

---

PRISM: Political & Rights Issues & Social Movements

---

1-1-1951

## Bonus for murder: Washington's plot to rearm Western Germany

Arthur David Kahn

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/prism>  
University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in PRISM: Political & Rights Issues & Social Movements by an authorized administrator of STARS. For more information, please contact [STARS@ucf.edu](mailto:STARS@ucf.edu).

---

### Recommended Citation

Kahn, Arthur David, "Bonus for murder: Washington's plot to rearm Western Germany" (1951). *PRISM: Political & Rights Issues & Social Movements*. 432.  
<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/prism/432>

by Arthur D. Kahn

**bonus**

**for**



**murder**

10c

WASHINGTON'S PLOT TO  
REARM WESTERN GERMANY

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Arthur D. Kahn, the author of this pamphlet, was stationed in Germany during the crucial months following the end of World War II. He is the author of *Betrayal: Our Occupation of Germany*, based on first-hand observation of American Military Government policy in West Germany. He also assisted Albert Kahn in the writing of the widely-read book, *High Treason*.

In 1948 he became a member of the national staff of the Progressive Party.

---

Published by THE GERMAN-AMERICAN, 130 East 16th St., New York 3, N. Y.

May, 1951

 209

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

---

## BONUS FOR MURDER

### Washington's Plot to Rearm Western Germany

---

*"In light of the current policy to rebuild the German military machine and put it under the command of Nazi Generals, the following Eisenhower opinion is worth recalling. During the war he declared: 'The world would not be safe until the German General Staff was exterminated or exiled.'"*

—Walter Winchell, *New York Daily Mirror*, Jan. 5, 1951

"For my part, bygones are bygones."

With these words, General Dwight D. Eisenhower attempted to recruit the generals, industrialists and nationalist politicians of West Germany on his visit to Frankfurt on January 20, 1951. General Eisenhower was willing to forget the sacrifices of the GI's who fought under his command during World War II, as well as the Nazi gas chambers, slave labor, mass murder of hostages and annihilation of 6,000,000 Jews if these stubborn German leaders would co-operate in the North Atlantic Pact military plans.

On account of this project for German remilitarization which Washington is seeking to expedite, once again, as often in the "bygones," Germany holds the key to a new world war.

The new crisis in this land is the result of the decision of the Western powers to rearm West German generals, Ruhr

industrial magnates and power-hungry unrepentant ex-Nazis, elements which hope to profit from the new "Crusade" against the Soviet Union.

The issue of peace or war is posed.

It is time to question and examine and to discuss and act in defense of peace—while the young men are still alive and the cities still stand.

Later there will be time only for weeping, burying and digging out the ruins.

"When do I think the war will be over?"

S.S.-Col. Ernest Seifert looked up with a twisted smile as he repeated my question. Shifty-eyed and slovenly, this Nazi war prisoner had mumbled indistinctly his denial of any knowledge of Nazi atrocities against the Jews. This question, however, he answered with decision:

*"It is not clear when the war will be over. The Russians are advancing deep into Germany. The danger of bolshevism is very great for America."*

I objected that he was avoiding an answer.

*"It's hard to say,"* he continued, *"just when the open conflict will begin. When I heard the Fuehrer's speech on March 1, I said that he had always been right, and I believe he will be right again about victory."*

On April 24, 1945, only two weeks before V-E day, sitting in the prison of the devastated city of Wuerzburg, this Nazi was confident that the Hitler debacle was merely a stage in the conflict. In the final and conclusive struggle, he was certain that Americans and Nazis would be allies against the Soviet Union.

Had not the Fuehrer so prophesied?

To S.S.-Col. Seifert the eventual anti-Soviet alliance of Americans and Nazis was only a matter of faith in the prophetic wisdom of the Fuehrer. But to top-ranking Nazis

and German militarists, it was a question of *realpolitik*—realistic politics.

As early as the spring of 1944, with customary methodical cunning, Heinrich Himmler, Supreme Commander of the S.S. who was known as The Hangman because of his calculated bestiality, entrusted his Chief of Personnel, S.S. Standartenfuhrer Franke-Grieksch, with the task of developing plans for the postwar secret reorganization of the S.S.

---

## THE HANGMAN MAKES PLANS

---

When news of the project leaked to the Regular Army officers, the Wehrmacht General Staff initiated similar preparations in July, 1944, the month of the abortive attempt on Hitler's life. Colonel Bruhns, a member of the General Staff, and a Major von Oertzen, who had been returned from an American P.W. camp in a prisoner exchange, were appointed to work out a program for underground postwar Wehrmacht reorganization.

Their plan envisioned several phases of operation:\*

1. The establishment of secret officer cells throughout the land;
2. The open emergence of officer organizations;
3. The establishment of close liaison with German political leaders;
4. The organization of a new Wehrmacht.

On May 5, 1945 the German War College was overrun by General Patton's troops. Among the prisoners were Colonel Bruhns and Major von Oertzen.

With the catastrophic annihilation of German military

---

\* Details of this program were revealed at a Berlin press conference on May 16, 1950, by Major Walter Brucker, an officer who had been involved in this General Staff project.

power and the capture of the General Staff's plans for the reconstitution of the Wehrmacht, the German militarists were completely dependent upon sympathy and support from occupation officials for the accomplishment of their schemes.

