9, Alvanley Gardens London N.W. 6.

[Heft 24,] June 4th, 1943

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Germany

Opposition

It has become extremely difficult to get news directly from Germany which subsequent events have not made out of date. We are therefore pleased to be able to deal with at least some of the main questions which are constantly asked in connection with the events in the Third Reich. Before the fall of Stalingrad - a formidable defeat which the Germans clearly recognised as such and which even Goebbels could not deny - the morale was bad, as we already reported on March 4th, 1943. The winter did not see the war brought to a decision, on the contrary, successes the Germans had gained in Russia during the Summer of 1942 were practically nullified by the Russian counteroffensive. But the German people remained indifferent, they were depressed and gloomy, filled with grief by the heavy casualties. The casualty figures given by the Nazis were so obviously false that nobody believed them. Then came the disaster of Stalingrad. We reported at the time what a tremendous collapse in the morale of the population this caused. But most important of all was the destruction of the myth of Hitler's infallibility - for he had repeatedly stressed that the entire responsibility for the whole German strategy was his. We reported on March 4th, 1943 that it was just this effect of the Stalingrad defeat that our friends were best able to use in their activities against the Nazis. Shortly afterwards we received a number of reports which all told the same story: resistance against the regime was increasing. For instance, we heard from one of the biggest towns in East Germany that soldiers on leave from the Eastern front had expressed quite frankly and publicly their hatred of the S.S. and the Nazi leaders. Acting on instructions, the Gestapo "ignored" most of these incidents.

Some time later we had reports of sign of open dissatisfaction with the regime. The grievances were the bad food situation, the lack of adequate protection against the air-raids, and the long duration of the war. Neither the terror of the Gestapo nor Goebbel's intensified propaganda could alter the people's attitude. Some of the measures taken by the Gestapo to counteract this state of affairs are well known: at the universities of Munich, Freiburg, Ulm and Stuttgart a number of students were arrested; five of them and a professor were executed. It is interesting to note that these students and the professor were far from being socialists, but were people from the conservative camp who to-day regard the Nazis as a national danger for the future of Germany. But nevertheless, their work against the regime was methodical

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and well planned; they had established contact with some of the armament workers, the people upon whom the lifeblood of the German war machine depends.

All these events took place even before Tunisgrad, as the catastrophe which befell the

`African Korps' was very aptly termed by the German opposition. After Tunisgrad we received another and more detailed report written in the middle of May. The following is a summary of the most important points it contained.

"In X., Y., and Z. the good contacts between socialists and trade unionists continue. They are reliable in their activity. In these towns anti-Nazis and anti-war slogans are to be seen painted on the walls. But the most significant thing is that there are inscriptions referring to Hitler as the real cause of the Allied air-raids. Even as late as last autumn such a thing would have been almost impossible."

It is extremely significant that notwithstanding the terrific destruction caused by the R.A.F. in the Third Reich the German opposition can openly tell the people that this destruction is only the consequence of the war into which Hitler has plunged mankind. In our opinion this provides the most convincing proof of the readiness of the German people to support those who really fight for justice and freedom. This makes it all the more important, as we have repeatedly emphasized, to give them an absolutely clear idea of the post war plans of the Allies.

Terror

But the retaliation of the Nazi regime still has to be reckoned with. And it cannot be too often emphasized that the opposition about which we are reporting is the work of only a relatively small part of the population. This is easy to understand when we hear that "the terror of the Gestapo has been greatly intensified and that again very recently many old comrades have been arrested." But it is neither cowardice nor the desire to let others pull their chestnuts out of the fire that makes the German workers hesitate openly to defy the regime or do more than participate in the widespread "Go Slow" campaign. It is rather the conviction that the regime is still so powerful that any open opposition would only lead to annihilation.

Production

We have no figures about the state of production in Germany. But all reports agree that production has dropped considerably. The reasons are the large proportion of foreign workers, the thousands of unskilled women and small middleclass shopkeepers who have only recently been drawn into industry; and the excessive wear and tear of the machines and tools. These causes of declining production are inevitable; to what an extent real sabotage also plays a part, is difficult to judge, but there are continually reports of it.

Optimists

None of the workers believe in the possibility of a German victory, quite apart from the fact that they do not desire it. How far their hopes of an Allied victory sometimes leads them to wishful thinking is shown by a report that in May, 1942 German workers believed that the Russians would soon be in Silesia. [!] The only reason for this belief was that the German offensive started later than they had expected.

