

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS

A frank and often shocking account which details how
"Hitler's own" have managed to return to power in
almost every walk of German life – including
the foreign office, the courts, the police . . .



T.H. TETENS

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS



by T. H. TETENS

More than a decade after World War II the infamous crimes of the Third Reich still haunt the world.

Now a new Germany has emerged. Its unrivaled energy has already made it one of the most powerful states in Europe.

What kind of country is this new Germany? Is Nazism "dead and buried," as James B. Conant, our former ambassador to Bonn, believes? Has Germany *really* changed? If so, where are the hundreds of thousands who once faithfully and eagerly served Hitler's reign of terror? And what is life like today for the Jews who are still in Germany?

The answers to these questions will

(Continued on back flap)

(Continued from front flap)

shock most Americans. Many Nazis *have* returned to power—in almost every walk of German life.

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS is based on thousands of news stories and court records, most of them of German origin. Naming names—including Adenauer's top aide, Hans Globke—it documents in detail the dangerous resurgence of Nazism and anti-Semitism in the "new" Germany.

It describes notorious occurrences of anti-Semitism such as the Zind case—and the German reaction to it; it tells of the current activities of the Nazi SS; it reveals former Nazi officials who hold important positions in the present German government; it exposes former Nazi criminals and shows how they have been protected; it outlines the present plans of the underground Nazi party; and it presents the shameful record of Hitler's judges who still sit on the bench.

As West Germany's position in the cold war becomes more crucial, it is important to understand its aims and ambitions. This outspoken book looks behind the official façade of Adenauer's Germany. What it discloses is of vital importance to every American.

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

457 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York
*Publishers of The American College Dictionary
and The Modern Library*

By T. H. Tetens

WHITHER HITLER?

CHRISTIANITY, HITLERISM, BOLSHEVISM

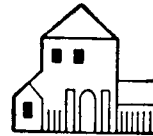
KNOW YOUR ENEMY

GERMANY PLOTS WITH THE KREMLIN

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS

T. H. Tetens



Random House New York

FIRST PRINTING

© Copyright, 1961, by T. H. Tetens
All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright
Conventions. Published in New York by Random House, Inc., and
simultaneously in Toronto, Canada, by Random House of Canada, Limited.
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 61-7240

Manufactured in the United States of America
by H. Wolff, New York

PART ONE *The Legacy of Hitler*

- 1 *Return of the Native* 3
- 2 *The Zind Case* 9
- 3 *"Nazism Is Dead and Buried"* 19
- 4 *The Plotters* 24

PART TWO *Germany Today*

- 5 *The Hidden Enemy* 37
- 6 *Dr. Adenauer's Two Miracles* 56
- 7 *The Termites* 71
- 8 *The Honorable SS* 87
- 9 *Old Soldiers Never Die . . .* 106
- 10 *Ten Million Expellees and the Old Homeland* 122
- 11 *"Jews Should Be Exterminated Like Vermin"* 140
- 12 *The Other Germany* 153

PART THREE *Moral Insanity*

- 13 *Nazis in the Courts* 165
- 14 *"Bureaucracy of Murder"* 176
- 15 *From the Rogues' Gallery* 190
- 16 *The Heroes Come Home . . .* 197
- 17 *Villains and Victims* 210
- 18 *The Lost Generation* 221

PART FOUR *Image and Reality*

- 19 *Behind the Adenauer Façade* 235
- 20 *A Dependable Ally?* 244
- 21 *"A Policy of Calculated Risk"* 252
- References* 259
- Index* 271

PART ONE

The Legacy of Hitler

1 *Return of the Native*

It was long after sunset on the evening of April 23, 1957, when Kurt Lieser, a textile dealer, left one of the drab buildings in the business section of the south German town of Offenburg, in the foothills of the Black Forest. Herr Lieser—a slight man, past forty, but still young looking—paused a few moments to inhale the fresh spring air. Then at a leisurely pace he set out toward Bismarckstrasse, Offenburg's lively main street. The mild evening had brought out the crowd. Young people chatted gaily, and stuffy middle-class burghers strolled with measured steps past the neon-lighted, chrome-blinking show windows of the department stores and specialty shops. Here and there friends greeted each other with a loud and hearty "*Guten Abend!*"

As he walked along Bismarckstrasse, Kurt Lieser recognized people who thirty years before had been his classmates and playmates. Today they passed like strangers, and their rebuffs brought back the bitter realization that he could never again be an accepted Offenburger. As a "non-Aryan" he had once been driven away by the Nazis, and when he had miraculously returned alive from a concentration camp, he had not

4 The Legacy of Hitler

been readmitted to the community. The people of Offenburg still regarded him as a *Zugereister*—a newcomer to the town.

Kurt Lieser was pleased that the long and strenuous day was behind him. Out-of-town customers had kept him at the office much later than usual, and he had told his wife not to wait dinner for him; he would take his evening meal in a restaurant and relax with a glass of beer. As he walked down to the newspaper kiosk at the railroad station, where he always bought his favorite out-of-town paper, he had time to decide where to eat. He had a choice of the Bahnhof Restaurant, the Weinstube, or the meeting place of the town's upper crust, the Zaehringer Hof.

The food at the Bahnhof Restaurant was not to his liking and the place was *ungemuetlich*—it just didn't have the homey atmosphere that a German is accustomed to. The Weinstube radiated real warmth, but unfortunately Kurt Lieser was not welcome there. He had never seemed to receive the attention and friendly service given the other patrons. And complaints, he knew, would be useless. He would probably be told that he could go elsewhere if he was dissatisfied. Thus the choice was made simple for him. The Zaehringer Hof was a fine place, their Schnitzel à la Holstein was excellent, and the wine and the *Muenchner Dunkel* were of superb quality.

Herr Lieser found a place at a table where a local businessman and his wife were just finishing their dinner. After a short time they left with stiff formality. It was quite a while before the waiter came to take his order, but Lieser was accustomed to that. The meal was good, and afterward he relaxed comfortably over his newspaper with a beer before him. He had just glanced over the headlines on the front page when another guest appeared at his table. Herr Lieser recognized the man at once. He was Ludwig Pankratz Zind—Herr Studienrat Zind—a teacher. Standing straight and trim, Zind rattled the customary German formality: "*Gestatten?*" Kurt Lieser nodded a friendly invitation, but he got not the

5 Return of the Native

slightest response from the new diner. While Zind slowly moved his chair into position, his eyes wandered searchingly over the crowd, and several times he made a slight formal bow to friends sitting nearby.

As a teacher at the Grimmelshausen Gymnasium, a school "devoted to the humanities," Herr Zind enjoyed the respect not only of the small ruling clique that ran this town of twenty-eight thousand but also of the people at large. Kurt Lieser knew him as the president of Offenburg's athletic club, the *Turnverein*. He also served as an official of the bowling club and was active in other organizations.

Ludwig Zind could have filled the Hollywood role of an arrogant German officer perfectly. Although in his early fifties and of rather slight build, Herr Zind stood ramrod erect, giving the impression that he was a man of stern stuff. His long sun-tanned face showed heavy scars from his student days at Heidelberg. Under an intelligent, high forehead were hard, penetrating eyes, which betrayed a considerable degree of energy and fanaticism.

Studienrat Zind took his seat and suddenly spoke, at once haughty and studiously jovial.

"Well, Herr Lieser, what is the news in the world today?"

A little surprised to be called by name, Lieser folded his paper and shrugged his shoulders.

"Oh, just the same old story—Nasser and the Suez Canal, trouble in Jordan, and protests against the bomb-testing."

The discussion that followed between Zind and Lieser was reconstructed a year later before a court in Offenburg. The trial, which lasted three days, made headlines throughout the world and entered the annals of history as the macabre "affair Zind."

Nasser and the Suez Canal gave Ludwig Zind a welcome opportunity to reel off a whole catalogue of fixed Nazi clichés, ranging from "the shameful Treaty of Versailles" to Roosevelt's "criminal sellout at Yalta." Had Germany only won the heroic battle fought under Hitler, Zind proclaimed, the

world today would be in a different shape. There would be German order and not cold war, Communism, and crime. With a German victory we would today enjoy justice and decency, and not suffer under democratic mob rule, corruption, and decadence. However, not everything was lost; history had not yet come to its end. Nasser was proof that the British lion had lost its roar and was ready to die. France was rotting away in chronic disorder, and America was too fat, lazy, and stupid ever to become a soldier nation. Make no mistake, five to ten years hence Germany will again be confronted with the *Schicksalsstunde*—the hour of destiny. For that day the Fatherland must be prepared and the youth must be ready. Look how we have come back from defeat within a dozen years. Give us ten years more and we will again be the top nation in the world.

Kurt Lieser tried to interject a few skeptical remarks about wishful thinking and miscalculations in history, about winning the battles and losing the war, and about the absurdity of another world butchery. But Herr Studienrat Zind dismissed such defeatist ideas with the sweeping statement that this was all poison, dished out daily by those licensed papers which were either sympathetic to the Communists or were paid handsomely for selling American democracy.

As the discussion—now an argument—continued, Herr Zind motioned two young men over to the table in order to let them take part in his refresher course on Nazi *Weltanschauung*. Years before, the two had been his pupils at the Gymnasium, and now they were both finishing their final semester at a university. One of the young men had introduced himself as the law student Werner Walzer, the son of Oberstudiendirektor Walzer, Zind's superior at the Gymnasium.

With this young generation in front of him, the Herr Studienrat lifted his voice to condemn everything that was "un-German." He quoted Schiller and Bismarck and the old Teutonic patriot, Ernst Moritz Arndt, in order to prove that

there would be eternal war between *die Untermenschen*—the scum of the earth—and the fair Nordic race.

At this point Kurt Lieser became extremely irritated.

"Herr Zind, would you say that you believe in the superiority of a so-called Nordic race, and that you condone the prejudices and the excesses against other races and creeds?"

"Of course I do! And I will tell you frankly that there was nothing wrong with the racial laws that were introduced under Adolf Hitler. Those laws served a very good purpose!"

Slowly looking around, Kurt Lieser saw the sneering faces of guests and waiters who were excitedly following this remarkable discussion. He knew that at this moment he had to stand up and be counted. For a long time he had expected that such a day might come.

"I know you made Germany *judenrein*—free of Jews. But what about the methods? What about all the atrocities committed by the Nazis against the Jews and other prisoners? How can you justify them?"

"Herr Lieser, don't give me that! I know too well this propaganda hogwash spread by the Jews. The Fuehrer was forced to arrest the Jews because they constituted a serious threat to the security of the state. The Jews in the camps were well fed and well treated; after the war every one of them received huge sums of money. But look at me, who paid me for what I have suffered after the war?"

Kurt Lieser recognized that he was getting deeper and deeper into a hopeless argument. He tried to bring the discussion up to the present.

"What about today's sacrilegious acts against Jewish temples and cemeteries? Do you think it is right to paint swastikas on synagogues and defile Jewish graveyards?"

"What's wrong with that? These youngsters have a right to register their protest against the presence of Jews, even dead ones, on our German soil."

The foregoing exchange and that which follows is taken from reports which appeared in the German news magazine

Der Spiegel and from accounts about the Zind trial in the German press.

KURT LIESER "You as a teacher should feel ashamed of your statement. I suspect that you would even have the audacity to praise the Nazi mass murder?"

LUDWIG ZIND "In my opinion far too few Jews went into the gas chambers."

KURT LIESER "This is outrageous! Do you know that I spent the war in a concentration camp, that I was tortured and beaten, and that I almost lost my voice?"

LUDWIG ZIND "What? That means they forgot to gas you too? It is a pity that you did not go up in smoke with all the others!"

KURT LIESER "Today you would put me into a concentration camp if you had your way, wouldn't you?"

LUDWIG ZIND "Why not? And let me add this: I would not hesitate to kill you!"

KURT LIESER "And what about my wife—you would gas her too?"

LUDWIG ZIND "Of course I would! It could all be done at the same time!"

KURT LIESER "What would you do with my two children?"

LUDWIG ZIND "For my part they could stay alive. But let me tell you this: I am proud that during the war I and my men killed hundreds of Jews with shovel blows on the skull. I would not hesitate to do it again."

Kurt Lieser flew into a rage and tried to jump at the Studienrat's throat, shouting "Murderer!" A fight broke out. Zind called him a "dirty Jew" and cursed Israel.

While the waiters shoved them out into the night, Ludwig Zind yelled, "Israel is a pesthole! The day will come when the Arabs will remove it like a carbuncle!"

2 *The Zind Case*

On his way home Kurt Lieser was haunted by ugly memories. Dazed, bewildered, and in despair, he wondered whether it had been a wise decision to remain in Germany. His wife, almost hysterical with fear, could not gain a clear picture of what had happened. The only thing she could make out was that Herr Studienrat Zind would have no qualms about starting the gassing and killing all over again.

Lieser had gone through it all before, and amazingly he had survived. But what would the future bring? He was tormented by a thousand questions to which he had no answers. What kind of world was he living in, anyway? Why had he so foolishly ignored the complaints of his children, who had been frequently accosted in the streets with the too-familiar invective: "*Dreckige Judensau!*"—dirty Jewish pig.

As he tossed and turned in his bed, the long-forgotten shacks of the Sulz concentration camp came to life vividly in his memories. There they had broken him, body and spirit. How many Sulzes, how many Dachaus, Belsens, Buchenwalds, Auschwitzes, and Birkenaus had been put in operation by Germany? Could all this come back one day—the

10 *The Legacy of Hitler*

torture cellars, the death bunkers, the gas chambers, and the crematories? He relived it all. He saw himself in his striped rags, which the Germans called a "uniform," working in the stone quarry under almost inhuman conditions. Oh, yes, since he was only a *Halbjude*—part Jew—he had even been considered a privileged prisoner, and was allowed to do heavy work fourteen hours each day. As long as he could slave in the quarry he had at least been safe from the gas chamber.

When Kurt Lieser finally awoke from his nightmares late the following forenoon, he found it difficult to remember where he was. It took him some time to realize that he was in a comfortable bed in a civilized home, that it was not 1943, not 1945, but the year 1957—twelve years, fully twelve years after his liberation from the camp! And here he was, back in Offenburg, in his home town, among all the Zinds.

There was an entirely different atmosphere at the house of Studienrat Ludwig Pankratz Zind. The news about the event at the Zaehringer Hof had spread with whirlwind speed all over town. Friends telephoned the Studienrat to find out whether it was true that he had given the Jew—*dem Zugereisten*—a good beating. "Only a good tongue-lashing which he will never forget," was Zind's answer.

Wherever he went the Studienrat was again the hero of the town. His former pupils proudly recalled how in 1938 Zind, then a Nazi storm trooper, had praised his boys for their participation in the infamous "Kristallnacht." Synagogues and "non-Aryan" stores went up in flames, and the *Judenbande*—the Jewish scum—were herded together, many of them with bloody heads and broken bones. Men and women were separated and then shipped off in cattle cars to various labor and concentration camps.

"Ja, das waren noch Zeiten!—Those were the good old days!" commented some of his former pupils nostalgically when they met their old "prof" on the street. Such moments

11 *The Zind Case*

were more than encouraging for Studienrat Zind, because he strongly believed it to be of great importance to "keep the spirit alive." Whatever our misfortunes are, we must not lose our heads, he used to say. "History is uninterrupted warfare; it is like a roller coaster—sometimes you're up, and sometimes you're down." Such talks were the real strength of the Studienrat. He was considered a leader in the community because he radiated confidence. No wonder the whole town was buzzing with excitement over the "battle at the Zaehringer Hof." Studienrat Zind had demonstrated again that something could be done if the people only had the courage to be bold.

Although the townspeople of Offenburg had an ample supply of gossip for weeks about Zind's "victory" at the Zaehringer Hof, not a word of it appeared in the local paper. In all probability nothing of the incident would ever have been brought before the public had it not come to the attention of the lively and courageous news magazine *Der Spiegel*. On December 18, 1957, nine months after the affair at the Zaehringer Hof, *Der Spiegel* published verbatim the highlights of the Zind-Lieser dialogue, under the caption "Israel Should Be Eradicated."

This single page in a news magazine created unexpected repercussions. It was not so much the fact that an anti-Semitic incident had been recorded. That happened almost every week in every German town. Such cases were usually reported at the bottom of the back pages in five lines of small print under "Miscellaneous." What made the Zind case notable and caused the most comment was the revelation of all the maneuvers with which the authorities—the Ministry of Higher Education in the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg, as well as the Ministry of Justice—had tried for several months to hush up the case.

Suddenly, with the Zind affair in the open, hectic communications were exchanged between the Grimmelshausen

Gymnasium and the school authorities in Freiburg, between the lower court in Offenburg and the Ministry of Justice in Karlsruhe, between the Minister-President of Baden-Wuerttemberg and the federal government in Bonn. There were inquiries from the Social Democratic opposition in Parliament, denials by the officials, explanations and soothing talk from those who wanted to keep the story quiet. However, from the day *Der Spiegel* described the incident, things moved quickly. There was considerable fear in Bonn that world public opinion might be aroused by the resurgence of anti-Semitic outbursts in Germany. There were hasty investigations by the authorities, and an indictment against Zind was followed by his suspension from the Gymnasium. He was arrested, but was freed without bail a few days later. After elaborate preparations, the trial began in Offenburg in early April 1958, in the spotlight of the German and international press.

The huge wood-paneled trial room of the Provincial Court was filled to standing room only with Offenburgers. The halls and stairways of the courthouse were crowded with hundreds of townspeople who could not be admitted. Charged with having publicly approved the Nazi crimes and "slandered the memory of the dead," Zind had to defend himself before three judges and two lay jurors. When he took the stand on the first day, Zind described the development from his early days as an anti-Semitic student up to the time he became a faithful follower of Hitler. During the twenties he joined the *Stahlelm* (Steel Helmet), a right-wing veterans' organization, and later became a storm trooper. During the war he fought on the Eastern Front as a captain. Banned from teaching after the war, he was readmitted to the Gymnasium in 1948 as a mathematics and biology instructor.

According to the trial account in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (April 10-12, 1958), Zind proudly stated:

"Without hesitation I adopted the political concepts of National Socialism and even today I regard these concepts as completely valid." Zind berated the court with long nationalistic tirades. He saw nothing wrong with his statement that Lieser "should have been gassed too." Expressions like this, said Zind, "have become as common among the great majority of the German people as the curse, 'Go to the devil.'"

Under questioning from the presiding judge, Dr. Hans Eckert, Zind admitted that an attempt had been made by the school authorities to settle the incident quietly through a proposed conciliation between Lieser and the defendant. But Zind had refused to apologize. He declared: "I would rather clean the streets than come crawling to a Jew."

Zind did not deny the accuracy of the dialogue which Lieser had testified to and *Der Spiegel* had reported. His only defense was that he had been provoked by Lieser's questions, and that he had not said it was the Jews but the Russians whose heads had been bashed in by the hundreds. However, he admitted quite freely that he was "firmly committed to the Nazi principle of fighting the Jew, a matter which was not only justified in the past, but even necessary today."

It was established during the trial that Zind had propagated his anti-Semitic bias in the classroom. Otherwise the trial produced little evidence that had not been known before. It was, however, a revelation for the international press to see Studienrat Zind in action, and to get a close look at the fraternity and atmosphere among the townspeople of Offenburg. Almost without exception, the witnesses tried to help Zind by declaring that they had no clear recollection of the incident at the *Zaehringer Hof*.

By sentencing Zind to one year in prison for "defaming the dead," the court declared that it believed Lieser's account of the incident, and that Zind, at certain points, had been lying. It was the first stringent sentence handed down by a German court, applying a new law designed to deal sternly

with anti-Semitic hatemongers. The court branded Zind as “an intellectual arsonist,” who had “severely damaged Germany’s reputation abroad.”

During the trial the German press reported that Zind had received an offer of a position at a school in Cairo. When the Appellate Court confirmed the one-year prison term, Zind promptly escaped to Egypt.

The remarkable thing about the Zind affair was its echo throughout the world and in part of the German press. On April 13, 1958, the *New York Times* quoted two German papers on the Zind trial. The *Frankfurter Neue Presse* said: “Herr Zind is not interesting. Interesting is the atmosphere in which the Zinds flourish. This atmosphere explains why a man whose attitude identifies itself with crime was thought fit to teach and educate a new generation. You Deputies, you Ministers, you Parliaments and trade unions, do you not realize that it is your fault?” The *Neue Ruhr Zeitung* said: “It is not Herr Zind who faced the court. Society was on trial, a society that tolerated a Zind and made it possible for him to behave as he did.”

What the *Times* dispatch did not reveal was the scandal behind the scandal. The press also reported that the people in Offenburg gave their fullest sympathy to the unreconstructed Zind. When the defendant walked out of the courtroom “where the audience had been plainly on his side, women wept at the verdict and men reached out to shake his hand” (*Time*, April 21, 1958). At the courthouse Zind passed through long cheering crowds, and one reporter was told: “Whatever the court might say against him, you can rest assured that the whole of Offenburg is backing Zind” (*Die Zeit*, April 17, 1958).

Was the Zind case symptomatic of a resurgence of Nazism? The *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent Gaston Co-blentz, in a report of April 12, 1958, quoted a Protestant

Church leader from Tuebingen as saying: “Elements which prudently became silent after 1945 are again insolently raising their heads. If steps are not taken, we shall have within a few years a new Nazism lacking only a Fuehrer.” The same dispatch quoted the State Prosecutor in the Zind trial as follows: “There are many people in Germany who believe that the time has arrived for them to come forward again aggressively with their anti-Jewish hatred.”

Alarmed about the growing wave of anti-Semitism in West Germany, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of April 14, 1958, declared in an editorial: “There are thousands of Zinds who give unabashed vent to their feelings in the *Bierstuben*. The anti-Semitic exchanges that one overhears are downright revolting. They always end with statements like: ‘Not enough Jews were gassed’ or ‘They should be exterminated like vermin.’” Democratic newspapers wondered how many junior Zinds had graduated from Offenburg and elsewhere.

The *New York Times* of March 15, 1958, quoted a Christian Democratic deputy of the Bundestag, Dr. Franz Boehm, as saying that “anti-Semitism has not been overcome”—a fact well known by the 30,000 Jews or “part Jews” who are still in Germany. The *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of April 15, 1958, touched the sore spot of German public opinion by pointing out in an editorial:

The circumstances of the Zind case have brought to light that the conditions in Germany are worse than most of us dare to say. The alarming fact is that the German people are today deeply confused in their concepts of right and wrong. . . . There is widespread praise of Zind as an “upright character” who dared to stick to his opinion and would “rather clean the streets than lie low before a Jew.” We wonder whether this is the voice of an over-sensitive national conscience or only the conspiracy of our society standing on the principle that “one crow does not scratch the eyes of another crow.”

Similar warnings were published in respected periodicals such as the *Frankfurter Hefte*, *Die Zeit*, and even in Dr. Adenauer's own mouthpiece, the *Rheinischer Merkur*.^{*} Unfortunately no firm steps were taken by the Adenauer administration to prevent the resurgence of anti-Semitic propaganda and vandalistic outbursts. On November 27, 1957, long before the Zind case, the important conservative newspaper *Die Welt* stated that anti-Semitism had again become a problem of "painful actuality." Pointing to a public opinion poll, the paper expressed concern over the fact that 88 percent of those questioned refused to discuss their opinions on the Jewish question. The paper mentioned another poll where "a third came out clearly in favor of the old anti-Semitic concepts."

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of October 1, 1957, reported an increase of anti-Semitic activities and came to the conclusion that the "escape into hatred" is a dangerous sign in Germany, "together with many other things which are still very much alive under the surface."

On May 27, 1957, six months before the Zind affair became public, the *Christian Science Monitor* printed this dispatch from Bonn:

^{*} The newspapers and periodicals quoted in this and the following chapters have a high standing in Germany. A survey of the German press, published in *The Department of State Bulletin* of February 23, 1953, names as the four leading newspapers:

1] *Frankfurter Rundschau*, left of center, independent, friendly to U.S. policies.

2] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, conservative.

3] *Deutsche Zeitung*, conservative, expresses the view of the business community.

4] *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, independent, the most important paper in Bavaria.

In recent years *Die Welt* of Hamburg, conservative, has developed into an outstanding national newspaper. Among the leading periodicals are the *Frankfurter Hefte*, *Der Monat*, the news magazine *Der Spiegel*, the conservative weekly *Die Zeit*, the Catholic weekly *Rheinischer Merkur*, and the conservative Protestant weekly *Christ und Welt*.

Church and civic leaders are expressing alarm at the outburst of anti-Semitic feeling and Nazi flag-waving recently displayed in various parts of Germany.

Bishop Otto Dibelius, head of the German Evangelical Church, warned here May 24 that recent desecration of Jewish cemeteries in West Germany indicates a "regrowth of anti-Semitic tendencies. . . ."

In Salzgitter, raiders overturned about 80 gravestones and even a 20-ton memorial.

They left behind a straw dummy bearing a swastika and a sign with the note: "Germany awake—Israel perish." . . .

Nuremberg was the scene of another April 20 birthday party for Hitler when swastika flags were raised on the field where the Fuehrer used to address Nazi rallies. . . .

The editor of the Jewish weekly, *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung*, rejected as "highly exaggerated" a report by the Communist East German news agency ADN that 2,000 raids on Jewish cemeteries had been committed since the war. He placed the number at 250.