Before the end of 1945, mysterious dispatches hinted at a welter of intrigue with German military leaders. The Swiss press spoke of German officers sent by American and British officials to Switzerland to draft plans for the revival of the Wehrmacht.

---

### AMERICANS TAKE OVER

---

Early in 1946, carefully selected German generals and General Staff officers were assembled by the American Army at the village of Allendorf to prepare an analysis of the German military campaigns, with particular detailed consideration of the campaigns against the Soviet Union. The director of this project was none other than Colonel General Franz Halder, Chief of the Wehrmacht General Staff during Nazi military heyday—from September, 1939 (the month of the invasion of Poland), to September, 1942 (the month of the opening of the Battle of Stalingrad).

German militarists were further encouraged in August, 1946, by the rejection at the Nuremberg trials by the Western powers over Soviet objections of a "declaration of criminality with respect to the General Staff and High Command."

The significance of this ruling was soon revealed. On Christmas Day, 1946, General Lucius B. Clay, American Military Governor in Germany, issued an amnesty by which 300 leading Nazis, including members of the General Staff, were released on parole and protected from indictment by German denazification courts.

Thus, beginning almost immediately after V-E Day, American officials fostered the revival of the German military clique.

Taking advantage of the favorable attitude of the occupa-

tion officials and of the sabotage of the war aims by Military Government leaders, the German militarists carried out the first phase of the Wehrmacht Reorganization Plan and established secret officer cells throughout West Germany. In July, 1946, American and British officials uncovered a well-organized secret military organization led by S.S. generals. In February, 1947, another, more extensive network headed by high-ranking S.S. and Wehrmacht officers, was unmasked.

---

## THE RESURGENCE OF THE GENERALS

---

By 1950, favored by the official increased aggressiveness of American policy in Germany, the German militarists were able to organize above ground. Members of the old General Staff founded the *Bruderschaft* (Brotherhood), an organization dedicated to the reconstruction of German military power and to the rehabilitation of German "military honor." Under the leadership of Lt. General Hasso von Manteuffel, former commander of the Nazi *Greater Germany* Division, the *Bruderschaft* included men whose names had brought terror to the world for a decade:

Generals Student, Stumpf, Halder, Guderian, von Schwerin, Speidel, Koch, Class and Ott; S.S. Obergruppenfuehrer Steiner and Hausherr; Gauleiter (Nazi Governors) Kaufmann and Lauterbach; and S.S. Standartenfuehrer Franke-Grieksch (the Nazi entrusted by Himmler with the postwar reorganization of the S.S.).

For the lesser officers and militarists, other organizations were revived or established. The *Stahlhelm* (Steel Helmet), notorious for its participation in the massacre of German workers after World War I and for its enthusiastic support of the Hitler military program was reactivated in April, 1950. During 1950, also, a special association of former air force officers and specialists was created, and Wehrmacht paratroop-



ers opened a central headquarters and issued a newsheet, *The Green Devil*.\*

---

## A "MILITANT" DEMOCRACY

---

"The word democracy is taboo in this house!"—President of the Bonn Parliament, Dr. Koehler, to a deputy in July, 1950.

Having succeeded with American co-operation in organizing new military organizations, the German militarists next sought to establish close liaison with German political leaders.

Because of the political atmosphere in West Germany, their task was not difficult.

Alvarez Del Vayo, writing in the *Nation* (April 1, 1950), summarized the situation in the Bonn Republic as follows:

*"The resurgence of Nazism is unanimously recognized by the three [western occupation] governments. It is now accepted as normal that close collaborators of Hitler are allowed to occupy high positions both in industry and government, that the cartels outlawed by the American Military Government three years ago are reappearing and are more powerful*

---

\* West Germany swarms with neo-Nazi and militarist groups. A *Hassler Jugend*, a youth organization modeled on the Hitler Jugend, seeks to revive Nazism among young people. The Fatherland Union uses the Nazi salute and colors, and calls its S.A.-like uniformed cadre the S.O. (Defense Organization).

The West German newspaper *Der Telegraf* reported on November 28, 1950, the founding of the "First Legion," a Nazi-militarist group under the sponsorship of Dr. Robert Pferdmenges, one of Germany's leading financiers, a Parliamentary deputy, close friend of Chancellor Adenauer and former collaborator with Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's economic expert. Spokesman for the "First Legion" is a Dr. Boex, one of Chancellor Adenauer's aides.

---

*than ever; that publishers of former Nazi papers, unrepentant and unchanged, are receiving facilities for printing venomous, anti-Semitic periodicals. These men do not even make a pretense of reform. Quite the contrary."*

American Military Government officials are responsible for this situation.

Under the leadership of William H. Draper, Director of the Economics Division and former officer of Dillon, Read & Co. (an investment firm which floated tremendous loans for Germany after World War I, particularly in support of the great German steel trust), men associated with corporations like Republic Steel, General Motors and other great agglomerations pursued a policy of reviving German industry and cartels and ignored the 4 D's—denazification, decartellization, demilitarization and democratization.

In his book *Again the Goose Step*, Delbert Clark, formerly *New York Times* correspondent in Germany, declares that these American bankers and industrialists in Military Government acted on the "firm belief that most talk of reform was idealistic nonsense, and that German industry should be reconstructed as soon as possible along prewar patterns." As a result, "the American and British zones of Germany became reasonably safe places for the men who rose to affluence and prestige under it [the Hitler regime], and even to some who actually helped him to power, if their position as businessmen was secure enough to make them 'indispensable.'"

