

# THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

Edited by **GABRIEL A. ALMOND**

*Composite  
study by  
ten authorities  
on contemporary  
Germany*

**Eugene N. Anderson**

**Wolfgang H. Kraus**

**Gabriel A. Almond**

**Fred H. Sanderson**

**Hans Meyerhoff**

**Vera F. Eliasberg**

**Clara Menck**

**University of North Carolina Press**

**A**S COMMUNIST expansionism progressively menaces a peaceful European settlement, concerned people are looking at Germany as the last dike against the Red flood. The authors of this book assert that in spite of the Soviet-Western tension, the first duty of the American occupation is still to make Germany into a working democracy. But this objective must be won against *two* threats: the first, historic German authoritarianism and nationalism; and the second, Communist infiltration and Soviet expansionism.

*The Struggle for Democracy in Germany* emphasizes the twofold nature of the occupation problem—the reconstruction of German ideology and the rebuilding of sound institutional routines of living. Part I is concerned with the uphill struggle of liberalism against traditional Junker authoritarianism, as exemplified in the Bismarck era, and the fate of liberal tendencies under Nazi repression and terror. This includes a graphic account of the anti-Nazi underground before and during the war, culminating in the July 20, 1944 attempt on Hitler's life.

Part II discusses the most significant phases of occupation policy—economic, governmental, political, cultural, and psychological—and their impact on the future of Germany and its political potential. This involves problems ranging from the improvement of the housing situation and employment conditions to the execution of a program for denazification. These problems are placed in the context of the East-West struggle.

Each of the seven contributors to this volume is a specialist in the particular aspect of the German problem for which he assumed responsibility.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY  
IN GERMANY**



**THE STRUGGLE  
FOR DEMOCRACY  
IN GERMANY**

*Edited by*  
**GABRIEL A. ALMOND**

**Eugene N. Anderson**      **Wolfgang H. Kraus**  
**Gabriel A. Almond**      **Fred H. Sanderson**  
**Hans Meyerhoff**      **Vera F. Eliasberg**  
**Clara Menck**



**1949**  
**The University of North Carolina Press**  
**CHAPEL HILL**

*Copyright, 1949, by*  
**THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS**

**Manufactured in the United States of America**

*by*

**THE WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INCORPORATED**  
**RICHMOND, VIRGINIA**

## ***Preface***

**I**N THE FIRST MONTHS after the defeat of Germany it appeared, at least on the surface, that the primary criterion for the solution of the German question was the elimination of Germany's physical and psychological capacity to make war. This was the spirit of the Potsdam Agreement, concluded in the flush of victory, and in the mood of Allied amity which followed. Western opinion has experienced a profound disillusionment in the three years which have followed this era of sanguine expectations. Each phase of the peace settlement and each step in the program of bringing international politics within the framework of effective law and organization has been assimilated to the over-all struggle between East and West. The collapse of the Conference of Foreign Ministers at London in November, 1947 put an end to hopes that a peaceful and stable German settlement could be reached in the present state of international relations. Subsequent developments indicate that the division of Germany has become a practical if not a juridical reality.

The solution to the German question contemplated in the Potsdam accords and earlier agreements, rested on the expectation of a stable "concert of power" in the postwar period. It was assumed that the German problem could be settled largely in its own terms—that of destroying once and for all Germany's capacity to make war and laying the basis for a peaceful and democratic polity. Three years after Potsdam finds us subordinating these problems to the more urgent question of whether German power is to be included in the Soviet orbit or integrated with the surviving democratic strength of Western Europe.

This shift in emphasis in the German question confronts us with a very real danger. In the atmosphere of tension between the Soviet Union and the Western powers there is an obvious temptation to attempt to maximize anti-Soviet strength regardless of its character and consequences. Thus, a reactionary and nationalist Western Germany would be more anti-Communist than a moderate demo-

cratic one and might therefore seem more desirable from a security point of view. But the development of such a Western Germany would endanger the American interest in Europe in at least three ways: (1) such a Germany might be provocatively hostile to the Soviet Union and might force the hand of American policy; (2) the emergence of a new German nationalism would create disunity in the Western camp by raising the spectre of German aggression and expansionism; (3) a reactionary and nationalist Western Germany would be opposed by a substantial proportion of the German population and consequently would be vulnerable to Communist infiltration and Soviet propaganda.

These considerations suggest that the general change in the international situation should not be permitted to suppress the original aims of the German occupation. Our primary concern ought still to be German "democratization." But it is necessary to face the threat to democracy in Germany on two fronts: (1) the threat of historic German authoritarianism and nationalism; (2) the threat of Communist infiltration and Soviet expansionism.

To counteract this twofold threat the earlier primarily negative approach to the German problem has had to give way to a positive and constructive emphasis in which the key concept is "integration." If the larger part of German strength is to be employed in the interest of the democratic and liberal world the postwar status of Germany and Germans will have to be revised. Perhaps the main objective of such a policy would be to give the Germans a sense of participation in the values and programs of the Western community of nations. The main problem of German politics is that most of the Germans, and particularly the youth, are "hold-outs." The present strength of the moderate Socialist and Christian parties is largely a surface manifestation. To the historic political indifference of the German masses there has been added a widespread mood of bitterness and futility, a mood which deprives the existing party elites of any right to speak with full authority for Germany, and which provides extremists and authoritarians of a right or left coloration with the kind of spiritual vacuum which has always facilitated their success.

The United States has a very real security interest in integrating that part of Germany which we can influence into the Western community of effort. This is not merely the economic question of utilizing German resources, equipment, and manpower in the European Recovery Program, although that is an important part of it. American policy should add social, cultural, and psychological reintegration, to its present economic emphasis.

Two objectives are suggested here: (1) the elimination of the moral *cordon sanitaire*; and (2) the initiation of steps that will hasten the processes of social integration. In connection with the first objective, German representation in the various Western European organizations will constitute a symbolic modification of the pariah status to which postwar Germans have been condemned. Equally important, a substantial program of cultural interchange and exchange of personnel, might be undertaken on a collaborative basis between the interested Western powers. Such measures, if applied to university youth, and the emergent political, intellectual, and cultural elites, may go far toward "sparking" the regeneration of Western cultural and spiritual values in Germany.

