

REPORT ON GERMANY:

Hitler and Stalin, for all their mutual denunciation, made a pact in 1941 against the

democracies. As Mr. Salter shows in the case of East Germany, and Mr. Goldbloom in the case of West Germany, neo-Nazis and Communists are again seeking an unholy alliance against the West.

Ernest J. Salter

The Immoral Alliance

THERE IS a long history of collaboration between Russian Communism and German nationalism. The origins of this collaboration are one thing, its current form something else again. But we cannot understand the former without knowing something about the latter.

Since 1918 the Communists have been trying by every means to conquer Germany, which is indispensable to them as the jumping-off point for their political and military conquest of Europe. They have followed two main tactics in this campaign. On the one hand, they have tried to capture the industrial working class by conventional methods of agitation, the same methods Com-

munist uses the world over. On the other, they have ardently courted the aid and support of German nationalists.

Certain German nationalists for their part have also wanted an alliance of Germany and Russian Bolshevism against Western Europe. Ernst Niekisch in 1930, in his book *Entscheidung* ("Decision"), wrote as follows: "Destiny compels Germany, if she is to recover her independence, to set her face against Europe; the only way for Germany to win back her freedom is to help the Russo-Asiatic drive against Europe." Today Ernst Niekisch is a member of the Communist-controlled Socialist Unity Party of East Germany and a professor at the Humboldt University in East Berlin; he is just as fanatical now in pushing his political ideas as he was during the thirties.

This joining forces of nationalists

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and Bolsheviks is the logical consequence of Germany's being a defeated nation, for German nationalism and Russian Bolshevism are one in their enmity to the European *status quo*. After 1919 as after 1945, Germany was a conquered country. Because she smarted under defeat and felt herself in a humiliating subservience to the victorious powers, all political matters took on a national (and nationalist) coloration. This held true also of the Communist Party. Early in its career it had to expel various groups that were too obstinate in insisting that Communism was the enemy of nationalism.

By 1923, during the terrible crisis of the German inflation, "National Bolshevism" ceased to be a mere tendency and became a kind of official party. The appearance on the scene of nationalist terrorist groups (Schlageter's, for example) gave the Communist Party its chance to team up with German nationalism. It was at this time that Karl Radek, representing the Comintern, made a famous speech on Schlageter, in which he proposed that nationalists join with Communists in revolutionary action against the Treaty of Versailles. Discussions between the two groups followed, in which Count Reventlow, editor of the nationalist paper *Der Reichswart*, and Moeller van den Bruck, inventor of the slogan "the Third Reich," took part. But these were only surface happen-

ings. Meanwhile, undercover diplomacy had already arranged a firm alliance between the Reichswehr and the Red Army. The Reichswehr had training grounds on Soviet soil, and manufactured airplanes, artillery, and poison gas in Russian factories. The Reichswehr was the rock of political power upon which the ideology of National Bolshevism was based.

AT THIS TIME Niekisch summed up, in a brilliant formulation, the viewpoint of German nationalism. He wrote: "Despite the stupidity of their doctrines, Communism and Bolshevism are the two most effective expressions of anti-Roman and anti-European fanaticism. The minute that hundreds of millions of Russian fanatics of this sort unite with eighty million equally fanatical Germans, the system set up at Versailles will collapse like a house of cards. . . . Hidden in the womb of the East are the seeds of a great Slavogerman world empire." A year before, in his book *Gedanken über deutsche Politik* ("Thoughts on German Politics"), Niekisch had sung a hymn of hate against France. "Whether Germany will exist or not really depends on the fate of Russia. The more Russia recovers her strength and grows aware of her superiority to France's parasite states — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania — the greater Germany's influence and importance will become. If Germany

wants her freedom, she must want a powerful Russia."

In 1929, in the eyes of this ideologue, there was only one alternative for Germany other than National Bolshevism: it could "either become Asiatic or become African, uniting itself either to a Negrified France or to the Russia of the Tartars." As his own program, he proposed "a Central Europe under the leadership of Germany. This program can be carried out only against France, never with her. But even to arrive at that Central Europe, Germany must go a long way in the company of Russia and join with her in a large number of risky ventures."

AFTER Germany's unconditional surrender in 1945, the alliance between Prussianism and Stalinism took a new shape. For some time, the pretense of a popular front with the democratic German forces was maintained. But the intensification of the cold war and break-up of the alliance with the Allies inevitably led the Soviet Union to adopt a different strategy. The German Communists, especially in the last three years, have taken a flatly nationalist stand. They think that playing up to German nationalism is a sure way for them to rally the large majority of Germans "against the Anglo-American warmongers."

I don't want to go into the question of the secret Communist organizations in which Communists are

now allied with German nationalists. The secret police has a character all its own, and doesn't bother its head about ideology and "principle." The fact is that a good many former Gestapo leaders are today working as "specialists" in the employ of the secret police of the Soviet zone. The N.K.V.D. — or rather S.E.D. — men don't have to carry Communist Party cards. The only thing that matters in their case to the Soviet authorities is how effective are their methods and how efficient their organization. But what we are concerned with in this article is politics and not police work.

In the Soviet zone of occupation there was an important group, made up of former Nazis, which according to the terms of Soviet agreements with the Allies were barred from taking any part in political life. In March, 1948, the Soviets started putting out a newspaper for the benefit of these people, the *National Zeitung*. Albrecht Albert, former editor-in-chief of the Berlin Nazi newspaper *12 Uhr Blatt*, agreed to manage this daily. The *National Zeitung* served as the journalistic mouthpiece of the German National Democratic Party (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*), founded in the Soviet zone in 1948. This party, working under the orders of the Soviet Military Administration, had the job of organizing former Nazis into a force that would serve Russian Communism. Most of these

ex-Nazis underwent, as Soviet prisoners of war, an intensive political "drilling," later being sent back to Germany as direct representatives of the Soviet authorities. A large number of them are also working indirectly for the Soviet secret police.