---

#### ADENAUER & CO.

---

The alliance of American and German businessmen is ironically symbolized by an actual relationship through marriage.

Gussy Zinsser was first cousin to Ellen Zinsser and John Sher-

man Zinsser, a director of the Zinsser Chemical Company and of the Morgan Bank.

Gussy Zinsser became Gussy Adenauer, wife to Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Bonn (West German) Republic.

Ellen Zinsser is now Ellen McCloy, wife to John McCloy, United States High Commissioner in Germany.

But Konrad Adenauer's international business connections are more extensive. Adenauer was formerly a director of the Deutsche Bank, largest German bank under Hitler which was responsible for more looting in foreign lands under Nazi domination than any other private establishment. The Deutsche Bank has been closely allied to the Rhenish Steel Trust, which, in turn, is tied to the great United States Steel Corp., a Morgan interest. As a member of the board of thirteen German industrial organizations, Adenauer is an important figure in German and international high finance.

Surrounding Adenauer in the Bonn Government are many dubious political personalities with extensive pro-Nazi histories. Even Theodore Heuss, President of the Republic, it has recently been disclosed, contributed articles to Goebbels' own propaganda paper, *Das Reich*.

The West German Republic is ruled by a potpourri of pre-Hitler reactionaries, ultra-nationalists, Ruhr industrial barons, Nazis, militarists and grafters, who have obtained power with the approval and connivance of American officials and are maintained by German big business.\*

Such German leaders would, of course, lend a willing ear to proposals of the old military clique.

In April, 1950, Chancellor Adenauer indicated his sympathies for the German nationalists and military adventurers in a startling symbolic action. Upon completing his address to a West Berlin audience, Adenauer unexpectedly led the

---

\* A Parliamentary Investigation Sub-committee discovered in October, 1950, that leading Ruhr industrialists had distributed generous bribes among deputies to assure the election of Adenauer as Chancellor and the establishment of the capital at Bonn.

assembly in the singing of *Deutschland Ueber Alles*, the infamous anthem of German aggression and imperialism.

Two months earlier Adenauer had conferred with Lt. Gen. von Manteuffel, leader of the Brotherhood, on the reorganization of a German army. Subsequently, his connections with the generals were strengthened by selection of military leaders for government posts. In September General Gerhard Count von Schwerin, former commander of the 116th Armored Division, was appointed Adenauer's adviser on security problems.\* General Anton Gassner, another member of the Brotherhood, was made a Federal Inspector in the Ministry of the Interior, the ministry in charge of police and internal security. General Hans Speidel, former Chief of Staff to Field Marshal Erwin Rommel (the Desert Fox), and General Adolf Heusinger, former Chief of Operations of the General Staff, were charged with representing Adenauer in military negotiations with the Western powers.

---

## DEUTSCHLAND UEBER ALLES

---

The revival of Nazi military power had reached the final phase in the uniting of the military elements revived by the Americans with the neo-Nazis and conservative nationalistic political leaders sponsored by American officials. West Germany was being prepared for a war footing.

*Was soll es bedeuten . . .* (What must it mean . . . from Heine's *Lorelei*).

In May, 1950, an East German newspaper reported that the legendary Lorelei cliff on the upper Rhine had been mined by the Western powers and that the Allies were planning to detonate many dams and canals and flood vast sec-

---

\* Von Schwerin's philosophy was summed up in a statement he made during the Hitler regime: "*In these times the only possible place for an upright and right-thinking soldier is in the Nazi Army.*"

tions of West Germany, including some of the largest cities of the country, to impede the advance of any enemy troops.

When a protest delegation of German women asked Bonn Ministerial Councillor Dr. Betz about these preparations, he answered curtly: "We have lost the war and we Germans do not determine policy."

American military officials subsequently admitted that West Germany had been divided into three zones—heavy, middle and light—to designate the varying extent of destruction in the planned scorched earth program.

The next step in the program for turning West Germany into an armed camp involved the actual training of German soldiers.

---

## GOOSESTEP OF THE LANDSKNECHT

---

Not far from the Botanical Gardens in Berlin in the so-called "Alte Kaserne" (old barracks), clipped Prussian commands and the brittle goosestep reverberated during the drilling of the Kaiser's and Hitler's troops. Today Germans once again are marching on these parade grounds. But these new German troops wear American uniforms.

Chosen from among professional soldiers and unemployed veterans, these men undergo eight weeks of basic training and four weeks of specialized courses and then are sent to West Germany to barracks. Training of these German mercenaries began in March, 1950. By the end of the year more than 9,000 had passed through the Alte Kaserne alone.

In mid-summer 1950 West German Labor Offices were ordered to submit names of former Wehrmacht personnel who are unemployed to the American authorities. In the larger cities of the American Zone, recruitment offices were opened for the hiring of auxiliary mercenary troops. On August 1, the Labor Corps, composed of the unemployed, were integrated with the German Industrial Police, armed

and forced to undergo military training. In October these companies were provided with green uniforms, given army gradings and commanded to salute in military fashion.