The second objective requires a broad set of means, ranging all the way from the improvement of the housing situation and employment conditions in order to make a satisfactory family life possible, to the rapid execution and termination of the program of denazification. These and similar measures, which will have the effect of stabilizing and normalizing the institutional routines of living, may give content to the present "formal" democracy of Western Germany, and thereby give Western policy strong roots in a most critical area.

The present book makes a contribution toward understanding the twofold nature of the German problem. Part I is concerned with the strength and composition of liberal and democratic tendencies in German history and with the extent of their survival in the anti-Nazi resistance. This part of the book represents an effort to correct the erroneous history of the war period which placed Germany entirely outside the pale of Western historical and politico-moral development. It is suggested here that this policy was based on an



exaggeration of historical trends, and that it is now the task of policy-makers to discover and strengthen that part of the German heritage which inclines toward liberalism and democracy. Part II discusses the most significant phases of occupation policy—economic, governmental, political, cultural, and psychological—and their impact on the future of Germany. Each functional problem is placed in the context of the East-West struggle, and the various issues are evaluated in terms of their implications for the outcome.

A symposium always presents problems of consistency and coherence. The participants in this symposium in most cases had the advantage of having shared in common or related work during the war years, and of having discussed their general approach with one another as the project developed. While it is possible to speak, therefore, of a common approach to the German problem as underlying the various contributions, each writer has assumed responsibility only for his own section.

Those contributors now in government service wish to express their gratitude to the State Department for its clearance of their contributions. Needless to say, the opinions expressed are those of the writers. The authors of the chapters on the German resistance wish to record their appreciation to the many officials of the American, British, and French military governments in Germany for the courtesy and helpfulness shown them in their studies of the German resistance. Special thanks are due Professor Waldemar Gurian of Notre Dame University for his thoughtful reading and criticism of a part of the manuscript and Professor C. B. Robson of the University of North Carolina to whose original suggestion this book owes its inception and whose subsequent sponsorship brought the project to fruition.

# Contents

## I. THE HISTORIC POTENTIAL

<i>Chapter</i>		<i>Page</i>
1	FREEDOM AND AUTHORITARIANISM IN GERMAN HISTORY EUGENE N. ANDERSON, Professor of History, University of Nebraska	3
2	RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION UNDER THE NAZIS WOLFGANG H. KRAUS, George Washington University, and GABRIEL A. ALMOND, Research Associate, Institute of International Studies, Yale University	33
3	THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE GER- MAN RESISTANCE GABRIEL A. ALMOND and WOLFGANG H. KRAUS	64

## II. OCCUPATION POLICY

4	GERMANY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION AND PROSPECTS FRED H. SANDERSON, Chief, Western European Economic Branch, Division of Research for Europe, Department of State	111
5	THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION HANS MEYERHOFF, University of California at Los Angeles	185
6	POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS VERA F. ELIASBERG, Research Director, American Associa- tion for a Democratic Germany	221
7	THE PROBLEM OF REORIENTATION CLARA MENCK, <i>Die Neue Zeitung</i> , U. S. Zone, Germany	281
	NOTES	311
	INDEX	333

---

---

# Index

---

---

## A

*Abgeordnetenhaus*, 5  
*Abwehr*, and July 20 affair, 100-1;  
mentioned, 73  
*Action and Dream*, 90  
Adenauer, Konrad, 237, 265  
ADV, 59  
Allied Control Council, and Allied  
economic policy, 116 ff.; and prop-  
erty disposition, 150; function of,  
186; mentioned, 168, 220, 272  
Allied Military Government, and the  
"Antifa" movement, 67 f.; and the  
German economic situation, 111  
ff. *passim*; and currency reform,  
140 ff. *passim*; and denazification,  
149. *See also* Military Government  
American Zone, economic conditions  
in, 127 ff. *passim*; and denazifica-  
tion, 149, 198 ff. *passim*; disposi-  
tion of property in, 150 ff. *passim*;  
territorial revisions in, 194; democ-  
ratization in, 203; and zonal co-  
ordination, 206 ff. *passim*; political  
characteristics of, 224-25; political  
parties in, 229 ff. *passim*; and East-  
West conflict, 267 ff. *passim*; and  
reorientation of Germany, 288 ff.  
*passim*; mentioned, 119. *See also*  
Bizonal Area, Western zones

Anglo-American Joint Export-Im-  
port Agency, 127  
"Antifa" movement, 67 f.  
Anti-Fascist Bloc, 228  
Anti-fascist Committee of Hamburg,  
73 ff.  
Anti-Nazi People's Front, 75  
Anti-Nazi resistance, historical back-  
ground of, 50 ff.; social composi-  
tion of, 64-107; and the church,  
79 ff.; and German youth, 85 ff.;  
and the German Army, 91 ff.; and  
the July 20 affair, 96 ff.  
*Appeal of the Christian Democratic  
Union*, 233  
Army, German, and anti-Nazi resist-  
ance, 91-96  
Arrests, by Gestapo, 55 ff.  
Association for Mutual Farmers'  
Help, 262  
Augsburg, 75  
Augustine, 67  
Authoritarianism, in Germany, 3 ff.  
*passim*

## B

Baden, 7, 195, 224-25. *See also*  
Wuerttemberg-Baden  
Banks, 152  
Baptista, Johannes, 307