THE POLITICAL evolution of a divided Germany has inevitably resulted in the creation of two separate German armies. One of these, the future military force of West Germany, is intended to form a part of the European defense system. The other, the "National Army" already established by the Communists, can only be regarded as a Soviet foreign legion. In the latter, the alliance between Stalinism and German nationalism will play a role of the greatest importance. The Nazi army and party leaders who were "re-educated" under Soviet tutelage into National Bolsheviks, have the job of persuading and coercing this army into fighting for Stalin. Theirs is the task of winning the support of the German veterans for Soviet policy. Thus, at a congress held in Leipzig at the end of June, 1952, Vincenz Mueller, former lieutenant general in command of the Twelfth Army Corps, urged his party comrades to convince "the front generation which fought under the banners of Hitler that they are just the ones on whom we are calling to become the front generation in the struggle for peace." This congress issued a

proclamation, "To the Front Generation," which had among its signers Karl Friedrich, former colonel in charge of a camp of the Nazi Labor Service, Karl Endter, a former general of the S.A.; Heinz Stange, formerly head of the Nazi Reich's schools at Oberursel near Frankfurt-am-Main and Geltow near Potsdam; etc., etc.

Today, it is an advantage, in entering Communist politics in Germany, to have held down a big job in the Nazi Party or in Hitler's army. The former Nazi Party member Herbert Gerik, once a Hitler youth leader, is today a deputy to the "People's Chamber." Another former Hitler youth leader by the name of Schmots is in charge of personnel matters for the central committee of the Communist Free German Youth. Krupka, formerly a local Nazi leader, is also a deputy to the People's Chamber. The former Nazi Party official Wilhelm Jurczek is an important contact man with nationalist circles in the Federal Republic. These are only a few instances of the hundreds and thousands of ex-Nazis who are at this moment working for the German Communist Party or directly for the Soviet occupation authorities.

Not only have individual Nazis been reappearing but, along with them, there has been a marked recrudescence of nationalist slogans and propaganda. The National Bolshevik group of former Soviet pris-

oners mentioned above is already using the symbols and slogans of the S.S. Today, in East Berlin Communist periodicals, you can read such things as this: "The essence of honor is loyalty"; and "Our honor is called Germany." These publications talk about a "war of liberation." It is symptomatic that in Leipzig on June 19, 1952, the leader of the National Democratic Party placed a wreath on the monument commemorating the defeat of Napoleon in the Battle of Leipzig in 1813. This wreath was inscribed "to the memory of those Russian and German heroes of the battles for liberation between 1813 and 1815 who laid down their lives for the national rebirth of the German people and for the peace of Europe."

In this connection it should be noted that some weeks previously, Fritz Lange, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, had called on party members to exploit the names of such national heroes of Prussia as Scharnhorst, von Gneisenau, Arndt, and Jahn in their nationalist propaganda. He cited the example of the struggle against France which these men had carried on as a precedent

for present Communist policy. The Soviets are trying to pass themselves off as liberators of Europe in the tradition of Russian Czarism: as Alexander I freed Europe of the Napoleonic yoke (so they claim) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the same way they will strike off the "American imperialist yoke." The Marxist tradition of anti-Czarism has entirely disappeared from German Communist theory and practice. The German Communists today look on the Czarist heroes of Stalinist nationalism, Kutuzov and Suvarov, as their own heroes.

THUS there has been an astonishing rebirth of German nationalism, promoted by the German Communist Party and its satellite parties. The Hitler-Stalin alliance against the democratic states did not die with the former's death; on the contrary, it shows every sign of continuing to flourish. The conditions under which it operates are new, but the slogans it uses have scarcely changed. Perhaps Communist policy in Germany is the best proof of the essential similarity and collusion of the two great totalitarianisms of the twentieth century.

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Maurice J. Goldbloom

The Red and the Brown

West Germany's Totalitarian Troubles

IN THE SOVIET ZONE of Germany, the continuation of a totalitarian environment has naturally led to the reappearance on the scene of "reformed" Nazi personnel. In West Germany, on the other hand, the occupying powers have from the beginning aimed at eliminating both the institutional and the ideological remnants of the Nazi regime. The methods used have not perhaps always been ideally suited to their purpose, but the will has unquestionably been there.

Nevertheless, the thirteen years of Nazi rule inevitably left an impress which has not yet altogether disappeared. Hitler's fall did not turn all Nazis into good German democrats overnight — any more than his coming to power turned all good German democrats into Nazis. We must ask ourselves, not whether

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there are *any* totalitarian forces in West Germany today, but how powerful these forces are; how strategically they are placed; whether they are gaining or losing ground; what methods they are using; and what factors in the existing situation help or hinder them — and what their relation to the greatest surviving totalitarian power may be.

Both totalitarianisms, red and brown, have their followers in West Germany. At the end of the war, the Western powers were still under the illusion that the Communists were a part of the democratic world; they therefore gave them the same facilities they granted the democratic parties. Indeed, the Communists were often actually assisted by occupation officials some of whom were themselves Communists and in a position to exert a disproportionate influence on policy. And of course they received substantial assistance of a material sort from the East. Despite these advantages, however,