An A.P. dispatch appearing in the *New York Times* (December 13, 1950) reported that 60,000 such auxiliary troops had been organized for training in the American and British Zones during the summer of 1950. "The Western labor service battalions are so drilled," the dispatch stated, "that they amount to a force of rookies just out of basic training. Observers say they could form a solid nucleus for a West German army."

---

JUNE 26, 1950

---

*"Until the war broke out in Korea, the major (and officially the sole) concern of the Western Allies was to see no 'remilitarization' of West Germany, industrially or otherwise. . . . Today, however, even those allied officials whose job it has been to see that the Germans did not try to produce war material are undertaking careful studies to see exactly what West Germany could and should produce, either for its own rearmament or for that of Western Europe."*

—Ernest Leiser, *New York Daily Compass*, Sept. 3, 1950.

The preparation for the revival of West Germany military power had been proceeding subtly since 1945. After the opening of hostilities in Korea, there was no attempt to camouflage Allied intentions.

On September 12, 1950—actually ratifying what had already been taking place—the British and American High Commissioners officially announced the discontinuance of the demilitarization of West Germany.

*"If . . . the leaders of the West are convinced that war is inevitable and have made up their minds,"* wrote Drew Middleton in the *New York Times* (April 2), *"then their only*

course is to sell German rearmament to the French and the other nations of Western Europe. This will take some salesmanship."

But more than salesmanship was required to "sell German rearmament" to West European political leaders who feared the wrath of their constituents. Dispatches in the press have hinted at the strong pressure exerted by Mr. Acheson and Mr. Marshall:

September 14 (U.P.): "*The British and French view has been that though the raising of a German army should not be excluded for the future, public opinion at home made the idea unacceptable at present.*"

*New York Times*, October 29: "*Britain and the United States are looking beyond current talks for a solution [of American-French differences]. One suggestion today was that if the present French Government would not permit a restricted arming of Germany . . . possibly another French Government might*" (Emphasis mine).

I. F. Stone, *Daily Compass*, November 12: "*In fighting the French plan, Secretaries Acheson and Marshall are demonstrating to Western Europe that their declared aims are not their real aims—that they want a German army as an instrument of American military and diplomatic strategy, whatever the risk to—or wishes of—their West European allies, including the Germans themselves.*"

The rearmament of Germany has been primarily an American project. Strong pressure has been brought upon the Western allies to agree to it. It has been the logical outcome of American support of the German officers, of German big business and of American recruitment of German mercenaries.

---

## FINAL PHASE: TRIUMPH

---

*"We cannot get the Germans to rearm merely by permitting it; we must plead with them to do so. We must in the end—*

*who can doubt it?—grant them every concession they demand.”*

—Editorial, *Wall St. Journal*, December 20, 1950

The remilitarization of West Germany under Washington's direction proceeded step by step after Korea. Early in July, Chancellor Adenauer obtained permission for the establishment of a national police force, the *Bundespolizei*. The July 13, 1950, issue of the *Bundesanzeiger*, the governmental official gazette, printed a long list of war materials, previously forbidden to the Germans, that could now be imported into the Republic. Included were materials used in manufacturing atomic weapons, tanks, armored cars, warships, submarines, material for airport construction and machine tools for the production of weapons.

Directing the Bonn remilitarization as they had once directed Hitler's are the notorious Ruhr barons who had been reinstated by the British and American Military Government officials, men like Hugo Stinnes, Friedrich Flick and Alfred Krupp (the latter two being war criminals granted amnesty by the Americans). From one end of West Germany to the other factories are again producing armaments: the Augsburg Messerschmidt Plant is manufacturing airplane parts; the Steinthal Optical Works in Munich is making periscope sights; the Rottweiler Armaments Plant has achieved its 1940-41 level of production of powder and nitro-cellulose. In December the Bonn Parliament voted a large loan to the Krupp Works for conversion to war manufacture. The Krupp Panzer Works are preparing to produce the huge Nazi Panther tanks once more.

Dissatisfied with the prospect of commanding mercenary units under American and British command, the German generals in September, 1950, submitted plans to Allied officials for a large independent German Army. At the Brussels meeting of the North Atlantic Powers in mid-December, it was agreed that a German army of 200,000 should be mobilized to be commanded by German generals.

Reacting to the demands for the "rehabilitation of German military honor," High Commissioner John McCloy announced



---

in November that he was considering clemency for 100 Nazi war criminals. On January 16, 1951, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, British High Commissioner, expressed his willingness to review the sentences of the leading war criminals still imprisoned, including Admirals Doenitz and Raeder.

---

### WHAT ABOUT EAST GERMANY?

---

In West Germany, the elements which have long been responsible for driving the nation into aggressive wars—the Junkers and the industrial magnates—have regained power with the assistance of the American businessmen in Military Government and are once again a potential menace to world peace.

In East Germany these forces have been deprived of their power and privileges. In the long-overdue land reform, the Junker militarists lost their hereditary estates and prestige. In the nationalization of large industries and banks, the imperialistic industrialists were deprived of their old strength and influence.

With the disappearance of these two groups upon whom the Nazis relied for military and financial support, the old cadre of Nazis and Nazi sympathizers who are in positions of political and economic leadership in West Germany became a mere disgruntled, impotent minority in the East.

There are no organizations in the East comparable to the militaristic Brotherhood, Steel Helmet, First Legion or any of the host of neo-Nazi groups swarming in the West.