- Barter, 138-39  
 Barth, Karl, 82, 85, 283  
 Basic Law, 275, 276  
 Bavaria, constitution for, 212; political parties in, 224; mentioned, 192, 193, 239, 246, 251, 252, 253  
 Bavarian Monarchist party, 249  
 Bavarian People's party, 224, 235  
*Bayern-Partei*, 249  
 Beck, General Ludwig, and anti-Nazi resistance, 91 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 101, 104  
 Beerman, 67  
 "Bekennnisfront," 52  
 Berlin, blockade of, 220, 272, 273, 277; political parties in, 259; mentioned, 163, 223, 257  
 Berlin Conference, and decentralization, 204-5; and the future of Germany, 216-18; mentioned, 196, 197, 208  
 Berlin-Potsdam region, 58, 60  
 Bernhard, 66  
 Bertram, Cardinal, 81  
 Best, Dr. Werner, 37  
 Bevin, Ernest, 120  
*Bibelforscher*, 56  
 Bidault, Georges, 120  
 Bielefeld, 87  
 Big Three, blueprint of, 111-16; mentioned, 208  
 Bismarck, Prince von, and unification of Germany, 5, 9; career of in German politics, 5 ff.; influence of on political parties, 11-13  
 Bizonal Area, formation of, 127; food conditions in, 130-32; and coal production, 136; and transportation, 136-37; and control and ownership of property, 149-57; economic prospects of, 167 ff. *passim*; and ERP, 173-75; finances in, 180-83; and East-West conflict, 267 ff. *passim*. *See also* American Zone, British Zone, Western zones  
 Bizonal Economic Administration, and East-West conflict, 267 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 206, 207  
 Bizonal Economic Council, 114  
 Bizonal Economic Organization, 206, 208  
 Bizonal Executive Committee, 270  
 "Black Reichswehr," 100  
 Blomberg, General von, 94-95  
 Blood and Iron, policy of, 10  
 Boeckling group, 87  
 Boenwetter, 67  
 Bolz, Eugen, 99  
 Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, 101  
 Bonn, 208, 210, 213, 275  
 Books, 300-1  
 Borchers, 66  
 Bormann, Martin, 81  
 Brauchitsch, General von, 93, 94  
 Bredow, General, 93  
 Bremen, political leaders in, 66; and "Antifa" movement, 67 f.; underground in, 75; and youth resistance, 88; mentioned, 223, 238, 247  
 Breslau, 59, 60  
 British Zone, economic conditions in, 127 ff. *passim*; and denazification, 149, 198 ff. *passim*; disposition of property in, 150 ff. *passim*; territorial revisions in, 194; and democratization, 203-4; and zonal coordination, 206 ff. *passim*; and state constitutions, 213; political characteristics of, 223-24; political parties in, 230 ff. *passim*; and East-West conflict, 267 ff. *passim*; and reorientation of Germany, 289 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 119. *See also* Bizonal Area, Western zones  
 Brunswick, 192, 238  
 Buckendal, 66  
*Bundesrat*, 191  
 Bureaucracy, historical background of, 188-90; in Soviet Zone, 198; in Western zones, 199-200; mentioned, 186. *See also* Civil service  
 Bÿsch, 66  
 Byrnes, James, on reparations, 116,

- 119-20; on economic merger of zones, 127; mentioned, 154
- C**
- Canaris, Admiral, 95, 100
- Catholic Centrist party, early characteristics of, 16-17; and the Weimar Republic, 23 ff. *passim*; and anti-Nazi resistance, 52-53
- Catholic church, and Bismarck, 11-12; and anti-Nazi-resistance, 79 ff. *passim*; political influence of, 223 ff. *passim*; and the reorientation of Germany, 297-98; mentioned, 19, 25
- C.D.U. *See* Christian Democratic Union
- Center party, 223, 224, 227, 233, 237, 238, 269
- Central Administration, 205-6
- Central Committee, of Social Democratic party, 227, 248
- Central Economic Commission, 206
- Chemnitz, 59, 60
- Christian Democratic party (Italy), 233
- Christian Democratic Union, and socialization, 153, 156; emergence of, 226 ff. *passim*; description of, 233-39; in Western zones, 252 ff. *passim*; in the Soviet Zone, 255 ff. *passim*; and East-West conflict, 267 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 85, 106, 211, 243, 244, 298
- Christian Social Union, in Western zones, 251 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 233, 235, 269
- Christian Trade Unions, 69
- Church, the, and authoritarianism, 19; and Gestapo arrests, 56; and anti-Nazi resistance, 79-85. *See also* Catholic church, Protestant church
- "Circular Letters," 43
- Civil Service, 188-90, 197-98. *See also* Bureaucracy
- Clay, General Lucius D., on socialization in Germany, 154-55; on denazification, 200-1; mentioned, 152
- Coal production, in Western zones, 132-36; in Ruhr, 150-52, 177-78; mentioned, 160, 167
- Cologne, 75, 250
- Communist Oppositionists, 65
- Communist party, in Germany, 53 ff. *passim*; and labor resistance, 65 ff. *passim*; and July 20 affair, 96 ff. *passim*; and socialization, 153; emergence of, 226 ff. *passim*; description of, 245-49; in the Soviet Zone, 254 ff. *passim*; and East-West conflict, 266 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 195, 196, 211, 218, 223, 224, 242, 243, 244
- Concentration camps, 46, 74-75
- Confessional church, and anti-Nazi resistance, 52-53, 82 ff. *passim*
- Confessional Declaration of Barmen, 82
- Confessional Front, 83
- Constitutions, for Western Germany, 210, 213-14, 273 ff.; for German states, 211-16
- Council of Foreign Ministers, London meeting of, 118, 120, 121, 196, 218, 219, 268, 269; Moscow meeting of, 120, 121, 196, 218, 219; failure of, 125-26; mentioned, 117, 205
- Council of States, 206-7, 267, 268, 269
- Courts, and the Nazi party, 42 ff.
- Criminal Police. *See* KRIPO
- Cultural League, 262
- Currency reform, in Western zones, 139-45; in Soviet Zone, 160-62
- D**
- Dahrendorf, 98
- DANA agency, 231
- Danzig, Free City of, 113
- Darmstadt, 67, 76
- Death sentences, 44