At the same time the German-language paper in New York, *Der Aufbau*, reported on June 21, 1957, a "new wave of anti-Semitism in West Germany," with Nazi-type youth groups, veterans' societies, and expellee organizations as the main supporters of the anti-Semitic hate campaign.

The Zind case only confirmed what close observers of the German political scene had been predicting for a long time: that the Nazis would come out of their hibernation as soon as it was no longer risky to demonstrate their true feelings. That moment arrived in 1955, when Germany became a sovereign state and the Allied rights of control came to an end. Since then the trend had been growing stronger toward a nationalistic revival and open manifestations of neo-Nazism.

For several years now the Bonn Republic has been plagued by periodic outbursts of anti-Semitic vandalism. Such waves occurred in 1955, in 1957, and again at the end of 1959, when the rash of swastika-daubings started on Christmas eve. The desecration of the synagogue in Cologne gave the signal for an epidemic of anti-Semitism which had its contagious effects throughout the world.

3 “*Nazism Is Dead and Buried*”

By an ironic coincidence it happened that at about the same time the Bonn Republic was experiencing the Zind affair, a prominent American educator and diplomat was picturing West Germany in an entirely different light.

Early in January 1958 a distinguished audience, composed of educators, scientists, and representatives of America's political elite, assembled in one of the large lecture halls on the campus of Harvard University. The speaker, the beloved and esteemed president emeritus of Harvard, Dr. James Bryant Conant, was received with great applause. Dr. Conant had just returned from four years in Germany, first as United States High Commissioner and later as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. In three consecutive lectures Dr. Conant reviewed the postwar developments in the Bonn Republic, using the most hopeful terms. He told his audience that in West Germany he had found “a people who had turned their backs on the German past.” Reaffirming an earlier statement that “the mood of modern Germany is that of a people repudiating the brutality of the

Nazi rule," Dr. Conant came to the conclusion that "Nazism is dead and buried."

"Free Germany today," the speaker told his audience, "is a united nation without military ambitions and with few illusions about the catastrophe from which it has only just emerged." To his own question "Will it happen again?" Dr. Conant gave the explicit answer: "Taking all the facts available into consideration, it seems to be quite clear that the myth of the Third Reich has been destroyed. Free Germany today repudiates the Nazi past."

Dr. Conant's evaluation of modern Germany cannot be overlooked. Here was a rational, informed scientist, educator, and diplomat, who had made a careful study of all the facts and forces at play in postwar Germany. The educators and political leaders heard with great relief Dr. Conant's assurances that the Germany which had twice within one generation run amuck against the whole civilized world had finally undergone a profound change. The nation of Goethe, Kant, and Humboldt was back on the road to its highest ideals. "I predict," Dr. Conant concluded, "that the enthusiasms now germinating in Germany are not the wrong ones."

Long press dispatches in leading American newspapers emphasized the highlights of Dr. Conant's address.* A few months later the three lectures were published in book form under the title *Germany and Freedom*. Laudatory reviews spread Dr. Conant's optimistic outlook on the future of Germany to an even larger audience. Most remarkable was the New York *Times* book review of April 6, 1958, which pointed out that Dr. Conant's thesis of a new purified Germany rested on "realistic optimism." It quoted Dr. Conant's opinion that a healthy state of affairs had developed in Germany: "However closely we look for symptoms of revived national-

* The above quotations from Dr. Conant's address were taken from the *Christian Science Monitor* of January 10, 1958.

ism, racism, militarism, or despotism, we must admit they simply are not there." Dr. Conant's report convinced the *Times* reviewer that "those who are always seeing a new Nazism around the corner are living in the past." Certainly Dr. Conant's statements reflected the official line of the Bonn government, as well as that of the U. S. State Department.

Long before Dr. Conant made his optimistic statements on the change in Germany in 1957 and 1958, I had had lengthy discussions with State Department officials whose considerable experience in postwar Germany had made them unquestioned experts in this field. These officials admitted quite frankly the discrepancy between Washington's policy position and the actual conditions in certain areas. Their argument can be summed up as follows: It is not so much that the State Department is badly informed about the developments in various countries and especially in Germany, but it is rather a matter of evaluation and emphasis. All unpleasant events and facts which might unfavorably affect the realization of our plans are played down as much as possible. This is obviously done in order to avoid criticism which might undermine the confidence of the American people and that of our allies in the effectiveness of our policy.

The officials admitted that there were some risks involved in our German experiment. However, it was considered necessary to take the position that in the Bonn Republic we have a dependable ally and that the large majority of Germans have sincerely reformed.

The dogma of the untouchable policy position was underscored by Dr. Conant himself. In a dispatch from Cambridge, the New York *Times* reported on January 10, 1958, that Dr. Conant had criticized George F. Kennan, our former ambassador to the Soviet Union, for having advocated in his British Broadcasting lectures (December 1957) a gradual military disengagement in Central Europe and a limited rearmament in Germany. What was really startling was Dr. Conant's sug-

gestion that on such a vital issue as the future of Germany there should be no public discussion which in any way might differ from the official State Department position. The *Times* quoted Dr. Conant as follows: "Anything that is said or done to stir up German suspicions about American intentions in Europe or American suspicions about Germany vis-à-vis the Soviet is a blow to the solidarity of NATO. Conversely, anything that can be done to quiet such suspicions will strengthen the defense of our freedom." Nevertheless, beneath the surface there is still a widespread feeling of uneasiness among the American public in regard to the future of Germany. Time and again radio and television programs have come up with the significant question: Can we trust Germany?

People often wonder where the millions of Nazis have disappeared to, all those who once hailed and faithfully served the Fuehrer. What has happened to those thousands of top Nazis in Hitler's Third Reich—the high officials in the administration, the Brown-Shirt bullies and the SS guard officers who once strutted in snappy uniforms and riding boots, with their chests covered with "lametta"? Where are the Nazi diplomats, the geopolitical strategists, and the advocates of a master race and Lebensraum? Where are the thousands of judges and prosecutors who, year after year, sent countless "enemies of the state" to the gallows and tens of thousands to lifelong hard labor, starvation, and death? What has happened to the thousands of brutes who committed the daily massacres and tortures in the concentrations camps? Where are those who supervised the extermination of millions—including women and children—in the gas chambers? Finally, where are the tens of thousands of Nazi teachers, the millions of fanatical Hitler youths, and the thousands of highly indoctrinated youth leaders who are today in the age group between thirty-five and forty-five? Have they all become

thoroughly reformed democrats, so that Nazism is really "dead and buried"?

Early in 1959 the owner of an independent radio station in New York discussed the German problem in three consecutive editorial broadcasts.* "Is there any danger that the Nazis might come back into positions of power in Germany?" he asked, and answered himself unequivocally: ". . . the Nazis *are* back in positions of power in government, in industry, in banking, in the press, in education." In support of this thesis the editorial marshaled a wide array of indisputable facts and came to the conclusion:

The very Nazi leaders of the days of Hitler are back in power. Thus do we conjure up the ghosts of a nation that, only a few years ago, was dedicated to sadism, torture and murder—a national policy of calculated cruelty unmatched in the history of modern man. WMCA fears that our deeds today will haunt our children tomorrow.

What is the truth? Is Nazism "dead and buried," or are the Nazis back in power? To obtain a balanced and true picture about the new Germany it is necessary to take a closer look at the record.

* The talks by Nathan Straus of WMCA (January 2, 9, and 16, 1959) had an unprecedented response from the audience and attracted violent criticism from the German press.

4 *The Plotters*

Late on the night of January 14, 1953, the telephones rang in the homes of newspaper correspondents representing the foreign press in London. The sleepy newsmen, responding to the calls, were requested by a Foreign Office official to assemble at Downing Street by seven o'clock the following morning for an important press conference. There was little doubt that something extraordinary had happened, since it was the first time since the end of the war that a news conference had been scheduled for such an unusual hour.

The next morning shortly after seven, the head of the press division of the Foreign Office, Sir William Ridsdale, distributed a communiqué which stated that a group of seven former high Nazi officials had been arrested in Duesseldorf and Hamburg for having plotted the overthrow of the Bonn Republic. The official announcement said that the British authorities had been aware for some time that the seven men had been involved in a plot and that the arrest had been made under the authority of Foreign Minister Eden.

The ringleader of the group was a Dr. Werner Naumann, who, until the German collapse, had served as State Secre-

tary in Dr. Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. Dr. Naumann had been with Hitler during the very last days in the bunker of the Chancellery in Berlin, and he was the one designated by the Fuehrer in his testament to succeed Dr. Goebbels as Propaganda Minister.

Arrested along with Naumann were the following prominent Nazis:

Karl Kaufmann, one-time Gauleiter of Hamburg.

Paul Zimmermann, an SS General and official of the concentration camp branch of the SS organization.

Gustav Scheel, Gauleiter of Salzburg, Austria, and designated Minister of Education in Hitler's will.

Dr. Heinrich Haselmeyer, head of the National Socialist Student League, and Hitler's "expert on race and sterilization."

Dr. Karl Scharping, a propaganda official under Dr. Goebbels.

Heinz Siepen, another district leader of the Third Reich.

The British announced that they had confiscated "tons of material" (four truckloads), and after the first check, they hinted that a careful examination would produce ample evidence to back up an indictment of conspiracy and high treason. The seven arrested men were described as the leaders of a group of a hundred twenty-five important Nazis whose aim was to infiltrate the three Rightist parties in the Adenauer coalition. Their final goal had been "the overthrow of the Bonn parliamentary regime."

The arrest of the plotters had a strong effect upon the Bonn government and on German public opinion. According to a dispatch in the *New York Times*, Chancellor Adenauer was "shocked and angered." The *Times*, quoting from the *General Anzeiger* of Bonn, a paper close to Adenauer, said that the British "had contrived the whole affair for the purpose of warning the Americans against entering a direct alliance with the dangerous Germans." *Times* correspondent Drew Middleton reported from Bonn that "Ger-

man public sentiment began to crystallize in defense of the seven arrested National Socialists." Leading Bonn officials and politicians, supported by the majority of the German press, opened an all-out campaign against the British, implying that they had sinister motives and telling them that they had no business poking into a strictly domestic German affair. Only a handful of democratic and conservative papers took a more critical view of the Naumann conspiracy.*

The main concern of German government officials and the press was that the British had acted "unfairly" against Bonn at a moment when Dr. Adenauer had to face a most delicate international situation. At that time the Adenauer cabinet hoped for a **speedy** ratification of the European Defense Community Treaty (EDC) which would restore full German sovereignty and would be the first step toward political unification of Europe. To raise the specter of a resurgent Nazi danger before world public opinion at such a moment was, in Dr. Adenauer's eyes, an unpardonable crime. The Chancellor was especially bitter because the British High Commissioner, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, had not consulted him before the arrest.

The British reply was polite but determined. It pointed out that the occupation authorities had been profoundly disturbed when they had found evidence of an advanced plot, instigated by a vast Nazi network spreading from Duesseldorf to Cairo, Madrid, Buenos Aires, and Malmö, Sweden. They stated furthermore that they had had to proceed with the utmost secrecy, since the plotters had close contacts with high government circles in Bonn. According to the *New York Times*, the British submitted evidence to the Chancellor

* Although this information is based upon a collection of several hundred dispatches and editorials, I have drawn chiefly on the reports from the *New York Times* of January 16 to 18, 1953. Also of special significance were several articles which appeared in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* during the latter part of January 1953, revealing the magnitude of the Naumann plot.

which "revealed a wide-spread plot with ramifications into many political parties and other influential organizations of West Germany." Faced with the grave implications of the Naumann conspiracy, Dr. Adenauer and his Minister of Justice, Dr. Thomas Dehler, had to confirm the seriousness of the case.

After the British had convinced Dr. Adenauer that they had an open-and-shut case against the Naumann plotters, the Bonn government suddenly exerted great pressure to bring the proceedings under German jurisdiction. On March 13, 1953, Dr. Adenauer wrote a letter to the British High Commissioner asking "that the investigation and eventual prosecution of Dr. Naumann and his associates should be handed over to the German authorities." The British responded favorably to this request on March 26, 1953.

After taking over the investigation, Dr. Adenauer admitted at a press conference "the existence of a far-flung plot" and that Naumann's activities "had been financed with considerable sums by Nazi groups in foreign countries." Minister of Justice Dehler told reporters that the Naumann group had developed "a most cunning and diabolic system of infiltration" and that the conspiracy represented "an acute threat to the democratic institutions in the Federal Republic." The captured Naumann documents, he said, "gave clear proof that the aim of the group had been to fill key positions in all Rightist parties with hard-core Nazis and thereby create propaganda vehicles which later could be used for a broad neo-Nazi mass movement." According to the *Wiesbadener Kurier* of May 6, 1953, Dr. Dehler quoted from one document in which Naumann expressed the hope that, if his scheme succeeded, "the coming election might be the last of its kind."

Soon after the British had transferred the prosecution of the case to the German authorities, the lawyers of the arrested plotters began to put pressure on the federal govern-

ment to suppress the case and release their clients. The *Bremer Nachrichten* reported on June 15, 1953, that the Naumann lawyers had even threatened to discuss "the true background of the case openly" if their clients were not released soon.

By the end of June 1953 Dr. Naumann and his co-plotters were suddenly released, in violation of the most rigid stipulations of German law and court procedure. A year and a half later, in December 1954, in spite of the fact that the prosecutor had brought an indictment against Naumann charging conspiracy against the constitution of the Federal Republic, the highest court quietly dismissed the case without any trial or hearing.

Even before the plotters were released, the British became suspicious about the handling of the Naumann case and leaked some of the incriminating material to a staunchly democratic German newspaper which had gained quite a reputation for its revealing articles on the infiltration of former Nazis into the Adenauer administration. During the early part of June 1953 the *Frankfurter Rundschau* published five articles dealing with Naumann's tapped telephone conversations, notes from his appointment calendar, correspondence between the plotters, and significant excerpts from his diary. The published material gave a full inside view of the scope and character of the conspiracy.

The description of the intricate structure of the plot and the background of the many people involved filled whole pages in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.* Here it is sufficient to state the main objectives as they emerged from the confiscated material:

1] Use the democratic constitution as a façade behind

* Articles and editorials in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* for January, February, and June 1953; also three informative articles in the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, January 29-31, and an editorial, "The Spider," in the *Bremer Nachrichten*, June 16, 1953.

which a new Nazi movement could be organized, designed to take over the apparatus of the state when time and circumstances would make such a step necessary and profitable.

2] Let Chancellor Adenauer serve as a front, exactly as Gustav Stresemann did during the twenties, behind which a new German power could develop undisturbed without arousing premature suspicions.

3] Apply a new method of infiltration (*Unterwanderung*) in order to conquer the existing parties and the administrative machinery of the state from within. Avoid noisy nationalistic demonstrations, flag-waving and incidents; use the more efficient and unsuspecting procedure of working in small cells, which some day, at an opportune moment, might consolidate themselves into a broad mass organization.

The detailed plan, which the Germans soon called the "Nau-Nau" strategy, instructed former well-known Nazi leaders to stay discreetly in the background until the time was ripe for action. In the meantime the leaders were to use all their connections to bring bright and capable young Nazis, especially those trained in the Hitler Youth, into influential positions, not only in the Adenauer coalition parties but also into all other political organizations.

The Naumann documents revealed much more than a mere strategic blueprint of how to subvert a state apparatus or the existing parties from within. There was a detailed record of how Dr. Naumann had used his contacts with top industrialists and leading politicians to fill well-paid positions in the Free Democratic party with scores of young, able Nazis who once had learned the tricks of the trade in the Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. Dr. Naumann's most devoted collaborator in this enterprise was his intimate friend, Dr. Ernst Achenbach, a former Ribbentrop diplomat who, after the war, had become a prominent lawyer in the Ruhr district. It was reported that Achenbach and Naumann had been close friends during the war when they served together in impor-

tant positions under Ambassador Otto Abetz in the German Embassy in occupied Paris. It was Dr. Achenbach who, in 1943, recommended to the Foreign Office that two thousand Jews be shipped to the East as reprisal for an attack on two Nazi officers.*

After the war Achenbach aggressively defended Nazi notables in many war crime trials. In later years he became the legal counselor and political confidant of a group of right-wing Ruhr industrialists. With the financial power of the industrial giants of the Ruhr behind him, Achenbach exerted a dominating influence in the Free Democratic party, where he held the important position of Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Many of his close friends and connections, mainly young Nazi activists, had successfully infiltrated the two other Adenauer coalition parties, the ultra-Rightist German party and the All-German Bloc (Refugee party), the latter appealing chiefly to the ten million refugees from the Eastern territories.

For some time after his arrest the British kept Dr. Naumann incommunicado, because they regarded his lawyer, who was Dr. Achenbach, as severely implicated in the plot. The pro-Adenauer paper *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* of January 17, 1953, named Achenbach the *spiritus rector* behind the drive toward a neo-Nazi restoration. A lengthy British white paper on the Naumann-Achenbach plot was ready to be released in August 1953, when it was suddenly "withdrawn at the last moment on Cabinet instructions, for reasons which never have been made quite clear." † There were rumors that the British had yielded under the combined pressure of Washington and Bonn.

The confiscated material disclosed that the Achenbach-Naumann group represented a so-called *Fuehrungsring*—a

* The document was published in *Das Freie Wort*, Duesseldorf, May 16, 1953.

† Alistair Horne, *Return to Power* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1956), p. 165.

Nazi high command—a kind of political Mafia, with headquarters in Madrid, which operated by remote control through clever organizational schemes on different levels, serving various purposes. This Gauleiter group met periodically in the strictest secrecy, mainly in Duesseldorf or Hamburg. Up to thirty former Nazi top officials assembled under false names as "old friends" in hotels, where they carried on their political scheming. Among them were the ex-Gauleiters Kaufmann, Grohe, Florian, Wegener, Frauenfeld, and Scheel, a number of high officials from the Propaganda Ministry, some Ribbentrop diplomats, and top-ranking SS officers. According to the British correspondent Alistair Horne, the "roll calls of the ex-Gauleiters and high SS officials present read like a page from some nightmare *Who's Who* of the Third Reich." These Nazi leaders had either escaped the dragnet of the victorious Allies by false identification papers or had been released from internment after a year or two without any substantial penalty. The aim of the group was "to form the general staff of the 'National Opposition'" and build "a new political party out of the existing parties of the right." *

Besides the infiltration of co-conspirators into positions of command within the existing parties and into government departments and party organizations on the middle and lower levels, another task of the *Fuehrungsring* was to organize and direct mass organizations, such as veterans' and refugee associations, which one day could easily be used as instruments for political action. Other fields of activities for the group were political propaganda in foreign countries, carried out in close contact with the Nazi headquarters in Madrid, and the initiation of conspiracies in foreign markets in behalf of German industrial cartels.

Have the Nazi schemers—the Achenbachs, Naumanns, and Company—accomplished what they aimed for after the Nazi

* Horne, *Return to Power*, p. 168.

collapse? Have they regained influence and power in the Bonn Republic? The answer has been given in the affirmative by the plotters themselves. Long before, they had captured numerous key positions in the Adenauer administration, in political parties, and in the Laender (state) parliaments. They were exuberant about their successes in one of their secret directives circulated by the Nazi headquarters in Madrid. This lengthy document, issued in September 1950, spoke contemptuously of the total failure of the Western occupation policy and pointed gleefully to the success of the "flexible and smoothly-working organization which, at the end of the war, provided the precondition for all the gains that by necessity emerged for Germany out of the chaos of the postwar period. . . . Five years after Potsdam, we can look back with pride at our accomplishments. . . . Nothing happened by chance; everything was carefully planned." *

There is considerable material available which gives conclusive proof that the Nazis had made preparations long before their collapse to train an army of agents, often skillfully camouflaged as "resistance fighters." About the successful continuation of the Nazi subversive activities, the Madrid Circular Letter had this to say:

Even after the collapse, the National Socialist party continued to work in a camouflaged way [*getarnt*] in dozens of seemingly innocuous societies and groups, in order to keep the national outlook of the German people alive and undiluted. Just as many small brooks go toward making a mighty stream, the various nationalistic and radical groups in the Zonen-Reich carried out, almost without exception, worthwhile and powerful propaganda. Each of these groups had its special task and had to adjust its

* The Madrid Circular Letter gave a general analysis of the world situation five years after the German collapse and put special emphasis on the possibilities of a German comeback. The full text of the document was printed in T. H. Tetens' *Germany Plots with the Kremlin* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1953).

work to certain situations and circumstances. However, it was of chief importance to direct the underlying trend of the patriotic propaganda toward the same goal. The more diverse and disconnected these groups appeared on the surface, the less they were apt to arouse suspicion that they were directed and influenced by a central organization. We have placed our confidential agents, observers, and representatives for special assignments in all groups and parties, even among Communist organizations and their fronts. The greater the number of organizations controlled and influenced by us, the more effective will be the results of our work.

The effectiveness and results of this Nazi strategy of infiltration will best be shown by taking a closer look at the conditions in present-day Germany.

PART TWO

Germany Today

NOTE: Beginning with Chapter 5 most data concerning German newspapers and other sources will be given in the notes following the last chapter. These are keyed to the text by number. Exceptions are those sources which are clearly identified in the text by name and date of publication.

5 *The Hidden Enemy*

Surveying the entire political structure of the Bonn Republic, one comes to the inescapable conclusion that the Nazis have had a quiet comeback almost everywhere. From the Chancellery down through every cabinet office, through the parties, the parliaments of the Laender, the police, the school system, and the press, former Nazis are deeply entrenched in many key positions, as well as in the middle and lower ranks of the federal and state government.

In the Chancellery there are two influential senior officials, Secretary of State Dr. Hans Globke and the senior diplomat Dr. Herbert Blankenhorn, who have been accused by the Social Democratic opposition of having faithfully served the Nazi cause. Both men, in spite of their unsavory records, have been entrusted by Dr. Adenauer from the very beginning with the rebuilding of the new government for the Federal Republic.

Under the Nazi regime Hans Globke served as the top official in the Office for Jewish Affairs in the Ministry of the Interior. It was here that the infamous Nuremberg Laws for the Protection of the German Blood were first drafted. The

man who signed the racial laws against the Jews, Interior Minister Dr. Wilhelm Frick, was sentenced to death by the International Court in Nuremberg and hanged on October 16, 1946. And the one directly involved with the formulation of these laws was Dr. Hans Globke. It was he who drafted the text of Hitler's race law and who wrote the notorious "Commentary" interpreting this Nuremberg law, which paved the way for the extermination of millions of human beings.

When the Nazis decided to carry out the mass liquidation of European Jews, Dr. Globke's direct superior, Ministerial Counsel Bernard Loesner, himself a Nazi party member, had scruples of conscience and resigned from office. His post was taken over by Dr. Hans Globke. As chief legal adviser and head of the Office of Jewish Affairs, Dr. Globke thus became a direct participant in the gigantic venture to make Germany *judenrein*.

In applying the racial laws Dr. Globke worked hand in hand with the Main Security Office, the headquarters of the SS murder organization. *Der Spiegel* of September 28, 1960, reported a case which reveals that Dr. Globke had direct dealings with the SS Colonel Adolf Eichmann. More than that, the evidence shows that Dr. Globke was a key administrator in the "Final Solution," the master plan for the extermination of the Jews. The article in *Der Spiegel* quoted the testimony of a Wehrmacht officer, Max Merten, who together with Eichmann suggested in 1943 that 20,000 Jews in Macedonia (marked for the gas chambers in Auschwitz) should be released and shipped to Palestine. It was obviously not a feeling of humanity, but rather a personal greed for money, as well as a shortage of transportation facilities to the concentration camps, that motivated both Nazis to make this suggestion.*

* Wehrmacht officer Merten was involved in a number of shady deals and war crimes for which a high court in Greece sentenced him to twenty-five years in prison. Under pressure from the Bonn government, Merten was set free after thirty months of detention.

According to the story in *Der Spiegel*, Merten and Eichmann reached Dr. Globke and tried to obtain permission from the Office of Jewish Affairs for the release of the prisoners. Their efforts were in vain. Dr. Globke insisted on the strict execution of the Fuehrer's order. That sealed the fate of the 20,000 Jews, who were then shipped in cattle cars to Auschwitz.

Why Dr. Adenauer could not find another man capable of setting up a true democratic civil service has never been explained. Whatever lies behind this mystery, the fact is that Dr. Hans Globke, who faithfully served the Nazi hierarchy, became one of the most powerful men in the Federal Republic.

Dr. Globke has denied that he was a member of the Nazi party. But as the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of April 3, 1956, pointed out, Dr. Globke forgot to tell the Nuremberg judges that "he once filled out an application for membership in the Nazi party." In any event, it is an established fact that his services to the Nazi regime were highly appreciated by the party hierarchy and that he was amply rewarded. On April 25, 1938, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Frick, wrote a letter to Hitler's deputy in the Brown House in which he praised Dr. Globke as "the most capable and efficient official in my ministry." The Nazi minister gave Globke a special accolade for his "extraordinary efforts in drafting the law for the Protection of the German Blood" and for a number of similar racial laws. Recognizing his "loyalty and constant willingness to act for the Nazi cause," Dr. Frick recommended that Hans Globke be promoted to the position of a senior official. Three months later Dr. Globke was appointed Ministerial Counsel. The full text of Dr. Frick's letter was published in *Der Spiegel* on August 10, 1960.

