven from their country, and have never been condemned by a public court; or who, after having been acquitted by the courts or having served the sentence inflicted by the court, have again been seized by the Gestapo and kept in a state of arrest?

"How many have been expelled from their country and from the place of their activity?

"I again call to your minds the Venerable Bishop of Rottenburg, the Most Rev. Johannes Sproll, the seventy-year-old man who recently celebrated his episcopal silver jubilee far from his diocese because the Gestapo expelled him from it three years ago. . . .

"To-day I refrain from mentioning other names. The name of a Protestant who during the World War risked his life for Germany as a German officer and submarine commander, and who for years now has been deprived of his liberty. You all know him and we have the highest esteem for the valiance and courage as a confessor of this noble German.

"*Justitia est fundamentum regnorum*—Justice is the foundation of States. Great is our regret, great our concern upon seeing how this foundation is giving way to-day; how justice, that natural and Christian virtue, indispensable to the good order of every human community, is not preserved and kept aloft, visible and recognizable by all.

"It is not merely because of the rights of the Church, or because of the rights of the human personality, but also for love of our people and with the most intimate concern for our country, that we beg, that we demand; that we cry out: 'Justice!' Who does not fear for the stability of a house when he sees that its foundations are being undermined. . . .

"As there does not exist at all, to our knowledge, any way for an impartial control of measures taken by the Gestapo—arrests, imprisonments, and the detention of German citizens in concentration camps—a feeling of illegality, even of a cowardly anxiety, has already taken place among very large portions of the German people, a sentiment which strongly menaces the community. . . .

"My episcopal office, which requires that I defend the moral order, the oath, which I have sworn before God and the representatives of the Government, to prevent, as far as possible, all harm which may threaten the German State, forces me to utter a public warning of the deeds of the Gestapo.

"Someone might object that because of this public warning in time of war I am now weakening the home front of the German people.

"To that I reply:

"It is not I who am causing the weakening of the home front, but those who, without any regard for wartime, without any regard for the peril from without—yes, here, now in Münster, at the close of a terrifying week of sinister enemy attacks—take harsh measures, without trial and without possibility of defence, against innocent citizens, our compatriots, our brothers and our sisters, stealing from them their patrimony, throwing them into the streets, and driving them from the country.

"They are the ones who are disturbing the safety of the Reich. They are the ones who are sapping the conscience of the law. They are the ones who are destroying our confidence in the directors of the State!

"And that is why I raise my voice here in the name of the loyal German people, in the name of the majesty of justice, in the interest of peace and the firmness of the home front. That is why I cry out as a German, as an honest citizen, as a representative of the religion of Christ, as a Catholic Bishop: We demand justice!

"If this cry remains unheard and unheeded, if the reign of justice is not re-established, then, despite the heroism of our soldiers and their glorious victories, internal decomposition and corruption will lead our German people and our country to ruin."

THE SECOND SERMON OF COUNT GALEN,  
BISHOP OF MÜNSTER

*Preached on July 20th, 1941, in the Überwasser Church in Münster.*

"This Sunday the collection for which I have asked will be made, on behalf of the inhabitants of the town of Münster, in all the parishes of the diocese which have not yet suffered from war damage. I hope that it will be possible to give help to many suffering hardships, through the collaboration of the authorities of the town and through the help also of the Catholics of the diocese, whose contributions will be administered and distributed by charitable organizations. Let us thank God that for the last few days no new attacks by our enemies have reached this town. But I am sorry to have to tell you that the attacks of our enemies in this country, the earlier of which I spoke to you about last Sunday in St. Lambert, have continued in the last few

weeks, regardless of our protests and to our great sorrow for those who are suffering.

"Last Sunday, we spoke of the shameful expulsions carried out by the Gestapo in Wilkinghege against the Jesuits and the other religious orders, and the confiscation of their houses and properties. The Lourdeckloster in Frauenstrasse has also been taken over by the Gauleiter.

"At that time, however, we did not know of the further occupation of the Kamillusklosterkolleg in Sudmühle, and our Benedictine Abbey in Gerleve, where, besides being expelled from their houses, the monks were obliged to leave Westphalia the same day.

"Furthermore, on July 17th, the Benedictine nuns, while in retreat in Winnenberg, near Warendorf, and also the Sisters of the Cross at Aspel near Rees, were forced to leave their convents and cross the provincial frontier. Had Christian charity not come to their succour these unfortunate priests and nuns would have been left without food or shelter.

"The Gestapo have ended their second week of terrorism by taking over the celebrated provincial house at Hiltrup belonging to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the few remaining religious being ordered to leave by 8 p.m. last night.

"It is with a special emphasis that we draw attention to this last act of injustice committed by the Gestapo, for it has come to our knowledge that there are no less than 161 of the Hiltrup religious serving their Fatherland in the front line, besides fifty-three chaplains attending the wounded, forty-two theological students and forty-six Brothers all belonging to the same order serving under arms, some of whom have been decorated with the highest German military awards for bravery and devotion to duty.

"The same thing happened to the Fathers of Sudmühle, to the Jesuits of Sentmaring and the Benedictines of Gerleve. While these German men, obedient to their duty, were fighting for their country at the risk of their lives side by side with their German brothers, they were robbed of their home without any justification and their monastic house was destroyed. When, as we hope, they come back victorious they will find their communities scattered, their home destroyed and occupied by strangers and enemies. What will be the end of all this?

"We wish to make it understood, that there was no question of making room in these confiscated houses for homeless people, their religious inmates being only too willing to give hospitality to such unfortunates. As proof of this, we would cite the Immacu-

Iatakloster in Wilkinghege where the authorities have installed their film propaganda agency.

"I am told that in a Benedictine Abbey a lying-in hospital for unmarried mothers has been started, but I have not yet heard what is happening in Sentmaring, Sudmühle and Venneberg, and no newspaper has given so far any report about the facile victories gained by the Gestapo over defenceless members of Holy Orders and unprotected women, nor about the seizure of property from German comrades by the Gauleitung at home.

"I saw the President of the Provincial Council on Monday, July 14th, and asked him to protect the liberty and property of innocent German people. He declared that the Gestapo was completely independent and that he is unable to interfere with its rulings. He promised, however, to pass on my complaints and requests immediately to the Gauleiter Dr. Meyer. This did not do any good. On the same day I sent a telegram to the Reich Chancery of the Führer in Berlin, worded as follows: 'After the enemy's attempts on July 6th to destroy the town of Münster by terrific night raids, the Gestapo began on July 7th to confiscate monasteries and church buildings and to use them for the work of the Gauleitung. Their former inhabitants, innocent men and women, honourable members of German families whose relatives are to-day fighting as soldiers for Germany, are being stripped of their homes and property, turned out into the streets, and expelled even from their own districts. I beg of the Führer and Reich Chancellor, in the interests of justice and unity at home, to protect the liberty and property of German people against the despotic action of the Gestapo and robberies for the benefit of the Gauleitung.'

"I have submitted similar requests by cable to the Reich Governor of Prussia, Reichmarshal Goering, the Reichminister for the Interior, the Reichminister for Religion, and also to the General Staff of the Wehrmacht. I had hoped that if considerations of justice should fail, at least the necessity for unity at home would in war time persuade these authorities to put a stop to the actions of the Gestapo against our brothers and sisters, and that chivalrous protection would not be refused to innocent German women. All was in vain. The same proceedings continued, and what I have already foreseen, and actually mentioned last Sunday, has now come to pass: we have to face the ruins of the internal unity of the people, which is to-day being ruthlessly smashed.

"I have most emphatically drawn the attention of the President of the Provincial Council of the ministers of the General Staff

to the fact that these outrages against innocent German men, that this brutality towards unprotected German women, is in defiance of all chivalrous belief, and can originate only in a profound hatred of the Christian religion and the Catholic Church, and that such actions and proceedings can only result in sabotage and the dissolution of the community of the people. Is it possible to have unity when there are men who drive the members of our Orders, our brothers and sisters, out of the country like outlaws, without any reason, without any legal trial, without any chance of defence or court proceedings? No! I can have no union in thought or sentiment with them, nor with any responsible. I am not going to hate them. I only wish from the bottom of my heart that they could reform and adopt a reasonable outlook. For this reason I offered up a prayer of intercession for the soul of Secretary Roth, who died suddenly on July 5th. He was a Catholic priest of the diocese of Munich and had worked for years without the permission and against the will of the Bishop, as Clerk in the Reichministry for Religion, and he drew up and signed many a document infringing the rights of the Church and insulting its dignity. He has now been drowned while boating on the River Inn. God have mercy on his poor soul.

"We must pray after the example of Christ for those who persecute and calumniate us, but so long as they do not change their attitude, so long as they continue to rob innocent people, to hunt and imprison them, so long must we refuse to co-operate with them.

"The union of thought and aims in our people has been inevitably disturbed against our will and in spite of our warnings. I cannot imagine that our citizens and peasants who are now risking their lives for Germany on the front can have any unity of view with the persecutors and destroyers of the members of our Orders. We shall obey them in so far as they can give us orders as representatives of the legitimate authorities, but we can have neither unity of view nor feeling of inner association with such persecutors, with such stormers of churches, who drive unprotected women and girls, children of our best families, our sisters, from their convent homes, where some of them have for years been doing good work for our people by their work and prayers. I would be ashamed to face our noble ancestors or my late father, who taught and instructed my brothers and me to succour and revere every woman and girl, to give chivalrous protection to all oppressed though innocent, and especially to those who, as women, are images of our mother, even of the

Mother of God in Heaven. Should I be connected with those who turn innocent and unprotected women from home and country, who drive helpless people into strange districts, I should be utterly ashamed. To this has to be added what I have already stated at great length last Sunday in St. Lambert, and what I will again repeat in warning to-day for love of the people and the country: the vindictive action of the Gestapo against innocent people, without legal trial or any court action, without possibility of defence, this defenceless punishment of people condemned in advance and deprived of any possibility of defence, as Reichminister Frank has called it, must destroy the inner security of the Reich, undermine all sense of law, and annihilate all confidence in the Government.

"We Christians take part in no revolution, we willingly fulfil our duty out of love for God, our people and our Fatherland. Our soldiers will fight and die for Germany, but not for those who bring shame upon themselves by persecuting the brothers and sisters of our religious brethren.

"We continue the fight against the enemy outside, but against the enemy within, who tortures and beats us, we cannot fight by force of arms. There is only one means with which we can fight: by holding out strongly and tenaciously to the end. We must be strong and hold fast.

"We see clearly what lies behind this new doctrine. Religion has been exiled from our schools, our organizations have been suppressed, and now they are going to destroy our Catholic kindergartens.

"An unbounded hatred against Christendom, which they wish to exterminate, was, if we are informed rightly, publicly announced by Schulungsleiter Schmidt a fortnight ago, in the town hall of this town, to an audience among whom were a number of students. On this same occasion the speaker's remarks were heartily applauded by Kreisleiter Mierig, who promised his full support.

"We must remain strong. We are not now the hammer but the anvil. Others, mainly foreigners and heretics, hammer upon us and hope by the use of force to bend our people, ourselves and our youth from their straight path towards God. We are the anvil and not the hammer; but look at a smithy, have a word with a smith, and he will explain that the material being forged is given its shape not only by the hammer, but also by the anvil. The anvil cannot and need not strike. It need only be firm and hard. If it is sufficiently strong, firm and hard, then generally the anvil will outlive the hammer. However hard the hammer

may hit, the anvil will remain firm and can still be used for a long time to form material that is being forged anew. These are the unjustifiably imprisoned, the people expelled without guilt, and the exiled. God will assist them in their endeavours not to lose their Christian firmness whenever the hammer of persecution hits them and inflicts upon them unjust wounds. Those that are being forged to-day are the members of our Orders, priests, monks and nuns. I was able to visit a number of those banished in their provisional lodgings the day before yesterday and I had a long talk with them. I was edified by and filled with enthusiasm for the courageous attitude of these honest men, these weak and unprotected women, who have ruthlessly and roughly been chased out of their convent homes, out of their chapels and their churches, and who now, standing firm, are going into unjust exile, conscious of their innocence, trusting in Him who feeds the birds of the air and clothes the lilies of the field, even cheerful in that gladness which the Saviour has ordered His disciples to welcome: 'Blessed are ye who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. Be glad and rejoice, for great will be your reward in Heaven.' It will indeed. These men and women are masterpieces of the Divine forging. Our youth, adolescent, unfinished, impressionable youth, is to-day being forged between hammer and anvil, and we are not able to snatch them from under the hammer strokes of disbelief inculcated in them by these enemies of Christendom.

"What, may we ask, are they told and what is forced upon them at their Youth meetings, which we learn they are to attend with their parents' consent and of their own free will? What do they hear in the schools, into which they are forced, to-day, without regard to their parents' will?

"What do they read in their new school books? Have a look at them, Christian parents, especially the High School books of history. You will be amazed with what unconcern for historical accuracy Church history is treated in an attempt to imbue inexperienced children with mistrust of Christianity and the Church, even with hatred of the Christian faith. In the privileged public educational establishments, the Hitler Schools, the new educational establishments for future teachers, every Christian influence, every really religious activity is systematically excluded.

"Again we ask, what happens to those who have been evacuated to the distant parts of the country? What about their religious instruction and the practice of their religious duties?

"Christian parents! You must look after all these things, other-

wise you will be neglecting your ~~sacred~~ duties, and you could not face your conscience, nor could you face Him who entrusted you with children that you should put them on the road to Heaven.