- Decentralization, 204-8  
 Deike, 66  
 Delp, 97  
 Democracy, historic tradition of in Germany, 6 ff. *passim*; economic prerequisites for, 175-84  
 Democratic Peasants' party, 266  
 Democratic People's party, 240  
 Democratization, 201-4  
*Demokratische Bauern-Partei*. See Democratic Peasants' party  
 Denazification, in Western zones, 148-49; and government, 197-201; mentioned, 306  
 Dertinger, Georg, 265  
 Dessau, 223  
 Detective Force. See KRIPO  
 Detlefs, 66, 73  
*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, 150  
*Deutsche Kohlen Bergbau Leitung*. See DKBL  
 Deutsche mark, 140 ff. *passim*, 181  
*Deutsche Partei*. See German party  
*Deutscher Bund*, 187  
*Deutsche Volkszeitung*, 257  
 Deutsche Werft, 71  
*Deutschkonservative Partei*. See German Conservative party  
*Deutschnationalen*, 99  
 DKBL, 152  
 Dortmund, 60, 230  
 Dresden, 60, 70  
 Duisburg, 75, 247  
 Dulles, Allen, 97  
 Düsseldorf, 60, 75, 247  
 "DZ 1/11 s," 87
- E**
- Eastern zone. See Soviet Zone  
 East Prussia, 196  
 East-West conflict, and the economic situation, 116-26; and government, 215-16, 218-22; and political parties, 266-80  
 Ebert, 24  
 ECA, 177  
 Economic Cooperation Administration. See ECA  
 Economic Council, 206-7, 267, 268, 269, 270  
 Economic Reconstruction Association, 249  
 Economic situation, German, 111-84  
*Economist*, 130  
 "Edelweiss," 86  
 Education, and authoritarianism, 18-19; reorientation in public schools, 291-93; reorientation in the universities, 293-96; program of adult education, 296-97  
 Ehard, Hans, 253  
 Eihlers, 66  
 Einsiedel, Horst von, 97  
 Eisleben, 75  
 Elections, for Saar Assembly, 195; for Constituent State Assemblies, 236-37, 240, 244, 246-48; Reichstag, 237; in British Zone, 238; in French Zone, 238-39; in American Zone, 239; in Soviet Zone, 262-64; in Berlin, 277-78; mentioned, 202, 203, 204  
 Elite Guard. See SS  
 Elsas, Fritz, 99  
 ERP, and Western Germany, 173-75; mentioned, 144, 177, 178. See also Marshall Plan  
 Essen, 247  
 European Recovery Program. See ERP  
 Executive Council, 207
- F**
- "Falcons," 87  
 Falkenhausen, General von, 103  
 Family, life, and reorientation in Germany, 286-88  
 Faulhaber, Cardinal Archbishop, 81  
 Federalism, 208-11  
 "Federated Selfdefenders," 87  
 Fellgiebel, General, 102, 105  
 Finance, postwar, 137-39; currency

- reform, 139-45, 160-62; and German recovery, 180-84
- Flach, Dr. Rudolf, 43-44
- Flensburg, 243
- Fontane, Theodore, quoted on Bismarck, 14-15
- Food, in Western zones, 130-32, 169-70; in French Zone, 157; in Soviet Zone, 163-64
- Foreigners, 56 ff.
- France, and the German economic settlement, 116 ff. *passim*; and territorial revision of Germany, 195-96; and the future of Germany, 216-17; mentioned, 177
- Franconia, 224
- Franco-Prussian War, 190
- Frankfurt, political leaders in, 67
- Frankfurt a/Main, 60, 75, 230
- Frankfurt an der Oder, 163
- Frankfurter Hefte*, 236
- Free Democratic party, 240, 269
- "Free Groupers," 87
- Freie Deutsche Jugend*, 289
- Freisler, 42, 89
- French Zone, economic conditions in, 127 ff. *passim*, 157; and ERP, 173 f.; territorial revisions in, 194-95; and denazification, 198 ff. *passim*; and democratization, 203; and state constitutions, 213; political characteristics of, 225; political parties in, 231 ff. *passim*; and reorientation of Germany, 289 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 119
- Freytag, 67
- Freytag-Loringhofen, Colonel von, 101
- Fricke, Pastor Otto, 234
- Fritsch, General von, 94-95
- Fromm, General Fritz, 104
- G**
- Galen, Bishop von, on church resistance, 81
- Geheime Staatspolizei*. See GESTAPO
- Geiler, Karl, 252
- Georges, Bruno, 66, 72-73
- German Confederation, 187
- German Conservative party, 250
- German Empire, 187, 190-91
- German Nationalist party, 51, 52, 99, 225
- German party, 250, 269
- German People's party, 52, 269
- Germany, freedom and authoritarianism in, 3-32; unification of under Bismarck, 5; and the anti-Nazi resistance, 33-107; economic situation in and prospects for, 111-84; reconstruction of government and administration in, 185-220; territorial reorganization of, 193-97; future of, 216-220; political parties in, 221-80; and the problem of reorientation, 281-307
- Gerstenmaier, Eugen, 97
- GESTAPO, description of, 40 ff.; resistance statistics of, 54; arrests by, 55 ff.; terror, 65, 69; and the Saefkow group, 70; mentioned, 35, 36, 46, 49, 65, 71
- Gisevius, 104
- Godesberg, 230, 234
- Goebbels, Joseph, and July 20 affair, 102 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 38, 103
- Goerdeler, Dr., 98 ff., 104
- Goering, Hermann, 35, 93, 94-95
- Gotthardt, 66
- Government, reconstruction of, 185-220. See also Military Government
- Graf, Wilhelm, 89
- Great Britain, and the German economic settlement, 120 ff. *passim*; and socialization in Germany, 155; expenditures of in Germany, 169, 172-73, 174; and territorial revision of Germany, 195 f.; and decentralization of Germany, 205 ff. *passim*; and the future of Germany, 217; and East-West conflict, 269 ff. *passim*
- Greater Hesse, creation of, 194;