The German press has called Dr. Globke "The Gray Eminence," "the power behind the throne," and "The Spider." *Die Welt* of October 30, 1955, described Dr. Globke as "the second-in-command in the control tower of the German ship

of state." According to *Die Welt*, Dr. Globke is the "only man who has access to Adenauer at all times or who can call the Chancellor at any hour." The paper adds: "Globke's political power rests entirely on the confidence which emanates from his chief, and on his domination over the official apparatus which must be regarded as his exclusive handiwork."

Many political observers believe that Dr. Globke in his quest for power simply adopted the authoritarian principles of Hitler's Fuehrerstaat in order to establish the undisputed authority of the Fuehrungszentrale—steering center—in the Chancellery. It is possible that Dr. Globke has done more than anyone else to re-Nazify West Germany. He has been accused by the opposition of having filled many key positions with former Nazis who are only waiting for a change in the political wind. For many years Dr. Globke's past has been an embarrassing topic in the Bonn Parliament.

On July 12, 1950, the legal expert of the Social Democratic party, Dr. Adolf Arndt, speaking before the Bundestag, described Dr. Globke's record in detail. Dr. Arndt accused the Chancellor's chief assistant of having "committed mass murder with the help of legal paragraphs." As a servant of the Nazis, Dr. Arndt pointed out, Herr Globke had "trampled upon the dignity of the human race and dishonored the German name." Since that time the Social Democrats have frequently demanded the ouster of Bonn's number-one bureaucrat. In the Bundestag debate of October 16, 1951, the Social Democratic deputy Dr. Gerhard Luetkens charged that the packing of the Bonn Foreign Office with ex-Nazis "was the work of a clique, once closely connected with the SS Main Security Office, which is steered by the ineffable Herr Globke, whose role has been discussed from this rostrum repeatedly" (official record of the Bundestag, October 16, 1951, p. 6,927).

The result of Dr. Globke's clever manipulations is that as chief assistant to Dr. Adenauer he makes decisions about a great many affairs in the federal government. A full-page

article in the *Deutsche Zeitung* of June 11, 1958, explained how Dr. Globke is able to wield rigid control over every ministry. The various government departments have to submit monthly reports about their activities and plans, which all end up on Globke's desk. According to this analysis, no minister can make an important decision without the approval of Dr. Globke. It is the Secretary of State who convenes cabinet meetings and determines their agenda. The *Deutsche Zeitung* described Globke as the head of a huge staff, a super-ministry led by thirty-six senior officials, which constitutes the hub of the entire government machinery. It is Globke who decides what part of the incoming mail reaches the Chancellor. Nominations for appointments to high positions in all ministries are made by Dr. Globke. The result is that every ministry is run either by dependable friends or loyal servants of Dr. Globke.¹ The *Christian Science Monitor* has stated that this concentration of government power in the hands of a single man has made observers "bitterly complain that Dr. Globke often has had more authority than cabinet ministers."² The *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Gruson gave the following appraisal: "As State Secretary of the Chancellery, Dr. Globke is acknowledged to be one of the most influential men in West Germany. He runs the Chancellor's office, and nearly all papers for the Chancellor must first go through his hands."³ Ironically, the one-time servant of the Nazi regime today has full control over the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Also under Globke's direct authority is the operation of a supersecret organization headed by Hitler's former spy chief, Lieutenant General Reinhard Gehlen.

In order to understand the tremendous power concentrated in the hands of Dr. Globke, we must first take a look at the world-wide intelligence network of the mysterious Bureau Gehlen. The story of General Gehlen has often been told in the European press, but seldom has his name been mentioned

in the United States. The reason is, as the *Washington Post* stated on September 19, 1954, that Hitler's former intelligence chief is working as "America's number-one spy abroad." Although for many years the Soviets had made a great outcry about the number of Gehlen agents they had captured, and although Europeans could read lengthy stories about the Bureau Gehlen in their newspapers, American readers heard the following facts for the first time in 1954:

. . . Without Reinhard Gehlen's name ever being mentioned in the appropriation's debate in Congress, he spends six million dollars a year from the United States Treasury.

Thousands of agents of diverse nationalities are on his payroll, together with the elite of the old German army's counter-intelligence corps. . . .

The Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon appear to trust this retired German Lieutenant General more than they do any Allied statesman. . . .

Here, in brief, is the story of the ex-Wehrmacht intelligence ace.* Under Hitler, Gehlen rose rapidly in the German General Staff. In 1942 he was appointed chief of the Enemy Armies East Department. As such, he worked hand in hand with Walter Schellenberg, the notorious head of the SS cloak-and-dagger Abwehr (Intelligence Bureau).

With the German military collapse imminent, Gehlen stored his valuable archives in safe places and ordered his staff to retreat into isolated regions high up in the Alpine redoubt. Some time after the shooting stopped, Gehlen surrendered to General Patton's Seventh Army. He immediately asked for an interview with the commanding officer of the U. S. Counter Intelligence Corps. Gehlen offered the American officer his intelligence staff, spy apparatus, and the priceless files for future service.

* The most informative articles about Gehlen appeared in the *London Daily Express*, March 17, 1952; *Die Weltwoche*, Zurich, August 6, 1954; *Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart, August 19, 1954; and *Der Spiegel*, September 22, 1954.

It was clear that Gehlen was a "big fish." Hitler's spy chief was immediately flown to Washington, where he conducted long negotiations in the Pentagon during the summer of 1945. According to *Der Spiegel* of September 22, 1954, a secret understanding was reached to the effect that Gehlen would reconstruct an "exclusively German-staffed" intelligence apparatus, "financed with the fat dollar funds from the U. S. Counter Intelligence." His files were found "invaluable" and "all his conditions were accepted."

The Pentagon-Gehlen agreement in practice guaranteed the continuation of the all-important Abwehr division of the German General Staff. Hundreds of German army and SS officers were quietly released from internment camps and joined Gehlen's headquarters in the Spessart Mountains in central Germany. When the staff had grown to three thousand men, the Bureau Gehlen opened a closely guarded twenty-five-acre compound near Pullach, south of Munich, operating under the innocent name of the South German Industrial Development Organization. By 1950 the activities of the Bureau Gehlen had become public knowledge in Germany and all over Europe. The top secret was no longer a secret, yet "for years both Washington and Bonn refused to confirm that the organization existed."⁴

Within a few years the Gehlen apparatus had grown by leaps and bounds. In the early fifties it was estimated that the organization employed up to 4,000 intelligence specialists in Germany, mainly former army and SS officers, and that more than 4,000 V-men (undercover agents) were active throughout the Soviet-bloc countries. Gehlen's spy network stretches from Korea to Cairo, from Siberia to Santiago de Chile. "With the aid of his old and intimate friend, Secretary of State Globke, Reinhard Gehlen had access to Chancellor Adenauer at any time."⁵ When the Federal Republic became a sovereign state in 1955, the Bureau Gehlen was openly recognized as the official intelligence arm of the Bonn government. Thus the

world-wide Gehlen network came under the direct command and control of Dr. Hans Globke. There can be little doubt that with the conspiratorial capacity of the Bureau Gehlen, the Chancellor and his Secretary of State have at their disposal a formidable instrument for the internal and external struggle for power.

Another organization operating under the direct control of Dr. Globke is the Federal Press Department, which in recent years has been involved in several scandals in connection with the use of its multimillion-dollar "reptile funds." Dr. Adenauer's Secretary of State has been charged in the Bundestag with "paying journalists 1,000 and 2,000 marks for a political analysis." Such payments were obvious bribes, given to newspapermen so that they would "play along with the government line."⁶ Other millions have been spent to subsidize "friendly" publishers. To these sums must be added secret funds of more than 40,000,000 marks which are earmarked for the discretionary use of the Chancellor and his Secretary of State outside of any parliamentary control.

The opposition has been arguing for years that a man with Dr. Globke's questionable record does not belong in such a high and sensitive position. Yet whenever criticism has arisen, Dr. Adenauer has gone to great lengths to protect and defend his chief assistant by declaring that he is "indispensable."

No less dark is the picture of another high official, Dr. Herbert Blankenhorn, who for many years acted as Dr. Adenauer's adviser on foreign affairs. Like Globke, Dr. Blankenhorn had faithfully served Hitler and the Nazi hierarchy. When Dr. Adenauer was being groomed to become the first Chancellor of the Republic, he entrusted the ex-Nazi Blankenhorn with the task of organizing a new Foreign Office.

Long before the 1945 collapse, the Nazi diplomats had made elaborate preparations for a quick comeback. They organized a special Niederlage (defeat) section whose task was

to work out detailed plans of "how to overcome the catastrophe." It is disturbing to examine the maneuvers of these diplomatic cavaliers as they evaded and wriggled free from automatic arrest and gradually disappeared into previously prepared emergency shelters in such guises as "director of an orphanage" or harmless officials employed by an "Evangelical Relief Society." Most of these men had been actively involved in preparing Hitler's aggressive moves by spreading propaganda and lies among the future victims and by financing and directing "fifth columns" and espionage networks abroad. In some countries these diplomats gave all-out support to groups which organized rebellion against lawfully elected governments, as, for example, in Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Iraq. They were implicated in kidnappings, the plotting of murder, mass deportation and gassing of Jews, the killing of hostages, and looting of whole countries.*

Only a few diplomats were ever investigated by the Allies in the "Wilhelmstrasse Trial" in 1949. Many others, although severely implicated, were never prosecuted. One of these men was Dr. Martin Luther, head of the Deutschland Department, where mass murder, looting, and other crimes were hatched in an almost daily routine. Dr. Luther acted in close cooperation with the Main Security Office of the SS, and his department was also "the liaison office with the Ministry of the Interior" in which Dr. Hans Globke acted as the Referent for Jewish Affairs.⁷ Numerous documents show that diplomats such as Horst Wagner, Karl Klingenfuss, Franz Rademacher, Werner von Grundherr, and others, participated in the "liquidation of the Jews." †

* These statements are based on intimate knowledge of the captured German Foreign Office files which I examined during 1946-48 as an investigator for the U. S. War Crimes Commission.

† Some of the incriminating evidence was presented in the "Wilhelmstrasse Trial" in 1949, and later in a German court in proceedings against the diplomat Rademacher. Gerald Reitlinger, in *The Final Solution* (p. 26), calls the

As early as 1949 the *Neue Zeitung*, the official American paper in Germany, warned of the preparations being made by the Ribbentrop clique to recapture the Foreign Office. The advice was not heeded by Dr. Adenauer. When the Chancellor, in 1950, ordered the establishment of a new Foreign Office, Herbert Blankenhorn presented him with the nucleus of the discredited Ribbentrop group. The Chancellor must have known that Blankenhorn, Ribbentrop's close confidant, was himself implicated in the crime of deportation and mass murder. On April 22, 1952, the Swiss newspaper *Die Tat* reported that in the trial against Rademacher certain documents and a photograph which implicated Blankenhorn had not been introduced in court as evidence although they were in the prosecutor's files. According to *Die Tat*, the picture "showed Herr von Blankenhorn in his diplomatic uniform visiting the Warsaw ghetto together with other high Nazis." It was pointed out that the Bonn Foreign Office had put pressure on the court not to introduce the picture and the incriminating documents.

The uninterrupted attacks by a few democratic papers against the reactivation of the old Ribbentrop group were soon echoed by the Social Democratic opposition in the Bundestag. The fact that the old Nazis had infiltrated a department as sensitive as the Foreign Office became a constant cause of embarrassment to Dr. Adenauer. In the Bundestag debate of October 22, 1952, the Chancellor became so irritated by the mounting criticism that he lost his temper and threatened some German newspapers with court proceedings if they did not cease what he termed "unjustified" attacks against certain diplomats. However, in spite of these threats, a German journalist, Michael Heinze-Mansfeld, continued

Bureau IV A 4b, in the Main Security Office, "the hub of the entire spider's web of deportation and massacre." Reitlinger also points to the large-scale forgery of foreign bank notes and documents organized by the Security Office in the Sachsenhausen camp.

to publish evidence exposing the Nazi diplomats in the Bonn Foreign Office.*

Public indignation mounted when the director of the Bavarian Radio Network, Wilhelm von Cube, a fighting democrat, denounced the impossible situation in two broadcasts. Von Cube proved in a detailed analysis that no fewer than 85 percent of the leading officials in the Bonn Foreign Office had been Nazi party members and had served the Hitler cause.

Because of these protests the Bundestag took matters in hand and appointed an investigating committee. After many hearings, concerning only the twenty diplomats named in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* articles, the committee issued its final report, consisting of a hundred printed pages. The report confirmed the fact that many Ribbentrop diplomats had gained dominating positions in the Bonn Foreign Office because they were able to act as a closely knit organization. The report stated that the group had placed their members in key positions and that they had done their utmost to whitewash one another by exchanging affidavits—*Persilscheine*—which were supposed to prove that they had all been "resistance fighters."

The report called for the retirement or the ousting from the Foreign Office of Dr. Werner von Grundherr, Dr. Werner von Bargen, Dr. Kurt Heinburg, and Dr. Herbert Dittmann, who was then chief of the Department of Foreign Service Personnel. It recommended that the former Nazi officials, Drs. Wilhelm Haas, Peter Pfeiffer, Wilhelm Melchers, Hans Schwarzmann, Werner Schwarz, Alois Tichy, and Truetzschler von Falkenstein, be prevented from assuming diplomatic missions abroad and that they be prohibited from serving in the Department of Foreign Service Personnel.

* In a series of six articles, "You Have Returned, You Ghostly Creatures," Mansfeld reviewed the sordid past of a number of prominent Bonn diplomats (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, September 1-6, 1951).

The committee complained about the outright lying and falsification of facts practiced by the accused diplomats. It was established that the Foreign Office officials had elaborately conspired to protect Dr. Rademacher (accused of participation in the mass killing of Jews) in order to prevent the implication of other diplomats. Dr. Rademacher, who in one case was clearly proved to have arranged the killing of 1,500 Jews in Belgrade, drew a prison sentence of only three years and eight months. The court allowed him to remain free while his appeal was pending, thus creating a welcome opportunity for him to flee. Promptly Rademacher escaped to Argentina, the haven of so many war criminals. There the Nazi periodical *German Honor* was jubilant and called Rademacher's escape an "extraordinary feat of rescue from the clutches of the Jewish jackals."

In the Bundestag debate of October 23, 1952, Dr. Adenauer admitted that 66 percent of the diplomats in higher positions were former Nazis, but, he added, he could "not build up a Foreign Office without relying on such skilled men." The recommendations made in the Bundestag report were completely ignored. The vital Department of Personnel is still dominated by former party members. For many years the director of the official diplomatic School for Foreign Service was the ex-Nazi Dr. Peter Pfeiffer, a man closely connected with numerous conspiratorial affairs. At the end of the Tunisian campaign, in 1943, Dr. Pfeiffer closed his last telegram with "Long live the Fuehrer! Sieg Heil!"

In 1958 Foreign Minister von Brentano appointed two former Nazis as his top assistants. He made Dr. Albert-Hilger von Scherpenberg, a son-in-law of Hjalmar Schacht, State Secretary, assuming that the public had entirely forgotten a sensational kidnapping case in which this man had been involved twenty-five years before.

In February 1935 the Swiss authorities arrested the journalist Dr. Hans Wesemann and charged him with the kid-

napping of Berthold Jacob, the publisher of an anti-Nazi newsletter, who was then known as a particularly well-informed expert on German secret rearmament. Wesemann, playing the role of an anti-Nazi, had lured Jacob from France to Switzerland, offering him "important information." With the help of two Gestapo specialists Jacob was doped and then brought over the German border in an automobile. Under mounting evidence Wesemann finally broke down and admitted several kidnappings for the Gestapo. He named as his closest contact man in London the diplomat Hilger von Scherpenberg—today a State Secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office.

The other man elevated by Foreign Minister von Brentano is the ex-Nazi Dr. Herbert Dittmann, who has been severely implicated by the vast evidence regarding the mass deportation and liquidation of millions of Jews in the East. The Bundestag report sharply censured him for his constant lying as a witness and declared him no longer fit to be employed in the Foreign Service. In spite of this verdict, Dr. von Brentano appointed him Undersecretary of State. In 1960 Dr. Dittmann was appointed ambassador to Brazil.

Attached to Globke's empire in the Chancellery is the Federal Press Department. Since 1952 (with a brief interruption in 1955) the Press Department has been headed by Felix von Eckardt, who during the Nazi rule was one of the most successful script writers on nationalist and Nazi topics in the state-controlled motion picture industry. A Bismarck film written by von Eckardt was chosen by Dr. Goebbels as "Film of the Nation," an equivalent of the American Oscar.⁸ Herr von Eckardt's deputy in the Press Department is Dr. Werner Krueger, a former Nazi who once had been trained in Dr. Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. Under Krueger's rule dozens of former Nazis have taken up important positions in the Press Department.

When Herr von Eckardt served temporarily as Bonn's dip-

lomatic observer at the U.N. in 1956, a Dr. Edmund Forschbach, also a former Nazi, acted as Dr. Adenauer's press chief. The American newspaperman Theodore Kaghan, who interviewed the Chancellor at that time, described Forschbach's nervousness when Nazism was discussed in the interview. Forschbach felt uneasy because it had been revealed in the German press that he "had played a leading role, back in 1933, by lining up German Catholic student organizations behind Hitler." He had also appeared in the first complete Nazi Reichstag "wearing a smart SA uniform and looking resplendent in the ideological trappings of the Thousand-Year Reich."⁹

Kaghan, who served for several years as a high public affairs official with the U. S. High Commissioner in Germany, had first-hand knowledge of the conditions in the Bonn Republic. In his articles he described how even those friendly toward Adenauer say that the Chancellor is "too closely surrounded with ex-Nazis." Kaghan quoted *Der Mittag*, a right-of-center newspaper as saying: "We simply cannot understand why former prominent Nazi politicians must be in the first row again. . . . There is no excuse."

When Chancellor Adenauer formed his second cabinet after the 1953 election, it was presented to the world as a team of staunch democrats. However, the record showed a number of his ministers either as members of the Nazi party and the SS or as extreme nationalists who had served the Hitler cause in important positions. Ministers Theodor Oberlaender, Emanuel Preusker, and Waldmar Kraft had been officers in Hitler's Elite Guard. Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, a party member, served the Nazis as a legal adviser and storm troop leader. As Minister of the Interior he now has control over the police and is responsible for the internal security of the Bonn Republic.

Former New York *Times* correspondent Delbert Clark reported that the record of the Minister of Economics, Dr.

Ludwig Erhard, "was one of full co-operation with the Nazi regime." He was "adviser to Nazi Gauleiter Buerckel in the Saar, and chief of the Hitlerite Institute for Industrial Research."¹⁰ Dr. Fritz Schaeffer, the Minister of Finance (later Minister of Justice), praised Hitler in glowing terms as the "savior of the Reich." Delbert Clark described Schaeffer as "a clever and highly dangerous character." Under United States occupation Schaeffer was appointed Minister-President of Bavaria. However, mounting evidence soon revealed that he had been a Nazi collaborator, and in 1946 he was removed from office and banned for several years from all political activities.¹¹

The Minister of Transportation, Dr. Hans Christoph Seebohm, served the Nazi regime as an economic adviser in Silesia and in occupied Czechoslovakia. Dr. Seebohm is known all over Europe as an ultranationalistic troublemaker. *Der Spiegel* of March 23, 1960, published a two-column profile which depicted Seebohm as the "prototype of the eternal Nazi." His rabble-rousing Sunday speeches have become a controversial topic in the European press and have frequently been a source of uneasiness to Dr. Adenauer. As leader of the Rightist German party, Dr. Seebohm has openly expressed his deep reverence for the swastika and has viciously attacked the Western powers. On September 15, 1951, he addressed a mass meeting of the Sudeten Germans at Stuttgart in which he denounced the "monstrous crime the victors had committed against Germany, Europe and the whole world."

Another cabinet member, Dr. Hermann Schaefer, served during the war as an important official in Reichsmarschal Goering's Armaments Office.

Of all his cabinet members, the Minister for Expellees, Dr. Theodor Oberlaender, caused the Chancellor most chagrin. As a high Nazi official and officer of the SS (he was Reichsfuehrer of the German Alliance in the East), Dr. Oberlaender had used the Nazi press to demand the expulsion and ex-

termination of the Slavic peoples and the rapid colonization of the vast conquered territories by the German master race.¹² For years German democratic papers had charged Dr. Oberlaender with packing the ranks of his ministry with former Nazis.¹³ In 1959 Oberlaender was the center of a storm that finally forced his resignation in May 1960. He was blamed for the mass murder of thousands of Jews and Polish intellectuals who had been liquidated in July 1941 when a special SS task force under his command occupied the Polish city of Lemberg (Lvov).*

With a cabinet of such background, it comes as no surprise to hear that the ministries are studded with former high-ranking Nazis. The excuse has often been heard that qualified applicants with a solid democratic record were not available. This has been vehemently denied by democratic critics. In the case of the Foreign Office, there was a list of more than a thousand applicants, men of democratic principles with diplomatic and foreign-language experience. Dr. Blankenhorn chose to hire his old Ribbentrop associates.

The Ministry for Expellees, once headed by Oberlaender, is still known as a haven for former high-ranking Nazis. The personal assistant to the minister is today Dr. Wolfram, a former SS officer. The fanatical race propagandist Werner Venzki, ex-mayor of Lodz, serves as director of a department. Head of the press office, Dr. Schlicker, was a storm troop leader.

Many ex-Nazis have found shelter in the Ministry of Transportation under Dr. Hans Seeböhm. One of his department

* At that time Dr. Oberlaender was an SS officer and a member of the notorious Abwehr. According to *Die Zeit* of Hamburg, he was an expert "for the treatment of other races" and the political officer of the Einsatz (terror) Nachtigall unit. Oberlaender's unit entered Lemberg on June 30, and remained in the city six days. According to Reitlinger and other sources, 7,000 people were killed, chiefly between July 2 and 4. Oberlaender does not deny that he was in Lemberg in those days, but says that during his stay "not a single shot was fired" (*Die Zeit*, October 9, 1959).

chiefs is Werner Kreipe, owner of the Nazi *Blutorden* (Order of the Blood—the highest Nazi party decoration), who once served as chief of the General Staff in Goering's Luftwaffe.

The senior civil servant in the Interior Ministry is State Secretary Ritter von Lex, a former Nazi and intimate friend of Dr. Globke. The *Deutsche Zeitung* of April 22, 1959, pointed out that it had become a habit of senior officials to bring into their department scores of officials who had worked with them during the Hitler regime.

For many years the Ministry of Justice has drawn criticism in the Bundestag. The courts, with a few notable exceptions, are to a large extent run by former Nazis. It has been charged that hundreds of Hitler's court functionaries are today in important positions, as prosecutors and presiding judges. Miscarriages of justice and favoritism toward ex-Nazis have become so routine that it is necessary to review this situation in a special chapter.

The new German Wehrmacht is directed by the young, aggressive Christian Democratic politician Franz-Joseph Strauss, whom *Time* magazine once labeled "the man to watch." The British press has called Strauss "the most dangerous man in Europe." The senior civil servant in the Defense Ministry is State Secretary Dr. Josef Rust, a former colleague and intimate of Globke. *Die Welt* of Hamburg reported on September 8, 1956, that "of thirty-eight newly appointed Generals in the Bundeswehr, thirty-one were members of the General Staff of the old Wehrmacht." These are the same Generals who served under the banner of the swastika and whose "responsibility for Hitler's rule is so heavy and so unmistakable."¹⁴ The British correspondent Brian Connell has reported that "most of the leading members of the new German Defense Ministry were recommended to Adenauer by General Gehlen."¹⁵

There are active Nazi conspirators in the Ministry of All-German Affairs, which some years ago was instrumental in

organizing a Nazi-type movement in the Saar in order to bring this French-controlled territory "*Heim ins Reich*"—Home to the Reich.¹⁶ The outright Nazi character of this Pan-German organization was clearly revealed when *Der Spiegel* published the record of the ex-Nazi official Dr. Eberhard Taubert, who in 1955 attracted attention with his anti-Semitic statements.¹⁷

Another early Nazi fighter and anti-Semite is Dr. Theodor Sonnemann who served the Hitler regime as an ideological propagandist for total war in the German high command. In several books Dr. Sonnemann denounced the British as the "arch enemy" and the Jews as the inventors of lies in the atrocity propaganda against the German Reich. His books were acclaimed in the Nazi press.¹⁸ Today this friend of Dr. Globke serves as State Secretary for Agriculture in the Adenauer government.

Dr. Gustav A. Sonnenhol, who joined Hitler's Brown-Shirts and the Nazi party as early as 1930, had a similar career. Later Dr. Sonnenhol became an SS officer attached to von Ribbentrop's diplomatic staff. According to the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of November 22, 1951, Dr. Sonnenhol boasted after the war that "it had been an honor to have served as a member of Hitler's SS." This Nazi record was no hindrance to the old fighter who, in 1950, was appointed head of the Information Office for Marshall Plan Aid in the Adenauer administration. A few years later Dr. Sonnenhol became the senior adviser to Vice-Chancellor Bluecher in the second Adenauer cabinet. While in this position he wrote a memorandum in which he advocated that Germany exploit the cold war to the utmost and make sure that no agreement should be reached between the United States and the Soviet bloc. According to the *Hamburger Echo* of March 27, 1954, the Sonnenhol memorandum aroused much criticism in England.

Even in the highest office of the land, that of the President, Nazis occupy positions of trust. The administrative head of the presidential office is a former Nazi official, Dr. Manfred

Klaiber, and his right-hand assistant is the ex-consul Luipold Werz, who once belonged to the SS security division.