“We are the anvil and not the hammer. You are unable to save your children from the hammer blows of hatred of faith and hatred of Church, but the anvil also helps to form them. Make your home, your parental love and loyalty, your exemplary Christian life, a strong, tenacious, firm and unshakable anvil which carries the weight of the hostile blows, strengthening again and again the still undeveloped vigour of the young, fortifying them in the Divine Will, teaching them not to allow themselves to be pushed aside from the road to God. All of you, almost without exception, are being forged to-day.

“How many are dependent on pensions, public annuities, child allowances, and who to-day is still independent and the free master of his property or business?

“It may well be that in times such as these a strong directing control exercised by the State, together with taxation of various articles and commodities, is necessary, and who is not willing out of the love of people and our Fatherland to put up with this? But with State bureaucracy comes the danger to freedom of thought and action—and the more so, when the State expresses ideals hostile to Christianity and tries to force these same ideals upon the people.

“Particularly is the danger hard for those who are employed by the State, and what courage and heroism is required by such State employees to profess themselves. Although we are willing to accept loyal service for our Fatherland, we Catholics must be always ready to act in the greatest spirit of sacrifice, according to the saying, ‘We must obey God rather than man.’

“Catholic Germans, obey the voice of your conscience!

“Take as an example that Prussian Minister of Justice, Herr von Münchhausen, who, when commanded by his King, Frederick the Great, to change a lawful sentence, replied: ‘My head indeed is at the disposal of your Majesty, but not my conscience!’

“Has this type of man, sufficiently noble to act in this way, has the Prussian official of this kind died out? Are there no more citizens and peasants, craftsmen and workers, of the same stamp, of the same integrity? I cannot and will not believe that there are none, and therefore once again I repeat, be strong, be firm, and remain steadfast like the anvil under the blows of the hammer. It may be that obedience to God and loyalty to our conscience will cost me my life or you yours, will cost us our

freedom or homes; but ~~but~~ rather than sin. May the grace of God, without which we are unable to do anything, give to you and to me this unshakable firmness and hold us steadfast.

"My dear Catholics of Münster, after the side aisle of the Cathedral was hit by a high explosive bomb during the night of July 7th and 8th, a bomb, dropped near the outer wall, destroyed the Ludgerusbrunnen, the monument to the return of the late Bishop Johann-Bernhard from exile in 1884. The statues of Bishops Suitger and Erpho on each side of the monuments were seriously damaged. The stone figure of St. Ludger, the apostle of our Münsterland and the first Bishop of Münster, is still almost intact. His hand raised in benediction, his undamaged right hand, appears between to remind us of this almost miraculous salvation. Whatever may happen, remain firm to the Catholic faith as revealed by God and inherited from our ancestors. In these days of destruction, in grief and in trouble, I exhort you with the words of the first Pope as written to the harassed Christians: 'Humble yourselves under the omnipotent hand of God, then He will hear your prayers. Leave your sorrows to Him, for He will take care of you. Be sober and watch; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour.'

"Resist him steadfastly. Remain firm in the Faith, in the God of all Consolation who has called you, through Jesus Christ, to share His glory after a short time of suffering. He will arm you and keep you steadfast. To Him be all honour and omnipotence for ever and ever.

"Let us pray for our relatives, members of Holy Orders, for all who have suffered unjustly, for all who are distressed, for our soldiers, for Münster, and its inhabitants, for our people, for our country, and for its Führer. Amen."

(The congregation spontaneously cried "and for our Bishop".)

### THE THIRD SERMON OF COUNT GALEN, BISHOP OF MÜNSTER

*Preached in the Church of St. Lambert on the 3rd August, 1941*

After reading the Gospel for the day, the IXth Sunday after Pentecost, the Bishop gave as his text: "And when Jesus drew near, seeing the city, He wept over it."

"Dearly Beloved Brethren,

"The Gospel of to-day records an astonishing event: Jesus weeps. The Son of God weeps. Whoever weeps must be in pain

either physical or mental. At that moment Jesus was not in physical anguish, and yet He is weeping. What tremendous suffering there must have been in His Heart and in His soul if He, the most courageous of men, was forced to weep. And why does He weep? He is weeping over Jerusalem, the holy city, the capital which He loved so much. He is weeping over her people, His own countrymen, because they do not realize the punishment that is to come upon them, the punishment which He foresaw in His omniscience and which His divine justice has decreed. 'If thou also hadst known the things that are to thy peace.' Why did the people of Jerusalem not know it? Jesus had given the reason a short time before: 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children as the bird doth her brood under her wings, and thou wouldst not!' But I, your God, your King wished it, but you did not. Under the wings of their mother how well protected, defended and hidden is the brood. She gives them warmth, she nourishes and defends them. I too wish to protect and defend you against all danger. I want this but you do not.

"That is why Jesus is weeping, this strong, courageous man; that is why God is weeping. . . . Over the folly, the injustice and the crime of man's refusal and over the evils that come from it, which in His Divine omniscience He foresaw and which in His justice He decreed. Evils that come when man opposes his will to the Will of God and rejects the inspirations of his conscience and the loving requests of his Divine Friend, the best of Fathers. 'If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy day, the things that are to thy peace; but now they are hidden from thine eyes.'

"It is a terrible thing, an unbelievable and wicked injustice when man sets his will against the Will of God. 'I would . . . but thou wouldst not.' That is why Jesus is weeping over Jerusalem.

"My Brethren, in the Pastoral Letter of the German Bishops on the 26th June, which was read in all the churches of Germany on the 6th July, it was stated: 'There are, no doubt, according to Christian doctrine, commandments which are not binding when their observation demands too serious sacrifices, but there are sacred duties from which no one can release us and which we must fulfil even at the cost of our lives. Never and under no pretext may a man, except in the case of war and legitimate defence, kill an innocent person.'

"I have already had occasion on the 6th July to add the following commentary to the words of the Pastoral Letter:

"For several months we have known that patients who have

been ill for a long time and who appear to be incurable are, on orders from Berlin, forcibly removed from homes and clinics for mental diseases. Their families, after an interval, are then regularly told that the patient has died, that the body has been cremated and that the ashes can be claimed. Generally one suspects, and this suspicion has become almost a certainty, that these numerous cases of unexpected death are not natural but often deliberately caused and are the result of the doctrine that it is justifiable to suppress "life which is unworthy of being lived", accordingly, it is justifiable to kill innocent men when it is thought that their lives are no longer useful for our people and for our country. This horrible doctrine claims to justify the murder of innocent men and gives legal sanction to the forcible killing of invalids who are unable to work, of the maimed, the incurable and the enfeebled.'

"According to what I have learnt on good authority, the practice in homes and clinics in Westphalia is to draw up lists of such patients who are to be transferred elsewhere as 'unproductive citizens' and after some time put to death. During this very week, the first batch of these patients has been sent from the clinic of Marienthal near Münster.

"German men and women . . . Article 2 of the Code of Penal Law is still valid and according to this code anyone who deliberately kills a man by premeditated act will be executed as a murderer. It is in order to protect the killers of these unhappy patients against this legal penalty that the patients who are to be put to death are removed from their place of residence to some distant institution. Some disease or other is then given as the cause of death, but as the bodies are immediately cremated neither their families nor the regular police can afterwards find out whether the disease is genuine or what was really the cause of death. I am assured that at the Ministry of the Interior and at the office of Dr. Conti, the head of Government doctors, it is openly known that a great number of mental cases have already been deliberately put to death and many more will follow in the future.

"In Article 139 of the Penal Code of Germany it is laid down that anyone who knows from a reliable source of any plot against the life of a man, and who does not inform the authorities or the intended victim of it in time, will be punished. . . .

"When I heard of the proposal to remove patients from Marienthal in order to kill them, I informed the Tribunal of Münster and also the head of the Münster Police in a registered letter as follows:

“On account of information which has reached me during this week, i.e. the week of the 31st July, a great number of patients from the provincial clinic of Marienthal are to be removed as citizens alleged to be unproductive, to the clinic of Eischburg, in order to be put to death as, according to general opinion, has already been done in the case of other patients who have been similarly removed. As such an act is not only contrary to the moral law, both Divine and natural, but should also be punishable by death according to Article 211 of the Penal Code, it is my duty in accordance with Article 139 of the same code to bring it to the notice of the authorities. I demand immediate protection for my fellow countrymen who are thus threatened against those who intended to remove them and put them to death, and I demand to be told of your decision.’ No news has come to me of any steps taken by the Tribunal or by the Police.

On the 28th July I had already sent a strong written protest to the provincial administration of Westphalia which is responsible for the institutions to which these patients have been entrusted in order to be cared for and cured. It was all to no purpose. The first contingent of innocent people have left Marienthal under sentence of death and from the clinic of Waestein I am told that 800 patients have been removed.

“We must, therefore, expect the news that these poor defenceless patients will sooner or later be killed. Why? Not because they have committed any crime deserving of death, not because they have attacked one of their wardens or nurses in such a way that the latter in legitimate self-defence might be forced to save their own lives by using violence against their assailants. These are cases in which the use of force, even at the risk of killing, is legitimate and even in many cases obligatory, just like killing an armed enemy soldier in a just war.

“No, it is not for reasons of this kind that these unhappy patients are killed: it is simply because, in the opinion of some doctor, in the view of some committee, they are ‘unworthy to live’: because in their eyes they are to be classified among unproductive citizens. It is thought that they can no longer produce riches, and that they are like old machines which can no longer work, like an old horse which has become incurably lame or like a cow which can no longer give any milk. What does one do with such an old machine? One destroys it. What does one do with an old cow or unproductive cattle? But I do not wish to follow this comparison too far. The consequences are too terrible. We are not here dealing with machines or

horses or cows whose sole purpose is to serve man and provide him with riches. They may be sacrificed and killed when they no longer fulfil their purpose. No, we are speaking here of men, of our neighbours, our brothers and sisters, poor people and invalids . . . unproductive beings—perhaps! But have they for that reason lost their right to live? Have you or have I only the right to live so long as we are productive: so long as others, therefore, regard us as productive? If one admits the principle that unproductive men may be killed, then woe to all of us when we become old and weakened by age. If one may kill such men, woe to all invalids who, in order to produce wealth, have used, sacrificed and worn out their strength and their arms. If one may by violence kill our unproductive neighbours, then woe to our gallant soldiers who come back to their country, wounded and maimed and sick.

“None of us then will be sure of our life. Any committee can put a man on the list of the unproductive, when it judges that he has become unworthy of life. No police can protect him, no court can avenge his murder and inflict on the murderer the punishment he deserves. Who can have any confidence in a doctor when he has only to certify his patients as unproductive and he can get authority to kill them? If this horrible doctrine is tolerated, admitted and practised, it is impossible to imagine to what depths of depravity it will lead: what suspicion and distrust it will cause even in close family circles. Woe to men and woe to the German people if we transgress the sacred commandment ‘Thou shalt not kill’ which was given to us by God on Mount Sinai in thunder and lightning, and which God, our Creator, engraved on the human conscience from the beginning of time. Woe to the German people if we tolerate this crime and allow it to be committed with impunity.

“I want to give you an example of what is actually happening now. At Marienthal there was a man about fifty-five years old, a peasant from a rural community near Münster—I could give you his name—who for some years had been suffering from some mental disease and had been in the provincial clinic of Marienthal. He was not completely mad, he could receive visitors and liked his family to come and see him. About a fortnight ago he had a visit from his wife and his son, a soldier at the front, who was home on leave. The son was very devoted to his father and was very upset when he left him, for who could know if he would see him again, for he might fall on the field of battle fighting for his countrymen. This son, the soldier, will never see his father again in this world because he has been

put on the list of the unproductive: one of the members of his family who went to see the father at Marienthal was refused admission and was told that by order of the Council of Ministers of National Defence the patient had been removed elsewhere, but no one knew where. An official notice will be sent to the family in a few days' time. What will this notice contain? Will it be like other similar notices, that the man has died, that the body has been cremated and that the ashes will be handed over on the receipt of money to cover expenses? And so the son who is now at the front, risking his life for his German countrymen, will never see his father again because his German countrymen have put him to death. I can give you the name of the patient, his wife and his soldier son as well as their addresses.

“‘Thou shalt not kill.’ God had engraved this commandment on the conscience of man long before any Penal Code imposed penalties for murder, long before any court or tribunal prosecuted and avenged homicide. Cain who slew his brother was a murderer long before courts or States existed, and tortured by his conscience he confessed: ‘My iniquity is greater than that I may deserve pardon . . . everyone, therefore, that findeth me, shall kill me.’

“‘Thou shalt not kill.’ This commandment of God, the only Lord, who has the right to dispose of life and death, was from the beginning written in the heart of man, long before God on Mount Sinai gave this law to the children of Israel in this short, concise sentence engraved on stone and handed down in the scriptures, which as children we learnt in the Catechism. ‘I am the Lord, thy God,’—thus begins this eternal law—‘Thou shalt not have strange gods before me’. He is the one God, the Supreme spirit, omnipresent, all powerful, omniscient, infinitely holy and just who has given us this commandment. Our creator and our sole judge: out of love for us He has written these commandments in our hearts and has revealed them to us. For they express the need of our nature created by God. They are the unchangeable standard of human life and social life based on reason, pleasing to God, wholesome and holy. God, our Father, wishes by these commandments to draw us His children round Him as a hen gathers her brood under her wings. If we men respond to His orders and His promptings then we are protected, guarded and preserved against the destruction that threatens us like chickens under the wings of their mother.

“‘Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children as the bird doth her brood, and thou wouldest not!’

“Is history repeating itself again here in Germany, in our land of Westphalia, in our city of Münster? Where in Germany and where, here, is obedience to the commandments of God? The eighth commandment lays down ‘Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour’. How often do we see this commandment violated publicly and with impunity.

“The seventh commandment says: ‘Thou shalt not steal’, but can we say that property and possessions are being respected when our brothers and our sisters, monks and nuns, are forcibly and brutally robbed of their convents, and who protects property now if it is illegally seized and not restored? The sixth commandment ‘Thou shalt not commit adultery’: think of the instructions and promises given on the question of free love and maternity outside marriage in the notorious open letter published in the journals of Rudolf Hess, who has since disappeared. And in matters of this kind what indecency and vulgarity do we not see everywhere even at Münster? To what lengths has not impropriety of dress gone amongst our young people? That is how modesty, the guardian of purity, is being destroyed, and the way prepared for unchastity in the future.

“And see, too, how the fifth commandment is ignored. ‘Thou shalt not kill’—we see it violated under the very eyes of the authorities whose duty it is to enforce respect for law and life, when they allow the deliberate killing of innocent human beings as well as the sick, solely because they are unproductive, because they can no longer contribute to the wealth of the world.

“And how is the fourth commandment observed, which orders respect and obedience to parents and superiors? The authority of parents has already greatly diminished and is more and more shaken by the demands made upon the young against the wishes of their parents. How do you think one can preserve a genuine respect and conscientious obedience towards state authority if one continues to violate the commandments of the supreme authority, the commandments of God: if one is fighting against and trying to destroy faith in the only true God, the supreme Being, the Lord of Heaven and earth?

“The observance of the first three commandments has long since lapsed in German public life and here also in Münster. Many desecrate and secularize Sunday and Feast days and try to remove them from the service of God. The name of God is constantly ridiculed, dishonoured and blasphemed, and as for the First Commandment ‘Thou shalt not have strange Gods before me’ in the place of the one, true, eternal God, men have

created, according to their own good pleasure, false Gods to adore—Nature, the State, the people or the race. For many their God is their belly, according to the words of St. Paul, their own comfort, to which everything is sacrificed, even honour and conscience for the pleasure of their senses, the thirst for wealth and ambition. Is it surprising then that they try also to claim divine prerogatives, and to make themselves the masters of the life and death of their neighbours?

“When Jesus came near to Jerusalem, seeing the city He wept over it and said: ‘If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy day, the things that were to thy peace; but now they are hidden from thy eyes. For the days shall come upon thee and thy enemies shall beat thee to the ground and thy children who are in thee: and they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone because thou hast not known the time of thy visitation.’

“With His earthly eyes Jesus saw only the walls and the towers of the city of Jerusalem, but in His divine knowledge He looked far beyond and saw into the inmost thoughts of her inhabitants. ‘Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children as the bird doth her brood under her wings and thou wouldst not!’ That was the great sorrow pressing on the heart of Jesus which brought tears into His eyes. I desire your happiness but you do not wish it. He saw how sinful, how terrible, how criminal, how wicked was this obstinacy. Man in his meanness, this miserable creature, was opposing his will to the Will of God. In his madness and his sin he was flaunting the Will of God and that is why Jesus wept for this terrible sin and its inevitable punishment—God is not mocked.

“Christians of Münster, in His omniscience, did the Son of God only see Jerusalem and her people, did He only weep for Jerusalem? Is Israel the only people to whom God has given His fatherly protection and the love also of a mother? Is Israel the only people who have rejected divine truth, cast aside the law of God and rushed headlong into ruin? Did not Jesus, in His omniscience, also see our German people, our country of Westphalia, our city of Münster, our land of the lower Rhine, and did not He also weep over us and over Münster? For a thousand years He has taught us and our ancestors the truth; He has led us by His law: He has nourished us with His grace: He has drawn us to Him as the bird gathers her brood under her wings. The omniscient Son of God saw that in our days He would have to pronounce over us that same sentence: And they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone. How terrible would that sentence be.

"Dearly Beloved Brethren, I hope that it is not too late, but it is certainly time to realize now on this very day what alone can bring us peace, what alone can save us and preserve us from divine punishment, and to admit openly and unreservedly the divine revealed truths, and to show by our attitude that we wish to direct our lives by the commandments of God and that we accept in all gravity the motto: Rather die than sin. And that we wish by sincere prayer and penance to draw down divine grace and forgiveness on us, on our city, our land, and our dear German people.

"But if there are some who continue to provoke the wrath of God, who blaspheme our faith, who despise His commandments, who make common cause with those who drive our young men from their religion, who despoil and expel our monks and nuns, who deliver over to death innocent human beings, our brothers and sisters, then we refuse to consort with such people, we withdraw ourselves from their influence, so as not to become their accomplices and expose ourselves to the punishment which the God of Justice should and will administer to all those who, like the ungrateful city of Jerusalem, do not wish what God wishes.

"O God grant that all of us now, before it is too late, realize the things that are for our peace.

"O Sacred Heart of Jesus, opposed even unto tears by the blindness and the sins of men, help us by your grace so that we always seek what is pleasing to you and reject what is displeasing, so that we may dwell in your love and find rest in our souls. Amen.

"Let us pray for our sick who are threatened with death, for our religious in exile, for our soldiers, our people, our country and our Führer."

A remarkable sermon preached by Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, in his cathedral church of Munich on New Year's Eve, 1941, has just come to hand.

The Cardinal began by declaring that relations between the Christian denominations of Germany are more peaceful than they have been for many a long day, the reason being that "the two great Christian bodies know that for both the issue to-day is one of life or death; the fundamentals of Christianity, the Holy Scriptures and belief in the Anointed One of the Gospel are at stake. *A high dignitary of State has openly declared: 'In rejecting Christianity no distinction can be made between the different denominations.'* There is peace between the denominations and yet fierce strife in the form of that most unnecessary and most tragic of all wars,

that between the State and Church; the Kulturkampf reigns in the land."

Catholics, the Cardinal declares, share the common sacrifices at home and at the front, "yet the Church is treated with persistent suspicion, spied upon and hampered by special restrictions. Church and conventual buildings are being requisitioned on a scale out of all proportion when compared with private dwellings."

The culmination of this Kulturkampf during the past year, the Cardinal says, "was marked by a call to leave the church. There are unmistakable signs that this will increase and Germans will be faced with the question: 'Will you leave the Church or will you give up your post?' In this sermon on the feast of St. Silvester I give you the answer: 'No! Thrice no! I will not leave the Church!'"

The old catchword, the Cardinal goes on, has been revived: "Leave the Church and you will no longer have to pay the Church Tax." This will be made greater use of when the new Church Law, by which the Government no longer makes itself responsible for the collection, comes into force on April 1st, 1942, but the Archbishop is confident that Catholics will not be deluded by this old catchword.

"For intellectuals there is another slogan: you will be told that the Church is international, or more correctly supranational, and has therefore outlived its usefulness for a nationally conscious people. As well say that the sun which shines on all nations has outlived its usefulness! Christ the Sun of Justice said: 'I am the light of the world!'—the light of *the world*, not merely of one particular nation. Christ gave the 'Our Father' as a model prayer for all nations; for *all nations*! Christ charged his Apostles: 'Go ye into the whole world and teach *all nations*.' Spiritual possessions, and that includes the truths of the Christian philosophy of life (*Weltanschauung*), cannot be gathered and confined within the boundaries of one particular country . . . No thinking man, therefore, will allow himself to be led astray by the slogan of the supranational church."

Yet a third cry, the Cardinal goes on, is "'Political Catholicism'; the Church is accused of meddling with the affairs of the State; yet she proves that in actual fact it is the *State that interferes with the Church*, and that the Church is only defending herself, as she is bound to, from this invasion 'Political Catholicism', as a slogan will be of no avail in the case of thinking men. No! Catchwords such as these will not induce you to leave the Church. You were admitted to her community in Baptism, which set an inefface-

able mark or seal on your soul . . . Whether you will leave the Church or not, is not left to your caprice. You are under an obligation to God and have bound yourself by a solemn oath to serve under the banner of the Cross. *You cannot desert! You cannot become a Judas.*"

Cardinal Faulhaber then shows how the supreme authority "expressly stated his wish in 1940 that nothing should be done to worsen the relationship between Church and State. Nevertheless, the attempt to root out Christianity by penal measures persisted." The Cardinal instanced the measures taken against Catholic schools, and especially the imposition of the "school ban" which broke the "solemn promise" made to the Bavarian clergy, without even acquainting them with the grounds for the penalty. "Every criminal is told why he is being punished," the Cardinal avers, "only the priest may not ask 'Why strikest thou me?'" It is almost as if one had been transplanted back to the time of Nero and Diocletian when one hears that in some places enquiries were made as to whether the school teachers used the sign of the cross and the old school prayers.

"One measure which has recently been announced cries aloud to heaven," the Cardinal next says. This is the *refusal of paper for the printing of catechisms and necessary religious books*. He points out that it was bad enough when all Church newspapers and periodicals were suppressed, but now no textbooks of religious instruction whatsoever are permitted to appear. The excuse given by the Central Office of the German Book Trade is the need for economy in paper but, as the Cardinal points out, books and pamphlets that attack the Church and heap the vilest insults on the Papacy are issued in enormous editions, one having more than half a million copies, and have been reprinted again and again.

Religious instruction is no longer given in the upper classes of the Higher Schools. A police regulation of 9th March, 1940, meant to protect the young by preventing them from roaming the streets after blackout, has been so twisted as to prevent young people from attending evening classes for religious instruction held in church or on church property. Youths may visit cinemas and cabaret shows up to 9 p.m., but not attend church or receive religious instruction. "Such measures," says the Cardinal, "can only have one object, the systematic estrangement of the young from the Church until they finally leave it altogether."

The Cardinal then enumerates other measures hampering the work of the Church, and obscuring the light of its message: "What is happening on the world stage before our eyes is, as it

were . . . a part of the age-long struggle between light and darkness. Take heed, therefore, that your light be not Darkness."

Out of this, the Cardinal declares, will probably arise the satanic question: "Will you leave the Church or are you prepared to submit to a foreigner as the holder of the Primacy?" Explaining the Pope's position as head of the Church, he goes on: "Anyone who complains that the Papal throne is not set up on German soil knows neither the history of the Kingdom of God nor the story of his own nation. No, this light will not be obscured. We will not leave the Church on the ground that the Pope was not born a German." The Cardinal sympathizes from the depth of his heart, knowing "how hard the decision must be for State servants, especially fathers of families, and for other dependent occupations. But there must be no deadening of conscience, no plea that 'I am leaving the Church in appearance only, in my heart I still adhere to her'. The early Christians were not permitted to say: 'Outwardly I burn incense before the idol but inwardly I remain faithful to Christ.' One must be 'either hot or cold' (Apoc. III. 15)."

After further discussion of these spiritual issues confronting Catholics, Cardinal Faulhaber goes on: "If therefore in the coming year, after or during the War, you are asked: 'Will you leave the Church?' answer 'No! Thrice no! I will not! I am not to be deluded by slogans, nor compelled by penal measures, nor will I permit the light which is in me to be obscured. My faith is a matter between me and God. So long as I fulfil faithfully the duties of my calling, no State authority has the right to dismiss me on the ground of my philosophy of life (Weltanschauung).' In 1933 the nation was solemnly assured 'the Government of the Reich regards Christianity as the unshakable foundation of the moral life of our people.' Again we are told that it would not be denied that German culture had been closely bound up with Christianity for a thousand years. From another quarter, one of the highest of the time, freedom in matters of Religion was proclaimed, not merely freedom to leave the Church but also freedom to remain true to it . . ."

The Cardinal concludes: "If we are asked: 'Are you ready to prove your loyalty to the Fatherland by the exemplary fulfilment of the duties of your calling?' we shall answer: 'Yes, thrice yes!' But to the other question: 'Will you leave the Church?' our answer must be just as definitely 'No! Thrice no!' For both the brave Yes and the courageous No! May the Blessing of Almighty God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost go with you in the New Year."

Extracts from a Pastoral Letter issued by the Catholic German Bishops and read in the churches on March 22nd, 1942: "We wish particularly to stress that we are not only standing up for religious and ecclesiastical rights, but also for the ordinary rights of mankind. Each one of us is interested in the respect and maintainance of these rights; without them the whole of Western culture must collapse: Everyone has the natural right of personal freedom within the limits of service of God, consideration to one's fellow-men and the common good, and duty towards the commandments of higher authority. We German Bishops protest against any disregard of personal freedom. We demand a legal examination of all punitive measures and release of all those who, without evidence, were robbed of their freedom. Everyone has the natural right to life and the things necessary to life. The living God, the creator of all things, is alone Master over life and death . . . We German Bishops will not cease to protest against the killing of innocent people. . . ."

The full text is now available of a sermon preached at the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Trier, Germany, by the Bishop, Mgr. Bornewasser, on November 30th, 1941. It is being widely circulated in Germany. It reveals the deep cleavage between the Christian Church in Germany and the Nazi movement, at least in so far as the Nazi attitude to religion is concerned. It is significant that the preacher mentions Catholics and Protestants as both offended by the Nazi paganism, and thus illustrates the growing unity between all Christian traditions on the Continent as one by one they are brought into conflict with the new paganism.

We print the sermon, with a few brief omissions.

"The country is at the moment being swept by a wave of public meetings. . . . As the number of meetings held increases, a feeling of bitter disillusionment spreads throughout the land. It has been found that these gatherings are being used in many cases to promote the campaign, now of many years' duration, against the Church and Christianity, even though the war against the Jews is sometimes given greater prominence. This was the case in our diocese at Trier on November 22nd, and in Coblenz on November 23rd, both meetings being addressed by the same high State official.

"I have just read to you a manifesto which will be read to-day by the clergy from all the pulpits in Trier and Coblenz. . . . I can assure you I wrote that manifesto with deep emotion, for I am profoundly grieved that here in our ancient Christian city of Trier, whose streets have been steeped in the blood of martyrs

who gave their lives for their belief in the One True God, that same God has to-day been mocked and derided in a manner beyond anything we have hitherto imagined possible; both He and the Institution and Teaching of Holy Church which He founded through His Son, Jesus Christ, for the good of mankind.

"My first protest is against the blasphemous misuse of the Holy Name of God. In the course of his address the speaker used the blasphemous expression: 'Jehovah, it is time you went! Jehovah, you are a back number! Jehovah, the game is up!' . . .

"This One, Eternal God, before whom the entire Christian world bends the knee in adoration, is dismissed by the speaker thus: 'You are a back number! The game is up!' Could there be a worse mockery of Him who is for us the Holiest and Highest, whose name we first heard as children from our mothers' lips and learned to pronounce with veneration? . . .

"He who dismisses God likewise dismisses the Ten Commandments, as, indeed, the speaker did in these words: 'We recognize only the Laws of Nature, not the Ten Commandments. The Commandments with their bestialities may,' he opines, 'have been good for those swine, the Jews, but not for us!'

"The Ten Commandments were given of old for all ages and for all men by God the Almighty, the Lord of the World and the Inspiration of the History of Mankind. They define God's rights as regards man, secure the rights of man, and are the sole possible foundation for the social and moral order of the world. Wherever the Tables of Sinai have been broken and shattered there also have all peace, true morality and happiness been broken and shattered.

"Surely God the Creator and Lawgiver has the right to demand, as He does in the first three Commandments, that His creatures shall recognize and respect Him; that they shall hold His Name sacred and set aside a time and place on His day, the Lord's Day, for the worship of God with a whole heart and an undivided mind. . . .

"Where can you find a firmer foundation for authority in the family and in the State than in the Fourth Commandment? Where a greater guarantee for man's right to life than in the Fifth: 'Thou shalt not kill'; or a better guarantee for a morally pure life, for the protection of the child as yet unborn, or for fidelity to the marriage bond than in the Sixth and Ninth Commandments? What stronger safeguards are there for the right of private property, so often transgressed in defiance of all law nowadays, or of social justice than those provided in the Seventh and Tenth Commandments? What surer safeguard

of truth, and the honour of one's fellow men than in the Eighth: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour'? and remember that this implies 'Thou shalt not lie! Thou shalt not commit perjury! Thou shalt not slander nor calumniate!'

"There you have the reason why Christ the Lord commanded that in the Kingdom of God on earth, the New Christian Covenant, 'not one jot or one tittle' of the Ten Commandments shall be altered (Matt. v. 18).

"The mockery of the Lord's Prayer in this speech was the cause of the deepest pain to all Christians. When a high State official proclaims, as was the case in Coblenz, in a public meeting: 'The man who prays "Our Father. . . . give us this day our daily bread" is a slave. . . . One does not beg for bread, one fights for it!' that is a degradation of the most sacred of all Christian prayers and deeply wounding to every faithful believer in Christ.

"We Christians fully understand the meaning of this simple, touching and yet fervent petition. The petition for bread symbolizes for us everything necessary for the maintenance of life. . . . But there is a deeper meaning to the words 'Give us our daily bread.' We ask for bread not only for our mortal life but also for the supernatural life of our souls; for the Bread of Heaven, the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, Holy Communion. That is especially necessary in these times.

"You will remember that I told you in my first sermon on the burning questions of the day how in the Church province of Cologne, to which we belong, 47 monasteries were victims of the attack on the monasteries last summer. The sanctuary light has been extinguished in 25 churches and chapels which are deprived of the Blessed Sacrament, the Mass and Holy Communion. Whether the light has been relit in one or other of them I do not know, but I do not think it has. Before the German troops entered the town of Posen in 1939 there were thirty public churches. Since October 1st, 1939, there have been only three in which services are still held. The rest have been converted into furniture repositories and riding schools or fitted out for other purposes. Thirteen have been closed. Before the arrival of the troops there were 431 public churches in the whole diocese of Posen; to-day there remain 45! Nearly 400 churches in which there is no Mass, no Blessed Sacrament, no Holy Communion! Have we not every reason to pray: 'Lord, preserve us from the misfortune of being deprived of the Bread of the Soul, the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar'? The speaker in Coblenz said that the Our Father is the most contemptible of prayers. Dearly

beloved brethren, the Our Father is for us 'the Lord's Prayer'; it is the prayer Jesus Christ, Our Lord, Himself composed and gave to His Apostles with the words: 'Thus shall ye pray,' and thus will we pray, thus will the entire Christian world say the Our Father until we see our Father in Heaven with Christ, the Lord, who gave to mankind the most profound and noblest prayer to pass human lips.

"The holy sacrament of Baptism was ridiculed in a picture which I am ashamed to describe in this sacred place. I am forced to conclude that the speaker has not the slightest idea of the true nature of Baptism. At best he seems to know that it is the gateway through which we must pass to become Christians and on that ground he rejects it as he apparently rejects true Christianity itself. . . . Does he know that through Baptism the child of God becomes a member of the Kingdom of God upon earth and heir to the Kingdom of Heaven? If he knows all this then one might at least expect him to have sufficient tact to refrain from ridiculing that which is sacred to at least seventy millions of his Catholic and Protestant fellow-Germans.

"I was not surprised but none the less deeply shocked when the speaker said: 'I would swear any false oath for Germany; yea, fifty a day if need be!' Surely many Christian men and women must have felt impelled to rise from their seats and leave the hall in protest against such a monstrous confession. What of the chairman; did he call the speaker to order? Whether he did or not I do not know. But I do know from a report of the meeting that there was general applause from the public at that point. My poor young ones, that you should be forced to attend and submit to that! Poor Germany, whither are you heading? Has the sense of right in your soul been so deadened? Do you not know that such a degradation of the sanctity of oaths must undermine the ordered administration of justice and destroy all confidence in German justice? . . . Here we have a high State official proclaiming publicly his readiness to perjure himself for Germany! I may not swear a false oath even for Germany! . . .

"It has been hard for me to preach this sermon, but it was my sacred duty to preach as I have done to-day. A man of my advanced years knows that the end of his life is not far off. I must soon appear before my Judge. That is why I recently delivered the three big sermons on the burning questions of the day. I want to be able to stand before my Creator with a clear conscience and say to Him: I have fought for the Truth and proclaimed it to those under me in season and out of season. . . .

"And now let us give our enemies here their proper answer to their attacks on God, Christ, and the Church by rising and solemnly reciting the Creed and the Our Father! . . . I believe in God . . . Our Father . . . Hail Mary . . . Glory be to the Father . . . Amen."

## CHAPTER XXV

### CONFESSIONAL CHURCH

**ALTHOUGH THE CHURCHES** have moved closer and closer together in their struggle against Nazism, there is still a deep gulf between the Catholic Church and the Confessional Church. This is particularly true in the important aspect of organization. The Catholic Church remains a body governed and led by a hierarchy which is superimposed upon the broad mass of the believers. In accordance with the structure of the hierarchy there is always a tendency towards strong government, perhaps even authoritarian statecraft. The examples of Catholic states governed in that way are numerous even in our time. Spain, Dollfuss Austria, Slovakia, pre-War Poland are examples.

In the Protestant Church there has always been a strong tendency in the direction of anarchism. The Protestant, or rather the Lutheran, has never ceased to long for contemplative religion, divorced from his activities as a citizen. The State and social life was one thing, the activities inside the Church were another thing. Both tended to break away from each other. This attitude of Protestantism particularly suited those pseudo-liberal, but also those tyrannical groups which could easily suggest to the Protestant Church—you look after the soul, we look after the body.

Nobody saw this unique opportunity to oust Christianity as a supreme guidance and corrective in earthly life more clearly than the Nazis. They drove the argument to its limits. They branded as unwarranted the interference of the Protestant Church in what Nazis regarded as the sole responsibility of Nazi leadership, and broke with the duties and traditions of the Church. When they realized that the Protestants would not easily give in, they began to reorganize Protestantism on hierarchical lines. In order to lead—with the help of these leaders—the entire Church along the path of Nazism, they thought it

was enough to establish a pro-Nazi Protestant leadership. They thought a Concordat with Protestantism could be concluded just as it could be concluded with Catholicism. A clear definition of the mutual spheres of influence, a diplomatic game and *quid pro quo* appeared to them the logical and advantageous solution of an awkward problem.

To a certain extent they succeeded. Bishops were introduced and a Protestant hierarchy seemed to develop under the burning heat of the alternate bribery and terrorism of the Third Reich. Large bodies of the Protestant Church entered upon this path. But not all. The soul of Protestantism awoke. An entirely new group sprang into existence and refused to go this way. It was the so-called Confessing Church, or Confessional Church. This group of men was composed of pastors and the members of their congregations who, first of all, refused to accept a hierarchical order and to bow before the Third Reich. They established an entirely new organization, a profoundly democratic organization. There are no Bishops and no "leaders" in the Confessional Church. On the contrary, the entire organization is built from the mass of the people. This is the real strength of this movement. The community elects its "Bruder-Rat", its "Brother-Council", the local "Brother-Councils" elect the "District-Brother Council", the "District-Brother-Councils" elect the "Provincial-Brother-Councils", these the "State-Brother-Councils", these the "Reich-Brother-Council", and the "Reich-Brother-Council", which is a sort of Parliament for the Confessional Church, elects the "Provisional Church Leadership" as a kind of Self-Government, as the executive organ of the entire Confessional Church. The functions are entirely decentralized, so that only major questions of concern to the entire Confessional Church of Germany are dealt with by the central body.

In this way it is incorrect to think of a man like Niemöller as in any way a leader or head of the Confessional Church. He has been and is one of several men who have been elected into the "Provisional Church Leadership". His influence is limited to that constitutional function, as well as to the personal influence which his brave stand has attached to him and his name. But we have to be quite clear about this point, that there are numerous pastors—and laymen—who have acted exactly as Niemöller has done. Many of them have paid with their lives, many with their health in concentration camps and the cells of the Gestapo.

Furthermore, this War did not start in 1939, nor did it start in 1938. It started in 1933-34. All responsible diplomatic

quarters in Berlin have always known this. All the governments of Democratic, semi-Democratic, Fascist and semi-Fascist states before 1939 knew and must have known about all this. All the information as to the attitude of the Nazi authorities not only towards Christianity, but towards law—national and international—towards the individual and his rights, towards minorities and treaties, towards ethics and moral standards, all this has been accessible and has been shouted into the world by the helpless and unhelped victims of oppression.

If proof of this were needed—is it needed?—we have only to remember the Memorandum which the Confessional Church handed to Hitler in 1936. There is reason to believe that its contents have become available, through channels unknown to the author, to the press as well as to the governments of most countries. Here are some of the points of this Memorandum. They are important because they constituted, and still do constitute, the basis for the political attitude of the members and representatives of the Confessional Church. Comment on these points is hardly necessary.

“The German Evangelical Church . . . hands in this Memorandum obeying the order of God to confess to *His Word* and His laws *before everybody—even the masters and rulers of peoples.*

“*We see that the fight against the Christian Church is lively and effective, as it has never been since 1918.* No power on earth, whatever its name, is able to destroy the Church of God against His Will—or to protect it. That is God’s affair. But the Church has to care for the tempted conscience of its members.

“Through the misery and confusion of the war of Faith of to-day many baptised Christians are threatened with earthly and eternal disaster. And if even high-placed officials in State and Party attack Christianity publicly [in a note Ley’s speech is mentioned among others], then the members of the Church, already estranged from its message, are still more entangled in disbelief; the wavering and uncertain are made completely uncertain and driven into secession. Yes, there is the serious danger that the Evangelical Youth may allow itself to be prevented from coming to Him who is the sole Saviour of German boys and girls. A responsible leadership of the Church must defend itself against such a danger to her members.

“*It is part of such a fight to put the clear question to the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich, whether the attempt to de-Christianize the German people shall become the official course of the Government, either through responsible statesmen taking part in it, or through allowing such actions.*

## 2. 'Positive Christianity.'

"We trust that the Government will listen to the word of the Evangelical Church in order to avoid the growing war of faith in Germany. When the N.S.D.A.P. [Nazi-Party] declared in its programme that it stood for a 'positive Christianity', the whole population adhering to the churches understood this to mean—and was intended to do so—that the Third Reich would extend freedom and protection, indeed help and furtherance, to the Christian Faith.

*"Later, however, it came to the point where important personalities of State and Party explained the meaning of the words 'positive Christianity' according to their personal interpretation.*

"Shortly after this the Minister for Propaganda and Enlightenment of the People spoke of positive Christianity as though it consisted merely of humanitarian deeds; he combined this with an attack on the Christian Churches and their alleged poor efforts in the way of Christian charity, which, however, since 1933 the State itself had substantially limited by its own measures (Note: speeches by Göbbels on occasion of the Winter-help campaign, saying amongst other things: "If the churches were imbued with true Christian spirit, they would never have left it to the State to help the poor through hunger and cold this winter . . . I believe that Christ Himself would discover more of His teaching in our deeds than in these theological discussions . . . The people would perhaps understand more readily if the Church acted in a more truly Christian spirit . . ."); on another occasion the first Education officer (Reichsschulungsleiter) of the Reich, Rosenberg, spread his Mysticism of the Blood as positive Christianity and following his example officials of the Party attacked confessing Christianity (believing in the revelation) as a negative religion. (Note: Rosenberg: "We recognize to-day that the central, highest ideals of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church as negative Christianity do not correspond with our soul, that they stand in the way of the organic forces of the nordic-racially inclined peoples, that the Churches must make the road clear for them and themselves turn to a new conception of a Germanic Christianity." Letter from Brigade 11 of the S.A. to the Provisional Council: ". . . No positive Christian will have to leave the S.A. The negative Christians, however, who through their pledge to medieval dogmas are in opposition to National Socialism . . . The negative Christian fights for the Church, to the detriment of the people, for the dogmas and the preservation of the lies of the priests and through them for the devil . . .

To be an S.A. man and to belong to the Confessional Front is a contradiction *in se*. Even though we, as positive Christians, do not think badly of our fellowmen, we want to be sure to defend ourselves against tell-tales, spies and subversive elements . . .")

"In the mouths of other representatives of the Government, again under the cover of positive Christianity, essential conceptions of the Christian Faith (Faith, Charity, Eternity, Prayer, Resurrection) were deprived of their original meaning and changed in meaning to purely earthly, psychological values. This came out even in the words of the Minister for the Churches, Kerrl. (Note Göring among others: "We have declared to the Church that we stand for positive Christianity. Through the strength of our Faith and the ardour of our Faith it was we who have shown again to the Church what Faith really is." Kerrl: "This [the confession of positive Christianity] has nothing to do with dogmas. It is an independent Faith; and that charity which shows itself in deeds makes us say to ourselves: 'Oh Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' The essential of National Socialism is Faith. Its action is charity and national-socialist positive Christianity is to love your neighbours.")

"*The harmful effect of such utterances is so much the greater because the Church has never been given the fair chance of refuting this misinterpretation of the Christian Faith by high Government offices.*

### 3. *The destruction of the Church Order.*

"The method of de-Christianizing the German people with its ramifications becomes clear if the word of the *Reichsschulungsleiter Rosenberg* is remembered, that in the fight for a German Faith 'the enemy should not be spared, but should be vanquished intellectually, his organization should be choked and he should be kept politically impotent.' (*Mythus*, p. 636.) This principle was the basis for action.

"Officially all interference with the edifice and the faith of the Evangelical Church is denied. (Note speeches by Göring and Kerrl: "If, during the last two years, confusion has occurred in the Evangelical Church, it was, at the most, caused by single individuals, but never by the Party as such, never by the State." Goebbels: "If we preach the unity of the Protestant Church, we do so because we consider it impossible that, at a time when the whole of the Reich is united, there are still twenty-eight State Churches. We do not want to strengthen any dogmas. Nor do we interfere in the interpretation of the Scriptures . . . In the interpretation of the Scriptures God's orders may be taken as higher than the orders of human authorities; in the

*interpretation of political measures we consider ourselves as the mouth-piece of God."* Hitler: "The Party never had the intention of fighting Christianity in Germany in any way. On the contrary, it tried by uniting impossible and impracticable Churches in the different German States, to create one great Evangelical Church of the Reich, without interfering in any way in questions of confessions or Faith."—Party Rally on September 11th, 1935.)

*"In reality, however, interference has continually taken place since the elections forced on the Church in July, 1933.*

(Note: The main interferences were:

1. Nomination of the State-Commissariat in Prussia on the 24th of June, 1933, and the other State Commissioners in Bremen, Hessen, Lippe, Mecklenburg, Saxony.
2. Ordering general church elections, by the Law of July 15th, 1933.
3. Broadcast of the Führer on July 22nd, 1933, in favour of the "German Christians".
4. Publications on Church matters forbidden by the—not published—decree of the Reich Minister of the Interior, November 6th and 7th, 1934.
5. Institution of the State finance department by Prussian Law of March, 1935.
6. Institution of the Executive [Beschlussstelle] by the Reich Law of June, 1935.
7. The Law for safeguarding the German Evangelical Church of September 9th, 1935, and the Church Committees instituted in consequence thereof.

*Action by the State against single pastors :*

1. Arrest of the Bishop of the States of Württemberg and Bavaria in 1934.
2. Parsons sent to concentration camps, especially in Saxony and Nassau-Hesse.
3. Banishments of parsons from their place of domicile and their congregations, sometimes from the whole province, especially in Prussia.
4. Arrest of 700 clergymen in Prussia on the occasion of their reading from the pulpit a proclamation against the New Paganism. The proclamation was compiled at the Prussian Church Convention in March, 1935.
5. Permanent prevention of services by the Confessional Church; clergy and lay-members forbidden to speak, sometimes in the whole of Germany, etc. The Evangelical public, which had been assured of freedom by the Führer just before the elections were forced on it [Note: Telegram to the President of the

Reich on July 12th, 1933], could only rarely and partially be kept informed of the progress of the fight of the Churches. The so-called "Peace Action", which started with the forming of the "Reich Church Ministry" and the institution of the "Church Committees", has only clouded some evils which the State had previously tolerated.)

*"The Evangelical Christian, who looks closely, realizes that by this 'Peace Action' the Church is kept dependent upon the State in administrative and financial matters. The Church is deprived by it of the Freedom to preach the Word of God and of its order and is thus forced to tolerate paganism.*

"It must have been a great shock to the Evangelical Christian that the introduction of the 'Peace Action' law of September 24th, 1935, in its description of the developments of disturbances in the German Evangelical Church did not conform with the truth and that *interferences in the affairs of the Church are described as non-interferences*, indeed as services which the State undertakes for and on behalf of the Church.

"The members of the Evangelical communities who stand for the Word of God in the Revelation and keep to the faith of their fathers, who therefore know their duty towards their people and their government, have thus to shoulder an almost unbearable burden.

#### 4. *The fight against the secession of the Faiths.*

*"Under the slogan 'The fight against the secession of the Faiths' a movement is afoot to deprive the Church of her work among the public.*

"It is a long time since their own youth organizations were taken from the Churches by the agreement between the Reich Youth Leader and the Reich-bishop, the latter without authority to do so. But even this agreement provides for the care of the Evangelical members of the Nazi Youth organization, which in reality however is often prevented again and again; their Church is shown as an object of contempt and suspicion to the Hitler Youth, from the highest leaders down to the least important members.

"It is sought to disturb the faith in Revelations. (Note: Among others the order to the Obergau 8/35 of the B.d.M. [Nazi girls' association, compulsory for everyone] of December 5th, 1935: "I forbid all girls—and not only the leaders—to give help in any form whatsoever to the work of the Church." H.J. [Hitler Youth] poster at Halle: "Where are the enemies of our H.J.? The religious fanatic who even to-day crawls

on his knees with a longing look towards Heaven, spends his time in going to Church and in prayers . . . We as Hitler Youths can only feel contempt or derision when we see those young people still to-day going to their ridiculous Evangelical or Catholic clubs and adhering to most superfluous religious sentimentalities." Baldur v. Schirach: "Rosenberg's path is also the path of German youth.")

"While the State to-day officially stands for positive Christianity, its new organizations and institutions such as the 'Service Year in Agriculture' and the 'Labour Service' offer in reality no possibilities for the religious care of its members. It is made largely impossible even for the parson to keep in touch with the young members of his congregation—for instance, through personal visits or the sending of Evangelical congregation news or other literature. (Note: Among other items see letter of the county president [Regierungspräsident] of Breslau of October 22nd, 1935: "Referring to your letter of October 15th to the camp leader Schädel *re* sending of religious reading matter, I refer you to the decree of the Reich Minister for Education, Science and Adult Education of the People, forbidding the sending of religious reading-matter to those serving their 'Service Year in Agriculture'.") The fact, for example, that Evangelical members of a Labour Camp could not receive permission to attend a Church Service on Good Friday shows how far de-Christianization has been pushed ahead already. The regulations for the religious care of children in the 'Service Year in Agriculture' speak in a very clear language indeed.

*"The fight against religion in the schools is officially furthered by the State. By depriving the Church of its rights it is hoped to do away with Church schools. (Note : documents.) The conscience of the parents is subjected to the heaviest pressure by the Party. (Note : documents.)"*

"Regular religious teaching, properly and lawfully instituted, is often circumvented. To-day in many places essential parts of the Bible (such as the Old Testament) are not taught; or un-Christian parts (Teutonic paganism) have been substituted for it. (Note: Among other things quotation of such a decree by the Ministry of the State of Anhalt against which the women's organization of the Church protested in vain.) Services and prayers in schools are more and more neglected or are changed in the direction of de-Christianizing; this is true also of the exterior forms of school community life.

"The training of theologians at the Universities is entrusted more and more to such professors and lecturers as are proved and known to be in opposition to the doctrines of the Church;

the destruction of the theological Faculties in Prussia gives a clear picture of this. The Ministry of Education has ordered the reinstatement of these untrustworthy teachers on the examination boards.

"The fight against the Church is also clearly perceptible in the fact that in public life, in broadcasts, the daily press, and public lectures, Christian influence is steadily declining.

#### 5. *National-Socialist 'Weltanschauung'.*

"Evangelical members of Nazi organizations are asked to pledge themselves without reserve to the National-Socialist 'Weltanschauung'. (Note: Ley: "The Party makes a total claim on the soul of the German people. The Party can and will not tolerate the existence of another party or 'Weltanschauung'. We believe indeed that the German people can reach eternity solely through National-Socialism . . . That is why we claim the last German, whether Protestant or Catholic. . . .") This 'Weltanschauung' is often presented as a positive alternative to Christianity, which must be done away with.

"When blood, race, nationality and honour are regarded as eternal values, the first Commandment obliges the Christian to refuse this valuation. When the Aryan is glorified, the word of God teaches that all men are sinful.

"If the Christian is forced by the anti-Semitism of the Nazi 'Weltanschauung' to hate the Jews, he is on the contrary bidden by the Christian commandment to love his neighbour.

"Parents have to bear a specially heavy conflict of conscience when they feel bound to fight in their children the seeds of these anti-Christian ideas.

#### 6. *Right and morals.*

*"We see with great anxiety that morals alien to Christianity are spreading among our people and threatening to destroy them.*

"We know that in his speech of March 23rd, 1933, the Führer recognized the moral importance of the Christian Churches in the life of the people. But up till now the new moral conceptions have proved more influential than this speech.

*"The doctrine is spreading that whatever is useful for the nation is good.*

(Note: Taken from the speech of the leader of the government office for legal policy of the N.S.D.A.P. [Nazi Party], at a conference of lawyers at Leipzig, 1936: "The principle of legal policy, laid down by Minister Dr. Frank, 'right is whatever is good for the German people; and wrong is what is harmful to it',

shows a knowledge of the innermost connection between the necessities of national life and the legal conscience.") Similarly, with the knowledge of Reichsamtsleiter Derichsweiler, it was possible to declare that the expression 'positive Christianity' in Article 24 of the Party programme was used only in the sense of withholding the whole truth from a sick person. (See document.)

*"Such behaviour places utilitarianism above the Truth ordained by God's Commandments. To the evangelical Christian this contempt for Truth, deriving from the spirit of a nationalistic utilitarianism, becomes particularly clear from the following points: the way in which the Church Struggle is reported (see above); the treatment given to the Evangelical press and Evangelical meetings; and the change of the conception 'voluntary' into the direct opposite on the occasion of collections, membership drives, etc. (Note: many documents follow.)"*

"The Evangelical Church is glad that the number of oaths sworn in the courts is reduced to a small number, according to Christ's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount.

*"So much more, however, she must regard it as a victory for the anti-Christian spirit, that an oath and pledge of loyalty are asked of people with such alarming frequency and have been extended in the same alarming way. As an oath is a declaration or a confirmation given under the eyes of God, even if the name of the Lord is not expressly mentioned, the fact that so many people have to take oaths so often, must rob the oath of its dignity and must lead to the misuse of the name of the Lord and degrade its holiness. Evangelical parents feel it specially unendurable that children have to give oath-like pledges at a very early age. (Note: Oath-pledge of the H.J.: "I swear to serve Adolf Hitler faithfully and loyally in the Hitler Youth. I swear to stand for unity and comradeship of German Youth at all times. I swear obedience to the Reich Youth Leader and to all leaders of the Hitler Youth. I swear by our holy banners always to try to be worthy of those symbols. So help me God.")"*

*"We hear more and more frequently, in our spiritual care, people say they do not feel bound by oaths which were forced on them. Had they refused to take them, their very existence would have been threatened."*

"It would be easier for the Evangelical Church to combat in its members such ways of thinking contrary to the Commandments, if the Christian were allowed the natural interpretation of this conception, namely: that no oath can cover actions which are against the Commandments of God. But it has indeed happened that earnest Christians who claimed this right, and desired to obey the government as long as they could do so while keeping God's Commandments, were removed from their

posts. (Note: documents.) An absolutely frank and truthful attitude is thus made difficult for many civil servants.

*"The valuation of the voting-papers at the last Reichstag elections has led many Evangelical Christians into a conflict with their conscience. This sprang from the fact that usefulness to the nation was put above Truth. Evangelical Christians who, for the sake of Truth, stood up for their decision have been ridiculed and even ill-treated. (Note: documents.)"*

"Evangelical Christians are convinced by the Holy Scriptures that God is the protector of Right and of those who are put in the wrong ; therefore we deem it as a denial of Him, if licence is introduced into justice and if things happen 'which are not right in the eyes of the Lord'.

"Not only the many experiences and events in the Church Struggle belong to this subject, but also the fact that the Church was refused the exercise of her legal procedure. This decision was made through the institution of the 'Church Board of Arbitration' (Kirchliche Beschlusstelle) and its subsequent behaviour resulted in the practical elimination of Church legal proceedings. (Note: The law of "Arbitration" in matters concerning the German Evangelical Church, June 24th, 1935, removes legal proceedings from the Church and leaves the decision to a political body. According to the explanation of a leading member of this body, it is the aim of this "Board of Arbitration" to proceed "in a politically constructive way". "However, the Board of Arbitration has now, after a year of existence, not decided one of the seventy cases before it. Those involved in these cases have been put practically outside the law, as no law is available for them.")

*"The Evangelical conscience, which feels a responsibility towards the people and the Government, is heavily burdened by the fact that in Germany, which calls itself a civilized and just State (Rechtsstaat), concentration camps still exist and the measures of the Gestapo cannot be enquired into by the law."*

"Faithful Evangelical Christians, if their honour is attacked, do not find the protection which exists for other citizens.

"Evangelical Christianity here too recognizes in these things the danger of an anti-Christian spirit coming to dominate our ideas of morals and justice.

### 7. The claim of God.

"We have frankly tried to describe the causes for the anxieties of large Evangelical circles. They fear that the authorities of

the present State aim at suppression of the Evangelical Church, destruction of its Faith, the uprooting of its morals and de-Christianizing of it in the widest degree. As we have come to this conclusion by careful observation, we cannot allow ourselves to be calmed by statements to the contrary.

*"We ask the Government to consider whether it can be beneficial to our people in the long run if this state of affairs goes on. Already the fatal influence can be perceived of the pressure on the conscience, the persecution of Evangelical conviction, the mutual spying and tale-bearing.*

"Even the greatest undertaking, if set against the Revealed Will of God, will in the end lead the people to disaster. God's Church will remain, even if in the attempt to de-Christianize the German people millions of Evangelical Christians lose their salvation. But the German people have no guarantee that the poison of the anti-Christian spirit will not harm them. Even if the knowledge comes to them much later that those who took Christ away from them at the same time took away their greatest inheritance.

"Our nation threatens to break through the limits set by God: it wants to set itself up as the measure of all things. It is human arrogance which sets itself against God.

"In this connection we have to bring to the notice of the Führer and Chancellor our sorrow that he is often given a veneration which belongs to God alone.

*"Only a few years ago the Führer himself disapproved when his picture was put on Evangelical altars. To-day ever increasingly his opinion is becoming the norm, not in political decisions only, but in moral questions and in justice to our people, he himself becoming vested with the religious dignity of a national priest, even as a mediator between God and the people.*

(Note: Dr. Goebbels on April 19th, 1936: "When the Führer on March 28th appealed to the German people, a deep stir went through the whole of the nation. We had a feeling as though Germany was transformed into one great church, in which the representative of God appeared before the High Throne to bear witness. . . . We believed that the Heavens could not leave unheard this cry of a people for Freedom and Peace. This was religion in its deepest and most mystical sense. Here a nation confirmed its faith in God through its mediator and confided its fate and its life into His hands. . . ." Speeches by Goering, among others.)

"We, however, ask for the freedom of our people to go its way into the future under the sign of the Cross, so that our grandchildren will not one day curse their ancestors, because, though

they built and left a State for them on earth, they had closed the Kingdom of Heaven to them.

"The responsibility of our calling bids us to say what we have said in this letter to the Führer. The Church is in the hands of the Lord.

"The clerical members of the Provisional Council of the German Evangelical Church:

Signed: Müller, Albertz, Böhm, Forck, Fricke.

"The Advisory Committee of the German Evangelical Church:

Signed: Asmussen, Lücking, Middendorff, Niemöller, von Thadden."

The question is justified why the Nazis still do not forbid the Churches as a whole. There are several reasons. There are considerations of foreign policy—the Third Reich still having close relations with a number of states which call themselves Christian. There is above all the consideration of the damaging effect open conflict would have in the prosecution of the War. There is evidence to show that Hitler and the Nazi leaders have issued instructions to this effect. For the time being the Nazis are admonished to leave the Churches alone, and to confine themselves to violent anti-Christian and pro-Nazi propaganda. But after the War . . .

This precarious truce, which is kept by the Nazis only outwardly, does not prevent them from systematically killing as many of the leading Confessional Churchmen as they can. Many are still in concentration camps. But more are being sent to the Fighting Front, at the very moment when the Nazis themselves are trying to extricate their regiments from there. At the Front an exceedingly, an astonishingly high percentage of Confessional Church people are being killed. . . . This has already become notorious, but everybody realizes that it is only another form of persecution. One of the Church weeklies has begun every week to publish a long list of pastors, theologians, sons of theologians and other leading members of the Confessional Church who are reported killed in action.

But perhaps the most dramatic hint of this silent War inside the War is contained in the famous speech by the old Protestant Bishop of Württemberg, Wurm. The development of this old man is remarkable. At the beginning of the struggle he belonged to the school of the compromising, and gave way at many critical junctures. But gradually he developed great courage and clarity of purpose which has given him tremendous prestige

amongst the opponents of the regime. His approach is still a highly national one. But it is perfectly clear that he deliberately confines his attack to the Home Front. This is the Front for which he and his colleagues are responsible. Compared with the booklet quoted later he takes his stand more definitely to the right. But even so, this is no longer a theological question, no longer a quarrel between various Nazi sections. It is a War between opposing camps, between men who stand for opposing principles. By implication it is made clear that the Nazi conception of expansion, of domination over Europe, of abolishing humanism and Christianity, is *not* shared. On the contrary. "Uncompromising War" are the decisive words in this speech.

Before quoting it, we have to remind ourselves that it was made before a Conference of the Provincial Church of Württemberg, i.e. the representatives of all the parishes in the country. But the text has become known all over the Reich.

"I would like to give expression to our heartfelt sympathy for all those of our circle who have been brought into sorrow through the events of the war. They are indeed serious times in which we live, and when we glance at the newspapers we are often overcome with horror at the number of gaps rent once more in our families, and especially in the body of the clergy. The manse is again suffering great sacrifices. It is an unusual time in which we have been called together for this conference: a time of hard, warlike events, and of even more difficult inner tensions.

"We are about to enter a third winter of war, and we all have the feeling that our people cannot be described as sufficiently united to fulfil the tasks which lie before them.

"We are all the more deeply affected because we have to undergo a great disturbance, an extraordinary threat to our fellowship, through events in the ecclesiastical field, and through intrusions upon the rights of the Church and upon its institutions.

"We are gathered together in order to give special expression to the competent authorities concerning our feelings and desires, since the high authorities of the Church, and the provincial Bishop in person, have not succeeded in obtaining a hearing before these same authorities.

### *Decay in Religious Education.*

"You know that religious education has been falling into decay for a long time. The exceptionally high number of clergy

who have been called up, and the gaps already made by death, have had this further consequence, that the pastoral care of the country congregations has become very difficult, and in certain districts there is real need. . . . We also have in view the appointment of so-called 'lay-readers', that is, suitable members of the congregations in the orphaned parishes, who, after getting instruction, can take services. If they cannot preach freely themselves, they can at least read a service. . . . In case the war continues, and more of the clergy are called up for military service, many more congregations and districts than previously must use this method.

#### *Training Colleges Closed by 'Act of Force'.*

"By an act of force, through a breach of a solemnly-written law, four training colleges of the Provincial Church of Württemberg, namely, the lower colleges, have been closed. The special wartime laws have been misused. The buildings which served the purposes of the training colleges have been turned from their appointed purpose, not only temporarily for dealing with the wartime emergency, but permanently. They have been turned from a purpose which was recognized by the district court for the first time last year, when there was an attempt to bring together the students and the scholars in Maulbronn.

"The Evangelical Church did not object to taking its share in dealing with necessary emergencies. She would have offered one, or perhaps two, colleges—not standing empty—but she would have made this possible through the bringing together of colleges in order to release a few until the school administration could have arranged new accommodation for the boarders.

"Letters about this were sent to the competent authorities of the Province and the Reich. This offer was expressly made, and later repeated, but they did not think it worth while to enter into negotiations with us.

#### *Letters Ignored.*

"I must make it especially clear that the usual formalities of a properly-constituted State and civil administration have been very badly neglected. The seizure of the Seminar took place at the beginning of July without this fact being announced to the Trustees. They were legally responsibly, according to the arrangement made in 1928. Apart from our complaints to the Home Ministry, which were rejected on very weak

grounds, no letter to the Government and the competent State ministries has received any reply.

#### *Interview with Hitler Refused.*

"A telegram from the Provincial Bishop to the Chief of the Chancellery, asking that our complaint should be laid before the Führer, received only this answer, that 'on account of the many preoccupations of the Führer an interview on this matter was not possible'.

"A letter from the Provincial Bishop to the local Governor, the third on this matter, has not been recognized, in spite of many efforts.

"We must unwillingly ask, where then is the courage which is the ornament of German manhood, especially according to the outlook of the present time? Where is courage, if the only argument that counts is the Gestapo?

"In other matters they have considered the pros and cons, but we were just not heard. Are we not men of Germany who have the right, as members of the community, to be heard within a State which calls itself a people's State?

"In wartime, in other lands and among other peoples, they try to bridge over gaps on the home front. In Germany it is the opposite which seems to be the goal. Since the beginning of the war one measure has followed another, having for their goal the expulsion of the Church from its proper work among the people.

"At the beginning of the war, with one stroke of the pen, religious education was taken away from the upper classes of the higher schools.

#### *Christian Literature to the Front Banned.*

"Sending Christian literature to the front, which was customary in the last war, and also had been begun with vigour in this war, was stopped. This measure was left far behind by the complete suppression of Christian literature, on the ground that the necessary concentration of energy no longer allowed these Christian publications to appear.

"Our request that one provincial paper might be left, by which the congregations, and especially those prevented from attending church, might be kept in touch, was not allowed.

"By a decree of the Minister of the Interior, pastoral care in hospitals became very difficult.

“Baptisms in women’s hospitals and maternity homes have been forbidden. Even the playing of Chorales by the bands in spas was forbidden.

“The German people were indeed asked to follow the fighting troops with their prayers, but prayers in schools were forbidden by direct decree of the Education Minister.

“Do they think that they will bring victory nearer by hurting and annoying the Christian part of the population, which counted 95 per cent of the people in the last official reckoning? Could Mr. Roosevelt and his compatriots desire a better support for the production of a ‘crusade spirit’, which they wish to call forth in their countries, than the continuance and aggravation of the persecution of the German Church?

### ‘*The State as Mission.*’

“We stand before an enigma, but yesterday I must say this puzzle was solved for me, through a pamphlet by a man who formerly belonged to this assembly, the deputy Gauleiter of Württemberg and the Chief Education Minister in Rosenberg’s office, Herr Friedrich Schmidt. A brochure has been published by him entitled *The State as Mission*. I cannot prevent myself from quoting from this brochure.

“Its chief thought is that the old State has gone. National Socialism has founded the new State with its claim to leadership in Europe. This claim does not base itself purely upon historical and geo-political supposition, but on the National Socialist idea. It is a matter of revolutionizing the old ideas. These are:

- (1) the universal Church, whose ‘idea’, with its other-worldly Christianity, has entered into the German State, and
- (2) the idea of Humanism from which Liberalism and Marxism have sprung.

“While the idea of Humanism has gone, the abolition of Christianity has not yet succeeded, in spite of its god-forsaken spiritual outlook. ‘This world-outlook is not removed from the spiritual life of our people in a day. We must strive, with gigantic patience and with equal foresight, so that the people of our nation will at last recognize, in its true meaning, the natural (and also the divine) prior claim of belonging to the nation, in contrast to self-chosen adherence to any Confession.’

“Furthermore, it is said that the time of war is the right time to put these ideas forward, because these new ideas will only

find a home in other lands and peoples if they are fully welcome in our own nation.

### *Uncompromising War on Christianity.*

"So, uncompromising war is declared against Christianity, against the 'other-worldly' outlook which came into being 2,000 years ago. This is done in the midst of war, because people hope, through this uncompromising struggle, to win the inward loyalty of other nations and to make them ripe for the leadership of Germany and Europe!

"I do not want to speak more closely as to the meaning of these thoughts. I state only that it is a competent authority who has such thoughts, and I hold that this brochure is full of significance, because it shows that our thoughts (which represent the consideration that the home front should not be broken up in wartime) are rejected.

"It is considered necessary, from the point of view of the political needs of the war, to fight an inner struggle within the nation against the Christian part of the nation. We do not wonder, when such opinions rule in high Party quarters, that we have fared so badly in our own life in Württemberg.

"We cannot wonder that there are rumours that when once the victory has been won decisive measures against the Church will be taken in hand.

### *Why the Governor was Silent.*

"As early as last year, I asked the Governor to give me a declaration that this was without foundation. I expressed this desire because I said such a declaration would do a great deal to set at rest the spirits and hearts of our German people, especially the Christians among them. But I have not received an answer, and I know now why I receive no answer: because even in official quarters the opinion is held which is here openly stated by a man in this position.

"It is terrible to me to have to say this. I would like to ask for unconditional confidence in the home side of our leadership, but it is not possible—facts are against it. New facts are needed in order to awaken again this confidence, which was once there in great measure.

"So long as these facts do not appear, the impression remains in all Christian-thinking Germans that the conflicts have been sharpened, that the tension between true German thought and

true Christian thought, which was never there before, is intentionally developed, and in this way the joy of sacrifice for the Fatherland is weakened."