- mentioned, 148, 155, 225, 236, 240, 244, 246
- Groeber, Bishop, 81
- Gross, Nikolaus, 98
- Grotewohl, Otto, 259
- Guardini, 294
- Guderian, General, 93
- Guertner, 43
- Guilt, German, 306-7
- II**
- Halle, political leaders in, 66; and "Antifa" movement, 67, 68; mentioned, 223
- Hamburg, political leaders in, 66; and "Antifa" movement, 68; labor resistance groups in, 71-75; mentioned, 58, 60, 65, 70, 223, 238, 250, 252
- Hammerstein, General von, 91
- Hanover, political leaders in, 66; and "Antifa" movement, 67, 68; mentioned, 58, 60, 75, 230, 250
- Hansen, Colonel Georg, 101
- Harnack, Arvid, 69
- Hassell, Ulrich von, quoted, 78, 93
- Haubach, Theo, 97, 98
- Heimat- und Koenigspartei*. See Bavarian Monarchist party
- Heinze, Hildegarde, 66
- Helldorf, Count von, 102
- Hermes, Andreas, 227, 256
- Herrenhaus*, 5
- Hesse, constitution for, 211-12; mentioned, 66, 194, 225, 239, 252
- Hesse-Nassau, 194, 195, 225
- Heydrich, Reinhard, quoted, 39; mentioned, 36
- Himmler, Heinrich, 35, 36, 52, 74, 94
- Hindenburg, Field Marshal von, 25, 92
- Hirsch, Helmut, 87
- Hitler, Adolf, and the courts, 42-44; on the underground opposition, 49; and the church, 80 ff. *passim*; and German youth, 86 ff. *passim*; and the German Army, 91 ff. *passim*; and the July 20 affair, 97 ff. *passim*; and the rise of National Socialism, 231; tactics of, 282-83; mentioned, 29, 41, 72, 111
- Hitler Youth, 86, 288, 289
- Hoare, Sir Samuel, 101
- Hoegner, Wilhelm, 251
- Hoepfner, General, 101, 105
- Hohscheid, 75
- Holy Roman Empire, 187
- Home Army, 103
- Hoover Mission, findings of, 131-32
- Huber, Dr. Kurt, 89
- Hundhammer, Alois, 253
- Husen, Paulus van, 97
- I**
- I. G. Farbenindustrie*, 150
- Independent Trade Union Opposition, 264
- Industrial Advisory Committee, 177
- Industry, German, Allied plans for, 113 ff.; in Western zones, 130; and coal production, 135-36; and currency reform, 141-42; and reparations removals, 147-48; and property disposition, 150 ff. *passim*, 164 ff. *passim*; and dismantling of plants, 158-59, 176-77; production in Soviet Zone, 159-60; prospects for, 171
- Inflation, 183
- Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund*. See ISK
- ISK, 69
- J**
- Jakob, 96
- Jaspers, 294
- John, Hans, 101
- John, Otto, 101
- Joint Export-Import Agency, 173
- July 20 affair, description of, 96-107; mentioned, 41, 51, 54, 60, 64, 66, 69, 70, 185, 265



Junkers, and the Weimar Republic, 25; mentioned, 6, 17, 202

**K**

Kaiser, Jakob, quoted, 77; on federalism, 209; mentioned, 69, 97, 98, 106, 256, 265, 268, 272

Kaltenbrunner, Ernst, 40

Kalujek, 67

*Kampfgemeinschaft gegen den Faschismus*, 75

Kampmann case, 59

Karl, 67

Karlsruhe, 60

Kaufmann, 74

Keegan, Colonel Charles, 236

KGF, 68

Kiel, 60, 238

Klamm, 66

Kluge, General von, 93, 103, 104

Koenig, 66

Koerner, Heinrich, 98

Köhn, 66

Köln, 60

Königsberg, 60, 113, 196

K.P.D. *See* Communist party

Krefeld, 75

Kreisau Circle, and the July 20 affair, 96 ff. *passim*; program of, 97

*Kriminalpolizei*. *See* KRIPO

KRIPO, 35, 41

Krogmann, Bürgermeister Vincenz, 74

Kuelz, Wilhelm, 265, 272

**L**

Labor, and anti-Nazi resistance, 64 ff.

Land, ownership of in Soviet Zone, 166-67

*Länder*, and currency reform, 141; mentioned, 150, 153, 291, 296

*Länderrat*, 154, 206-7, 267, 268, 269

Land governments, 152

Landtag, 5, 6

Langbehn, Dr., 100

*Lastenausgleich*, 276

Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism, 149

*Lebensgebiete*, 39

Leber, Julius, 69, 70, 96, 97, 98, 101

Leipart, Theodore, 98

Leipzig, political leaders in, 66; and "Antifa" movement, 67 f.; mentioned, 60, 70, 262

Lemmers, Ernst, 69, 256, 265

Letterhaus, Bernhard, 98

Leuningner, Franz, 98

Leuschner, Wilhelm, 69, 70, 98, 101

Level of Industry Plan, original agreement on, 113-16; revision of, 120 ff.; and reparations, 146

Liberal Democratic party, and socialization, 153; emergence of, 227 ff. *passim*; description of, 239-40; in Western zones, 252 ff. *passim*; in the Soviet Zone, 255 ff. *passim*; and East-West conflict, 269 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 211, 269

Liberalism, in Germany, 6 ff. *passim*

Loew, Colonel von, on Nazi terror, 46-47

London Conference, of six Western nations, 207-8, 217, 220, 272, 273

Loritz, Alfred, 249

Lower Saxonian party, 269

Lower Saxon State party, 250

Lower Saxony, 194, 244

Lücke, 66

Luebeck, political leaders in, 66; and the "Antifa" movement, 68; underground in, 75; mentioned, 223, 238