Ignoring the mercenary units and other military developments in West Germany, Allied leaders have sought justification for the remilitarization of the West in the existence of the East German People's Police and of the *Bereitschaften*, denazified Special Police Squads established to guard against sabotage by Nazi, expropriated and other dangerous elements.

But the supposed threat of the People's Police and the

---

*Bereitschaften* has been exposed as mere propaganda fiction. In its October 6, 1950, issue, the influential and conservative *United States News & World Report* declared that the People's Police were "not military units" and "could not be used in combat." It characterized the *Bereitschaften* as "90 percent myth," a "paper army" without air power or heavy weapons. The article noted that Allied officials believed it would take nine months to a year to organize even one infantry division in East Germany.

In an attempt to revive the economy and even to surpass pre-war levels of production and consumption, the East German Democratic Republic has embarked upon a Five-Year Plan to increase industrial production 90 percent, planted acreage 25 percent and to reduce the cost of living 25 percent. As a result of this great effort, there is no unemployment in East Germany and reconstruction is proceeding apace.

In defense of this program, on December 15, the very day that the Western Powers increased the Bonn Government's occupation costs by one-third (by over \$300,000,000) to meet the costs of the new military expenditures, the Parliament of the East German Democratic Republic unanimously adopted a Law in the Defense of Peace. This law provides prison terms and fines for individuals propagandizing for war, recruiting Germans into foreign mercenary armies, abetting the revival of German militarism, urging the use of atomic or other weapons of mass destruction or inspiring attacks on those striving for peace.

For the major warmongers seeking the reestablishment of a German Army to further Washington's aggressive aims, this law prescribes the death penalty.

---

### THEODORE, GO YOURSELF!

---

Hurrying along the roads on foot and on bicycles, crowding the trains and buses, 25,000 young apprentice miners converged on the Ruhr town of Bochum. It was September 24,

---

1950, the first Youth Day of the West German Miners Union. Theodore Heuss, President of the Bonn Republic, was coming to address the young workers.

Thousands of youths marched singing from the railway station. They bore streamers with the mottos: "No More War!" Suddenly a contingent of police advanced to seize the banners. The workers of the Rosenblumendelle mine, however, refused to surrender their signs and a minor fracas broke out. Two companies of riot police finally overcame the opposition.

The town square was hermetically sealed by a ring of police armed with clubs and automatics. But when President Heuss appeared on the podium, he was greeted with a vast roar of "Long live the World Peace Movement" and "We're not going to be soldiers—Theodore, Go Yourself!"

For several minutes, Heuss attempted to quiet his audience. He was unaware that two young miners had climbed a wall behind him and raised a great banner with the slogan: "We Want Butter, Not Guns—More Pay, Not Divisions."

In the ensuing disturbance 50 young people were arrested and led off in chains. After a quarter of an hour, Heuss gave up his attempt to silence the young workers and fled.

*Allied authorities have negotiated with Nazi Generals and Adenauer and his associates on the question of the revival of the Wehrmacht. They have not conferred with the German people.*

---

## THE WILL FOR PEACE

---

Not since the end of World War I, when all Germany was war-weary, have the German people been so united on the issue of peace. The opposition to remilitarization embraces every section of the population.

If in the past there may have been reason to question German professions on peace, today there are many decisive factors making for German unity on peace and disarmament:

1. The German people have already experienced a war against the Soviet Union. It cost them more than five million dead. An entire generation of young men was maimed and decimated. Some four million orphans, widows and crippled are receiving aid from the government in West Germany—almost 10 percent of the population.

2. Except perhaps for Poland, the Ukraine and Greece, no European nation has suffered greater war destruction. A German has only to look out his window to find an overwhelming argument for peace. Every major city was reduced to rubble. Reconstruction has scarcely begun.

3. The conversion of industry to rearmament means further shrinking of supplies of essential consumer goods and has already resulted in inflation. In the month following the opening of hostilities in Korea, the price of wheat flour rose 17.3 percent; of rye bread, 22.2 percent; beef, 12.5 percent; and pork, 22.2 percent. At the same time Allied and German officials have sought to outlaw demands for higher wages. Remilitarization has also meant an increase in taxes in an already sorely burdened land.

4. Recent increases in Allied military personnel and the recruitment of mercenary troops have already wrought great suffering in Germany. Barracks, schools and dwellings have been requisitioned while the general population is miserably cramped and thousands live in primitive make-shift shacks. Considerable damage has already resulted from the use of live ammunition in Allied maneuvers.

5. The Germans point to the devastation of Korea as an object-lesson for their country.

6. Propaganda about defending "democracy" and "the free world" is not convincing in a land where the Nazis and the Ruhr barons and the Generals have returned to power. In addition, aware of the second-class citizenship of Negro Americans in the occupation forces and in America as well as the increasing curbs on civil liberties in this country, Germans are cynical about American professions of democracy.

7. Finally, the Germans have learned that the construction of great military machines leads to war and not to peace. For them such a war would be a Civil War with West German fighting his East German kin.

"Herr Schmidt has no such intention [of fighting again]," wrote Kenneth Ames in the English *Daily Mail* on November 24. "Today's most popular slogan in West Germany, which trips easily from the lips of butcher, baker and candlestick-maker, is 'Ohne mich,' or as Mr. Goldwyn has it, 'Include me out.'"