Works by men like Hermann Schuster, *The Growth of the Church*, Kurt Leese, *Protestantism in the Modern Age*; but also others, like *Platonism and Prophetism*, by Johannes Hessen, Friedrich Karl Schumann's *Form and History* (a sharp antithesis to Nazi biological theories of history) and several more will only just be mentioned. It would lead too far to discuss them here in detail. A very important work also is Walther Köhler's book about Troeltsch. I am afraid to most readers these will be mere names, but they are more than names, they stand for something—by no means a completely homogeneous Confessional Church, but for the many shades of spiritual integrity which have their centre in Protestantism.

For the purpose of this book it seems more relevant to point to one or two rather more political aspects of this problem of the Protestant stand. There are two particularly interesting aspects. First there is the actual behaviour of the Confessional Church towards persecuted minorities. This seems important as an addition to the clear attitude of the Confessional Church towards this War in general, and Nazism in particular, as it can be derived from the documents quoted above.

Once more we confine ourselves to the open attacks of Nazism against Confessional Church leaders. There is a particularly furious one in *Das Schwarze Korps* of December 18th, 1941, shortly after the Nazis had introduced the yellow star for Jews. The S.S. paper attacks a woman-minister, Frau Lic. Staritz, of Breslau. In a circular letter she had made a spirited defence of the non-Aryan members of her church, as well as of the churches of her district. The S.S. paper quotes from her letter: "Frau Lic. Staritz publishes an outspoken circular letter on the Jewish question. Afterwards she refers to the wearing of the Jewish star—and in contrast to some of her male colleagues she has not even attempted to do away with the wearing of the star inside the church. She says that among those affected by the regulation would be 'some members of our congregation, some who have been faithful members of the Evangelical community for decades, some baptized as infants, brought up and confirmed as Evangelicals, who have never had anything to do with the Jewish religion. Many among them are regular worshippers'.

"She then dips her quivering pen in blood and continues: 'These people must wear the Jewish star when they take part

in worship or in any other congregational affairs. Even the children, if non-Aryan, must wear it when they come to the children's service, for it must be worn from the sixth year upwards. It is a Christian duty, incumbent on the congregation, not to exclude them in any way from the services on account of the star. They have to feel at home in the church in just the same way as other church members, and they especially need the consolation of God's word.

"... As a practical step, please consider whether church elders should not be earnestly asked to take a special interest in these members who have been specially picked out, if necessary by showing them to their places. Possibly, reserved seats should be provided in each church, not as charity benches, but to prevent the non-Aryans from being upset by un-Christian elements.

"Lest this should be interpreted as a division contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, faithful church members who know what Church means, and especially church workers, should sit in these same seats in the midst of non-Aryan Christians. It must also be considered whether, at the beginning, these "starred" Christians should not be brought to church, if they wish it. Some things have been said to me which show that at present they do not know whether they dare risk going to church . . ."

*Das Schwarze Korps* then attacks Frau Staritz in coarse words, and concludes as follows:

"The question must be asked, in such a way that no misunderstanding is possible, whether the church, which this woman-priest claims to represent, is a German Church, or an international, universal Church, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The authorities must decide and we can leave it to them without any alarm. We have no doubt that every proper German, whatever confession he may belong to, will find in his heart nothing but loathing for the incomprehensible suggestions recommended by this Frau Knöterich" (Frau Knöterich being the Nazi term for an anti-Nazi woman).

But the most impressive document is a small publication of the Confessional Church which was sold to the soldiers for a penny each. Large numbers of this booklet were distributed before it was banned. It is only one of many similar publications, but it is a very typical one. The booklet's authors are Herbert Werner and Wilhelm Rott. The latter has been for considerable time Vice-Principal of a Theological College of the Confessional Church. The title of the publication: *My Protection—so that I don't fall*. The translator is Pastor Dr. J. Rieger.

Its importance lies not so much in what it says, as in what it implies. We shall have to respect the authors' discretion and care, and refrain from going into detailed explanation. But whoever will take the care to read it slowly and always bearing in mind that it is a publication inside the Nazi realm will find how revolutionary these simple prayers and thoughts are. The words are full of meaning.

The language, too, is important. It is very simple, almost archaic. It is not empty, it is as far from hollow slogans and pseudo-political battle cries as can be imagined. But it bears a message also for the political-minded. It speaks to the broad masses, the people, and at the same time to the better educated reader who has not lost all feeling for the power of the simple sentence filled with spiritual and—alas—political, but above all religious, meaning.

#### THE SIXTY-SECOND PSALM

Truly my soul waiteth upon God;  
From Him cometh my salvation.

He only is my Rock and my Salvation;  
He is my Defence;  
I shall not be moved, however great the fall may be.

How long will ye imagine mischief against a man,  
To slay Him—  
As a bowing wall and as a tottering fence?

They only consult to cast Him down from His excellency:  
They delight in lies:  
They bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly.

My soul, wait thou only upon God;  
For my expectation is from Him.

He only is my Rock and my Salvation;  
He is my Defence;  
I shall not be moved, however great the fall may be.

In God is my salvation and my glory:  
The rock of my strength, and my refuge, is in God.

Trust in Him at all times, ye people,  
Pour out your heart before Him:  
God is a refuge for us.

Surely men of low degree are vanity,  
And men of high degree are a lie:  
To be laid in the balance,  
They are altogether lighter than breath of air.

Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery:  
If riches increase, set not your heart upon them.

God hath spoken once,  
Twice have I heard this:  
That power belongeth unto God:

Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy:  
For Thou renderest to every man according to his work.

Truly my soul waiteth upon God;  
From Him cometh my salvation.

Within and around you are a thousand dangers, Your thoughts  
move like will-o'-the-wisps in the dark night.

Your life is drifting along like a little ship which is driven  
over the raging sea.

But your soul is permitted to be quiet. It is permitted to rest  
in full peace.

Not because it is out of the storm, far from danger, safe from  
sufferings and death and at home, but because it knows that in  
the midst of storm, in the midst of danger, in the midst of suffer-  
ings and death, away from those people to whom you belong  
and who belong to you—there is One and there remains One:  
your God who helps you for the sake of Christ!

He has made you, He also preserves you.

He is angry with you for your iniquity's sake, but He forgives  
you for His Son's sake.

He lets you die, how and when it pleases Him, but He also  
will let you rise, as His child, on His day.

Your God is the God of salvation, and unto God the Lord  
belong the issues of death.

Your soul is permitted to be quiet.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, Thou hast let me know through Thy Son that  
Thou art near me and that Thou remainest near me, helping me  
in all tribulation, saving me from all danger.

Look upon me and forgive me for Thy mercy's sake.

I will thank Thee that Thou art my God and I will praise Thee for Thy salvation's sake from the depth of my soul, which waiteth upon Thee.

Thou watchest over me before the enemy, into Thy hands I commend my dear ones at home.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

My soul rests in the Saviour's heart and hand,  
And waits in quiet / for His ways to end;  
It lies so still, / is nak'd and bare  
In the dearest Father's care.

He only is my Rock and my Salvation; He is my Defence;  
I shall not be moved however great the fall may be.

You have learned to use as cover every mound, every tree and every bush. Some covers behind which you lay were good, some others were bad; none of them was absolutely sure.

Sure is only He who helps you for Christ's sake: your God.

Wherever you are, you are within the castle of His mercy, in the stronghold of His Forgiveness. Nobody will force an entrance through His walls. They have not been made by human hands, they are also not accessible to human hands. God Himself has built them for you in Christ that you—in all danger, in all sufferings, in all loneliness, even before the enemy—can confidently live and that you can peacefully die when it may please Him.

You are sheltered. There is no fall so great that you may not fall into the hands of your God.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, Thou hast given Thy Angels charge over me to keep me in all my ways; They shall bear me up in Their hands, lest I dash my foot against a stone.

Forgive me for having so often disbelieved in Thy promise, for having had evil thoughts because of my mistrust, for having lost the way of peace. Grant me for Christ's sake that faith which is certain of Thy promise and let me gladly live that part of my life which still remains to me.

I shall thank Thee that Thou guardest me and my beloved ones; and I will praise Thee because no fall is so great that I and my beloved ones may not fall into Thy hands.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

Lord, Thou art God!  
Into Thy hands we are prepared to fall.  
As Thou hast guarded our lands,  
So surely helpest Thou still all  
Who trust in Thee and Thy defence,  
And who will never cease to raise,  
Their voice to sing their Song of Praise.

How long will ye imagine mischief against a man,  
To slay Him—  
As a bowing wall and as a tottering fence.

You ask: "How long?" and you are waiting for the end of the war amongst the nations.

God also asks: "How long?" but He means a struggle which has lasted from Adam's days and which will not come to an end. It is the struggle of mankind against the One who was born at Bethlehem and "slain" at Golgotha. All human evil is the symbol of this struggle. All human tribulation and death are consequences of this struggle. The struggle against God is the most terrible one. And for man it is a lost battle. At Easter God has gained the victory.

We all have taken part in this struggle. The Crucified was to us like a bowing wall and a tottering fence. We thought, it were foolishness to become His ally, to put our hope in Him and to expect our help from Him. We were sympathizing with those who fought against Him, or who thought it would be wise to remain neutral.

Now He asks us, He also asks you: "How long?" Come back, O man!

Do you not see that God has become your Brother in the Crucified, your Brother who is helping you? Behold, He has become more miserable than you could ever become! He has become a bowing wall and a tottering fence, stricken, smitten and afflicted that you may realize His love and that you may have—in all danger, in guilt and sin, in need and death—a stronghold where you could find your refuge.

It is war amongst the nations, but God will make peace with you in the midst of war, through His Son.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, Thou who has reconciled the world unto Thyself: save me and my dear ones for Thy name's sake. Do not look upon my unfaithfulness and upon the badness of my heart.

Turn my eyes upon Thy Son that I may realize how great is Thy love wherewith Thou lovest me, how great Thy mercy wherewith Thou compassest me about, how great Thy compassion which Thou grantest to me. I will thankfully live in the peace under the Cross of Thy Son and I will praise Thee, the Lord who maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth, who breaketh the bow, who cutteth the spear in sunder and who burneth the chariot in the fire.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

Thy grief and bitter passion  
Were all for sinners' gain;  
Mine, mine was the transgression  
But Thine the deadly pain.  
Lo! here I fall, my Saviour;  
'Tis I deserve Thy place;  
Look on me with Thy favour,  
Vouchsafe to me Thy grace.

Be near me when I'm dying,  
O show Thy cross to me;  
And, for my succour flying,  
Come, Lord, and set me free!  
These eyes, new faith receiving,  
From Jesus shall not move;  
For he, who dies believing,  
Dies safely through Thy love.

(P. Gerhardt, 1607-1670,  
tr. J. W. Alexander.)

They only consult to cast Him down from His excellency:  
They delight in lies:  
They bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly.

The struggle between you and God is finished. The darkness of your soul has ceased to exist. In the light of the crucified and risen Lord you recognize the true character of the world.

You do not ask the world any more whenever you want to know the truth about your life and the life of this world, but you ask Him who has said: "I am the way, the Truth and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father but by Me."

You do not look upon the world any more whenever you want to learn what you should do so that it may be rightly and properly

done, but you look upon Him who has said: "Without Me ye can do nothing."

You are not afraid of the world any more; for you know that it can only kill the body. But you fear rather God who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. The Peace of God has liberated you from the world. You realize the struggle of man against God, how they try to cast Him down from His excellency, how they delight in lies, how they bless with their mouth, but curse Him inwardly.

You do not want all that. Your struggle against God has come to an end, you have peace with God. Christ, your Lord, has delivered you and has liberated you from the World for God.

You are saved.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, out of the darkness of the world I stretch forth my hands unto Thee.

Tell me Thy truth, for my life is folly,

Show me Thy ways, for I go astray.

Feed Thou me, for my soul is hungry.

Deliver Thou me, for I am driven into a corner.

I will thank Thee that I have learned to know Thee and the world in the brightness of Thy Word, that I am allowed to praise Thee for truth and love, for righteousness and freedom all of which Thou grantest to them who fear Thee.

Teach Thy Word also to my beloved ones, shelter them in Thy Peace; for Thou art the source of life, and in Thy light we see the light.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

O wondrous Love,

O mighty Lord!

Where is the foe

Who bears His sword?

No fear can hold me in its throes,

But He will banish and dispose.

Hallelujah!

My soul, wait thou only upon God;

For my expectation is from Him.

Human beings build up their hopes. They cling to the hopes which they have built up. They despair when the hopes which they have built up go to ruin.

You do not need to build up your hopes; for a hope has been given to you. You also do not need to cling to self-made hopes; that hope which has been granted to you rather keeps you.

You do not need to despair; for the hope granted to you maketh not ashamed.

Your hope is God.

He has stretched out His hand for you and has sheltered you. He had forgiven you for Christ's sake, has promised you peace, life and happiness and His word is certain.

Human beings mistrust their self-made hopes. Out of their mistrust grow their excitement, their anxiety, their discontent and their bitterness.

But you can be calm. Your bravery is without anxiety, you are joyful, and your heart is glad; for your hope is God. Human beings get impatient through their self-made hopes. But you can be patient. Even the distresses through which you go on earth are only milestones on the way which leads to Him who fulfils your hope: your God.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, through Thy Son Thou hast put hope of eternal life into my heart. Help me that I may turn away from all dreams which I create myself, but which are alas so foolish. Let me be built on Thy promise and grant that I shall not waver from Thy word.

Thankfully I will take every hour from Thy hand and even in distress, need and death I will gladly remember Thy promises which Thou wilt fulfil when it pleases Thee.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

He leads the way to glory,  
I still shall follow on  
And will not dare to tarry  
Though evil be the throng.  
And though the storm grows fiercer,  
My Guide I will obey,  
My Saviour and my Protector  
Will every storm allay.