Lukaschek, Hans, 97

Lutheran church, 79

**M**

Maass, Hermann, 98

Mackensen, Marshal von, 93

Magdeburg, 70, 223, 262

Mainz, 67, 76

Marahrens, Bishop, 83

Marogna-Redwitz, Rudolf, 101

- Marschmeier, 67  
 Marshall, George C., on German government, 118; on level of industry, 120; on reparations, 121; and ERP, 173  
 Marshall Plan, 248, 268, 269, 271. *See also* ERP  
 Mecklenburg, 223  
 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 262  
*Meldungen aus dem Reich*, 39, 62  
 Mierendorff, Carlo, 97  
 Military Government, American, 148, 229-30, 236, 249, 256, 295; Bipartite, 150 ff. *passim*, 232-33; British, 72, 247; French, 250, 252; Soviet, 239, 240, 247, 249, 254 ff. *passim*, 272, 277, 278; mentioned, 155, 212, 226, 249, 251, 267, 271, 273, 288. *See also* Allied Military Government  
 Molotov, Vyacheslav, on reparations, 121-22; mentioned, 120  
 Moltke, Count Helmuth von, 45, 96-97  
 Monetary conditions, financial chaos in Germany, 137-39; currency reform, 139-45, 160-62  
 Moscow Free Germany Committee, 266  
 Motion pictures, 301-2  
 Mueller, Dr. Joseph, 101, 106, 236, 253  
 Munich, and "Antifa" movement, 68; and youth uprising, 89; mentioned, 60, 75  
 Munich Soviet of 1919, 224
- N**
- National Committee for Free Germany. *See* NKFD  
 National Democratic party, 266  
*National-Demokratische Partei*. *See* National Democratic party  
 Nationalism, 283-86  
*National-Kommittee Freies Deutschland*. *See* Moscow Free Germany Committee
- National Liberal party, 10, 11  
 National Security Office. *See* RSHA  
 National Socialism, and the Weimar Republic, 25; rise of, 28 ff.; and German youth, 85 ff. *passim*; and the German Army, 93; mentioned, 4, 5, 22, 33, 35, 78, 82, 223, 285  
 National Verein, 7  
*Nationalzeitung*, 266  
 "Navajos," 87  
 Nazi party, police system of, 35 ff.; terror, 42 ff.; and the church, 79 ff.; and German youth, 85 ff.; mentioned, 226  
 Nazi regime, and the anti-Nazi resistance, 33-107 *passim*; and civil service, 190; and authoritarianism, 191, 193; influences of, 286 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 185, 187  
 Nazism, and the authoritarian tradition, 4 ff. *passim*; rise of, 28 ff. *passim*; remnants of, 251; social-psychological consequences of, 282-86; mentioned, 224, 228  
 Nazi-Soviet pact, 53, 71  
 Nebe, Arthur, 41, 102  
 "Nerothers," 87  
 Neubeginnen, 69  
 "New Germans," 87  
 Newspapers, 264, 299  
*Niedersaechsische Landespartei*. *See* Lower Saxon State party  
 NKFD, 59, 68, 70, 75  
 North Rhine Westphalia, 194, 237, 238, 244, 248  
 Noske, 24  
 Nuremberg, 59, 60
- O**
- Oberhausen, 75  
 Occupation forces, 303-4  
 Occupation Statute, 273, 274  
 Oder-Neisse boundary, 196  
 Offenbach, 76  
 Office III. *See* RSHA, Office III  
 Office IV. *See* RSHA, Office IV  
 Office V. *See* RSHA, Office V

- "Oficomex," 127  
 Ohlendorff, 38-39  
 Öhlschlager, 66  
 Olbricht, General, 101, 104  
 Oldenburg, 238  
 Öllrogge, 66  
*Ordnungspolizei*. See ORPO  
 ORPO, 35  
 Oster, General Hans, and the July 20 affair, 100-1; mentioned, 96  
 Otten, 66
- P**
- Palatinate, 225  
 Pan-German League, 19  
 Papen, Franz von, 265  
 Parliamentary Council, meeting of, 208, 210, 213, 275  
 Passarge, 66  
 "Pathfinders," 87  
 Paul, Rudolf, 264  
 Pause, 67  
 People's Congress, 218-19, 268, 272  
 People's Council, constitution of, 214-15  
 People's Court, 88, 89  
 People's Tribunal, 42  
 Periodicals, 299-300  
 Peters, Hans, 97  
 Petersen, Dr., 252  
 Pieck, Wilhelm, 248, 259  
 Planck, Erwin, 99  
 "Plan for Reparations and the Level of Post-War German Economy," 113 ff.  
 Plesse, 66  
 Plivier, Theodore, 264  
 Poelchau, Harald, 97  
 Poland, 112, 196  
 Political parties, and Bismarck, 11-13; emergence of after Bismarck's dismissal, 15 ff.; early developments of, 66 ff.; and socialization, 153-54, 156; and democratization, 202-4; and federalism of Germany, 210-11; and the state constitutions, 212 ff. *passim*; characteristics of in Germany, 221-25; emergence of, 226-31; strength of, 231-51; smaller groups, 249-51; parties in the Western zones, 251-54; parties in the Soviet Zone, 254-66; parties in divided Germany, 266-80
- Pomerania, 223  
 Pope Pius XII, 80  
 Popitz, 100  
 Popular Republican Movement, 233  
 Popular Social League, 250  
 Population, 132, 168-69  
 Potsdam Agreement, and German economy, 112 ff. *passim*; violation of, 126; mentioned, 171  
 Potsdam Declaration, on political parties, 229; mentioned, 227  
 Preysing, Bishop, 81  
 Prices, 143-45  
 Probst, Christoph, 89  
 Property, control and ownership of in Bizonal Area, 149-57; disposition of in Soviet Zone, 164-67  
 Protestant church, and anti-Nazi resistance, 79 ff. *passim*; political influence of, 224 ff. *passim*; and reorientation of Germany, 297-98; mentioned, 19. See also Church  
 Protestant Reich church, 81  
 Prussia, and German politics, 5 ff. *passim*; disappearance of, 194; mentioned, 187, 188
- Q**
- "Quickborners," 87
- R**
- Radbruch, 294  
 Radio, 298, 301  
 Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 172  
 Red Army, 245, 255  
 Refugee party, 239  
 Regular Police. See ORPO  
 Reich, Second, 4; Third, 41-42, 80, and *passim*; history of, 187-88; federalism of, 208 ff. *passim*