---

## THE WORKERS

---

*"One hundred and fifty men and women working in a plant which as early as December 1949 voted 97 percent against rearmament announce to Herr Adenauer: We are ready to make sacrifices. As the first sacrifice we offer Mr. Adenauer and all those who support his plans."*

—From a letter to the editor, *Nuernberger Nachrichten*, December 16, 1950.

From the Austrian border to the North Sea, factory workers, railwaymen, miners and longshoremen have condemned re-militarization. "We do not want the German people pushed into a new war catastrophe," resolved 3,000 employees of the Bavarian Motor Works in Munich. The workers in the Stuttgart municipal works announced: "We want no Wehrmacht, we want to produce for peace." Petitions against rearmament were signed by 92.9 percent of the workers in a Rhenish potassium works and by 82 percent of the employees of the Henschel Locomotive Works in Kassel.

The desperation of prolonged unemployment has driven some German workers to join the Allied mercenary contingents. The Bonn Labor Office reported that the number of registered unemployed had swelled to almost two million by

January, 1951, an increase of almost 800,000 in four months. The total number of unemployed, including unregistered youth and part-time workers has been estimated at over four million, or 10 percent of the population.

American authorities have sought to compel the unemployed in the Labor Corps to submit to military training. But opposition has been intense. In Munich, 420 of a group of 450 refused to join any military unit. The situation with the Industrial Police has been similar. In Marburg, 170 of 180 rejected any military drill. The result of these refusals is immediate dismissal.

In Hamburg, it was the wives who led the August, 1950, struggle for the reinstatement of 141 longshoremen who had been fired by municipal port authorities after refusing to unload British munitions ships. Braving police attacks and arrests, the women distributed thousands of leaflets, conducted street-meetings and canvassed the city for popular support. The port authorities were compelled to rehire the dismissed dock workers.

---

## WOMEN AND YOUTH

---

Throughout the land women have held protest meetings and demonstrations and sent resolutions to the Chancellor against remilitarization.

Unemployed, without opportunities for education or job training, the young people have shown mounting militancy against military service. On the one hand, some disillusioned youth have been joining the French Foreign Legion and the American mercenary corps. Last spring, the Government admitted that an average of 50 men a day were entering French service, most of them 18 to 20 years old. It has been estimated that 50,000 Germans have lost their lives in Indo-China.

On the other hand, Minister of Interior Lehr has reckoned that one million young Germans would register as conscien-

tious objectors in case conscription were attempted. This represents the overwhelming sentiment of German youth.

In Frankfort, the Social Democratic and Free German Youth groups issued a leaflet demanding that the issue of remilitarization be decided "by the entire German people, particularly by the German youth." In Dusseldorff young people brought their peace message by shouting military commands on busy streets: "Attention! Present arms! At ease!" After a momentary pause they added in chorus: "*Ohne uns!*" (Without us!)

---

## THE CLERGY

---

"Christians of both Confessions," noted the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, "want no armament and no war. They want peace and to prevent under all circumstances German from shooting at German."

Early in October, the President of the Evangelical Confessional Church of Hesse, Pastor Martin Niemoller, in an Open Letter to Chancellor Adenauer expressed the sentiments of the majority of the German people when he declared:

*"Evangelical Christians will resist all remilitarization with practical measures."*

Two weeks later, 38 members of the Brotherhood of the Confessional Church warned in another Open Letter to Adenauer:

*"The remilitarization is not being carried out in the name of the German people but in your name alone and under the commission of those who give you orders—against the will of the greater part of our people. . . ."*

*"You should be aware, Mr. Chancellor, that we do not recognize these acts accomplished without the knowledge or agreement of our people. We will spare no effort to clarify all who hear our voice about this assault against our people."*

---

## VETERANS

---

An Association of Objectors to Militarism and War Service with headquarters in Frankfort claims a membership of 17,000 former officers and enlisted men.

Among the most forceful spokesmen against remilitarization have been former officers, even former generals. Outstanding is Lt. Capt. Helmuth von Muecke, World War I commander of the battleship Emden. At a meeting of the Union of the Victims of Nazism in October, 1950, von Muecke declared:

*"Without the participation of German men, a war is impossible. If the German people refuse to take part in a war in which German must fight against German, if it rejects remilitarization, peace for the German people, for Europe and for the world is assured."*

---

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GERMAN SENTIMENT FOR PEACE

---

Because of the strong sentiment for peace in all the western countries and the burdensome military involvements of the colonial powers, as Lt. Capt. von Muecke stated, "without the participation of German men, a war is impossible."

The most intense opposition to the remilitarization of Germany comes from the German people themselves.

On January 28, 1951 in the Ruhr industrial center of Essen, seat of the great Krupp empire, 1,700 delegates from all over West Germany assembled for a peace conference. Among those attending were Catholic and Protestant clergymen and lay leaders, editors of conservative newspapers, trade-union leaders, political figures representing both Left and Right and outstanding intellectual personalities. The thinking of the con-



ference was summed up in the statement of the poet Manfred Hausmann, who declared: "It is incomprehensible to wide sections of the German people that remilitarization and rearmament, the most menacing development since the debacle [of the last war], should be undertaken and has already been undertaken without asking the opinion of the people, who must bear the consequences."

The conference demanded that the Government hold a plebiscite on the question: "Are you against the remilitarization of Germany and for a peace treaty with Germany in 1951?"