He only is my Rock and my Salvation;  
He is my Defence;  
I shall not be moved, however great the fall may be.

You will "not be moved". "A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee." This is said by Him who has made you. He will also preserve you.

It does not mean that you are invulnerable and no bullet could bring your life to an end.

God will even let you suffer when He thinks it necessary for your sake. He will let you die when your hour has come.

But you will not fall out of His hand; for you are His child who through Christ's sufferings and death has been saved from all evil of body and soul.

Do you believe that?

Behold, in that case "thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot".

No man shall pluck you out of your Father's hand.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, out of the depths have I cried unto Thee.

Death surrounds me. Thou, O Lord, art my Rock, my Salvation and my Defence. Keep me in Thy hand. Let me not forget that Thou art always near me. Teach me to believe that I am Thy child even when I must die and that Thou leadest me through suffering and death to life with Thee.

I will thank Thee even on the battlefield and will praise Thee as the Lord who hath vanquished death and hath brought life and immortality to light.

Remember those at home, O Lord, who, raising their hands towards Thee, intercede, and let them be sure of the promise that Thou hearest them.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

I share His life for ever,  
United with my Lord;  
Where He goes, I shall never  
Cease to hold fast His word.  
He rends both sin and death  
And scatters with His breath  
The mighty powers of Hell:  
For He will guard me well.

In God is my salvation and my glory:  
The rock of my strength, and my refuge, is in God.

A temptation is awaiting you. It is this, that you think you were forgotten, forsaken and worth nothing.

This temptation is emptying your heart. You are getting too tired to think. You even sometimes fail when you begin writing a letter to your dear ones at home.

No human encouragement brightens the darkness into which this temptation is throwing you.

In this trouble be on the alert. God does not want you to live in darkness. He has given you His word. "Fear not: For I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by name; thou art Mine."

Remember this! Your salvation is in God—you are not unknown to Him for Christ's sake. He is the rock of your strength—your life is hid with Christ in God.

How can you say you were alone? How can you think you were forgotten? Can a woman forget her suckling child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, she may forget, yet will God not forget thee. Behold, He has graven thee upon the palms of His hands. He has not spared His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?

Your refuge is in God.

In your temptation let us pray:

Lord, my God, how long wilt Thou forget me? How long wilt Thou hide Thy face from me?

How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart daily? How long shall mine enemy be exalted over me? Consider and hear me, O Lord, my God. Lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death; lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him; and those that trouble me rejoice when I am moved. I have trusted in Thy mercy; my heart shall rejoice in Thy salvation.

In Thee is my salvation, my glory, the rock of my strength.

Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt shew me the path of life; in Thy presence is fullness of joy; at Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

Amen.

Nought, nought can e'er confound me,  
Or cause me any fear,  
Though Hell may rage around me  
His bleeding hands are near.

No judgement will alarm me  
No evil me dismay,  
For in His wings He folds me,  
My Saviour is my stay.

Trust in Him at all times, ye people, Pour our your heart  
before Him:  
God is a refuge for us.

In the midst of war your heart is full of comfort, help, hope  
and confidence. Therefore you cannot be silent.

Beside you are comrades. They help to protect you and the  
life of your dear ones. You do the same for them. You belong  
together in life and death.

For this reason you should tell them who it is who made  
your heart quiet, strong and cheerful: your God in Christ.  
For this reason you cannot see unmoved how they build up  
wrong hopes for themselves, how they cling to them, how they  
are disappointed by them.

But you should let them know that hope which has been  
granted to you, which keeps and saves you: Christ and His  
eternal life. Therefore you should seek opportunities to help  
them around you that they may open their hearts to Him who  
heals while He is forgiving: Your Saviour.

You have become cheerful through God; how should you  
yourself not want to make other people cheerful in Him?

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, Thou hast glorified Thy Son in Thy children.  
I rejoice at Thy compassion and rest in Thy peace. Now, open  
Thou my mouth, O Lord, that I may proclaim Thy works to  
my brethren and praise Thy compassion as long as Thou  
lettest me live. Grant the power of Thy spirit to my words and  
teach me to work according to Thy will.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

Turn he, who will, to other friends  
Who little have availed,  
Here is my Lord, by all adored,  
Who never yet has failed.  
And through His grace we are restor'd,  
He serves us well, this mighty Lord  
Who on the cross was nailed.

O seek ye Him and Him alone,  
Ye who salvation seek  
He is the Lord who doth atone  
And helpeth all the weak.  
Seek Him at all times with your heart,  
Seek Him alone, he'll bear your part  
While you his praise shall speak.

Surely men of low degree are vanity, And men of high  
degree are a lie:

To be laid in the balance, They are altogether lighter than  
breath of air.

Mist rises before you in the valley. It is light and thin like  
breath which comes out of your mouth. It disperses.

Nobody can weigh it, nobody grasp it.

So is man. A breath. Even the power of great men is limited,  
and their mind is veiled.

The works of mankind are frail.

Blessed are you when you know that!

Such knowledge makes you fearless and strong before men, it  
lets you be humble before your God, who shows mercy, even  
to the dust.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, make me to know mine end, and what the  
measure of my days may be; that I may know my frailty.

Behold, Thou hast made my days as an handbreadth, and my  
age is as nothing before Thee. Verily every man at his best  
state is altogether vanity. Surely every man walketh in a vain  
show: surely they are disquieted in vain: he heapeth up riches,  
and knoweth not who shall gather them.

And now, Lord, what wait I for? My hope is in Thee.

Unto Thee will I cry; be not silent to me, lest, if Thou be  
silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit.

Be pleased, O Lord, to deliver me; O Lord, make haste to  
help me.

But I am poor and needy; yet the Lord thinketh upon me.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

What are all these earthly treasures?

Just a handful of sand,

Nought but grief and sorrow.

There I seek the heavenly treasure,

Which shall be showered on me

By my loving shepherd.

Thou art mine and I will keep Thee  
All my life in my sight  
And with love embrace Thee.  
Grant, O Lord, that I may never  
Go astray, that I may  
Dwell with Thee for ever.

Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery:  
If riches increase, set not your heart upon them.

Acknowledge God who has revealed Himself to you in Christ as your only Lord. Listen to the word of your God and obey it. Adore Him alone and serve Him. Profess His Name and proclaim His honour. For the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein. God feeds you with its gifts and lets you participate in its riches according to His goodwill.

Let your heart not be attached to the gifts of your God as if they were God themselves. Otherwise you will be the servant of earthly things and man.

God's service consists of love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.

The service of false Gods, however, is injustice and outrage.

God's service liberates you from the world, the service of idolatry brings anguish.

Fear the living God who saves you and do not cling to things temporal. When property, knowledge, strength, might, honour or glory fall to your share, enjoy them as good gifts of your God.

But do not set your heart upon them, for your heart belongs to God.

Let us pray:

Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my meditation.

Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King and my God:  
for unto Thee will I pray.

My voice shalt Thou hear in the morning, O Lord; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto Thee and will look up.

For Thou are not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness; neither shall evil dwell with Thee.

The foolish shall not stand in Thy sight; Thou hatest all workers of iniquity.

Thou shalt destroy them that speak falsehood.

Help, O Lord, that I may serve Thee and not trust in injustice and outrage. Thou shalt keep me at Thy promises that I may not cling to anything that is vanity. Let me not be tempted by the

fact that others have an easier life, and that others are quicker and more intelligent; for nobody can take anything with him into his hour of death. I will thank Thee that Thou hast destroyed the false Gods and that Thou hast made Thine Holy Name great before me.

To thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

All things shall perish,  
God, whom I cherish,  
He remains steadfast  
To all the downcast,  
His word and wishes will stand evermore.  
His grace and blessing  
Ever refreshing,  
Heal in the heart the suffering of death,  
Balm for the soul by their heavenly breath.  
Cross, shame and anguish  
All soon will vanish;  
After the storm  
When all is forlorn  
Appears the sun with its celestial rays.  
Joy everlasting  
And peaceful blessing  
These I await at the glorious gate,  
Turning my thoughts to the heavenly ways.

God hath spoken once; Twice have I heard this:  
That power belongeth unto God.

God has not remained silent unto you, as the idols of men remain silent.

Because you are a human being, He has become human and has turned His face in Christ towards you. You were able to see the love of God on the dying countenance of your Saviour, who has mercy even upon you. In the resurrection of your Saviour at Easter you have heard the cry of victory that power belongeth unto God.

God has spoken and spoken again: The Word which was made flesh in the crucified and risen Lord. Listen to this Word. For idols will remain silent in your suffering and death. But God will talk to you with His Word.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path. Turn Thy face towards me and help me. Let

me see in the Cross Thy love wherewith Thou lovest me. Let me hear the sounds of victory of all Thine Angels on the resurrection of Thy Son and let me triumphantly join the praise of Thine honour and might.

For Thou, O Lord, art King,  
Thou, O Lord, art Master,  
Thou art also victorious.  
I will confess Thee together with all Thy children  
I will proclaim Thy word  
and magnify Thine Holy Name before the people.  
To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

The Lord is right, great is His might,  
Great is His exhaltation.  
His mighty hand will still withstand  
His foes in every nation.  
Death, Satan, Hell and worldly sin  
Are conquered by this mighty King,  
Gone is their deadly power.

O death, where is thy painful sting,  
Thy victory, O Hell?  
What harm can Satan to us bring  
With all his gruesome spell?  
Thanks be to God who from this strife  
Has granted everlasting life  
Through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Also unto Thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy:  
For Thou renderest to every man according to this work.

If you wish to understand these words, one thing will be necessary: you should not consider either yourself or your works. If you were to be rewarded according to your deeds, how could the Lord be merciful unto you? Were God to consider the number of hours in your lifetime which you had spent without His presence, how could you expect to be called a child of His! If you wish to know the mercy and justice of your God, you should direct your heart upon the One who, although He knew that He was the son of God, yet made Himself of no reputation and took upon Him the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross; who, when He was reviled, reviled not

again, when He suffered, He threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously.

God has put upon Him the punishment which should be yours. He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from Him; He was despised, and we esteemed Him not.

God has highly exalted Him and given Him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father. Christ has suffered that you might live. As *He* has suffered so shall *you* be rewarded.

And by Christ's stripes you are healed.

Let us pray:

Lord, my God, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee. Do Thou not look upon my poor, sinful life.

Look upon Thy Son and help me.

My Saviour died the death which I should have to suffer; heal me, O Lord, for His wounds' sake;

For Thou art my Rock, my Salvation, my Defence;

In Thee is my salvation, my glory, the rock of my strength.

My soul waiteth upon Thee; from Thee cometh all salvation.

To Thee I commend all my dear ones, to Thee home and homeland.

Lord, Thou art my Trust; my hope is in Thee.

To Thee be glory for ever.

Amen.

Though He loves His Son so dearly  
Still He sent Him from above;  
Sacrificed for our salvation  
And redemption by His love.  
O Thou fount past comprehension  
How can mortals, such as we  
Struggling, striving and contriving,  
Fathom this great mystery?  
Earthly joys cannot endure;  
God is Love for evermore.

As Thy love is so unbounding,  
Without limit, without end,  
So I cling to Thee my Saviour  
As my true and trusted friend;

Praying Thou wilt always grant me  
Strength to hold with might and main  
To Thy Cross, the Cross of Glory  
To the end of all my pain.  
After that, I give to Thee  
Praise and love eternally.

## CONCLUSION

ALL THIS EVIDENCE is only a fraction of what one day will come to light, when the cells of the Gestapo and the prisons and concentration camps of the S.S. are opened, and free men emerge from the darkness into which this terror of the twentieth century has thrown them. But the fragments of evidence here prove that resistance against the spirit and the body of Nazism has not died in Germany, in spite of the fact that this resistance has had to be carried on for many years.

More than this simple fact, however, seems to emerge from the experience of these fateful years of German opposition to Nazism. What seems to come out of the tyranny and terror exercised inside Germany between 1933 and 1939 has spread to almost all the countries of Europe. And, vice versa, the dreadful oppression raging under the "New Order" is finding its logical prolongation inside Germany. There is no "master-race", and no "subjugated race". There is no natural superiority and inferiority. There are only free men oppressed, and slave-minded men oppressing. Colours and flags lose their significance. Freedom is indivisible, just as slavery is indivisible. The slaves and the slave-drivers are fatally united in a hellish system of terror where the boundaries between those who suffer and those who cause suffering are gradually fading away, in the general darkness which begins to spread. The guilt is the only privilege remaining on the part of the masters—but the general state of unhappiness, suffering and even despair which is spreading under the "New Order" cannot possibly be kept away from the originators of it all. Freedom is indivisible, and

so is oppression. Just as freedom cannot be limited to certain areas, neither can oppression. The entire conception of the pre-War period of "localized oppression" seems to collapse.

A more concrete development is that of all classes of Germany towards the very fundamentals of the State and society of to-morrow. Nationalism has had its say, and so has imperialism. They have both developed Nazism in Germany, Fascism in other countries, and they have collapsed as an idea and as a reality. They have collapsed inside the country. A general movement towards Socialism is apparent amongst all classes, amongst all denominations. Socialism as a system of planned economy controlled by the people is hardly anywhere disputed now. Neither is there much doubt left that it will have to be Socialism on an international scale. The Parties of the Left, including the Liberals, combine to-day with the Fighting Churches in this recognition and demand.

At the same time, for these oppressed millions the Rights of Man, personal Freedom, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Fear, in addition to Freedom from Want, have become a great and shining reality. The claim for it is no longer confined to this or that Party, Group or Class. The reality of these ideals has become clear in the hour of their greatest danger.