Defeatists

We have frequently indicated that the German opposition desires the destruction of the German war-machine. But they are afraid of a peace inspired by revenge or at least a peace settlement which will leave the most important problems unsolved and pave the for the next war. The following report from Germany clearly illustrates what we mean:

"The German people have a panicky fear of an Allied post-war settlement, and even militant anti-Nazis are disturbed about the possibility that the victors will impose a reactionary government or that former leaders such as Bruening[1] or a general may be put into power. Goebbels uses this fear, which is shared by all Germans, to Hitler's advantage."

What Goebbels Fears

The real state of mind of the German people is often revealed more clearly in the propaganda issued by Goebbels than from any expression of opinion by the German people themselves, which can only be made secretly and even then in an incomplete manner. We have received three small leaflets which Goebbels has distributed in vast numbers in question with which the German people are concerned.

The First Leaflet: What we are fighting for

"To-day German mothers know what their sons are fighting for", writes Goebbels in this leaflet. This shows that mothers had been asking themselves and others for what Hitler's war was being fought. In this leaflet Goebbels gives an explanation as to the purpose of this war. We reproduce it below in order to illustrate how German propagandists are concerned to make a big song out of every little remark which so much as hints at the carving up of Germany. The statement here attributed to Churchill, though never made by him, yet is believed by some because irresponsible writers have at some time or other indulged in similar fantasies. The text of Goebbels' leaflet is as follows:

"Churchill's devilish plan!

The official English news agency Reuter[s]**[2]** sent a cablegram to South America containing the following monstrous proposals:

[°] After the victory of the Allies all German children should be internationalized. All German children between the ages of 2 and 6 should be taken away from their mothers and transferred to other countries for twenty-five years.'

If German children still remain alive after this plan has been put into effect they will be forced to grow up as international slaves and perform compulsory labour service for the plutocratic-bolshevist exploiter criminals.

> NOW YOU KNOW, GERMAN MOTHER, WHAT YOU ARE FIGHTING FOR! It is for your children - for the future of our race!"

It is obvious from this propaganda how important it is for the Allies to make a clear declaration of their aims.

The Second Leaflet: USA

The second fear of the German people is the tremendous productive capacity of the United States. Many Germans are firmly convinced that the last war was definitely lost from the moment the United States joined the Allies. The same fear is to-day manifest in the Third Reich. For this reason America must be represented as reluctant to wage war on Germany. And the explanation given for the fact that America is on the side of the Allies is that the Jews in America were alone responsible for driving the country

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into the war. The text of the leaflet on this subject is as follows:

"Bernhard M. Baruch [3], financier, JEW, Henry Morgenthau [4], Finance Minister, JEW, Felix Frankfurter [5], Professor, JEW, Sol Bloom [6], President of the Army Commission of the Senate, JEW, La Guardia [7], Mayor of New York, HALF-JEWISH, Cordell Hull [8], Foreign Minister, Married to a JEWESS. THESE ARE THE REAL RULERS OF U.S.A."

The Third Leaflet: War Guilt

It is obvious that many people doubt whether Germany can justify her participation in the war; i.e., whether the Allies did not really enter this war purely in self-defence. The fact that even the air-raids are regarded as justified proves that at least some of the German people have really not lost their senses. The third leaflet seeks to refute this point of view. It runs as follows:

"Do not be too just in your judgment of our enemies, of their character and their deeds. Always remember that we are at war. Everything is good which is to the advantage of our people. Everything is right when it helps to secure victory."

But as we have seen this propaganda has not succeeded in stultifying the thinking capacity of the German people.

France

Real Unity

Some weeks ago the French Resistance Movement celebrated one of its greatest triumphs. The largest papers issued by the French underground fighters: `Libération', `Franc Tireur' and `Combat' have decided to describe themselves as the journals of the organised and united resistance movement. The `Populaire', the journal of the French Socialists has been able to publish its tenth number in an edition of 30,000 copies.

Cahiers Politiques

The General Study Committee of Fighting France in France publishes a special monthly illegal journal called Cahiers Politiques, in which plans for reconstruction in the economic, political and cultural spheres are discussed. Problems of foreign policy, European cooperation, and political theory are also thoroughly dealt with.

Trade Unions

The reconstruction of the Trade Unions is making good progress, in that close collaboration, especially between the free Trade Unions and the Christian Trade Unions, has been achieved. This collaboration is, however, only a matter of a common struggle for common aims. A real fusion has not been achieved, nor does it seem that this is intended in the near future.

One great obstacle to the reconstruction of the Trade Unions is the deportation of

young workers to the Third Reich. Even where workers succeed in avoiding deportation by hiding themselves, they naturally cannot be used for the work of rebuilding the Trade Unions.

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May-Day

This year no demonstrations took place on the 1st of May in France. There were, however, plenty of signs that the workers did not fail to celebrate this day of international solidarity. In several towns in the South of France the unified resistance movement issued a special manifesto for the occasion. And the `Populaire' published a special May day number.