Every day the German people show more determined resistance against Washington's plans to transform their country into a new battlefield and are emerging as a decisive force in the world struggle for peace.

---

## THE WILL FOR UNITY

---

*"To all except a few top-level politicians out of touch with public opinion, the question of German unity is as important and pressing as the question of German rearmament."*

—Drew Middleton, *New York Times*, January 14, 1951

Because for the German people any new war would also be a civil war, with West German fighting East German, the discussions of remilitarization have intensified the yearning for German national unity.

The artificial division of the country has brought dire economic distress to West Germany. The new military burdens have increased the suffering.

Unification of the nation would make impossible the use of Western Germany as an American war base, lay the basis for a united democratic peaceful Germany.

Thus, when Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, sent a letter on December 1, 1950, to Chancellor Adenauer urging discussions toward the unifica-

tion of the nation, the invitation was greeted enthusiastically among all sections of the West German population except the proponents of remilitarization.

Offering hope for the achievement of national unity and an end to the menacing remilitarization, the Grotewohl letter threatened the entire West German remilitarization program. Drew Middleton reported in the *New York Times* (Dec. 18):

*"If the East Germans continue to offer the West Germans a choice between 'unity and peace or arms and war' in their propaganda, the West's chances of obtaining popular support for rearmament in Germany may be even less than they are today."*

In the face of the widespread sentiment, Adenauer delayed his reply, rejecting the invitation finally on January 15, 1951.\*

The movement for unity and peace has grown and deepened. On February 25, 1951, in a story headlined "Unity Talk Winning Western Germans," Drew Middleton reported in the *New York Times*:

*"... Allied officials on the highest level are deeply concerned over the effect of the unity campaign on the people of Western Germany. . . ."*

## THE "COLD WAR" AND THE "FREE WORLD"

*"German rearmament makes American foreign policy ludicrous. Anyone who remembers how the American army*

\* The issue was not closed, however. On January 30, 1951, the Parliament of the German Democratic Republic issued an appeal to the Bonn Parliament. The East Germans offered to discuss all the questions that Adenauer had raised regarding the Grotewohl proposals, including the establishment of a constitutional government with guarantees of civil rights; possible amendments to the Law in Defense of Peace; an immediate reduction of all German police forces; a declaration rejecting any remilitarization; and the holding of secret, general elections and referenda.

*marched into Germany—not as liberators but as conquerors—must wonder what the second world war was all about.”*

—*Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 1950.

On January 20, 1951, General Dwight D. Eisenhower declared in Frankfurt: “I shall hope that some day the great German people are lined up with the rest of the free world.” The General was echoing the phrases of leading American foreign affairs officials. But the German people and the other peoples of Europe know that the German defenders of the “free world” with whom American political and military leaders have been negotiating are the very Nazi generals and militarists who only a few years ago sought to crush all freedom and democracy throughout the world.

The decision to rearm these German elements is a menacing outgrowth of the policy of the “cold war.” It is the culmination of a foreign policy which has led to the support of Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai, Franco, Syngman Rhee and of tyranny and oppression throughout the colonial world.

“The revival first of Nazism and then of militarism,” noted *Carolus*, the *Nation’s* expert on Germany (April 29, 1950), “is the ineluctable consequence of the cold war.”

From the World War II aim of the permanent elimination of German militarism as a danger to world peace, there has been a complete reversal to a policy of cultivating its revival. Writing from Paris in November, 1950, Harold Callender of the *New York Times* declared that:

*“... the French aversion to arming the Germans appears to be matched only by the German aversion to being rearmed—to judge by the view of United States officials in Germany who are reported to lament the absence of a military spirit there and to emphasize the need to instill or revive it.”*

The rearming of the Nazis has resulted in disillusionment concerning the intentions of the United States Government.

---

Thus the conservative *Weser-Kurier* declared on November 1, 1950:

*"One thing should now be clear to everyone; our soldiers are not in demand because the imperialists love them but because they want to misuse them for their own interests."*

This statement reflects the growing sentiment in Germany (and in other "Western" countries), expressed throughout the Bonn Republic in the innumerable signs: "Ami, Go Home!"

---

### SPECIAL MEANING TO NEGRO, JEWISH AND NATIONAL GROUP AMERICANS

---

*"Those who were opposed to Hitler are now opposed to rearmament; while those who were favorable to Hitler are now in favor of the plan to militarize Germany again."*

—Open Letter, Committee for Peaceful Alternatives,  
January 24, 1951.\*

The rehabilitation of the "military honor" and full acceptance of the Nazi generals by American leaders is a threat to the Negro and Jewish people in America. It implies official condonance of the brutal racism of the Nazis, their program of enslavement of "inferior" peoples and their extermination of six million Jews.

Impelled by the anxiety of their members, leading Jewish

---

\* The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives includes some of the most distinguished American intellectuals, clergymen and civic leaders, among whom are: Thomas Mann; Rabbi Abraham Cronbach of the Hebrew Union College; Dr. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology; Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher, a leader of the United Council of Church Women; and Rev. Franklin I. Sheeder, executive secretary, Board of Christian Education and Publications, Evangelical and Reformed Church.

organizations—the American section of the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish War Veterans and others—have condemned the rearmament of the Nazis. The American Jewish Congress resolved that "militarization of Germany at the present time, however limited and in whatever form, must inevitably mean the revival of the German military caste. . . ."

The remilitarization of the Nazis has special meaning also to many national group Americans. With their ties of family, culture and sentiment in Germany, Italy and Eastern Europe, they fear the rearmament of the Nazis as a threat to the further existence of the lands of their origin.\*

---

## A NEW THREAT TO ALL AMERICANS

---

The building of a war base in Western Germany and the creation of a mercenary German army is an aggressive move in preparation of a war against the Soviet Union and the East European Peoples' Democracies.

Unless stopped now, this policy will inevitably lead to a terrible world conflict—even more costly than the war in Korea.

In such a catastrophic venture in Europe the casualties would be reckoned in the millions and not in tens of thousands as in Korea. No significant assistance can be expected

\* The notorious freeing of Ise Koch of Buchenwald, who had ordered lampshades made of tattooed human skin, by General Lucius D. Clay, former American Military Governor in Germany, revolted people all over the world. In August, 1950, eight more leading Nazi war criminals were freed for "good conduct," including Otto Dietrich, Hitler's former press chief, and Walter Darre, former Nazi Food minister, both of whom had been convicted for "furthering a program that killed six million Jews." Among Nazi prisoners whose death sentences were commuted on January 31, 1951, were two members of Nazi "liquidation" units who directed the elimination of two million "political undesirables"—gypsies, Jews and other "racial inferiors."

---

from the German people and the United States might be left to battle alone.

---

## THE PEACE CAN BE SAVED

---

Developments in Germany are the key to war or peace. A lasting solution in Germany as elsewhere can only be achieved if an end to the "cold war" policy is enforced by the American people and big power negotiations are initiated.

Numerous proposals for a peaceful solution of the conflict in Germany exist.

A solution is impossible if one party finds the proposals of the other unacceptable simply on the basis that the other made them.

Meeting in Prague on October 20-22, 1950, representatives of the Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic drew up the following proposals to provide a basis for Big Power discussion: outlawing of German rearmament and exclusion of Germany from any aggressive international coalition; fostering of a peaceful German economy; conclusion of a peace treaty and withdrawal of occupation troops; establishment of a unified, peace-loving and democratic German state following the calling of an All-German Constituent Assembly.

The American public must insist that the United States Government participate in a Big Four Conference on Germany with an aim to achieving a peaceful settlement of differences. The United States Government has not reflected the wishes of the American people—as indicated in Gallup Polls, the mail to Congressmen, and in church and organization resolutions—in regard to Korea and the admittance of China into the United Nations. There are strong forces in Washington opposing a settlement in Europe. The Washington correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune* noted on February 12, 1951, for example:

*"It is almost inconceivable at this stage that the Soviet Union could lay before Secretary Acheson a program that he would accept for relaxing East-West tension. . . . The United States finds the present world tension useful, if not desirable, as a base for rallying American public opinion behind its enormous armament and mobilization program."*

Americans hold a special responsibility in regard to Germany since the United States government has taken the lead in fostering the rearmament of the Nazis.

Many Americans recognize the crucial importance of achieving a solution in Germany. In their 1949 report, *The United States and the Soviet Union*, the American Friends (Quakers) called for new efforts in the Council of Foreign Ministers and declared:

*"United States policy should have as its objective the conclusion of a general peace treaty with a unified Germany, the inclusion of Germany in the United Nations and its related agencies, and the establishment of all possible safeguards to insure that Germany's strategic position between the East and the West will not result in increased tension between these two power blocs."*

On January 24, 1951, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives issued an Open Letter on German Rearmament, in which it affirmed:

*"The basic interests of the United States, the Soviet Union and West European nations on the German question are essentially in accord, and give reason for optimism concerning the success of negotiation. Failure to reach agreement on Germany will increase further international tensions and will accelerate an armaments race. An agreement on Germany can be the turning point towards peace." (Emphasis mine—A.D.K.)*

---

To achieve a lasting, peaceful settlement, the Four Powers must agree on:

1. The conclusion of a peace treaty for Germany and the simultaneous establishment of a united, democratic and peaceful German nation;

2. The withdrawal of all occupation troops.

Unification of Germany means the elimination of the possibility of another, more terrible Korea. The withdrawal of all occupation troops decisively reduces the danger of the outbreak of East-West hostilities.

A third world war is imminently threatening in Germany.

But the choice of peace or war can still be made. It is better to secure peace before the millions are dead and whole continents are devastated.



For news and articles about present-day Germany

R E A D

*America's Only German-Language  
Peace Voice*

## **THE GERMAN AMERICAN**

independent progressive monthly

•

Special subscription offer:  
Only \$1.00 for the year 1951

•

Published by:

**THE GERMAN AMERICAN, INC.**  
130 East 16th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

### **Germany in World Focus**

- THE LESSON OF GERMANY, *by Gerhart Eisler, Albert Norden, Albert Schreiner.* Four centuries of German history through the rise and defeat of Nazism..... \$2.25
- NAZIS PREFERRED, *by Moses Miller.* U. S. imperialist policy in Western Germany exposed..... .10
- SPOTLIGHT ON GERMANY, *by Paul Richards.* Re-nazification in preparation for World War III..... .15

**New Century Publishers** • 832 Broadway, New York 3