- Reichsbanner, 71  
 Reichsmark, instability of, 128, 137  
   ff. *passim*  
 Reichsrat, 191  
 Reichssicherheitshauptamt. *See*  
 RSHA  
 Reichstag, power of under Bismarck,  
   9; elections to, 237; mentioned, 15,  
   50, 97, 191  
 Reichwein, Adolf, 96, 97, 98, 101  
 Religion, 297-98. *See also* Church,  
   Catholic church, Protestant  
   church  
 Remer, Major, 103  
 Remscheid, 75  
 Reorientation, and the social-psycho-  
   logical consequences of Nazism,  
   282-86; problems and accomplish-  
   ments of, 286 ff.; and the effect of  
   contact with the occupation  
   forces, 303-4; and the problem of  
   German guilt, 306-7  
 Reparations, Potsdam Agreement  
   on, 113, 115, 119-20; and the Level  
   of Industry Plan, 114-15; Soviet  
   demands of, 120, 121 ff.; in Bi-  
   zonal Area, 145-48; exacted in  
   Soviet Zone, 123-24, 162; men-  
   tioned, 219  
 Repression, under the Nazis, 33-50,  
   51 ff. *passim*  
 "Reptile Fund," 10  
 Republican party, 250  
 Republikanische Partei. *See* Repub-  
   lican party  
 Research Office of the Air Ministry,  
   42  
 Resistance. *See* Anti-Nazi resistance  
 Reststimmen, 204  
 Reuter, Ernst, 263  
 Rheinische Volkspartei. *See* Rhenish  
   People's party  
 Rhenish Confederation, 224  
 Rhenish People's party, 250  
 Rhineland, the, French demands on,  
   116, 117, 124; tripartite discussions  
   on, 125; mentioned, 87, 194, 223,  
   224, 225  
 Rhineland Westphalia, 237, 244, 248  
 Rhine-Palatinate, 195  
 Rhine Province, 195  
 Ritter, Gerhard, 88  
 Roehm coup, 92  
 Roesch, 97  
 Rommel, General, 102, 103  
 Rosenberg, Alfred, 84  
 Rossaint, Dr., 87  
 Rossberg, 66  
 Rote Kapelle, 69-70  
 RSHA, Office III, 36, 38-39, 46;  
   Office IV, 40; Office V, 41; men-  
   tioned, 35  
 Ruhr, the, underground in, 75;  
   French demands on, 116, 117, 124;  
   tripartite discussions of, 125; and  
   coal production, 133 ff. *passim*;  
   and property disposition, 151-52,  
   155; future of, 177-78; mentioned,  
   207, 217, 223, 224, 225, 230, 237,  
   243, 248, 273  
 Russian Zone. *See* Soviet Zone  
 Saar, the, French demands on, 116,  
   117, 124; status of, 195; mentioned,  
   225, 231, 243  
 Sabotage, 72  
 Saefkow, 96  
 Saefkow group, 70  
 Saxony, 192, 223, 262  
 Schaeffer, Friedrich, 235, 251  
 Schlegelberger, 43  
 Schleicher, General, 93  
 Schleswig-Holstein, 194, 238, 244,  
   250  
 Schmedmann, 66, 73  
 Schmorell, Alexander, 89  
 Schoenfeld, Hans, 101  
 Scholl, Hans, 89  
 Scholl, Sophie, 89  
 Schreiber, Walter, 256  
 Schulenberg, Count Fritz von der,  
   98

- Schulenberg, Werner von der, 99  
 Schulze-Boysen, Harro, 69-70  
 Schumacher, Kurt, 66, 243, 265  
 Schwamb, Ludwig, 67, 98  
 SD, description of, 36 ff.; reports of, 37-38, 86-87, 88; mentioned, 35, 36, 40, 49, 62  
 Secret State Police. *See* GESTAPO  
 Security Police. *See* SIPO  
 Security Service. *See* SD  
 S.E.D. *See* Socialist Unity party  
 Sicherheitsdienst. *See* SD  
 Sicherheitspolizei. *See* SIPO  
 Sindermann case, 59  
 SIPO, 35, 36  
 Social classes, 19-21  
 Social Democratic party, and Bismarck, 11 f.; early characteristics of, 16; and Weimar Republic, 23 ff. *passim*; and labor resistance, 65 ff. *passim*; and July 20 affair, 96 ff. *passim*; and socialization, 153, 156, 157; emergence of, 226 ff. *passim*; description of, 240-44; in Western zones, 252 ff. *passim*; in the Soviet Zone, 254 ff. *passim*; and East-West conflict, 267 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 53, 211, 223, 224  
 Socialist Labor party, 53, 65, 69  
 Socialist Unity party, formation of, 246, 257-58; in the Soviet Zone, 258 ff. *passim*; and East-West conflict, 268 ff. *passim*; and nationalism, 285; mentioned, 159, 196, 198, 211, 214, 218  
 Sokolovsky, Marshal, 162  
 Solingen, 75  
 Sondergerichte. *See* Special Courts  
 South Schleswig Association, 250  
 Soviet Government. *See* Soviet Union  
 Soviet Military Administration, 161, 165  
 Soviet Union, and the partition of Germany, 113; and the German economic settlement, 117 ff. *passim*; and territorial revision of Germany, 196 f.; and the future of Germany, 218-19; and East-West conflict, 218-20, 266 ff. *passim*; and the Communist party, 245 ff. *passim*  
 Soviet Zone, labor resistance in, 76; reparations exacted in, 123-24, 162; economic conditions in, 127 ff. *passim*; dismantling of plants in, 158-59; industrial production in, 159-60; currency reform in, 160-62; food supply of, 163-64; reorganization of economy of, 164-67; economic prospects of, 167 ff. *passim*; and denazification, 197-98; democratization in, 202-3; and zonal coordination, 205-6; and state constitutions, 214-15; political characteristics of, 222-23; political parties in, 226-29, 254-66; elections in, 262-64; and reorientation in Germany, 289 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 119, 239  
 Sozialistische Einheitspartei. *See* Socialist Unity party  
 S.P.D. *See* Social Democratic party  
 Special Courts, 42  
 Spiecker, Karl, 237-38  
 SS, 35, 41, 46, 74  
 Staatenbund, 209, 210  
 Standard of living, 115, 177  
 State Protective Corps, 36  
 Stauffenberg, Colonel von, 98, 101, 106  
 Steel industry, 148, 151-52, 160, 167, 178  
 Steffan, 67  
 Steltzer, Theodore, 97, 98, 106  
 Stettin, 60  
 "Storm Groupers," 87  
 Stulpnagel, General von, 103  
 Stuttgart, 60, 225  
 Sued-Schleswig-Vereinigung. *See* South Schleswig Association  
 Supreme Administrative Court, 207  
 "Systemzeit," 52