Rélève

The so-called Rélève and the deportation of workers to the Third Reich is undoubtedly the strongest spur to resistance. Reports differ as to the extent of this resistance. But there is no doubt that many French workers outside the larger towns have taken refuge in the countryside and in the mountains. They have armed themselves and together with certain remnants of the former regular army they await the day when they will be needed, the day when the Allies land in France. The whole French people are united in their opposition to the attempts of the Nazis to send the workers to Germany. Labour exchange officials and policemen, transport workers and railwaymen - all do what they can to sabotage the plans of the Germans. Countless leaflets with the heading "Rise against Slavery" tell of ways and means of avoiding deportation to Germany.

Use Every Means

The paper `Combat' has issued special instructions to French workers who are still in France and also for those who have been unable to avoid deportation to Germany. The following are the instructions for those in France:

"Use every means to prevent the execution of the deportation order in France. Cause disorder. Paralyse, bomb, assault, disarm, but do not kill police. Cause agitation and revolt everywhere to disperse the police force. Get the help of women! Set fire to houses of S.O.L. members and threaten them. Intimidate officials by anonymous letters. With all available means interrupt transports but take no action against occupation troops for the present. Undermine administration and police. Help hide others and keep under cover yourself. Gatherings are to be avoided. Obtain ration cards, identity papers, food money, where necessary by force. Have no consideration for cowardice of Civil Servants or for the coffers of avaricious peasants."

And there are for Germany:

"When in Germany be discreet, cautious, silent. Beware of spies who may be French. Do as little work as possible and organise passive resistance. Avoid demonstrations and strikes, but go slow, very slow. Act collectively, forming groups of three which become snowballs. Contact foreign workers and French war prisoners, inform them of our desire to work with them in the coming Revolution in the West and western unity. Tell them that all the Germans now being killed are being sacrificed in vain and are a loss to the whole continent."

We know that the French workers in Germany actually have very good contact with

their colleagues from other countries and even with the German workers. As we reported a few months ago, we know also that there exist in Germany oppositional groups of French, Czech, and German workers. It is therefore quite understandable that Sauckel stated in a speech at the end of May that:

"It was not without great apprehension that I brought millions of foreign workers into German industry."

Editorische Anmerkungen

- Heinrich Brüning (1885-1970), deutscher Politiker (Zentrum), Geschäftsführer des christlichen deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes (1920-1930), MdR (1924-1933), Vorsitzender der Zentrumsfraktion (1929-1930, 1932-1933), Reichskanzler (1930-1932), Emigration in die USA (1934), Professor für Verwaltungswissenschaften an der Harvard University (ab 1939), Professor für politische Wissenschaften an der Universität zu Köln (1951-1954).
- 2 ,,Reuter" = ,,Reuters Ltd." (seit 1916), 1849 von P.J. Reuter in Aachen gegründete, 1851 nach London verlegte britische Nachrichtenagentur, Gemeinschaftsunternehmen der britischen Presse (seit 1941).
- 3 Bernhard Mannes Baruch (1870-1965), US-amerikanischer Wirtschaftsfachmann, Ratgeber mehrerer US-Präsidenten, entwarf den ,,National Industrial Recovery Act" (New Deal, ab 1933), Berater Franklin D. Roosevelts in Kriegswirtschaftsfragen (1943-1945).
- 4 Henry M. Morgenthau Jr. (1891-1967), US-amerikanischer Politiker, Unterstaatssekretär (ab 1933), Finanzminister unter Roosevelt (1943-1945), bekannt für seinen Vorschlag, Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg auf den Status eines Agrarlandes zu reduzieren (so genannter Morgenthau-Plan, 1944).
- 5 Felix Frankfurter (1882-1965), US-amerikanischer Richter, Professor an der juristischen Fakultät der Harvard-Universität (1914-1939), Ernennung zum Richter des Supreme Court (1939) durch Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ruhestand nach Schlaganfall (1962).
- 6 Sol Bloom (1870-1949), US-amerikanischer Politiker, im Immobiliengeschäft tätig, als Demokrat in den Kongress gewählt, Mitglied diverser Komitees, nach ,,Europe speaks" Präsident des Wehrkomitees des Senats.
- 7 Fiorello Henry La Guardia (1882-1947), US-amerikanischer Politiker (Demokrat), Kongressabgeordneter (1917, 1923-1933), Bürgermeister von New York (1933-1945).
- 8 Cordell Hull (1871-1955), US-amerikanischer Jurist und Politiker (Demokrat), Senator (1931-1933), Außenminister (1933-1944), Friedensnobelpreis für sein Mitwirken bei Gründung der UNO (1945).