The conditions in the administration of the Laender, county districts, and municipalities are even worse. In many of the smaller towns the old Nazi burghermasters have been re-elected.

In industry and banking the ex-Nazi *Wirtschaftsfuehrer* are back in power and position. The Krupps, Flicks, Rechbergs, and Reemtsmas have rebuilt and expanded their empires, and the Nazi banker Hermann Abs has greater influence with Dr. Adenauer than he ever had under Adolf Hitler.

That the Nazis have had a successful comeback in the Bonn Republic has been admitted even in the German press. Unfortunately, however, the general public in those countries which have aided in Germany's postwar recovery are shockingly unaware that the men who once faithfully served Hitler have quietly returned to key positions in the government.

6 *Dr. Adenauer's Two Miracles*

There are two "miracles" which Dr. Adenauer has often named as the foremost achievements of his postwar leadership. In talks with foreigners he seldom forgets to mention the fact that Nazism has completely disappeared and that the new Germany rests on a stable, democratic electorate, with the majority of voters flooding his Christian Democratic Union (CDU). This is an imposing picture, almost as impressive as the *Wirtschaftswunder*—the economic miracle—which in every national election has turned out to be the Chancellor's drawing card.

But what has happened to the more than 20,000,000 people who in 1933 voted enthusiastically for Hitler and his nationalistic cause? By what device did a "people that elected Hitler and joyously followed him on his mad career become overnight miraculously anti-Totalitarian?"¹

In the last free election before Hitler came to power the Nazis rallied almost 12,000,000 votes behind their aggressive racial and militant program.* In addition to these, there were

* There were two elections in 1932: on July 31 the Nazis polled 13,800,000 votes for the swastika ticket; a few months later, on November 6, they suffered a loss of 2,000,000 votes.

3,000,000 ardent nationalists, chiefly officers, bureaucrats, and veterans of World War I, voting for the German National party under Hugenberg, who at that time had concluded a close alliance with Hitler. In the March 1933 election the Catholic Center party (4,200,000) moved over to the extreme Right, and Herr von Papen engineered the Hitler-Papen-Hugenberg coalition, which then polled nearly 25,000,000 votes. Of these, 17,300,000 were for the Nazi ticket alone. At that time all middle-of-the-road parties had completely disappeared and only the Left with its 12,000,000 votes (Social Democrats, 7,200,000; Communists, 4,800,000) had remained intact.

In order to understand what has been going on in the Bonn Republic we must consider briefly the three phases of Germany's postwar political development. The first period (1945-47) was notable for the systematic sabotage by most parties of the Allied denazification program. The second period (1948-52) was characterized by attempts to use the licensed parties as vehicles for Nazi propaganda, and to bring ex-Nazis into administrative positions. The third period (1953 to the present) is marked by the quiet and gradual Nazi infiltration as a consequence of secret talks between high-ranking ex-party members and spokesmen of the leading government party, the Christian Democratic Union.

During the two years following Germany's collapse, all political activities were under the strict control of the occupying powers. They licensed the newspapers and decided who was to be allowed to enter politics, first on the local and later on the regional level. The idea then was that the Germans had "to learn democracy."

The second period saw all the parties in wild competition, making extreme nationalistic appeals to 50,000,000 people who had just gone through a severe attack of the German (swastika) measles. It soon became evident that the German politicians were as shrewd as ever, but that unfortunately

the Western powers had learned very little from the bitter experience of two world wars.

The third period produced the rapid growth of a Christian Democratic mass party from 7,000,000 to 15,000,000 votes, all within the brief span of eight years.

How did this "miracle" come about? Was it the result of a democratic enlightenment campaign conducted by Dr. Adenauer, Dr. Globke, and the conservative-Rightist cabinet? There was no evidence of such a campaign during the period of 1950-52. On the contrary, there were alarming reports in the Adenauer press of a continuous decline of the CDU position and of landslide gains by the extreme Rightist parties in all regional elections. After a severe defeat in a local election in Bremen, the pro-Adenauer *Rheinischer Merkur* hoisted the following storm warning on October 12, 1951:

The decline of the CDU in Northern Germany, which first became visible in the state elections of Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony, has now become alarmingly clear with the election returns from Bremen. The Socialist Reichs party has attained almost the same strength and, in some local arrangements with the BHE [Refugee party], even more votes than the CDU. The latter fact is the significant hallmark of a development in which nationalistic slogans have created conditions similar to those in the late years of the Weimar Republic. . . . There is an unmistakable trend toward the radical Right. . . .

This statement shows that the CDU leaders were seriously concerned about the future of the Adenauer coalition. If the Chancellor wanted to stay in power and proceed with his plan for unification of Europe, he would first have to secure a safe continuation of his coalition. Some time in 1951 the Adenauer high command came to the conclusion that they had to stop any further trend toward the Right and find means by which as many votes as possible could be channeled into Adenauer's CDU. The most effective way to do this was to

apply the time-honored device of "the stick and the carrot." The stick was used against the Socialist Reichs party (SRP) which had become the center of the neo-Nazi movement. At the request of the Bonn government the SRP was soon declared anticonstitutional and was outlawed by the Federal Court in Karlsruhe. At the same time, liberal use of the "carrot" was made in order to lure the homeless neo-Nazi voters into the ranks of the CDU. In the state of Lower Saxony all parties scrambled wildly to pick up the almost 370,000 votes of the outlawed SRP. According to press reports, "all parties had opened their arms to embrace the homeless Nazi votes, especially the declining CDU." ²

The election returns in 1953 made it quite obvious that a large section of ultra-Rightist and neo-Nazi voters had shifted their support to the CDU. In Lower Saxony, where the Christian Democrats had polled only 17 percent of the total vote in 1949 (and had suffered further losses in 1952), the returns suddenly went up to more than 33 percent of the popular vote. The CDU's success was even greater in Schleswig-Holstein. Whereas in previous elections the Christian Democrats could barely gain 16.5 percent of the popular vote, in 1953 they polled 47.1 percent of the total returns in this state. It was clear that whole blocs of voters had suddenly shifted to the CDU.

How such political deals were made possible can best be shown by examining the situation in Schleswig-Holstein. To begin with, this northernmost state, almost exclusively Protestant and a stronghold of the Nazis, had been a poor hunting ground for the CDU. Then the neo-Nazi movement was strengthened by the influx of refugees from the lost territories in the East. The Prime Minister of the state was Dr. Walter Bartram, a Nazi who had joined the party in 1937 and who, after the war, had become a member of the CDU.

In many towns of Schleswig-Holstein the Nazis had recovered their old positions. Government officers, former

party officials, and top-level SS and army officers had banded together in various organizations which wielded a strong influence in the state. They had a large following in every town and village. According to press reports they had developed a state-wide machine which had worked in behalf of the neo-Nazi SRP.³

A report in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* described how a group of former Nazi officials, SS officers, Hitler Youth leaders, and the ex-mayors of several cities and towns had formed an Alliance of the War Generation. This supposedly non-political organization worked in close contact with a Gauleiter group in Hamburg (connected with the Achenbach-Naumann circle) and with the Bruderschaft, a nation-wide network of important Wehrmacht and SS officers. According to the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, this ex-Nazi organization had "to a considerable extent infiltrated the regional Rightist parties and had thereby gained a great deal of influence."⁴

With the outlawing of the neo-Nazi SRP, the Alliance and its followers were confronted with a basic problem: where would they find a political home in which they could work undisturbed and undetected? They did the most logical thing—they joined Dr. Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union. Of course they had the choice of joining one of the three other Rightist parties, but that would only have produced evidence in support of the old charge that they were using the tactic of infiltration, and it could have resulted in the outlawing of another Rightist party. Also there was this important point: the three Rightist parties had all their key positions filled with ex-Nazis, whereas the CDU still had an undetermined organizational structure. The CDU could use organizers, ward leaders, speakers, district leaders, and so on. Under these circumstances the best solution for the Nazi action groups was to infiltrate the CDU state organizations quietly and gradually.

There is little doubt that the weakness of the CDU in

1952 gave the neo-Nazis their great chance. Dr. Adenauer's party badly needed the votes, especially in Schleswig-Holstein. Support from every political machine and bailiwick was welcomed, provided the votes were brought in. Those who worked for the victory of the party in power could expect to be rewarded with the spoils. The following case may serve as an illustration. Among those who joined the CDU at that time was a Dr. Menzel who under the Nazis had functioned as the deputy mayor of Eckernförde. He had joined the Nazi party as early as 1931. After the war Dr. Menzel was a member of the four-man board that ran the Alliance of the War Generation, which supported the SRP. It was probably around 1952 that Dr. Menzel and his followers joined the CDU. Very soon afterward he became a prominent member of the State Assembly of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1955, when he was Deputy Leader of the CDU, he was nominated for the important cabinet post of Minister of the Interior.⁵

During the last few years Schleswig-Holstein has been almost constantly in the news. In 1955 the Association of Former Internees and Victims of Denazification, an active Nazi group, held a mass meeting outside Neumünster. Several provocative speeches were made, and the chairman of the group boasted of his "intimate collaboration with the Office for the Protection of the Constitution."⁶

On December 16, 1957, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* reported that Minister-President Kai Uwe von Hassel had dismissed from his cabinet the Minister of Welfare, Hans-Adolf Asbach, charging him with having "allowed the infiltration of former high-ranking SS officers and Nazi leaders."

In 1958 the election of former SS General Heinz Reinefarth to the Schleswig-Holstein State Assembly provoked comment throughout Germany. Reinefarth is known as the "butcher of Warsaw" because of his merciless dealings with Polish freedom fighters. When the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* criticized Reinefarth as unfit to sit in a parliamentary body,

the diocesan paper of the Lutheran Church in Schleswig-Holstein rushed to the General's defense by accusing the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (a pro-Adenauer paper) of having disturbed the domestic peace and given "aid and comfort to Red propaganda." To which the paper retorted that it is neither disturbance of the peace nor Red propaganda to chase unsavory characters out of public life. Said the paper: "People with an evidently black record do not belong in our parliaments or in important political positions." *

A New York *Times* dispatch of January 17, 1961, mentioned that Schleswig-Holstein was plagued by "growing scandals" and that there were widespread charges that the state "had become a haven for former prominent Nazis."

Developments in certain other states—for example, Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia—were not much different from those in Schleswig-Holstein. In Catholic Bavaria the teachers, local priests, and burghermasters were those on whom the CDU relied most heavily in order to build up its new party organization. Yet the teachers and the burghermasters had been the backbone of the Nazi movement throughout Bavaria. Dr. John D. Montgomery, a senior research official in the U. S. Military Government, found that "most of the older teachers had been thoroughly orientated in Nazi philosophy" and "showed the greatest resentment against the occupation." Yet Dr. Montgomery reports that "in the Bavarian schools 11,000 out of 12,000 teachers, who had been dismissed because of Nazi affiliations, were reinstated by 1949." ⁷

In the following years Adenauer's party did even more to console the "old fighters" of the shattered Thousand-Year Reich. In May 1951 the Bundestag passed a law whereby, under Article 131 of the Bonn Constitution, those civil serv-

* The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* of January 7, 1959, used a strong German expression: "Leute mit nachweislich erheblichem Dreck an ihrem Stecken gehoeren nicht . . ."

ants who had been dismissed during the occupation had to be reinstated in administrative jobs. "The re-employment proceeded so rapidly that within less than a year 139,471 had been readmitted to public service, and by September 30, 1953, this figure had increased to 163,577." ⁸

It was unfortunate for the German people that all parties, including the Social Democrats (and their late leader, Kurt Schumacher), who used nationalistic appeals from the very beginning were neither restrained nor reprimanded by the occupying powers. At a time when the German masses needed sane and sober leadership in order to find their way into a new future, they were exposed to waves of nationalistic intoxication. In the race for nationalist popularity, Dr. Adenauer proved himself to be an astute campaigner. In his earliest speeches he expressed open contempt for England, and he depicted the British as the true enemies, because they tried to hamper the economic resurrection of West Germany by dismantling the industries on Rhine and Ruhr. The New York *Times* of August 14, 1949, quoted the following passage from Dr. Adenauer's election oratory:

A nation like Germany, with one of the front seats in mankind's history, has a right to think along nationalistic lines. . . . The foreigners must understand that the period of collapse and unrestricted domination by the Allies is over.

On March 25, 1949, long before he was elected Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer caused consternation among the Allies when he declared in a speech in Berne, Switzerland, that the German people had never surrendered to the Allies, implying that they were free from all obligations. The German military leaders who surrendered in 1945 had "no mandate from the German people to submit to the terms of unconditional surrender." In the same speech he opposed Allied confiscation of German patents and denounced the Oder-Neisse line by declaring: "This frontier we shall never recognize!" The

Chancellor's official biographer notes that "Adenauer's Berne speech caused a political sensation far beyond the frontiers of Switzerland; almost everywhere it was received with stormy indignation."⁹ And at a mass meeting in Berlin in 1950, Dr. Adenauer embarrassed the Allied representatives present when he led the crowd in the singing of "Deutschland ueber Alles," which was played at his request.

From the beginning Dr. Adenauer announced that his platform was to free Germany from the consequences of defeat, to gain back full sovereignty for the Fatherland, and to build it up again as a strong partner in a new alliance. A program like this was bound to have a considerable effect upon millions of Germans who had just lost their Fuehrer and the dream of becoming the master race of the world.

Many of these homeless nationalists were already members of existing mass organizations, such as veterans' societies and refugee associations, all under the leadership of former Nazis and Wehrmacht officers. The Christian Democrats could hope to win the support of these millions of ultranationalists and neo-Nazis only if they were willing to make concessions to the huge Rightist bloc that is known as the "Invisible Party."¹⁰ The CDU was willing to make such concessions and to pay a price.

There were secret talks late in 1952 between leading members of Dr. Adenauer's cabinet and Dr. Werner Naumann. These negotiations were suddenly disrupted when the British arrested the ex-Nazi leader and several of his co-conspirators. The confiscated Naumann papers revealed that Naumann had conducted negotiations with Bundesminister Waldemar Kraft (also an ex-Nazi) and with the Minister of Justice, Thomas Dehler. According to *Der Spiegel*, there also had been a meeting between leading ex-Nazis and the late Bundestag Speaker, Herman Ehlers, in the fall of 1952. The purpose of all these negotiations had been to persuade the former Nazis into "positive collaboration" with the CDU.

The following facts seem to be noteworthy. First, the negotiations always took place a year or so before the elections to the Bundestag. Second, preceding an election year, certain bills were pushed through the Bundestag or promises were made which satisfied to a large extent the special interests of ex-Nazi officials, former SS and Wehrmacht officers, and the families of convicted war criminals. Dr. Adenauer promised that he would make every effort to free the "poor devils of war criminals." *

There were millions of expellees, once ardent followers of Hitler, who had lost their homes and who often found themselves in economic straits. To these people, who had to look for jobs, bigger pensions, and a new status, the CDU as the party in power had much to offer. There were other even more important issues, such as special decrees and statutes which originally had been introduced by the occupying authorities in order to keep the Nazis out of federal and state government offices. There were the 400,000 men of Hitler's Waffen SS, an organization which had been declared "criminal" during the Nuremberg War Crime Trials, who looked forward to rehabilitation. If the party in power could remove such onus, if a law could be enacted that would open the doors for the SS to enter the new Bundeswehr as officers and noncommissioned officers, such an act would be well remembered on election day.

Months before the election in 1953 many CDU speakers began addressing veterans' and refugee associations, praising Dr. Adenauer for his persistent efforts to rescue Germany from defeat and for having "restored the honor of the German soldier." In June 1953 Dr. Adenauer visited the prison

* *New York Times*, June 25, 1952. In a press conference on February 19, 1952, Dr. Adenauer stated: "We Germans are exceptionally deeply interested in the treatment of war criminals, both for psychological reasons and sympathy with those who, though sentenced, have in our opinion not committed any war crimes at all."

in Werl, where he shook hands demonstratively with war criminals who had been sentenced to death and whose sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment. He assured them that the Bonn government was doing everything to obtain their release.

On August 7, 1953, a CDU member of the Bundestag, former Colonel Hartmann, acted as the official representative of the Adenauer party at a mass meeting of former members of Hitler's Waffen SS. In his speech, according to a report in the *Wiking-Ruf*, the newspaper of the Waffen SS, Hartmann condemned the defamation of the Waffen SS, saying that they had been "as an organization, and in their conduct as soldiers, always honorable." The spokesman then stated:

The CDU believes in giving equal status to the claims of the Waffen SS along with those accorded to other units of the regular German army. Dr. Adenauer's visit to the prison at Werl is intended to make it clear to the whole world that the last of the so-called war criminals must be set free immediately. The Chancellor has made this a prerequisite of his policy, which is aimed at wiping out the Nuremberg concept of collective guilt. . . . The Bonn government has done its utmost to gain all advantages from the present situation and the soldiers of the Waffen SS should be appreciative of the fact that the Chancellor, in the formulation and execution of his European policies, is paying close attention to the record of common sacrifice [by the Waffen SS] in a great cause.

Needless to say, Dr. Adenauer's attitude was appreciated by Hitler's Waffen SS veterans. The *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* of August 27, 1953, reported that one of the Waffen SS leaders, General Herbert Gille, recommended to all former Elite Guard members that they give their votes only to a political party which "has worked constructively in the interest of Germany."

As a result, millions of former Nazis, who had not voted

in 1949, gave a vote of confidence to the Adenauer policies in 1953. The returns made it obvious that the negotiations with the Naumann clique, the generous patronage to ex-Nazis, and the emphasis on "restoration of the German honor" had the desired results. Whereas the vote of the SDP and the Rightist parties showed no unusual fluctuation, the returns for the CDU brought an upsurge from 7,300,000 to 12,400,000 votes.

The nationalistic appeal to the unreconstructed Nazis not only shocked Germany's neighbors in Switzerland, France, Holland, Britain, and Scandinavia, but it was also noted with some apprehension by critical observers in the United States. An expert in the field of Nazi infiltration and propaganda, Professor James H. Sheldon, gave the following analysis of the CDU election returns:

The West German elections show primarily a vote of confidence for "a strong man." Some early commentators on the Bonn returns seemed jubilant over the relatively small vote secured by the official neo-Nazi parties. Any encouragement to be derived from this aspect of the matter, however, is strictly skin-deep. The facts are that the Pan-Germans, neo-Nazis and ultranationalists succeeded in invading the parties of the Adenauer coalition to such an appalling extent that they are now much nearer to the control of power in West Germany than before. . . . In other words, what happened in the German elections on September 6th is about the same as what has happened to "reform" parties in scores of American municipal elections where the "corrupt" machine has adopted the cynical philosophy that "the best way to lick 'em is to join 'em."¹¹

To back up his analysis, Mr. Sheldon was able to quote excerpts from an official U.S. intelligence report which stated:

Although the German voters on September 6th have banished the extremist parties of the right and the left from the Bundestag, they now must prepare themselves to seeing the basic democratic constitutional principles endangered by the authoritarian forces

which exert their influence inside Adenauer's party. . . . There cannot be any doubt that the nationalist, revisionist and authoritarian tendencies at the policy-making level of the CDU-CSU will be strengthened by the very strong increase in votes received by the party from obviously rightist extremist circles. . . .

The foregoing report may serve as an illustration of the United States' policy dilemma. The intelligence officials took note of the realities and pointed to the alarming increase of the "authoritarian forces which exert their influence inside Adenauer's party." Yet our policy position required us to advertise the façade and ignore the facts. An official Washington statement hailed the CDU victory as a "clear repudiation of all anti-democratic extremist groups both of the Right and the Left."¹²

Preparations for the 1957 election were similar to those of 1953. After lengthy confidential negotiations, an invitation was sent out in January 1957—nine months before the election—to a large group of top Nazi leaders for a secret meeting with one of Dr. Adenauer's closest advisers, the Bundestag's president, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier. Had not *Der Spiegel* gotten wind of this extraordinary exercise in "togetherness," the outside world would not have heard a word about it. *Der Spiegel* of February 6, 1957, reported that the organizer, Carl Cerff—a former SS officer—admitted that it was intended "to keep the meeting secret," because these were "confidential talks which were not for the ears of the public and press."

Among several dozen participants were former Gauleiters and deputy Gauleiters led by Dr. Werner Naumann, SS Generals Paul Hausser and Sepp Dietrich, several leaders from the Hitler Youth and the Labor Front, and, finally and most important, top officials from the Nazi Propaganda Ministry, such as Hans-Schwarz van Berk, former editor of *Der Angriff* and *Das Reich*, the former Goebbels assistant, Helmut Suendermann, today one of the most aggressive neo-

Nazi publicists, and Dr. Robert Ernst, once a Goebbels expert for the United Europe propaganda in France.

The meeting dealt with reconciliation and the recognition of "the good sides of the Nazi regime," as well as appropriate steps "to end all defamation." There was a speech by Dr. Naumann in which he praised the Bundestag's president for his "courage and understanding." Dr. Gerstenmaier in turn paid his compliments to Werner Naumann by stating: "It is regrettable that such a talented Secretary of State had the misfortune to serve under such a bad Propaganda Minister." To prove his good intentions, Dr. Gerstenmaier assured the illustrious assembly of former Nazi officials that "a new Naumann case would be impossible."

There was a lengthy discussion about the rehabilitation of the SS which, according to Dr. Gerstenmaier, could only come about by using the necessary patience. Admonishing his listeners to moderation, Dr. Gerstenmaier pointed to an earlier statement, that with "due regard to foreign public opinion" it would not be wise to have SS officers above the rank of Colonel admitted into the new Bundeswehr.¹³

There was little doubt among the observers in Bonn that Bundestag President Gerstenmaier would never have negotiated with the Naumann group unless he had had the prior consent and backing of Dr. Adenauer.* However there was considerable difference of opinion as to whether it was sound politics for democratic leaders to work with the unregenerate followers of a regime which had the most appalling criminal record in history. The outcome of the 1957 election dispelled these doubts. The negotiations, coupled

* The Chancellor is known to have a propensity for this type of secret negotiation. Long before Bonn had opened official relations with the Soviets, Dr. Adenauer authorized some of his closest advisers to conduct secret meetings with the Kremlin. In October 1958, for instance, it was discovered that the Minister of Finance, Dr. Fritz Schaeffer, with Dr. Adenauer's consent, had conducted top secret talks with high officials of the Pankow regime as far back as 1956.

with Germany's spectacular economic progress, again attracted more followers to the CDU. This time the CDU polled 15,000,000 votes as against the 12,400,000 of the 1953 election.

Some German and many foreign observers have pointed out that the rapidly progressing restoration and renazification will inevitably end in another catastrophe. As early as 1954 the German papers reprinted press comments from London charging that Dr. Adenauer was served by 190 more General Staff officers than Hitler had in 1936. The Bonn correspondent of the *News Chronicle* was quoted as saying that Dr. Adenauer was "surrounded by arrogant nationalists and defenders of the past, such as the Bundesministers Schroeder, Oberlaender, Kraft and Preusker, by men like Globke, Abs, and Professor Grewe, who all had served Hitler, and by Dr. Werner Best [an ardent Nazi], who had obtained an important position in the intelligence network of the Bonn Republic." ¹⁴

Dozens of statements like the foregoing could be quoted. Not long ago a highly respected CDU politician, Professor Walter Hagemann, director of the Institute for Publizistik at the University of Muenster, was ousted from the ranks of the Christian Democrats for having opposed German atomic rearmament and for having criticized Dr. Adenauer's autocratic habits in running the CDU. In May 1958 Professor Hagemann published an article in the Munich weekly *Die Kultur* under the heading: "We Are Again Threatened with Dictatorship." The article charges that "as once in the past, a single man has become the undisputed master over a huge mass party; a new Fuehrer mythos has been created and the capacity for critical judgment of millions of voters has been almost erased." Recalling the slogan, "The Fuehrer is always right," Professor Hagemann concludes that "at the end of this road there will again be a liquidation of the democratic order." ¹⁵

7 *The Termites*

Early in the afternoon of October 7, 1952, a scheduled airliner coming in from Madrid touched down on the runway of the modern Rhine-Main Airport outside of the West German city of Frankfurt. Among the debarking travelers was a tall, slender gentleman with a distinguished bearing. The traveler took his place in a long line of people who were waiting before German officials for a routine check of their passports, and when his turn came he submitted an Italian passport showing his picture and the name "Enrico Larcher." The pasport identified Signor Larcher as a dealer in art and a resident of the city of Milan.

A stocky German official slowly looked through the passport. Then, fixing his eyes on the elegant traveler, he asked politely and calmly in German:

"Sir, are you an Italian citizen? Is this passport a genuine identification?"

"Of course it is!" came the slightly indignant answer, spoken in German but with a strong foreign accent.

The German official did not seem to be satisfied. He beckoned Signor Larcher into an adjoining room.

Obviously acting on a tip, the official told Signor Larcher that he would have to undergo a thorough examination of his papers and his luggage. Ignoring the art dealer's protestations in German and Italian, the customs officers found the evidence they were looking for after a few minutes of searching. Documents revealed that Signor Larcher was not an Italian art dealer, but was rather a key figure in an international ring promoting Nazi infiltration.

The gentleman was really Eugen Dollmann, born in Regensburg, Bavaria, who had become well known to the security services of almost all European governments. Only eight months earlier Herr Dollman, alias Larcher, had been in the headlines all over Europe in connection with deportation proceedings in Switzerland. At that time the Swiss authorities had discovered the true identity of the "Italian art dealer." During World War II, Eugen Dollmann was known as the dashing SS Colonel who had played a prominent role as the top agent of Hitler and Himmler in Italy and "whose talent was more for conspiracy than for serious politics."¹

The investigation by the Swiss authorities established the fact that the former Elite Guard officer had lived under a false name for several years in a fashionable villa in the Swiss lake resort Lugano. From there Dollmann made frequent trips to Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Cairo. The Colonel's home in Lugano had been the center of lively traffic by mail and courier with far-flung places in the world. According to press reports, Dollmann's outpost in Switzerland was closely tied to the international Nazi headquarters in Madrid.²

Enough facts are known about the center in Madrid to show that it functions as a Nazi party organization in exile. It has been reported that the Madrid center has its own financial department, sustained by a huge treasure chest which the Nazis shipped to neutral countries before the German collapse.³ There is a special department for German affairs, de-

partments for Africa and Latin America, and also a unit known as the International of Nationalists. The latter is a propaganda organization with branches all over Europe and groups operating in the Western Hemisphere and on other continents. On May 29, 1951, *Times* correspondent C. I. Sulzberger confirmed the existence of this group which had revived the Fascist International in various countries "from Malmö to Tangier and from Rome to Buenos Aires." The *Washington Post* of May 6, 1956, reported on the close contacts between right-wing radicals in Germany and the center of the Nazi International in Madrid:

Observers in Bonn have traced the increasing activity of former Nazis who travel between Germany and the main centers of the International—Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Egypt and Argentina. They often work for import-export firms and agencies and for German motor manufacturers. They are able to tap "buried" Nazi assets abroad, which may be providing the main financial backing for Nationalist activities inside Germany.

The names most frequently in the news in connection with the underground work of the Madrid Nazi center are the anti-Semitic, rabble-rousing Dr. Johann von Leers, the SS Colonel Otto Skorzeny, and the German Luftwaffe ace, Hans Ulrich Rudel. It is a well-known fact that Franco has taken the Nazi plotters to his bosom. When, in 1959, a delegation of the Nazi Condor Legion visited Madrid, Franco greeted his old civil war allies with the words: "Please regard Spain as your second fatherland."⁴

In January 1952, German and Swiss newspapers reported an extraordinary concentration of former high SS officers and ex-Nazi officials in Cairo. They were in close contact with influential Egyptian army officers and with the fanatical Arab plotter and Hitler's friend, Haj Amin el Husseini, the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The *Basler Nachrichten* of January 29, 1952, mentioned the former Nazi SS Colonel Doll-

mann as one of those who had conferences with the Egyptian plotters in the Grand Mufti's headquarters, Villa Aida, in Heliopolis, a suburb outside of Cairo. The papers hinted that it was Dollmann and his co-conspirators in Madrid who had set the fuse of an anti-British plot in Cairo which, a few months later, resulted in the explosion that ended with the ousting of King Farouk.

Although the local police regarded the Dollmann arrest as "of great importance," someone in a high position in Bonn must have judged the affair from quite a different point of view, almost as an unfortunate accident that had to be remedied as quickly as possible. Despite the fact that the German law punishes the forging of passports and the use of false documents with long prison terms, Herr Dollmann did not suffer any great inconvenience. He might have been released without any trial had not the *Frankfurter Rundschau* given the case considerable publicity. Under these circumstances Dollmann appeared before a lower Magistrates Court a week after his arrest and was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for forgery.

The mild sentence given to Dollmann, the pressures to quash the prosecution against the Naumann plotters, the toleration of the activities of such important Nazis as Colonel Skorzeny and Hans Ulrich Rudel, give rise to the suspicion that high officials in Bonn had some secret ties with the Nazi center in Madrid. There are indications too that the Bonn Foreign Office and West German industrialists cooperated with the Nazis in Madrid in furthering a scheme to push the French and British out of the Near and Middle East. In most Arab countries the ties to the active Nazis were not interrupted with the collapse of the Third Reich. Many of the Nazi experts who had escaped the Allied dragnet were later hired by the Egyptian government as military, financial, and technical advisers. The official government Central

Planning Staff in Cairo under Dr. Wilhelm Voss and General Wilhelm Fahrembach was instrumental in arranging the armaments deal with the Soviet bloc.⁵ It is significant that the Nazi group in Cairo reportedly had closer ties to the Bonn Foreign Office than the West German ambassador, Dr. Guenther Pawelke.⁶

Also revealing was the case of Dr. Fritz Dorls, the leader of the Socialist Reichs party, which had been outlawed in 1952. This same Dr. Dorls, whose party had been exposed by the highest Federal Court as subversive, was, after his conviction, secretly hired by the Bonn Foreign Office for delicate assignments in the Arab countries.⁷

In 1959 Dr. Adenauer was asked in a BBC television interview whether there was a resurgence of anti-Semitism and Nazism. He flatly declared: "Anti-Semitism was a characteristic of National Socialism; both together have disappeared."⁸ Nine days before this interview the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limburg, Monsignor Walter Kampe, wrote an editorial in his diocesan paper, entitled "The Nazis in Our Midst." Monsignor Kampe spoke of "the existence of several underground organizations among the old-guard Nazis," through which they have created "a network of information and mutual assistance over the whole of Germany . . . whose influence is felt everywhere in all parties, in the administration of justice, in all professional organizations, among the expellee associations, and throughout our civic and economic life." Bishop Kampe then stated:

There are enough hot irons that nobody dares to touch because people deep in their bones feel a fear of the secret power and the brutality of the Nazi goon squads. It requires a certain courage to break that spell. What is missing is an organizational banding together of all the anti-Nazi forces in order to build a firm wall against the subversive attacks which undermine our not sufficiently stabilized democratic society.⁹

In a lengthy survey on the neo-Nazi and militaristic right-wing organizations, the *Frankfurter Hefte*, in its November issue of 1957, gave the following figures:

In the Federal Republic there exist today 46 political associations of this character. The Nazi-militaristic wing is served by 30 newspapers, 68 Rightist book and magazine publishers, and 120 former Nazi publicists. In addition there are approximately 50 nationalistic youth organizations.

A little later, in a series of articles, "Panorama of the Extreme Rightists," the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* for December 18, 19, and 21, 1957, made a survey of the organizational structure of the neo-Nazi movement, "whose immediate aim is not to score political results [at the ballot box], but to cultivate *Weltanschauung*." The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* named several dozen neo-Nazi organizations, their leading publications, and the gallery of would-be Fuehrers.¹⁰ When the flourishing Socialist Reich party was outlawed in 1952, the authorities soon discovered that within a few months the Nazis had set up more than sixty *tarn* organizations—camouflaged substitutes—in the state of Lower Saxony alone.¹¹

The neo-Nazis have succeeded in channeling the movement into dozens of innocent-looking organizations. At present most are eager to keep their overt activities within the limits of the so-called "democratic legality."

Behind the façade of the Bund Deutscher Jugend (Association of German Youth—membership 22,000) for instance, was a well-trained secret saboteur and assassination squad which had been labeled the Technical Emergency Service. This guerrilla army was composed of several thousand former Wehrmacht and SS officers, and was secretly provided with weapons, money, and training facilities by U.S. agencies, the Bonn government, and a few large West German business concerns. In 1952 the U. S. High Commission was quite

chagrined when the Minister-President of the State of Hesse, August Zinn, publicly charged that this organization had drawn up blacklists of prominent politicians who were marked for assassination in case of an "emergency." Enough evidence was produced to show that a large-scale political murder plot had been hatched in the best style of the "free corps" in the early twenties.¹²

A dispatch in the *New York Times* of October 10, 1952, stated that the plotters had "betrayed U.S. trust" and that the American officials had been unaware of what was going on:

United States authorities said they felt that the guerrilla training program was not in itself wrong, though possibly unwise. They said what most concerned them was the proclivity of the Germans involved for engaging in political activities that possibly had degenerated into a conspiracy against political and government leaders.

Similar illegal activities were discovered behind other Nazi organizations, such as the Freikorps Deutschland, the Bewegung Reich, and scores of smaller groups. It is significant that most of these plotters, including those of the Bund Deutscher Jugend, never had to stand trial.

How many staunch Nazis are today politically active in Germany? Since the Bonn government flatly denies that Nazis are still active in German politics, overtly or covertly, it is difficult to obtain figures based on official surveys. There is, however, a considerable amount of evidence—press reports on arrests of Nazis, the discovery of illegal organizations, public opinion polls, and the circulation of Nazi publications—which permits one to draw realistic estimates of the strength of the Nazi underground. As early as 1951, when figures were still reported, an official survey found that more than thirty illegal Nazi organizations were operating in West Berlin alone, all of them made up of former Nazi party of-

ficials and SS officers. According to the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of November 12, 1951, this "illegal" NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers' Party] had a membership of at least 200,000.

In 1951, only two years after the Socialist Reichs party was founded, it polled 367,000 votes for its thinly camouflaged platform, in the State of Lower Saxony. (This was 11 percent of a total of 3,393,000 ballots cast.) Here is a vivid description by an American observer who saw the SRP in action:

The Sozialistische Reichspartei is the closest thing to a Nazi party Germany has seen since war's end. The speakers talked a straight Nazi line. It went down well. The audience shouted and enthusiastically stamped at attacks on the U.S. and its "Kaugummi" (chewing gum) soldiers. . . . The SRP line: Germany lost World War II only through treason; atrocity charges are Allied propaganda; Dachau's death chambers were built after the war on American orders . . .

The party's brain is Count Wolf von Westarp, 45, one-armed former newspaperman and SS officer. But its loudest mouthpiece is former Major General Otto Ernst Remer. . . . Typical Remer blast: "Rather than have our women and children overrun by the Russians. . . . it would be better to post ourselves as traffic policemen, spreading our arms so that the Russians can find their way through Germany as quickly as possible. . . . [and] pick the [British and American] lords and ladies out of their silken beds!"¹³

Among the leaders of the SRP was a Dr. Franz Richter, than a member of the Bundestag. It was discovered that "Dr. Richter" was a former Nazi party official whose real name was Fritz Roessler—and no "Dr." at that. Richter-Roessler, like many other Nazis, had used false identification papers in order to avoid arrest by the Allies. Nobody really knows how many tens of thousands of party officials and Nazi war criminals are today living under false identities. In the early

years of the Bonn Republic it was estimated that as many as 120,000 people were hiding behind false fronts which had been carefully prepared before the Nazi collapse. Frequent appeals by the Bonn government, guaranteeing immunity from prosecution, have not brought a change in this situation.*

In the past the Adenauer government has argued that the few unreconstructed Nazis represent no danger to the democratic order. But, as we have seen, the Nazis are there in great numbers; they are active in all parties and civic groups and they constitute an ever-present danger. After the banning of the Socialist Reichs party in 1952, the Nazis boasted that they would come to power again "through the back door" by infiltrating all existing institutions and by capturing key positions in political parties, the state, and the economy with the help of a "small, well-trained totalitarian group." This new type of fascist struggle for power was termed "the cold revolution, a revolution carried out quietly from the top."¹⁴

In 1952, when five functionaries of a secret Adolf Hitler Action Group were sentenced for anticonstitutional activities in West Berlin, it became known that the leader of the group, Schlockermann (alias Schroer), once a prominent official in Hitler's headquarters in Munich, had given the following directive: "Act inconspicuously! Infiltrate all Rightist organizations and make them ready for the final assault."¹⁵

A rally of the Deutsche Reichs party in 1956 was addressed by such prominent Nazi propagandists as Wilhelm Meinberg, once Hitler's representative in the Prussian State Council; Adolf von Thadden, a fiery young agitator; and Herbert Freiburger, an astute tactician and former Hitler Youth leader. Herr Meinberg told the audience that some day the

* Professor Friedrich Grimm, a prominent lawyer for leading Nazis, estimated in 1952 that there were still at least 80,000 people in Germany who preferred to live under false identification papers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, September 9, 1952).

Germans would build a monument for Der Fuehrer and his dead paladins; youth leader Freiburger predicted the failure of Adenauer's policies; and Herr von Thadden elaborated on the forces which change the course of history: "We are convinced," he said, "that against an inert, lazy majority, an iron-willed minority has to rise as the challenger. History has never been made by majorities, only by dynamic minorities."¹⁶

In 1958 five hundred Hoheitstraeger—top men in the Nazi elite—held their annual rally in the city of Mainz. Among the speakers was a former SS Colonel Julius Zuchbold, once the Nazi mayor of the resort town of Bad Pyrmont, who was one of the leading SS tyrants in occupied Czechoslovakia. Applauded by the frantic laughter of the assembled Nazi elite, Colonel Zuchbold quipped:

As an SS officer, I had my place on the list of war criminals that had been prepared by the Czechoslovakian government. I preferred to go underground because I wanted to spare the Czechs the unesthetic view which an overweight man with such a tremendous paunch as mine would have presented from the gallows.

The speaker followed this sample of wit with a broadside against the Bonn "system," criticizing it for its slowness in granting well-deserved pensions. He topped this attack with a thinly veiled threat:

We do not intend to go to sleep. We will stay alert and exploit all the rights and privileges which the democratic system offers to us. Yet we will be a power whenever we decide to become a power.

The confident mood of the ex-Nazis was aired by Kurt Wilbertz, a lawyer and national chairman of the Association of Former Internees and Victims of Denazification, who boastfully announced that the "new tactic" (the infiltration of other parties) would be crowned with success. The speaker then declared: "It is high time that our friends in the Bunde-

stag and the State Assemblies move from the back benches into the front rows."¹⁷

Nobody can predict when and under what circumstances such Nazi ambition will again become a factor in German politics. But extreme German nationalism has fewer obstacles to overcome in its return to power than were present during Hitler's rise. The belief is that for the present, and as long as Adenauer stays at the helm, the comeback of an overt Nazi party is blocked by the decisions of the Federal Court and by an election law which says that only those parties shall be admitted to the Bundestag which either gain 5 percent of the total votes returned or directly elect three candidates in the districts. These roadblocks may be adequate for the moment, but they are not sufficient to deal with Nazism as a long-term disease.

During the first decade of the Bonn Republic the neo-Nazis have scored considerable propaganda achievements. Twelve years ago they set out with a rousing cry to free all war criminals, not only those serving their time in Germany but also those convicted in Russia, France, Holland, and the other countries in Europe. They put the Adenauer administration under heavy pressure to gain official support in forcing the Western powers to yield to their demands. Today almost all war criminals have been set free. At the moment of this writing only three leading Nazis are held in Spandau and a handful in France and Holland.* The probability is that they also will be released in the near future.

* According to an AP dispatch of May 10, 1958, the last four of the 1,500 Nazi war criminals held in Landsberg prison were finally released. Now the Rightist press demands the immediate release of the last three major war criminals in Spandau—Rudolf Hess, deputy of Der Fuehrer, Baldur von Schirach, one of Hitler's youth leaders, and Albert Speer, Hitler's munitions czar. A committee of ex-Nazis was formed to promote the Nobel Peace Prize for Rudolf Hess. Claims to the prize were based on Hess's personal courage in flying to England during the war and attempting to talk the British into a negotiated peace (*Der Fortschritt*, December 19, 1957).

Having scored these successes, the Nazis have become bolder in their program:

They foster the spiritual preparation of the youth for a return to the Nazi ideals.

They have encouraged the belief that Nazism was "a good idea" and that Hitler failed only because he was "stabbed in the back by traitors."

They relentlessly attack the democratic forces in Germany by using the labels "traitor" and "collaborationist" loosely against true democrats.

They demand full reparation for all the hardships suffered by Nazis and SS men who were interned after the war, and by expellees who were driven from their homes in the Eastern territories.

They propose the end of all restitutions and reparations to Jewish and other victims of Nazi persecution.

They advocate the "restoration of German honor" which was "besmirched and trampled upon by the victorious Jewish-Bolshevik war coalition."

They have launched an active fight against the Western "war-guilt lie."

They call for mass rejection of the "big Western lie about alleged Nazi atrocities."

They have started counterpropaganda which condemns the "war crimes committed by the Allies" and "the shameful postwar crime of Nuremberg."

They insist on the return of the "stolen territories" in the East, including the Sudetenland which they want incorporated into a restored German Reich.

They support a foreign policy in the East with the aim of turning the present cold war to Germany's fullest advantage.

They demand an end of all legal measures imposed by the victorious Allies against former Nazis and SS men, and

an unrestricted return of these to public office and the ranks of the new German army.

This neo-Nazi propaganda is broadcast through the ultra-Rightist press, from the highbrow neo-Nazi monthlies with a few thousand subscribers to the fire-eating expellee weeklies with circulations up to and above 100,000.* According to the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of April 18, 1959, the various expellee papers alone, weeklies and fortnightlies, have a combined circulation of more than a million. Also of great influence are several Rightist publishing houses which carry on a thriving business with an ever-increasing flood of war memoirs. On the best-seller list are books by former Nazi leaders, such as the writings of Rudolf Hess, Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, and the party "scholar," Alfred Rosenberg. There are self-justifying reports by ex-Gestapo officials and former Wehrmacht commanders. A booklet published in huge editions had the significant title *Hitler Acquitted*.

In 1956 the conservative *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* reported that a "tidal wave of fascist literature is flooding the Federal Republic."¹⁸ The outpouring of neo-Nazi books and pamphlets had reached such alarming proportions that in order "to combat this upsurge, an anti-fascist committee of German writers, educators and booksellers has been organized on a nation-wide basis." The group, the Gruenwald Circle, took its name from a suburb of Munich where many of its founders live. Among its leading personalities are Hans Werner

* Among several dozen militant Rightist monthlies and weeklies these are most often mentioned: *Nation Europa*, *Der Reichsruf*, *Der Ring*, *Wiking-Ruf*, *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung*, *Deutscher Aufbruch*, *Die Deutsche Freiheit*, *Der Freiwillige*, *Der Stahlhelm*, *Der Notweg*, *Deutsche Stimmen*, *Deutschland Brief*, *Deutsche Gemeinschaft*, *Der Volksbote*, *Der Sudeten Deutsche*, and *Suchlicht*. The rabble-rousing paper *Die Anklage* is at present defunct and its publisher has been sentenced to a two-year jail term. The Nazi monthly *Der Weg*, published in Buenos Aires, had 16,000 subscribers in Germany on its mailing list. It is now defunct.

Richter, a Bavarian writer, Dr. Rudolf Pechel, chief editor of the South German Radio, and Juergen Aggebrecht, director of the North German Radio Network. According to a New York *Times* report, the committee found that twenty publishing houses, about thirty book guilds, and forty-five periodicals "were solely devoted to dissemination of Rightist radical material."¹⁹ Its specialists, says the report, "compiled a list of 200 book titles, published in the last two years, which fit the classification of pro-Nazi or neo-Nazi."

The effects of this propaganda are clearly reflected in the various public opinion polls. Two highly respected public opinion institutes (the Emnid Agency and the Institute for Demoskopie) found that the great majority of the German people still believe that Nazism "was a good idea badly carried out." In 1953 the Reaction Analysis Staff of the U. S. High Commission in Germany reported that only 24 percent of the population regarded themselves as actively opposed to Nazism.²⁰ Only a third of the population considers Germany responsible for the war. In 1953 only 17 percent were in agreement with denazification measures, 23 percent considered them "wrongly executed," and 40 percent opposed them as "harmful and undesirable."²¹ In 1955 a poll taken by the Emnid Agency revealed that 14 percent of the electorate would still vote for Hitler. Public opinion polls in 1958 showed that 42 percent of the population still regarded Hitler as "the greatest statesman of all times," and the Swiss newspaper *Die Weltwoche* came to the conclusion that "60 percent of the population in West Germany are of questionable political morality."²²

On the basis of these polls only a quarter of the population of West Germany can be safely counted as democratic. There are at least 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 (16-18 percent of the population) who must be regarded as fanatical supporters of old Nazi concepts. The great majority in the middle are still favorably inclined to the Nazi past.

There is even the danger that a new Nazi party might legally come into power again. At the beginning of 1958 Bonn canceled the Allied occupation law which had banned the Nazi party and all its affiliates. The basic law of the Federal Republic is no barrier to a Nazi comeback, because once a willing court interprets a new political shift as in "accord with the democratic procedure," everything will be legal.

The neo-Nazis are obviously aware of such opportunities. In 1958 the former Nazi official, Wilhelm Meinberg, chairman of the Deutsche Reichs party, ridiculed Bonn's efforts to minimize the Nazi strength. He contemptuously remarked that "when our opponents one day realize that they know very little, it will be too late."²³ This is exactly what happened to the Weimar Republic—the democratic factions were badly mistaken about the nature of Hitler's ambitions until the very day he came to power.

The Nazi underground, as well as the conspicuous neo-Nazis, must be regarded as well-trained political shock troops. In recent years they have even come out in a show of strength by reviving the old Brown-Shirt tactics which marked Hitler's ascent to power. On several occasions the neo-Nazi parties have brought out uniformed goon squads to rough up opposition speakers, disturb meetings of other parties, or create anti-Semitic outbursts. Such incidents are seldom reported in the foreign press. An exception was a big rally of the German party in West Berlin where Transportation Minister Hans-Christoph Seebohm gave a high-pitched nationalistic speech before ten thousand fanatical followers. The turbulent meeting showed all the old-style Nazi trimmings: shouting of anti-Semitic epithets, uniformed strong-arm bouncers, beating up of political opponents, and threatening of foreign correspondents.²⁴

Similar disturbances were reported during the election campaign of 1957, when groups of Rightist hooligans dis-

rupted meetings.²⁵ A year later, young students were severely beaten by neo-Nazis at a meeting in Hamburg, “with the police in the role of passive onlookers.”²⁶

The political stability of the Bonn Republic is slowly being undermined by millions of unreconstructed *Ehemaliger*—“old fighters”—who at present give lip service to democracy, but are deeply committed to long-term plans for a Nazi comeback and a new strong leader. They dream of a military establishment with supermodern weapons, and of a Germany-dominated Europe, free to throw its weight, “at the right moment,” either to the East or the West in order to regain for Germany the status of a great world power.

8 *The Honorable SS*

The cobblestones echoed with the strutting steps of six thousand men of Hitler's Waffen SS, who marched with military precision through the narrow streets of the historic town of Verden. On this bright autumn day in 1952 they were staging a rally to honor the “great tradition” of the Waffen SS.*

They did not sport their black uniforms or the emblem of skull and crossbones. Their jackboots did not pound to the arrogant tune, “Today We Own Germany, Tomorrow the Whole World.” Yet, barely seven years after the war, the SS was marching again, completely ignoring defeat, Allied occupation, and their own infamous record.

In 1946, after carefully probing the most notorious acts committed by Hitler's so-called “Elite Guard,” the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg declared the entire SS a “criminal organization.” A few years later, and with Germany still under Allied occupation, thousands of former

* The following account of the Ramcke incident was taken from many German and foreign-language newspapers, among them *Die Zeit*, October 30, *Die Welt*, October 28, and the *Daily Mail* (Paris), October 27, 1952.

members of the SS were back as police officials, administrators, judges, teachers, and burghermasters. With the planning of a European army for NATO, Hitler's Waffen SS felt the time was ripe to regain lost territory. They insisted on "rehabilitation" and full pensions, and they demanded that former SS men be admitted into the ranks of the newly created German army.

It was chiefly for this purpose that the ex-SS men had assembled for their first reunion in the town of Verden. Led by the SS Generals Herbert Gille and Felix Steiner, several thousand officers and men gathered under the traditional banners of such divisions as Gross Deutschland, Viking, Das Reich, and the Death's-Head. There were also several hundred men, each standing six to seven feet tall, who rallied under a poster bearing the initials L.A.H. Inquiring newspapermen were informed that the abbreviation stood for "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler," the guard regiment for the protection of Der Fuehrer. Here was the cream of the sworn community of *Treuefolgschaft*—loyal followers—of Adolf Hitler. They had all gathered for two days in Verden under the pretext of conducting a "search for missing comrades" and to exchange reminiscences of the old "happy days." Their leader, SS General Gille, had assured the Bonn authorities that the SS men would not indulge in noisy, nationalistic provocations. Indeed, in his speech Gille pledged the support of the Waffen SS to the Bonn Republic and declared that "they were ready to do their duty for the Fatherland."

This first public rehearsal for rehabilitation would probably have worked out according to plan had not an unexpected event changed the whole program. The guest speaker, short and stubby paratroop commander Major General Hermann Ramcke, was scheduled to "convey the greetings" of the Fallschirmjaeger (paratroopers), another tough Nazi outfit. Unfortunately Ramcke did not follow

the script too closely. Instead of bringing greetings from the paratroopers, he attacked the Allies with an avalanche of denunciations.

"Who are the war criminals?" was Ramcke's inciting rhetorical question. "Certainly not the men who were put on the blacklists by the Allies during the Nuremberg Trials. Things are changing fast, and the time will soon come when the members of the Waffen SS will again have the first place on history's honor list as the defenders of Europe." There was a deafening roar which took minutes to subside.

"Listen," Ramcke shouted, "the real war criminals are those who created the Versailles Treaty and enslaved the German people . . . they are those who bombed to rubble our towns and cities like Dresden . . . they are those who dropped the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki . . . and they are those who stabbed us in the back when we were defending Europe against the Bolsheviks."

According to the *New York Times*, Ramcke's words were received with "clamorous applause by the assembled veterans." He then proceeded to name the "real" war criminals: Roosevelt, Churchill, Eisenhower. When he mentioned Eisenhower, many in the crowd joined in shouting "*Der Schweinehund! Der Schweinehund!*—the dirty swine." Thus ended the first step toward rehabilitation "with an explosion unmatched in the furor over the emergence of German veterans' groups in politics."¹

When, in 1952, General Ramcke raised the question, "Who are the real war criminals?" he was promptly answered by two historians, working independently in London and Paris, who almost simultaneously brought out two thick volumes containing the infamous record of Hitler's SS.² The facts about this crime machine were clearly established during the many months of trial procedure before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg during 1945 and 1946. The

evidence was obtained from thousands of top secret German documents captured by the Allies. These documents and records have been printed in dozens of volumes.* In addition, the Allied armies found the torture tools, the gas chambers, and the human furnaces which the SS had used in the liquidation of millions of men, women, and children.

In the concentration camps the swift-moving Allied troops found corpses and bodies mingled by the thousands and tens of thousands—corpses dead for days and bodies almost dead. Photographs were taken which were introduced as evidence during the trials, together with the sworn affidavits. Here is the report of an American correspondent who saw the inferno with his own eyes immediately after the Nazi collapse and who saw it again when the films were run off in the courtroom:

The camp at Leipzig is first; and then we see Penig and Nordhausen and Hadamar and Dachau and Belsen and Mauthausen and Buchenwald and half a dozen more. And they are all alike, for the impression we get is an endless river of white bodies flowing across the screen, bodies with ribs sticking out through chests, with pipestem legs and battered skulls and eyeless faces and grotesque thin arms reaching for the sky.

To many of us in the press gallery, these bodies are no strangers. We have seen them before and also smelled them, and it is queer how many of us imagine we smell them again. . . . There is no end to the bodies, tumbling bodies and bodies in mounds, and single bodies with holes between the eyes, and bodies being shoved over cliffs into common graves, and bodies pushed like dirt by giant bulldozers, and bodies that are not bodies at all, but charred bits of bones and flesh lying upon a crematory grate made of bits of steel rail laid upon blackened wooden ties.

* According to the *New York Times Magazine* of September 12, 1954, there were "38,000 affidavits, signed by 155,000 people; several tons of Alfred Rosenberg's records; 485 tons of the German Foreign Office papers, and the complete files of Heinrich Himmler, containing horrifying reports of the systematic mass slaughters committed by the Gestapo."

Now another body is shoved over a cliff into an open ditch by a bulldozer which the British called into use because there were so many dead lying around they were a menace to the living. And this body is not quite buried by the dirt, and it shines white here and there, a bony leg sticking out and one arm outstretched.³

The SS ran more than three hundred concentration camps; in the occupied East were several of the largest death factories. How many millions were liquidated through torture, beatings, bullets, gassing, starvation, and exhaustion? The figures available are truly staggering. In one death factory alone, Auschwitz-Birkenau, between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 people were exterminated in the gas chambers. Here is an excerpt from the testimony given by Rudolf Hoess, a Nazi party member since 1922, who joined the SS in 1934 and was appointed Commandant of Auschwitz on May 1, 1940:

I commanded Auschwitz until December 1, 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed there by gassing and burning, and at least another 500,000 succumbed to starvation and disease, making a total of 3,000,000. This represents about 70-80 percent of all persons sent to Auschwitz, the remainder having been selected and used for slave labor in the camp industries. . . . I was ordered to establish extermination facilities at Auschwitz in June 1941. At that time there were already in the General Government three other extermination camps: Balzek, Treblinka and Wolzek. . . . When I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B, which was a crystallized prussic acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening. It took from three to fifteen minutes to kill the people in the death chamber, depending upon the climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. After the bodies were removed, our Special Commandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses. Another improvement we made over Treblinka was that we built our gas chambers to accommodate 2,000 people at one time, whereas at Treblinka their ten gas chambers only accommodated 200 each. The way we selected our victims was as

follows: we had two SS doctors on duty to examine incoming transports. The prisoners would be marched past the physicians who would make spot decisions as they walked by. Those who were fit for work were sent into the camp. Others were sent immediately to the extermination plants. Children of tender years were invariably exterminated, since by reason of their youth they were unable to work.⁴

In his long affidavit Rudolf Hoess admitted the gassing of "400,000 Hungarian Jews alone in the summer of 1944." But there were hundreds of thousands of Jews and other nationals shipped from all over Europe to the improved plants in Auschwitz-Birkenau. The wife of a Hungarian Jewish doctor, who served as a nurse in a lice-infested barrack, provides us with the following account:

I have the figures only for the months of May, June and July, 1944. Dr. Pasche, a French doctor of the Sonderkommando, in the crematory, who was in a position to gather statistics on the rate of the extermination, provided me with these:

May, 1944	360,000
June, 1944	512,000
From the 1st to the 26th of July, 1944	442,000
	<hr/>
	1,314,000

In less than a quarter of a year the Germans had "liquidated" more than 1,300,000 persons at Auschwitz-Birkenau!⁵

Auschwitz was a death camp used chiefly for the extermination of Jews in East and Southeast Europe. But we must add to the Auschwitz total the "production" figures of the other camps, such as Treblinka, where each of the ten gas chambers accommodated "only" two hundred victims. With the crematories going full blast day and night, one must conservatively figure the total "output" of the gas chambers in the neighborhood of nine million.

With the gas chambers running at peak production most of the time, the corpses were often piled high outside the crematories. In order to overcome these bottlenecks, corpses by the thousands were burned in open pits.⁶

The man in charge of arresting and transporting the Jews to the various death factories was the SS Colonel Adolf Eichmann who played a major role in implementing Hitler's "Final Solution." As head of a special department in the SS Main Security Office, Eichmann organized large-scale man hunts all over Europe. For him the mass killing of Jews was a businesslike affair. The SS commander of Auschwitz testified that he received this order from Eichmann: "Without pity and in cold blood, we must complete the extermination." A witness before the Nuremberg court testified that a few months before the German collapse Eichmann boasted to his SS friend Dieter Wisliceny: "I will jump into my grave laughing, because the fact that I have the death of five million Jews on my conscience gives me extraordinary satisfaction." *

Captured by the Americans, Eichmann remained unrecognized. Like many others before him, he escaped from an internment camp with false identification papers. Postwar rumors reported Eichmann as living in Argentina, being a police official in Nasser's Egypt, and having been seen in the British protectorate Kuwait. In May 1960 an announcement by Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion that avengers had captured this number-one butcher in Argentina caused a world-wide sensation. The abduction of Eichmann created a temporary rift between Israel and Argentina. Eichmann's trial before an Israeli court has dramatized for the world the inconceivable horror of Hitler's "Final Solution."

How many Jews and non-Jews perished in Hitler's extermination camps? We know from the correspondence between Hitler's assistant, Viktor Brack, department chief in the

* IMT (Nuremberg Trials record), III, 288, and Affidavit C.

Fuehrer's Chancellery, and Heinrich Himmler, Reichsfuehrer of the SS, that in 1941 there was "a total of some 10,000,000 Jews" in Nazi-conquered Europe. Of this number, 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 men and women were considered well able to work. The rest were earmarked for the "Final Solution," that is, violent death, as it had been decided in the notorious Gross-Wansee conference on January 8, 1942. When Germany was overrun by the Allied armies in the spring of 1945, they found only scattered remnants, mostly living skeletons, of the 10,000,000 Jews.

It is difficult to make an accurate breakdown of how many people were shot by SS firing squads, how many died in gas chambers, and how many perished from exhaustion, disease, and undernourishment. There is little doubt, however, that more than half of the 10,000,000 Jews died in the gas chambers, together with a few million other nationals. Approximately 2,000,000 died in the indescribable massacres of the SS Einsatzkommandos (Special Task Forces), in Gestapo cellars, and through the ill-famed "medical experiments." The rest succumbed in labor camps and on transports. The foregoing figures may still be an understatement. A German study group gave the staggering figure of 35,000,000 noncombatants who perished under the impact of war and occupation in Eastern Europe alone.

Germany started the aggressive war with the aim of making the Germanic race masters of the globe. What Hitler envisioned in *Mein Kampf* as *Germanische Weltherrschaft* was a declaration of war against all other races. At the top of Hitler's list of inferior races were the Jews. Yet it is too often forgotten in the West that the extermination of the Jews in Europe was only to be a prelude for much more drastic action, a contemplated crime many times greater than that committed against the Jews. Hitler's long-range aim was the total destruction of the almost 300,000,000 people belonging to the Slavic race. The Fuehrer's fantastic plan

was the creation of a world empire, grouped around a pure Germanic Lebensraum stretching from the Atlantic coast to far beyond the Ural Mountains. In order to achieve this goal, the Hitler-Himmler scheme called for a merciless race war against the Slavic peoples of the East. The German high command had hoped to crush the Soviet armies in a three-month blitzkrieg, and then, in Hitler's own words, they would be able "to cut up the giant cake according to our own needs."

Had the Germans succeeded with their plans they would have carried out a diabolical scheme of "resettlement" and of "special treatment" which would have caused the death of a couple of hundred million Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, and Russians. The German conquerors intended to strip the East, as in fact they did, of all industry, and they would have sterilized the remaining peasant population and forced it into slave labor for the German overlords. A few weeks before the impending attack on the U.S.S.R., the experts on Goering's staff decided that "many tens of millions of people in this area will become redundant and will either die or have to emigrate to Siberia." ⁷

The conservative diplomat Baron Konstantin von Neurath suggested to Hitler that "half of the Czech population be deprived of its power, eliminated and shipped out of the country . . . the other half used as forced labor" and gradually "Germanized." ⁸

Even after the defeat of Stalingrad, Himmler still expressed the hope that the Nazis could develop a Germanic Lebensraum populated with "a total of 600 to 700 millions, and with an outpost area stretching in a hundred years beyond the Urals." ⁹

The task of destroying the vanquished and building up the biological strength of the master race was given to the SS. To achieve both goals SS chief Himmler created a labyrinth of organizations, each serving a special purpose. There

were SS departments entrusted with the methodical destruction of "inferior" races, and there were medical SS groups experimenting with the most effective means for mass sterilization of millions in order to curtail the propagation of non-German races. On the other hand, there were such SS enterprises as Lebensborn, Ahnenerbe, and Heu-Aktion, whose aim was to facilitate the build-up of a tough German soldier elite, tightly controlled by the SS. The Lebensborn ran a chain of state-subsidized breeding establishments, where Hitler Youth leaders and SS men had to function as stallions. Girls in the female Hitler Youth (BDM) were encouraged to bear as many children as possible out of wedlock to contribute "to a German biological victory on the baby front." * The children born under the Lebensborn program had to be reared and educated by the state.

Ahnenerbe was a gigantic scheme to curtail other races and to "Germanize" the conquered territories by building a vast network of large soldier homesteads where millions of slave laborers were kept under strictist control. Under the code word "Heu-Aktion," a large-scale kidnapping expedition was launched in 1944, during which tens of thousands of children, preferably blonds, were taken away from their parents by force and distributed among German peasants who were ordered to rear them as "German" children. The idea was to make up quickly the severe losses of man power which the German armies had suffered on the Eastern plains.

The record of the SS has been presented by the Oxford scholar Gerald Reitlinger in his expertly documented book dealing with the SS.¹⁰ He shows how out of the original Schutzstaffeln (a small bouncer squad to protect the Nazi rallies during the twenties) a huge party army grew within a

* The neo-Nazi monthly *Nation Europa* in its issue for July 1959 praises the Lebensborn breeding farms as one of the "outstanding biological institutions" of the SS which became "a victim of the destructive hatred of the Morgenthau victors in 1945."

few years, in which each man was pledged by "blood oath" to stand loyally behind the Fuehrer.

On the domestic scene, the terroristic Gestapo ruled supreme and forced the opposing political groups to support the Nazi regime. Special formations of the SS operated the concentration camps and death factories, others organized large-scale man hunts to get a steady supply for Germany's always hungry slave labor camps. Finally, there were the ruthless Einsatzgruppen, which shot Jews, prisoners of war, and Polish and Russian peasants by the millions.

To carry out international espionage and conspiracy the SS had its own intelligence organization, the Sicherheitsdienst (SD), which also ran a highly efficient department for mass forgery of foreign bank notes and passports. In addition, the SS had its own economic branch, which ran a vast chain of factories, trade corporations, night clubs (in Germany and abroad)—for corruption and espionage—and a string of high-class and mediocre brothels.

For the looting of Europe the SS had a special organization, designed to strip foreign countries of industry and raw materials. There were expert detachments which swarmed like locusts over the Continent in order to seize every piece of art and jewelry and ship it to Germany. It is estimated that the SS, by stealing the property of the Jews and by plundering Europe, acquired billions of dollars' worth of valuables, of which a large part was brought to neutral countries for safekeeping.

The gigantic structure of the Nazi regime had its backbone in the thirty-six divisions of the Waffen SS which, excellently armed, was the nightmare of all occupied Europe. The Waffen SS is credited with the mass shooting of hostages in all subjugated nations and with such brutal massacres as that of Lidice, which was obliterated, and Oradour in France, where the SS shot and burned 645 women and children in a church. The destruction of the Warsaw ghetto and the

Malmédy mass murder of American G.I.s during the Battle of the Bulge are also on the Waffen SS "honor" list.

Although not part of the Wehrmacht, the Waffen SS frequently did front-line duty, especially in the years when the fortunes of war had turned against the Axis. But the chief task of the Waffen SS was to serve as a party watchdog in case some of the Generals played with the idea of an insurrection. It was the SS at home and in the occupied countries that quickly suppressed the anti-Hitler putsch of July 20, 1944.

What was the make-up of the SS, and what type of people flocked to this criminal organization? There was at the top the so-called "Honor SS," composed of thousands of members of the aristocratic and industrial upper crust, of high diplomats, party bigwigs, and the intellectual elite, such as university professors, judges, a few Protestant pastors, Catholic priests,* artists, writers, and leading men of the medical and scientific professions. Some respected figures of medical science played a particularly obnoxious role in the vast crime network of the SS. This came to light during the 139 trial days of the Nuremberg "Doctors' Trial" in 1947. Only twenty-three out of hundreds of such criminals were charged with "murders, tortures, and other atrocities committed in the name of medical science [during which] hundreds of thousands were slaughtered outright or died in the course of the tortures to which they were subjected." Seven of the defendants were sentenced to death and hanged, others received long prison terms.¹¹

The rank and file of the SS were filled with middle-class businessmen, students, teachers, ex-officers, police, and civil service officials. A large number of enthusiastic Hitler Youths volunteered for the SS, eager to serve the Fuehrer and the

* During the Nuremberg Trials the defense counsel for the SS established the fact that the Roman Catholic Archbishop Groeber of Freiburg, a highly respected member of the hierarchy, had joined the SS (Bernstein, *Final Judgment*, p. 47).

glorious future of the Fatherland. There were misguided idealists, sadists, convicted criminals, and normal small-town burghers. The bulk was made up of the riffraff recruited from every corner of Germany and Europe.

One million members of this criminal organization are today scattered throughout Germany, many of them in public offices as administrators, judges, police officials, and burgher-masters; others are busy as doctors, dentists, resort directors, hotel managers, and headwaiters. These men do not look like monsters. You will find them as pleasant travel companions in trains and airplanes, and you will meet them as solid businessmen in the offices of industrial firms and in banking institutions.

The important fact is that the Bonn authorities have done nothing to prevent the SS from becoming active again. Today every German city and town has a local SS group that has weekly meetings and larger regional rallies every few months. The SS organization calls itself HIAG, the German abbreviation for "mutual assistance." Foreign correspondents have reported that at all HIAG meetings Nazi propaganda is carried on under pretense of giving assistance to veterans and their families.

Of all the neo-Nazi movements none has remotely approached the vigor, drive, and fanaticism of the old SS, hiding today behind the HIAG label. In 1950, when Washington showed its eagerness to create a new German army of 500,000 men, the SS, together with the old Wehrmacht officers, started an all-out campaign for the immediate release of all war criminals. It was a superbly organized blackmail action, enjoying wide support from the public, from all parties, and carried toward success by Dr. Adenauer's astute maneuverings.

The Chancellor suggested an inconspicuous way to solve the whole problem with "parole," "sick leave," and other roundabout methods. The more the U. S. High Commission

in Germany showed leniency, however, the stronger the pressure became: either "all so-called war criminals are released or there will be no German army." American diplomats followed Dr. Adenauer's plan to feed the nationalistic monster piecemeal. Every few days we quietly released one or two more from prison—the Krupps, the I. G. Farben directors, and dozens of former Wehrmacht Generals. On friendly advice from Washington, the British and French, extremely reluctant, had to follow suit. When the supply dried up, there remained behind bars only the SS, the mass murderers from Dachau, Belsen, and Buchenwald, and the toughs from the Waffen SS who had massacred American, British, and Canadian prisoners of war. This put High Commissioner John McCloy in a most embarrassing position. He had carefully checked the records of the SS mass murders, and he had also observed the reaction of the German public which turned "squalid butchers into patriots and martyrs."¹²

In the spring of 1952 the president of the German Soldiers' Federation, ex-General Hans Friesner, praised the "comrades from the Waffen SS" and demanded that "all of those still in prison must be released." The *New York Times* of January 5, 1952, reported from Bonn that the federal government found it "impossible to recruit desirable officers for the West German military contingents unless a substantial number of war criminals are released from Allied jails." On August 16, 1952, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* noted that "the discussion about the war criminals gains more and more momentum." Large sections of the German press, stirred by the propaganda in the SS paper, *Wiking-Ruf*, and the *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung*, launched an attack against the Allies. Roosevelt and Churchill were almost daily branded as the real war criminals. Bundestag member Dr. Erich Mende, an influential politician in the Adenauer coalition, demanded the ultimate "release of all war criminals . . . whose acts were in no way different from those committed

by the U.N. troops in Korea." The *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* heaped abuse on the Allies and emphatically denied that the victors had any right to pass judgment on the vanquished. On August 14, 1952, the *Soldaten Zeitung* stated: "Only we Germans possess the highest moral right to argue these matters, without any interference from the outside."

The meaning of the drive to "restore the German honor" was clear: the reputation of the Nazi criminals had to be restored by proclaiming loudly what an idealistic and high-spirited organization the SS was, dedicated "to defend Europe and the world against Bolshevism" and to "take care of the scum of the earth," the Jews, Communists, and other "undesirable elements." Why the constant criticism of the SS, the finest fighting force the world had ever seen? Never mind what happened during the war—any war is rough and ugly. Look at the British, "who invented the concentration camps during the Boer war," the French in Indochina and North Africa, and the "atrocities committed by Americans in Korea."

The propaganda offensive aimed first at brain-washing its people into believing that no war crime had ever been committed and that the Nuremberg Trials had been a hoax. The second objective was to force the Allies to ignore their own judicial position created at Nuremberg. Once this was accomplished the Germans would gain an important base from which they could launch a broad offensive against the "real" war criminals.

The story in brief is that the Western powers yielded on every point, that a shameful mockery was made of justice, and that the record of history was turned upside down. The *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* of August 28, 1952, pointed to the logic of the case: "If the Allied authorities during the last few years have been constantly freeing prisoners or reducing the sentences against former German soldiers, it is but their clear admission that they regard the former sentences

as untenable." In other words, if the Allies felt that they had to show clemency, it proved that the trials and consequent sentences had only been evidences of revenge.

When Dr. Adenauer first visited the United States in the spring of 1953, he insisted on a speedy re-examination of all sentences and pointed to "the strong pressure at home." It was a few weeks later that he visited the war criminals at Werl and made his plea for "the poor devils of war criminals." Here again the Chancellor proved his genius for statecraft. In order to ease the embarrassment of the U. S. High Commissioner and the State Department, Dr. Adenauer suggested the formation of a review board, with three German members sitting in and having equal voice in making recommendations. The whole procedure was to be shrouded in secrecy, and it was decided that the names of those released should not be revealed to the public. In this way the last few hundred "poor devils," those SS mass killers and sadists, were quietly set free within two or three years.

One of the esteemed Nazi alumni is General Curt Meyer, "Panzer" Meyer, who once had commanded the Hitler Youth division of the SS. During the Normandy fighting his SS troops had savagely executed Canadian prisoners of war. On the basis of ample evidence, Panzer Meyer was sentenced to death by a Canadian military court. His sentence later commuted to life imprisonment, he was released in 1954 and welcomed as a hero in Germany. Soon thereafter Meyer was installed as chief of HIAG. Since his release from prison, Panzer Meyer has worked hard to keep the old SS spirit alive. His speeches are undisguised Nazi propaganda in which he exhorts his audiences to work for the resurrection of "our holy German Reich." He misses no opportunity to lambaste the Allies for their "brutal policy, which stands without parallel among civilized nations."¹³

Another illuminating case is that of Sepp Dietrich, the organizer of the Fuehrer's bodyguard. Dietrich carried out

Hitler's personal murder assignments, such as the assassination of Roehm in 1934, for which Hitler promoted him to the rank of SS General.* Sepp Dietrich was in charge of the liquidation of the Jewish population in the city of Kharkov. During the Battle of the Bulge his troops committed the Malmédy massacre, killing more than 600 military and civilian prisoners, among them 115 American G.I.s. He was sentenced to death, and the sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. In 1955 he was one of the last "poor devils" quietly released from prison and greeted by the Bonn government with the homecoming pay of 6,000 marks. When his release became known in the United States, the *New York Post* of October 28, 1955, remarked sarcastically: "We are in the process of trying to liquidate all German memories of that international unpleasantness known as World War II."

Belatedly it was recognized that Washington's policy of leniency was a bad mistake. Angry protests came from U.S. veterans' organizations, from large Jewish groups, and from papers in France and Britain. The *New Statesman and Nation* of April 3, 1954, stated the essence of the case when it emphasized that it was Bonn's policy to bring the Western powers to the point where they must "cease to treat the leaders of the Wehrmacht as war criminals." The editorial described Bonn's strategy: "The concept of German war crimes must be expunged from the historical records. . . . To Germans, and particularly Army officers and civil servants, this issue of German honor is all-important."

There is no doubt that by restoring the German honor we have also restored the honor of the SS. By giving in to the

* Ernst Roehm was chief of Hitler's Brown-Shirt army (SA), whose noisy street brawls terrorized the Weimar Republic and finally brought Hitler to power. The assassination of Roehm and a few hundred other Brown-Shirt leaders broke the back of the SA and opened the way for Himmler and the SS to become the Praetorian Guard of the Nazi party.

German demand that we release all war criminals, we have expunged, at least in German eyes, all war crimes, including those committed by the SS. The implications of this policy are far-reaching. The German people today feel free of any guilt. What remains to be discussed, they believe, are only the real war crimes, those committed by the Allies.*

What is really disturbing is the attitude of the German people. The public has completely swallowed the propaganda slogans of the SS. In a dispatch from Bonn, the *New York Times* reported on November 26, 1954: "A large proportion, and possibly a majority of the German people, and members of the Bundestag, do not accept the doctrine of German war guilt."

It is a long way from the Nuremberg War Crime Trials to the "restoration of the German honor." In 1946, under the impact of the evidence, at least one of the leading Nazi criminals repented in open court. It was Hans Frank, the oppressor of Poland, who answered the question "Have you ever participated in the destruction of Jewry?" with the following significant words:

We have fought against Jewry . . . and we have allowed ourselves to make utterances—and my own diary has become a witness against me—utterances which are terrible. It is my duty—my only duty—therefore to answer your question with "Yes." A thousand years will pass and this guilt of Germany will still not be erased.

Postwar events have proved Hans Frank grossly in error. Only five years were required to erase the guilt and to pervert the truth. "There never was a German war crime," shout the neo-Nazi propagandists. The forty-two volumes of trial records, the testimony, and the tons of incriminating Ger-

* Several books and thousands of articles have been published in Germany about "Allied war crimes," about the "Nuremberg crime," and about Roosevelt as a war criminal.

man documents simply do not exist. Today the SS is marching again. Ten years of skillful propaganda have created a new legend: The SS was not the terror of Europe but the "heroic defender of Western civilization."

9 *Old Soldiers Never Die . . .*

A few years ago the following story was reported in the German press. An ex-Wehrmacht General, sentenced by the Soviets as a war criminal, was released after twelve years of captivity. When he arrived in the West German reception camp of Friedland, he was met by a Colonel who had once served on his staff. After an exuberant reunion they settled down in a quiet corner to reminisce. The General wanted to know how some of the other senior officers had fared after the great collapse.

"How did Admiral Doenitz make out?" was his first question.

The Colonel stared in amazement. "Doenitz? He is serving in Spandau!"

"In Spandau? What is the Admiral doing in Spandau?"

"Don't you know that Doenitz is doing time in the Spandau prison? He got ten years as a so-called war criminal!"

"Oh yes! Of course, of course. They sent him to prison. But what happened to Rommel's Chief of Staff, that brainy General Hans Speidel?"

"Speidel is sitting in Paris." *

"So he is doing time in Paris! How many years did he get?"

"No! He is not in prison! Speidel is serving as the top commander of the ground forces of NATO!"

"Oh, he is with NATO—hmm, with NATO! But what happened to that daredevil of the SS, that young General—what was his name—Meyer? Panzer Meyer?"

"Panzer Meyer came back from Canada last year."

"Serving with the NATO forces there?"

"No! Not with NATO! He was doing time in a Canadian prison."

"Oh, doing time in prison! Poor chap! But what happened to our last Chief of Operation, General Heusinger?"

"*Er sitzt in Bonn*—he is sitting in Bonn."

"You mean doing time in prison?"

"No, no! He is the top General in the Ministry of Defense."

There was a moment of puzzled silence. Then the General slowly rose and began to walk away.

"Where are you going?" shouted the Colonel.

"Looking for an insane asylum," answered the thoroughly bewildered General. He added: "If this makes sense, then either the world is crazy or I am."

The story of the return of the General illustrates the mood of utter confusion prevalent among the great majority of Wehrmacht officers in the postwar years. Some Generals were behind bars, denounced as war criminals. Others had been placed in commanding positions and were honored as defenders of Western civilization. Had not every one of them participated in the same crime, first under the Kaiser, then under Hitler? Twice in a lifetime they had tried to conquer the world. Armed with the world's mightiest steamroller,

* The German colloquialism *er sitzt* has a double meaning: "he is doing time" and "he is sitting pretty."

they won great battles, and each time early victories made them heady. Yet in the end they suffered humiliating defeat.

In 1945 they knew they were doomed. They had all been accessories to a gigantic crime of unprovoked aggression, wholesale looting, and unbelievable mass murder. They had shaped the Wehrmacht as an instrument to conquer countries and continents, with but one objective: to create German Lebensraum. They were the brains behind Prussia's military machine, molded by a century-old tradition. Their gods were Frederick the Great, Scharnhorst, Clausewitz, and Bismarck. They had been steeped in the religion of "Might is Right" and "Deutschland ueber Alles." Long before Hitler came on the scene they had worshipped General Count von Haeseler, who declared in a speech in 1893: "It is necessary that our civilization build its temple on mountains of corpses, on an ocean of tears and on the death cries of men without number."

A few years later the Pan-German paper *Grenzbote* (No. 48, 1896) stated in an editorial: "We teach that if the welfare of our Fatherland should require conquest, subjugation, dispossession, extermination of foreign nations, we must not be deterred by Christian or humanitarian qualms."

In July 1900 Emperor William II told his troops assigned to fight the Boxer Rebellion in China that they should behave like Huns: "I shall take vengeance, the like of which the history of the world has never recorded. . . . I command you not to give quarter, not to take prisoners, and to kill every enemy. . . . Following the example of Attila and his Huns, I shall spread terror in East Asia that will be remembered even after a thousand years."

Hitler brought nothing new to the Germans. When Otto Richard Tannenberg published his famous book *Gross Deutschland* in 1911, he proclaimed: "War must leave nothing to the vanquished but their eyes to weep with. Modesty on our part would be pure madness."

In 1914 the Kaiser wrote Emperor Franz Joseph: ". . . everything must be put to fire and blood. The throats of men and women, children, and the aged must be cut and not a tree nor house left standing."

Respected German professors, politicians, pastors, and Generals wrote scores of books and articles proclaiming that "the name 'barbarian' is a badge of honor for the German Soldier."* The official organ of the General Staff, *Deutsche Wehr*, predicted on June 13, 1935, that the coming war would be "full of indescribable atrocities":

In such a war there will no longer be any victors or vanquished, but only survivors and those whose names are stricken from the list of nations. . . . The elite lie torn to pieces and poisoned on the battlefields. The survivors, a mob without a leader, demoralized, broken in body and mind by unspeakable horror and suffering, by terror without end, are at the complete mercy of the victor.

Only a few years later the German General Staff executed this program to the letter. Millions of Jews were exterminated, and the Poles, Czechs, and even the Russians, although by far not yet conquered, were "stricken from the list of nations." † For tactical reasons, other European countries were treated a little differently, but they were also at the "complete mercy of the victor."

After the war a number of German Field Marshals and hundreds of high-ranking Wehrmacht officers were found implicated in countless war crimes. Their signed orders

* The foregoing were selected from hundreds of similar quotations published by the author in the booklet *Know Your Enemy* (New York, 1944).

† The militarists were assisted in their schemes by the diplomats and legal experts. The Ribbentrop-controlled *Monatshefte fuer Auswaertige Politik* of September 1941 proclaimed prematurely the dissolution of the Soviet Union as a state and nation, "whereby all positive norms of international law have become void and inapplicable." The author of the article was Ribbentrop's legal expert, Dr. Wilhelm Grewe, a member of the Nazi party and later Bonn's ambassador to Washington.

proved that they were responsible for the mass shooting of civilians and prisoners of war, the burning of villages and towns, wholesale looting, and the deportation of millions to slave labor camps.

Among the prominent military figures whose cases won the most attention in Germany were Field Marshals Erich von Manstein and Albert Kesselring. Both had fair trials before British courts. Kesselring was sentenced to death (his sentence was later commuted) for having ordered the shooting of 335 hostages in the Ardeatina Grotta, near Rome, on March 24, 1944. Von Manstein was sentenced to eighteen years in prison for having ordered war crimes committed in Poland and Russia. Manstein's army command worked closely with SS Colonel Otto Ohlendorf, who was hung for the mass shooting of 90,000 Jews and Russians. One of von Manstein's corps commanders, General von Salmuth, dispatched 300 Wehrmacht soldiers with special instructions to assist Ohlendorf in the mass killing of thousands.¹

There were some officers and soldiers whose consciences were aroused by the indescribable scenes of marauding and slaughter. To keep these men in line, von Manstein, on November 24, 1941, issued the following order to his troops:

The Jewish-Bolshevist system must be destroyed once and for all. It must never again infiltrate our European Lebensraum. Therefore, the German soldier is not only charged with destroying the military might of this system. He also acts as an agent of the idea of racial supremacy. . . . The soldier must show understanding for the necessity of severe revenge on Judaism, the spiritual carrier of the Bolshevist terror. This understanding is also essential in order to nip in the bud all uprisings, which are mainly instigated by Jews.

Similar orders were given by the other army commanders, such as Field Marshals Gerd von Rundstedt and Walter von Reichenau. The latter told his troops on October 10, 1941:

The soldier in the Eastern Territories is not merely a fighter according to the rules of the art of war but also the bearer of a ruthless national ideology . . . therefore the soldier must have understanding of the necessity of a severe but just revenge on subhuman Jewry.²

Thus the German army commanders indoctrinated their soldiers with the idea that the systematic extermination of "subhuman Jewry" was essential to achieve racial supremacy and to secure German Lebensraum. Yet it is indicative of the spirit prevailing in present-day Germany that the overwhelming majority of the people believe that officers like von Manstein, Reichenau, and Kesselring kept the German honor intact. *Times* correspondent Arthur J. Olsen reported from Germany that von Manstein is held in the highest esteem in the new Bundeswehr, where he is regarded as "the most prestigious German soldier who survived the war [and who] emerged in the soldier's view with honor intact."³

During the war the Allies had solemnly stipulated that it was their "inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world." At Potsdam in August 1945 they decided that "all war veterans' organizations and all other military and quasi-military organizations, together with all clubs and associations which serve to keep alive the military tradition in Germany, shall be completely and finally abolished in such a manner as permanently to prevent the revival of reorganization of German militarism and Nazism." In spite of this Allied resolution, some high SS and Wehrmacht officers in the POW camps soon began to form a closely knit secret organization, the so-called Bruderschaft (Brotherhood). This organization flourished even during the American occupation, laying the plans for a German comeback. The Bruderschaft became the focal point for a vast network of pro-Nazi activities in and outside of the

POW camps. Behind it was a well-financed underground, stretching all over Germany, with contacts in Italy, Spain, and Argentina. The Bruderschaft worked closely with another organization, the Kameraden Hilfswerk, especially designed for the legal defense and care of the war criminals.

During the first two years of the occupation, the Bruderschaft had to operate secretly. The inner circle, the Bruder-rat, was made up of some top SS functionaries and important officers from the General Staff. Among the leaders were the former commander of the Panzer Gross Deutschland division, Lieutenant General Kurt von Manteuffell; a high SS officer, Alfred Franke-Grieksch, who had once served in Himmler's Reich's Security Office; the former leader of the Hitler Youth, Gottfried Griessmayer; the ex-Gauleiter Lauterbach, stationed in Italy and directing the external affairs of the Bruderschaft; and finally, the former Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann, a close link to Dr. Naumann and Dr. Achenbach.*

The question of German remilitarization came up as early as 1946, when Dr. Adenauer and the CDU politician Dr. Karl Spieker first made their suggestions for a European union based on an integrated European army. In the summer of 1948, Dr. Adenauer submitted to U.S. authorities a secret memorandum proposing the implementation for re-arming twenty-five divisions. On July 30, 1948, the *U. S. News and World Report* carried the item: "U.S. military officials in Germany are talking in terms of a re-building of the German army as an offset to Russian strength in Europe." Yet there were great difficulties in the way of German rearmament. The French, the British, and the smaller European

* The detailed story of the background and the activities of the Bruderschaft was given in lengthy articles which appeared in the *National Zeitung* in Basle, February 22, 1950; *Wochen Zeitung* of Zurich, March 2, 1950; and *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, March 1, 1950. In the U.S. an informative article, "What Is Behind the Bruderschaft of German Officers," was published in the magazine *Prevent World War III*, No. 35 (1950).

countries were in deadly fear of a revived militaristic Germany.* The outbreak of the Korean War (June 1950) brought a total change. The provisions which banned all military and veterans' organizations lost all their meaning and were no longer enforced. Western Germany was allowed by the Allies to set up its own General Staff, camouflaged under the name Blank Office. Supported by Bonn and tolerated by the United States, a nation-wide network was created to reactivate the experienced officers and the man power of the old Wehrmacht. The short period of 1950-51 must be marked as the time when Hitler's old officers, SS leaders, and party functionaries returned to positions of power and influence. With the eyes of the world directed toward the hectic events of the Korean conflict, and with cold war tensions mounting, the SS and Wehrmacht officers had an ideal smoke screen behind which to mobilize their forces. The political objective was a repeat performance of the alliance formed in 1930 between the Nazi party, the ultranationalists, and the Stahlhelm veterans, which two years later brought the downfall of the Weimar Republic.

The figure behind this plan was Dr. Werner Naumann, who in 1950 found the situation sufficiently safe to allow him to emerge from his hiding place. Commanding a vast pool of old party connections from the Propaganda Ministry, the SS, the bureaucracy, and the Wehrmacht, Naumann was in an excellent position to make things move and to give advice on strategy and tactics. Through his close association with the corporation lawyer Dr. Achenbach, he was able to mobilize the financial resources of the industrial royalists on Rhine and Ruhr. Naumann was the directing spirit behind almost every organization and neo-Nazi publication that sprang up between 1950 and 1951. When the British

* *U. S. News* of September 16, 1949: "Question of a German Army of 25 divisions, as privately urged by influential Germans, is to be postponed. It's too hot to handle now."

handed over the evidence on the Naumann plot to the Bonn authorities in 1953, the Minister of Justice, Dr. Lehr, declared that "Dr. Naumann had pulled the strings from behind and used every opportunity to exert his political influence over all veterans' organizations." ⁴

In July 1951, thirty former Generals and Admirals gathered in Bonn for a two-day conference, at which the "question of German rearmament was discussed." ⁵ At that time, in addition to the SS HIAG, two other veterans' organizations had been founded. One was the Stahlhelm, an extreme nationalistic group; the other called itself the Deutscher Soldatenbund (Federation of German Soldiers), and immediately after its inception claimed a membership of 85,000. The spirit of both organizations was expressed in their selection of two convicted war criminals as honorary presidents. The Stahlhelm's choice was Field Marshal Kesselring, and the soldiers' federation selected former Admiral Erich Raeder, who at that time was serving his sentence in the Spandau prison.

More significant was the founding of numerous *Traditions-verbaende* representing former Wehrmacht divisions and special army groups, such as the Afrika Korps, the Navy League, and the paratroopers (known as the "Green Devils"). The ex-soldier organizations started off with noisy nationalistic rallies. A few months later the U. S. High Commissioner noted the emergence of an "increased number of extreme Rightist and ultranationalist organizations." He admitted that the highest-ranking officers of the Wehrmacht were back in politics, organizing the veterans and "stocking the merchandise of nationalism." The High Commissioner noted with deep concern that "even some federal Ministers appear as nationalistic as the extremists." ⁶

Among the many neo-Nazi and militaristic periodicals which came to life with the revival of the Wehrmacht tradition, the *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* may be singled out for

closer scrutiny. Founded in 1951 by men who had once served the Nazi party chiefly in the Propaganda Ministry, the *Soldaten Zeitung* soon became the leading mouthpiece for the most aggressive elements within the Rightist movement.* The *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* (hereafter referred to as *DSZ*) has constantly featured and supported the views of such blatant Nazi propagandists as the ex-Generals Remer and Ramcke, and Hitler's much-decorated air ace, Colonel Rudel.

The story of the *DSZ* provides an excellent illustration of the mind of the German militarist. On the basis of hundreds of *DSZ* editorials and articles, the following may be summarized: Although professing support for Europe and NATO defense, every article reveals that the *DSZ* envisions a Europe more like that once blueprinted by the Waffen SS. The columns of the paper do not contain a single repudiation of Hitler's regime, the Nazi doctrines, or the wanton aggressions against Germany's neighbors; nor is there an outright condemnation of the crimes committed by the SS and the Wehrmacht. Almost every issue is filled with articles defending the Nazi past, glorifying "Prussia's great soldierly tradition," and praising the "honor of the SS." The *DSZ* has relentlessly attacked the Nuremberg Trials as "revenge of the victors"; it appeared as the loudest voice in the chorus demanding the release of all war criminals; and it has branded Democrats and Social Democrats as "licensed 1945ers," "traitors," and "fellow travelers." As its political objective the *DSZ* has peddled the old cliché of a powerful

* Among the editors of the *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* during the past years were A. W. Uhlig and Dr. Hans Hagen, both former high officials in the Propaganda Ministry, and Dr. Wilhelm Spenler and Werner Strecker, both former SS officers. The present editor-in-chief is Erich Kernmeyer (alias Kern), the author of several best-selling books glorifying the Nazi past. Under Hitler, Kernmeyer was the leading press official in the Saar district. According to the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of April 10, 1953, these men all had close connections with Dr. Werner Naumann.

Reich, the return of the lost territories in the East, and even the *Anschluss* of the Sudetenland.⁷

In 1957 a court action instituted by the *DSZ* revealed that from the time the paper had been founded in 1951 it had been subsidized by regular monthly payments from the Bonn Press Office. When the federal officials tried to enforce changes in the editorial staff, an open rift occurred which resulted in the withdrawal of financial support. The legal wrangle confirmed what had long been known among German journalists, namely, "that a number of newspapers and periodicals in the Bonn Republic enjoyed the financial support of the Federal Press Office."⁸ Subsequently it became known that not only the Press Office but the Defense Ministry as well had subsidized the *DSZ*.

The millions of marks spent secretly by the Bonn Press Office every year explain why in 1951 a large number of nationalistic and militaristic periodicals mushroomed into existence. The evidence shows that the same system of financing applied to the *DSZ* was used to keep dozens of other Rightist papers and organizations going.* Moreover, the close ties between the Defense Ministry and such papers as the *DSZ* included more than financial arrangements. Editor-in-chief Erich Kernmeyer once boasted: "There is no secret in the Defense Ministry of which we are not informed through our friends in the Ministry in less than twenty-four hours."⁹ Today the ex-soldier organizations hold a place similar to that which the powerful *Stahlhelm* occupied in the Weimar Republic.

A foreigner visiting the larger German cities like Hamburg, Cologne, Duesseldorf, Frankfurt, or Munich would see no huge veterans' rallies or the type of neo-Nazi activities

* *Die Freiheit*, Mainz, December 20, 1952. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* reported on January 15, 1954: "It has been established that West German veterans' organizations get their financial support from Bonn and from U.S. agencies."

described in this book. The larger urban areas usually have Social Democratic majorities among whom such nationalistic manifestations could easily provoke political incidents. But there are hundreds of smaller towns in West Germany where the Rightist elements rule with full sway. This is the reason that for ten years now the soldier associations have held both their national and weekend rallies in towns with a population between 20,000 and 80,000 people. The national rallies—*Traditionstreffen*—at which often 10,000, occasionally up to 30,000, veterans gather, are arranged many months in advance. The ex-soldiers arrive in cars, buses, and chartered trains (at reduced fares), and occupy the whole town. Quarters are secured in private homes, schools, and public buildings. On the basis of several hundred reports of such rallies, printed in the *DSZ* and other papers, let us see what goes on. There is the ritual of marching, singing, heel-clicking, and "*Sieg Heil!*" shouting. Bands of the Bundeswehr and Border Patrol provide the stirring martial tunes of old, happy days. Ex-Generals, wearing all their medals, deliver fiery speeches which usually run along the same endless groove: the "defamation of German soldiers has to be stopped"; the real war criminals are the Allies—remember the Morgenthau shame of 1945, remember our destroyed towns, remember Roosevelt and Yalta. There are other formulas: it is high time to reawaken "Prussia's great tradition"; Germany is the only reliable bulwark of Christian civilization; the lost territories must be returned to the Fatherland; we are behind a United Europe, for which "the German soldier has fought so heroically in World War II." The last is the cliché to which each General or Admiral adds a poetic touch of his own. Admiral Doenitz addressed 3,000 U-boat raiders and declared to frantic applause: "We must hand down the brave, self-sacrificing U-boat spirit to our children and grandchildren."¹⁰ General Kurt Student, commander of the airborne invasion of Crete in 1941, drew prolonged cheers from

his paratroopers when he claimed in 1959: "The German soldier has regained his nimbus; today we have again become a factor in world politics."¹¹

Every weekend in several provincial German towns so-called *Grosstreffen* are staged—reunions of one or another Panzer division, SS formation, the Marine Bund, or the Afrika Korps. Such a reunion is usually greeted by a cabinet member of the Bund or the Laender, by a General of the Defense Ministry, by the mayor of the town, and other officials. As an example let us take the Afrika Korps rally in September 1958 in Karlsruhe, which was addressed by the Adenauer cabinet member Dr. Lindrath, where 15,000 cheering members "vowed to uphold the immortal values of the German soldier, and to keep this tradition alive in the Bundeswehr."¹² A reunion of the paratroopers in Wuerzburg received particular attention when 5,000 of the "Green Devils" greeted war criminal Field Marshal Kesselring with a thunderous ovation, carried him on their shoulders to the platform.¹³

Ten years of SS and ex-soldier meetings have left their mark on West Germany. Observers have frequently stated that neo-Nazism has taken firm hold of the small towns and of the countryside. This is exactly what happened during the twenties. Hitler had his headquarters in Munich (where he was ridiculed), while his storm troopers and the Stahlhelm conquered the smaller towns and villages. In 1933 the large anti-Nazi cities, with the bulk of liberals and workers, fell like ripe apples. There is danger that this strategy may work again.

As early as September 11, 1952, the *DSZ* printed a front-page banner headline: "Period of defamation a thing of the past." The subheading declared that the "Soldaten *Treffen* are festive hours for population and ex-soldiers." The article proudly boasted that the meetings of SS divisions such as the Herman Goering, Das Reich, and others had become

completely successful, because it was no longer necessary for SS men to meet secretly or for the people to hide their true feelings. "In every town," wrote the *DSZ*, "the people provide quarters, participate in the celebration and give us fullest recognition."

For those in the small towns who were opposed to Nazism and militarism it was wiser to keep silent. Why risk martyrdom against the concerted strength of the Herr Landrat (administrative chief of the district), the mayor of the town, the owners of the plant, the banker, the judge, the police chief, often the pastor, the teacher, and all others of status and influence? Behind them, on the local level, were the militarists, the Stahlhelm, the storm troopers, and the Gestapo. It is this array of forces, this formidable power in the provinces which will decide the future of democracy in the Bonn Republic.

In the early fifties, after the Ramckes, Remers, and Rudels had done their work, the *Kalte Machtergreifung*—seizure of power—had become an accomplished fact, at least in the small towns and in the countryside. It was not a new revolution that had occurred, but in many places the local authority had simply slipped into the hands of old Nazis. At that time, labor leaders and democrats lamented that the "brown rats had come out of their holes everywhere." Let us take as an illustration the "Battle of Goslar," where the cause of democracy suffered a severe defeat.

In 1955 the Stahlhelm selected the historic town of Goslar (population 28,000) for a *Treffen*, at which Field Marshal Kesselring was scheduled as the main speaker. The announcement aroused unpleasant memories among the democratic elements of the town. Some townspeople protested. They asked the government of the State of Lower Saxony, and Dr. Adenauer in Bonn, not to allow the scheduled rally. Their petition was supported by the local and regional labor unions. Apart from the fact that Kesselring had been sen-

tenced to death as a war criminal (the sentence was later commuted to eighteen years' imprisonment), the argument was put forth that a noisy, nationalistic rally near the border of the East German Zone could easily be regarded as a provocation. Neither Dr. Adenauer nor his Interior Minister (head of the police), ex-Nazi Dr. Schaefer, thought it necessary to answer the protests of the uneasy democrats.

When the authorities refused to act, the labor leaders called up 6,000 union members for a protest demonstration in the nearby town of Bad Harzburg. Thereupon, on the "highest orders," 1,100 men of a heavily armed police formation were dispatched to Goslar for the protection of Kesselring and his Stahlhelm.¹⁴

Dozens of newspaper accounts described the Goslar meeting. Special police squads clubbed down a number of democratic hecklers who dared to shout "Kesselring go!" The onlookers and hecklers were brutally driven off, and the town was practically under martial law. Many demonstrators were beaten and more than a hundred were arrested. Photos showed that the Stahlhelm had its own uniformed goon squad, adorned with swastikas and armed with sticks. The *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* reported that a press photographer who tried to take Kesselring's picture was almost manhandled by a Stahlhelm officer: "Take your hat off when you approach our Bundesleader! And don't give us that stupid look, or you'll get your face slapped left and right."

There was indignation throughout the democratic press. A Munich newspaperman wrote the following comment:

In recent days, I viewed several dozen photographs taken at that Stahlhelm rally staged a week ago at Goslar. It is really horrifying what went on there. We have seen these pictures once before: Soon after the First World War when the nationalistic Right went all-out to attack the Weimar Republic. Today, as it was then, this spirit is again organized by officers who receive high pensions from the state.

They marched in Goslar and showed off their medals with the swastika. They wore field-gray uniforms and high riding boots. A few even appeared in steel helmets. . . . The pictures show the police standing around in droves. Wearing shakos with chinstraps down, the police were alerted to protect the Stahlhelm. Rough and tough as always, they surged forward to attack the protesting crowd. Many hecklers were beaten and many were arrested. It was said that, on the highest orders, the police had to clear a platform for Bundesleader Kesselring. Thus we have come a long way: The swastika is protected by the police and the resistors are put behind bars! Clear enough?¹⁵

Indeed, Goslar brought home its lesson to many a German democrat: The battle for freedom was almost lost. Today a large part of rural Germany is *vom Feinde besetzt*—occupied by the (fascist) enemy. Ever since the Goslar incident the Social Democrats and unions have seldom dared to challenge another ex-soldier meeting. In recent years the soldier associations have had huge reunions in larger cities like Karlsruhe and Wuerzburg. How soon will they appear in Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Munich? Dr. James Bryant Conant has told us that the Nazis are "dead and buried." There is a voice in Goslar asking, "Who is dead and buried?"

10 *Ten Million Expellees and the Old Homeland*

Among the thousands of Germans who come to the United States each year, either as exchange students or as invited guests of our State Department, there is one visitor who has scored a unique success in this country. His name, strangely enough, has remained absolutely unknown to the average American. He is Dr. Walter Becher, a local politician from southern Germany, a member of the Bavarian Landtag, and a leader of the refugees from the Eastern territories. It should also be said that this German politician is an "old Nazi fighter."*

Dr. Becher's success story in the United States is truly amazing. During the early fifties, when he first came to Washington, he began to build for himself a formidable political machine. His scheme was very simple. If he could obtain the support of leading politicians in the United States, his

* According to information from the U. S. Document Center in Berlin, published in *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, August 8, 1957, Dr. Becher became a member of the Nazi party on December 12, 1931 (membership card 896-129). He later dropped out and re-entered the party on November 1, 1938. He was also a member of the Nazi Brown-Shirts, and he belonged to the National Socialist Student Bund.

prestige and stature would grow enormously at home and he could reap huge dividends not only in his own political bailiwick in Bavaria but in West Germany at large. With a little cleverness, and the help of the McCarthy faction in the United States, he could establish a nation-wide reputation as the foremost leader in the anti-Communist crusade. With this objective Dr. Becher approached those senators and congressmen from both sides of the aisle who were interested in the fight against the "Communist conspiracy," a realm in which the ex-Nazi introduced himself as an expert. His early contacts were with William Jenner and Joseph McCarthy in the Senate, and with such men as Francis E. Walter, B. Carroll Reece, Albert H. Bosch and Walter H. Judd in the House. Dr. Becher soon set up an effective lobby in Washington; he also made considerable headway on the political stage of West Germany.

At the same time, Dr. Becher's burning ambition and his ferocious attacks against political opponents have made him one of the most controversial figures in German public life. "Who is Dr. W. B.?" asked the headline of a four-column article in the news magazine *Der Spiegel*.¹ According to this source, Dr. Becher as a young man joined Konrad Henlein's Nazi-type party in the Sudetenland, which at that time was plotting with Hitler to topple Czechoslovakia's republic. In 1937, Dr. Becher became editor of the Nazi paper *Die Zeit* (no connection with *Die Zeit* of Hamburg), whose pages he filled with anti-Semitic attacks comparable to Julius Streicher's disreputable antics in the *Stuermer*. As editor, responsible for the section "Culture and Science," Dr. Becher demanded the ousting of all Jews from the state-controlled radio in Prague. In signed articles ("Dr. W. B.") he called the Jewish actors "Ghetto hams," spoke contemptuously of "Jewish intellectual bedbugs," and ridiculed "fat Jewish dowagers."

During the Second World War Dr. Becher served the

Propaganda Ministry and the Wehrmacht as a war correspondent. The German collapse found him stranded in Bavaria, where he joined the neo-Nazi Deutsche Gemeinschaft party and was elected to the Bavarian Landtag. In the early fifties he switched to the All-German Bloc, whose political make-up differs not too much from the neo-Nazis'. The All-German Bloc draws its support chiefly from the millions of refugees who fled from the Sudetenland and the detached territories east of the Oder-Neisse River.

With inflammatory speeches in the Landtag, Dr. Becher kept his name constantly in the headlines. He has waged a running battle against the state-owned Bavarian radio network and some of the largest newspapers, which he has accused of being manipulated by "pro-Moscow conspirators." In sweeping attacks he has called the Bavarian radio a "reservoir of U. S.-licensed re-educators" and has asked for the dismissal of its leading officials.² In his first "reform bill" introduced in the Landtag, Dr. Becher showed his old anti-Semitic bias when he suggested that the seat held by the Jewish congregation should be eliminated from the thirty-six-man Advisory Council.

For many years now Dr. Becher has played a prominent role in the affairs of the refugees and expellees. Besides being the chairman of the All-German Bloc in the Bavarian Landtag, he serves as the general secretary of the Sudeten-deutsche Association. His influence rests chiefly on the fact that he has solicited strong political support for the refugee cause from both major parties in Washington. There is wide belief in Germany that without Dr. Becher's close contacts in America, especially those in the State Department and Congress, chances for a return to the old homelands might soon diminish.

Among the 53,000,000 people in West Germany, 10,000,000 are refugees who either fled from the Sudetenland or were expelled after the war from the territories taken over by

Poland and other Eastern countries. These refugees, although for several years now completely integrated into West Germany's bustling economic life, have never reconciled themselves to the territorial decisions made by the victors at Yalta and Potsdam.*

In countless statements before the Bundestag and on other occasions, the Adenauer government has made it sufficiently clear that Germany "cannot accept the Oder-Neisse line as the present or future German frontier."³ Spokesmen for the Bonn government have frequently demanded that the German Reich must be restored to its borders of 1937. Some cabinet members, such as Refugee Minister Oberlaender and Transport Minister Seehofer, have even asked for the annexation of the Sudetenland, just as Hitler did in 1938. Each year Dr. Adenauer's ministers speak before huge rallies of refugees, assuring them that sooner or later they will return to their homelands. They kindle hopes that the "lost provinces" will some day again become part of a German Reich.

The decisions of Yalta and Potsdam have been branded by the refugee leaders and their press as the "greatest crime in history." However, these Nazis and nationalists keep silent about the crimes committed by large groups of the *Volksdeutsche*, the ethnic Germans who, as citizens of Poland and Czechoslovakia, acted disloyally toward their countries and conspired with Hitler in favor of a Gross Deutschland. Take as an example the events in Czechoslovakia during the

* In the Potsdam Agreement of August 1945 the Allies stipulated that the territories east of the Oder-Neisse line be put "under the administration of the Polish state," pending "final demarcation" in a peace treaty, and that the "transfer to Germany of German populations or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, will have to be undertaken." Earlier, after the Yalta conference, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill stated that Poland "will be compensated with a large slice of German territory," pointing clearly to an irrevocable cession of Germany's Eastern provinces.

thirties. The 3,000,000 Sudeten Germans lived in a truly advanced democratic country and enjoyed the same political, cultural, and social freedoms as all the other citizens of Czechoslovakia. Yet 92 percent of them rallied behind Hitler, embarked on a policy of treason, and voted "*Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuehrer.*" According to captured German documents, in 1937 Hitler decided that Czechoslovakia "must be wiped off the map." A year later, at the height of the crisis, the Sudeten Germans revolted, helping to undermine the republic, and on March 15, 1939, Hitler occupied Prague and made the tiny remainder a German "protectorate." Subsequently the Sudeten Germans participated in the "Germanization" of the country by driving the Czechs (their neighbors for centuries) from their homes and by killing the Slavic intelligentsia by the thousands. Only recently a conservative Catholic paper in Austria printed the number of death sentences handed down in Prague and Bruenn alone from June 8 to June 21, 1942. Altogether 340 teachers, lawyers, officials, and Catholic priests were executed in the short span of two weeks, not counting the hundreds who found violent death in the Gestapo torture chambers and in the concentration camps. From 1939 to 1945 several hundred thousand Czechs were murdered by the SS.⁴ It was for these crimes that the Sudeten Germans, the chief perpetrators of the terror regime, were expelled from the soil of Czechoslovakia.⁵

Another example is the Free City of Danzig, which Hitler used as a pretext to start World War II. Originally a Slavic settlement, Danzig was given to Prussia during the second partition of Poland in 1793. After 1918 the huge port on the Baltic sea became an independent "Free City" state, administered by the League of Nations. Germans and Poles lived side by side under democratic rule. In 1939 Hitler demanded another *Anschluss*. According to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 29, 1959, everything was fixed for that

long-expected *Tag*. Here are a few facts given by the German paper. The German cruiser *Schleswig-Holstein*, sent by Hitler on a "visit of friendship" to participate in the city's flower festival, was anchored in the Danzig harbor. Early on the morning of September 1, 1939, tens of thousands of Hitlerite Danzigers crowded the roofs to watch the harbor with field glasses for a special kind of "flower festival." At precisely 4:45 A.M., without a declaration of war, the *Schleswig-Holstein* opened up with a barrage from her heavy 28-centimeter guns, pounding the nearby fortifications of the Polish peninsula Westerplatte. At the same time, everywhere in the city the Germans arrested their Polish neighbors. The victims—men, women, and children—were taken out of their beds, beaten mercilessly in the streets, and rounded up by a quickly organized "emergency SS." The entire police force in Danzig "changed into two Panzer Grenadier regiments overnight" and started to attack every official Polish building with its tanks. Nazi Gauleiter Albert Forster proclaimed the *Anschluss* to the Reich, and the High Commissioner of the League of Nations, the Swiss Jakob Burckhardt, had to leave the city forthwith. All Polish schools and institutions were closed and the Polish population was driven out or shipped to a hastily set up concentration camp.

The "flower festival" was the opening of World War II. A few days later Adolf Hitler, the liberator, had a jubilant reception in Danzig such as "no King or Kaiser ever had before him."

During World War II the Polish Government in Exile (non-Communist) published a great deal of information about the terror and the atrocities committed by the Wehrmacht and the SS in close coöperation with the *Volksdeutsche*. The latter, of course, had the most intimate knowledge of the Polish country and people and had been engaged long before the war in considerable fifth-column activities for the

Reich. Like the Germans in Danzig, the huge majority of the *Volksdeutsche* had been fanatical followers of Hitler. They could hardly wait for the day when they received orders to make the Polish land *Polenrein*—free of Poles. A few days before the war, Hitler had given the green light for ruthless mass murder. He told his commanding Generals:

I have given orders to my Totenkopf formations [Death's-Head SS], for the time being applicable only in the East, to bring unmerciful and pitiless death to every man, woman and child of the Polish race.*

Thus Poland was “stricken from the list of nations,” and the Polish inhabitants were exterminated by the millions. Gauleiter Forster announced on November 26, 1939: “I have received orders to Germanize these provinces in the shortest possible time. . . . In a few years everything that can in any way be reminiscent of Poland will have disappeared.”

According to a report by the Polish Government in Exile, the Germans, “with the usual brutal vulgarity showed their mad hatred for everything Polish.”⁶ As in Czechoslovakia, the Polish intelligentsia—the teachers, officials, officers, aristocrats, and priests—were slaughtered by the tens of thousands. The *Volksdeutsche*, knowing every district and locality, furnished the lists of victims and assisted the Gestapo in carrying out the initial purge. During the first few months, 12,000,000 Poles were driven from their homes and farms. All property was confiscated and passed into the hands of the German settlers. Millions of able-bodied men and women were shipped to slave labor camps either in Germany or in the conquered territories. Thousands of healthy young Polish girls were rounded up and sent to houses of prostitution in Germany or to military brothels behind the front.

* The order, quoted in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of August 25, 1959, said in German: “. . . unbarmherzig und mitleidlos in den Tod zu schicken.”

The rest of “those unfortunate people were loaded into cattle cars and transported to the badly overcrowded General Government of Poland [the occupied rump state] where they were decimated by starvation and disease.”⁷

Motivated by race hatred and the obsession for *Lebensraum*, the Germans killed not only Jews but Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians by the millions. According to official German figures, of the 55,000,000 victims of World War II, 35,000,000 noncombatants were killed in Eastern Europe alone as a “result of the effects of war and occupation.”⁸

Large groups of Sudeten Germans and *Volksdeutsche* in Poland played a vital role in the Hitler holocaust. They filled the ranks of the SS and they fought fanatically to Germanize the Slavic lands. It was in the light of this record that the Allies decided at Yalta and Potsdam to set the Oder-Neisse line as a final stop to Germany's century-old *Drang nach Osten*—push to the East. Most Nazis had fled, and the rest of the plotters were sent home in order to end all further conspiracies. What else could the Allies have done? Had not the cry “*Heim ins Reich!*” vibrated throughout Europe in the heyday of National Socialism? When in 1945 fate caught up with the Sudeten Germans and the *Volksdeutsche*, they were simply sent “home to Germany.”

Soon after the end of World War II, the Germans started to use the expellee question as a lever for a revision of the Yalta and Potsdam decision. Under the Allied occupation statute the refugees were not permitted to organize. Nevertheless they appeared in public as early as 1949 with a highly effective apparatus for mass propaganda: the refugee newspapers, among them the *Volksbote* in Munich and *Die Stimme der Vertriebenen* in Hamburg, began to agitate openly. There is little doubt that the expellees played an important part in the calculations of Dr. Naumann and his associates in Madrid. A secret circular letter issued in 1950 by the Nazi headquarters in Madrid stated:

The millions of expellees must be regarded as a valuable trump card in our policy toward the restoration of German power. . . . The expulsion of 10 million German racial comrades was a blessing for the Reich. The expellees strengthened the biological substance of our race, and from the beginning they became a valuable asset to our propaganda. The expellees, discontented with their fate, infused a strong political dynamism in our demands. Very soon we were able to drown out the noisy propaganda about German "crimes" with our counteraccusation about the heinous misdeeds committed against 10 million German racial comrades. . . . The distress of the refugees has created a common political ground among all Germans, regardless of political affiliation. The demand for the restitution of the stolen German territories keeps our political agitation alive. The militant elements among the refugees are working according to the best traditions of National Socialism, whereas the broad masses among the expellees are kept close together in well-disciplined homeland organizations. . . . The expulsion of millions of our racial comrades provides us with a heaven-sent opportunity to exacerbate the problem of the bleeding border and to hammer constantly for its revision.⁹

For years there has been a tremendous propaganda drive to bring the more than 10,000,000 refugees "back to their homelands." This campaign has been carried on with the full support of the Adenauer government. Bonn has nourished the hope among the Germans that through a "policy of strength" the lost territories in the East can be recovered. It was precisely this view which motivated the Adenauer government to pursue a policy of diplomatic non-recognition toward all East-European states. In 1952 and 1953, Dr. Adenauer and his assistants openly advocated a program of liberation. The day after his election victory in 1953, the Chancellor, in a fiery speech in Bonn, demanded the *Befreiung* of the territories in the East: "But instead of reunification, let us talk rather of liberation [*Befreiung*]
—the liberation of our brethern in slavery in the East. That is

our aim, and that we shall achieve, but only with outside help."¹⁰

A year before that, at a press interview in Washington, the Chancellor's principal diplomatic assistant, State Secretary Walter Hallstein, defined the area to be liberated as reaching "up to the Ural Mountains." At that time the Germans dreamed of a third power bloc (between America and the Soviet bloc) of 550,000,000 people, including a Slavic population of more than 200,000,000 now living within the Soviet bloc. The liberation concept had been freely and frequently discussed at that time in the *Rheinischer Merkur*. One of the Chancellor's staunchest supporters, Dr. Robert Ingrim, admonished the German politicians to discard the sterile concept of reunification and substitute for it a dynamic program of liberation. "The task is not reunification but the liberation of all that has been lost," stated Dr. Ingrim in a lead article.¹¹ There remained little doubt that Bonn's liberation program envisioned the use of all possible means. It was Hitler's *Drang nach Osten* all over again. Among the cities pinpointed for liberation by Dr. Ingrim were Warsaw, Prague, and Vienna.¹²

The unrestrained liberation propaganda of the early fifties created such unease in diplomatic quarters at Paris and London that Dr. Adenauer was soon compelled to renounce military force as a means to recover the lost territories. Since then the new formula in the Chancellor's statements concerning reunification and revision of the Oder-Neisse line has become "in peace and freedom." However, apart from the Chancellor's official position, there is a very different cast to the speeches by other cabinet members before the huge refugee rallies. These revisionist overtones have not contributed toward dispelling the fears in the Eastern capitals of a revengeful Pan-Germanism.

Being aware of the deep distrust in Warsaw and Prague, the expellee leaders now speak quite diplomatically of the

peoples' "right to a homeland." They also claim the "right to self-determination" as advocated by Woodrow Wilson in 1917.* This, however, is viewed in the Eastern capitals as a legalistic veil to cover up the old aggressive plans.

Each year in the spring or early summer, the Sudeten Germans and the expellees from Silesia, East Prussia, and Pomerania come together in rallies 200,000 to 500,000 strong, organized in the best Hitler tradition. "It has become customary," wrote the New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent Gaston Coblenz, "that a minister of the Adenauer government addresses each of the larger meetings and gives assurances that the cause is never being forgotten."¹³ According to the *Tribune* report, Dr. Adenauer, at a meeting of 250,000 refugees from Silesia, "praised the Silesians for keeping alive the memory of their homeland." At another meeting, before 500,000 Sudeten Germans at Munich, Transport Minister Hans-Christian Seeböhm suggested that "not only the Sudeten but also Bohemia and Moravia, which form a large part of Czechoslovakia, should be linked to Germany in the future." Cabinet Minister Theodor Oberländer once declared that the reconquest of the European East is a "German and European task."¹⁴

The leaders of the various Landsmannschaften show even less restraint in stating their revisionist viewpoints. Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, the spokesman for the 3,000,000 Sudeten Germans, said in a speech in 1957 that "the Allies should be prepared to use force to get these [Eastern] territories restored to Germany."¹⁵ The refugee leaders have stated quite openly that the ill-reputed Munich pact, which led to the downfall of Czechoslovakia, "still has international validity," that the borders of the Reich are those of 1939 (including Austria, Danzig, and Memel), that the Reich has a mission in the future, and that the geographic map of

* The expellee "charter" of 1950 is based on the "right of self-determination," but its true aim is the re-establishment of a "Greater German Reich."

Eastern Europe will be changed as soon as West Germany is again established as a military factor in world affairs. It does not require great imagination to recognize that this type of irredentist propaganda, supported by millions of expellees, militarists, and ex-Nazis, does not dispel the profound distrust of future German plans which prevails today in Warsaw, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia, and Bucharest.

When, in May 1959, 300,000 Sudeten Germans gathered outside the German borders for the first time for a huge open-air rally in Vienna, bitter denunciations were heard from Prague, Warsaw, and Pankow. Even politicians in Vienna saw provocation in the meeting. According to the New York *Times* of May 16, 1959, the politicians voiced their "dismay and worry over possible political repercussions." A similar meeting of Germans expelled from the Danube basin, gathering in Salzburg, Austria, was sharply criticized in Belgrade. Deputy Prime Minister Colakovic, in a speech, condemned the "rekindling of fascist and reactionary activities in Austria and in the Bonn Republic."¹⁶

In June 1959 a four-day rally of 300,000 refugees from Silesia was held in Cologne. Dr. Adenauer again praised the expellees for keeping their homeland spirit alive. A resolution was adopted which branded the expulsion from the Eastern provinces "a crime," demanded the "right of the homeland," and put in a "claim for future reparations."¹⁷ The newspaper *Die Welt* reported that there was an angry reaction in Warsaw to the new *Drang nach Osten*.

What makes the expellee activities more dangerous is the fact that the Bonn government has supported the refugee leaders in arousing the hopes of millions of expellees for a return to their homeland. Any politician who dares to come forward with a realistic view in regard to the *status quo* is immediately branded a traitor.

The core of the expellee leadership consists of former

Nazis and extreme nationalists, who have their headquarters in exclusive Rightist clubs such as the Deutsche Kreis 58 (founded by Dr. Walter Becher), the Abendlaendische Akademie, the Rettet die Freiheit committee, and similar organizations. The expellee leaders have included cabinet members of the Bund and Laender, such as Dr. Seebohm, Dr. Oberlaender, Dr. Waldemar Kraft, Frank Seiboth, and Walter Stain. Other influential leaders, besides Dr. Becher and Rudolf Lodgman von Auen were revealed not long ago by the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*: Hans Schuetz, Adolf Asbach, Professor H. Raschhofer, Baron Manteufel-Scoegge, Dr. Alfred Gille, Hans Krueger, Baron Bolko von Richthofen, and dozens of former high Nazi officials.¹⁸

Serving as a respectable façade for the expellees are a few Social Democrats, the most prominent among whom is Bundestag member Wenzel Jaksch, whose extreme nationalist views often differ from those of his party, but very seldom from the Pan-German gospel.

The expellee organizations, frequently influenced by Nazi concepts, have used every opportunity to defend the worst war criminals. When the former SS leader Hermann Krumej, known as the "butcher of 400,000 Hungarian Jews," was arrested in 1957, the Sudetendeutsche Association publicly supported him. It was revealed that Krumej had been chairman of an expellee association for several years and that he had obtained a government loan which enabled him to build up a prosperous business.

The still prevailing Nazi ideas among the refugees, their often expressed contempt for democratic concepts, and their hopes for a territorial change in the East constitute a long-range danger to the political stability of Germany, and Europe as well. It is this situation that in recent years has caused serious concern in Western capitals. At the beginning of 1959 an article in the *London Times* urged Bonn to reappraise its Eastern policies.¹⁹ The article took the

Adenauer government to task for "keeping alive the sentiments and hatreds" so frequently expressed by the expellees. The paper suggested that Bonn should adopt a realistic attitude and recognize the Oder-Neisse line. The Federal Republic, it said, "hesitates to pay the price of defeat" for World War II, but the balance of power has changed and "a new colossus has risen in the East."

This criticism by the London paper which often reflects the views of the British Foreign Office was resented in Germany. The advice to accept the *status quo* was called by the refugee paper *Volksbote* "unfair" and "criminal." A peace "built on gangster methods will not last," said the *Volksbote*, and no German government would ever dare to give up Germany's "rightful claims."²⁰

Two months later, in March 1959, General de Gaulle stated at a press conference that the Oder-Neisse line is Germany's definite Eastern border and should not be changed. To which the Bonn government replied that "the German borders are still those of December 30, 1937."²¹

The *Christian Science Monitor* has published a series of articles giving a realistic appraisal of the Oder-Neisse question.²² The *Monitor's* expert on Eastern and Central European problems, Ernest S. Pisko, recalls the "ruthless policy of Germanization, dating back to the Bismarck era, and reaching its tragic climax under Hitler." Recognizing the "steadily growing revisionist propaganda campaign [as a] disturbing symptom," Mr. Pisko blames Ministers Oberlaender, Seebohm, Waldemar Kraft, and Linious Kather, president of the League of Expelled Germans, as the chief advocates of the idea "that the German frontiers of 1939 should be re-established." Evaluating the expellee propaganda circulating in the United States, Mr. Pisko exposes its methods of "falsification of statistics," "biased quotations," and misrepresentation of facts. "The Poles," concludes Mr. Pisko, "may have confidence in Dr. Adenauer, but they can-

not be sure of the turn West German foreign policy may take under his successors."

Under Western pressure, the Bonn Foreign Office, in the spring of 1959, decided to offer Poland and Czechoslovakia nonaggression pacts. This would have amounted to a tacit recognition of the present borders. Dr. Adenauer left it to Foreign Minister von Brentano to make public this unpopular diplomatic move. The announcement caused a storm of indignation among the refugees. The leaders of the expellee organizations registered vigorous protests with the Chancellor. Within the cabinet, Ministers Oberlaender, Seeböhm, and Lemmer objected vehemently.²³ Dr. Adenauer was forced to yield, and the plan for the nonaggression pacts was dropped.

The Oder-Neisse question is generally regarded as a key issue in the East-West conflict. John Foster Dulles finally recognized that a settlement had to be made, and the Oder-Neisse line stabilized, to keep the world from stumbling into the atomic holocaust. Unfortunately, until now no official statement has come from Washington to clarify the U.S. position, and Washington is still the last hope of the expellee leadership.

In 1955, after Dr. Becher's initial successes in Washington, he decided to install a permanent expellee representative in Washington.²⁴ His choice was a former Nazi diplomat, Dr. Richard Sallet, who had once served Goebbels and Ribbentrop in the German Embassy there. Dr. Sallet was known as an "expert on American affairs." His expertness was verified by captured German documents which contained several hundred pages attesting that during the thirties he was instrumental in launching an anti-Semitic campaign. He was also involved in large-scale anti-American activities aimed at undermining the confidence of the American people in President Roosevelt.

In Washington, Dr. Sallet conducted an effective cam-

paigned of pity for the poor *Volksdeutsche* who would make peace in Europe and the world an impossibility if they were not brought back to their lost homelands. This was the old familiar threat of "chaos" that Hitler had used so effectively before the Munich pact.

Dr. Sallet concentrated his main efforts on establishing close ties with the State Department, Congress, and the American press. His public-relations work had excellent results. In 1957, Congressman Usher L. Burdick inserted in the *Congressional Record* one of Dr. Becher's articles advocating "a realistic policy of liberation," a "breaking off of all diplomatic and economic contacts with Communist regimes in the East," and an "economic blockade of the Soviet bloc."²⁵ On August 10, 1959, the *Volksbote* reported "more successes in the U. S. Congress." Within a few months, seven statements and articles by Dr. Becher, Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, and other expellee leaders had appeared in the *Congressional Record*.²⁶ Whenever Dr. Becher toured the United States, usually for several weeks at a time, conferences were arranged with high State Department officials, influential senators and congressmen, and journalists and radio commentators. Early in 1958 the *Volksbote* ran three successive articles about Dr. Becher's accomplishments in the United States. During that visit, the *Volksbote* stated, Dr. Becher had meetings with German-American leaders, "long talks with leading officials in the State Department," and many conferences with senators and representatives. He had also had his political views presented in "71 newspapers, and to 32,000,000 listeners over the Mutual Broadcasting Network."²⁷

Each year dozens of senators and congressmen send messages to Dr. Becher, assuring him of their sympathy and support for the aims and aspirations of the Sudeten Germans. These messages are usually read to the crowds at the large rallies and are reprinted in the expellee press. The claim in the *Volksbote* that "our work is supported by more than 150

congressmen" might well be accurate. A cursory count of the signers of messages in less than a dozen *Volksbote* issues revealed the impressive number of more than ninety communications coming from 36 senators and 57 congressmen.* In addition, the *Volksbote* published letters and telegrams from former President Herbert Hoover, retired U. S. Generals such as del Valle, Willoughby, and Wedemeyer, and a number of politicians.

It is this backing that helps make the expellee associations, the leaders as well as the 3,000,000 members, absolutely unyielding to any proposed *modus vivendi*. At the beginning of the Geneva Conference (in the spring of 1959) the expellee leaders insisted that the Adenauer government stand firm in refusing to let the Western powers make any concessions to the Soviets. State Secretary Peter Nahm, Minister Oberlaender's representative, gave assurance to an expellee delegation that "in all future decisions the refugees will have the first and the last words."²⁸

There is little doubt that State Department officials and U.S. legislators have entangled themselves quite deeply in the liberation scheme of a group of Nazi intriguers. It is very probable that the refugees would have settled down in their national environment long ago had they not received constant encouragement in their revisionist aspirations from

* The following senators sent messages to Dr. Becher: Homer E. Capehart, Karl E. Mundt, Olin D. Johnston, James Murray, William Proxmire, Warren G. Magnuson, Homer Ferguson, James Eastland, Prescott Bush, Arthur V. Watkins, Allen J. Ellender, Albert Gore, Leverett Saltonstall, W. Kerr Scott, Styles Bridges, Francis Case, Charles E. Potter, Pat McNamara, John M. Butler, Frank A. Barrett, William Knowland, George W. Malone, Andrew F. Schoepel, William Langer, Strom Thurmond, Carl T. Curtis, Herman E. Talmadge, Robert C. Byrd, Thomas J. Dodd, Milton R. Young, Spessard L. Holland, Stuart Symington, Edward J. Thye, Wallace F. Bennett, Dennis Chavez, A. Willis Robertson. Among the representatives, the following names might be mentioned: Joseph R. Martin, Francis E. Walter, Albert H. Bosch, Speaker John McCormack, B. Carroll Reece, Usher L. Burdick, Walter H. Judd, John Taber, Harold H. Velde, Charles J. Kersten and Philip J. Philbin.

Washington. At a time when Europe is longing for stability, it would have been sound policy not to arouse ambitions which once before in our lifetime caused one of mankind's greatest tragedies.