**T**

- Tagesspiegel*, 256, 258  
 Taxes, 182-83  
 Territorial revisions, 193-97  
 Theatre, 302  
 Thierack, Dr., 43-44, 45  
 Thuringia, 192, 223  
 Totalitarianism, 285  
 Trade unions, and anti-Nazi resistance, 69; and July 20 affair, 96 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 198, 235  
 Transportation, 136-37  
 Treaty of Versailles, 25, 27, 175  
 Tresckow, General von, 101  
 Trott zu Solz, Adam von, 97  
 Two-Year plan, in Soviet Zone, 162

**U**

- Ulbricht, Walter, 249  
*Unabhaengige Gewerkschafts-Op-  
 position*. See Independent Trade  
 Union Opposition  
 United Anti-fascist Front, 256  
 United States, and the German  
 economic settlement, 118 ff. *pas-  
 sim*; and socialization in Ger-  
 many, 154-55; expenditures of in  
 Germany, 169-70, 172-74; and  
 ERP, 173 ff. *passim*; and territo-  
 rial revision of Germany, 195 f.;  
 and decentralization of Ger-  
 many, 205 ff. *passim*; and the  
 future of Germany, 217; and  
 East-West conflict, 269 ff. *passim*  
 United States Foreign Assistance  
 Act, 177  
 Universities, reorientation of, 293-96  
 U. S. Zone. See American Zone

**V**

- Vereinigte Stahlwerke*, 151  
*Vertrauensmaenner*, 39  
 Viechtach, 235  
*Volksgericht*. See People's Tribu-  
 nal  
*Volksbochschulen*, 296  
*Volkssturm*, 66, 74, 75

**W**

- Wartenburg, Yorck von, 96-97  
 Weber, Max, 19  
 Wehrmacht, opposition of to Hit-  
 ler, 51, 52; and the July 20 affair,  
 96 ff. *passim*; mentioned, 66, 73  
 Wehrmacht Counter-Intelligence,  
 42  
 Weimar, 59, 60  
 Weimar Coalition, 223, 224  
 Weimar Republic, in Germany, 23  
 ff. *passim*; and the German Army,  
 91; civil service in, 189-90; centrali-  
 zation in, 191, 192; political parties  
 in, 224; mentioned, 19, 89, 177,  
 187, 212, 223  
 Western Germany, economic pros-  
 pects for, 169-73; and ERP, 173-  
 79; constitution for, 210, 213-14,  
 273 ff.; included in Marshall Plan,  
 271; mentioned, 248, 251  
 Western zones, economic develop-  
 ments in, 129-57; economic pros-  
 pects for, 169-84; and territorial  
 reorganization of Germany, 196;  
 bureaucracy in, 199-200; and the  
 London Conference, 207-8; and  
 East-West conflict, 218-20, 266 ff.  
*passim*; major political parties in,  
 229 ff.; smaller political parties  
 in, 249 ff.; and parties in the new  
 governments, 251 ff. See also Bi-  
 zonal Area, American Zone,  
 British Zone, French Zone  
 Westphalia, 230  
 Wiesbaden, 67, 76  
 William I, 5-6, 15  
 William II, 18, 20, 25  
 Winters, 67  
*Wirtschaftliche Wiederaufbau-  
 Vereinigung*. See Economic Re-  
 construction Association  
*Wirtschaftsrat*. See Economic  
 Council  
 "With Burning Sorrow," 80  
 Witzleben, Field Marshal von, 101  
 Wolters, 66

## Index

345

- Women's League, 262  
Works' Councils, 198  
World War I, 15, 16, 22-23, 191  
World War II, 17  
Wuerttemberg, 195. *See also*  
    Wuerttemberg-Baden  
Wuerttemberg-Baden, formation  
    of, 195; constitution for, 212;  
    mentioned, 224, 225, 236, 239, 240,  
    244, 246, 251  
Wuerzburg, 235  
Wuppertal, 75  
Wurm, Bishop, 83-84
- Y**  
Yalta Agreement, and partitioning  
    of Germany, 112; violation of,  
    126  
Youth, and anti-Nazi resistance, 85-  
    90; and reorientation of Ger-  
    many, 288-91
- Z**  
*Zentralverband der Angestellten*,  
    73  
Zentrum, 298  
Zhukow, Marshal, 164, 226, 227  
Zinnkann, 67  
Zonal Advisory Council, 206  
*Zonenbeirat*. *See* Zonal Advisory  
    Council

## **THE CONTRIBUTORS**

**GABRIEL A. ALMOND**

Research Associate, Institute of International Studies, YALE UNIVERSITY

**EUGENE N. ANDERSON**

Professor of History, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

**WOLFGANG H. KRAUS**

Associate Professor of Political Science, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

**FRED H. SANDERSON**

Chief, Western European Economic Branch, Division of Research for Europe, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**HANS MEYERHOFF**

Assistant Professor of Philosophy, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

**VERA F. ELIASBERG**

Research Director, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR A DEMOCRATIC GERMANY

**CLARA MENCK**

Contributing Editor, *Die Neue Zeitung*



## BERLIN REPARATIONS

by

D. O. KATCHFORD AND WILLIAM D. ROSS

"Everyone concerned at the present crisis in Berlin should read this extraordinarily honest book. The authors . . . have produced an entirely authentic account of the workings of quadripartite government. Their book catches history on the spot before it has hardened into generalisations."—*Economist*

". . . it should be read as a study in how not to conduct international negotiations."—*New York Times*

". . . a reliable and valuable record not available elsewhere."—*American Historical Review*

255 pages

\$3.50

---

## ARABIAN OIL

by

RAYMOND F. MIKESSELL AND HOLLIS B. CHENERY

*Arabian Oil* is the timely story of American petroleum interests in the Middle East and their relation to our national foreign oil policy. It provides a clear account of the tangled events leading to the present dominant position of American enterprise in Middle East Oil discovery and production. Although the development of the petroleum concessions in all of the Middle Eastern countries is discussed, major emphasis is given to the Arabian-American Oil Company's concession in Saudi Arabia. Not only are the interests of the oil companies in this area dealt with, but also the effects of the great oil discoveries upon the welfare of 4.5 million Saudi Arabians.

201 pages

\$3.50

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS