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PRINCIPAL NAZI ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN THE COMMISSION OF WAR CRIMES

THE NAZI PARTY
(Parts I and II)

Draft for the Use of the War Crimes Staff

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THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY (NSDAP)STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM: THE PARTY AS KEY DEFENDANT

Central responsibility for the commission of war crimes is anchored in the National Socialist Party (NSDAP). This does not mean that all members of the Party are guilty of the actual perpetration of war crimes. Nor does it mean that those who are guilty bear an equal share of responsibility. It does not even mean that the Party itself has been the chief executor of all war crimes, specifically of all well known atrocities committed against political, racial, ethnic or religious minorities. As a matter of fact, the majority of these atrocities have been carried out by organizations--within the Nazi Movement¹but not necessarily within the Party proper--which consisted of technicians organized and trained for specific purposes including the commission of atrocities.

However, inasmuch as the Party claimed to be "the political outlook, the political conscience, the political will" (Hitler, Nuremberg Party Congress, 1935), it is essentially the Party as such which must be held ultimately responsible for having planned, inaugurated, and directed the execution of crimes. Moreover, since the Party was conceived and founded as an instrument of political conquest, if necessary by force, devised to dominate "the totality of public life" and to destroy the order created by the Treaty of Versailles, the Nazi Party in itself represents the chief evidence of the existence of a cohesive plan or enterprise which plan or

1. The Nazi Movement as against the Nazi Party comprises the Party proper as well as the Affiliated Associations Supervised Organizations and other organizations controlled by the Party.

enterprise included or intended, or was reasonably calculated to involve, the use of unlawful means for its accomplishment, including the commission of atrocities and other crimes.

Elements of this evidence are:

1. The Party Program, in which the plan for conquest and domination was defined and openly pronounced, and
2. The Party Organization, because in it
 - a. the principles of domination were realized, e.g. the leadership principle;
 - b. the means of domination were made chief operating devices, e.g. indoctrination, propaganda, etc.; and
 - c. the agents of domination were recruited, trained, organized and directed, e.g. the Political Leaders, the SA, the SS, etc.

The Party Program provided the ideological platform for "a common plan or enterprise aimed at the establishment of complete German domination of Europe and eventually the world." This plan involved, according to the program, a number of crimes which must be considered as integral schemes in the preparation and execution of the plan.

The Party Organization laid out the organizational pattern most suitable for the realization of such a plan. Inasmuch as this plan involved the arrogation of all political power, all elements within the Party structure which were designed to secure internal control, i.e. over Party members, gain enhanced importance as stratagems prerequisite to the estab-

SECRET

lishment of total control outside the Party. Specifically, all principles of control embodied in the structure of the Party must be considered as providing the basic rules for control outside the Party. All means, including illegal or criminal ones, employed by the Party to establish exclusive control by Party authorities over Party members must be considered as strategic devices to establish Party influence and, eventually, Party hegemony inside Germany and beyond the German borders. All Party offices and agencies set up to develop and enforce the principles of control, and to apply the means of conquest and domination, must be considered as the political cadres held in readiness for the purpose of either absorbing or controlling all non-Party offices and agencies operating in like or related fields, and, eventually, used as agents to enforce the will of the Party upon all subordinate to Party control.

SECRET

I. THE PARTY PROGRAM AS SOURCE OF THE NAZI CONSPIRACY

The existence of an over-all plan aimed at ruthless realization of Nazi principles inside Germany and beyond is clearly evidenced in the Party program.

The Party program was first proclaimed by Hitler in February 1920 and, according to Nazi assertion, has remained unchanged ever since. It has been called "the political foundation of the NSDAP and therewith the fundamental political law of the State."¹ Although parts of the program have found their way into public legislation, and other parts have become essential elements of German internal and foreign policy, the program as such has never become state law. This, however, has not reduced the influence of the program on German public life. As the uncoded constitution of National Socialism, the Party program dominated the decisions not only of the Party leadership but likewise of the Government and of the Armed Forces. In a sense the Party program, according to Nazi stipulation, was meant to serve as a supplement to the law, inasmuch as "every law must be applied in the spirit of the Party program."²

In view of its declared importance for German political life, the Party program provides a vital criterion whenever a judgment is to be

1. Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch, 1944. p. 159
ibid.

formed as to whether the action of a Nazi authority constituted an unauthorized and spontaneous violation of the law by an individual office, or was part and parcel of an over-all plan conceived and executed under Party auspices. Points of the Party program most pertinent to the charge of war crimes include the following demands, raised directly or implicitly:

- (1) Re-union of all Germans in a Greater Germany; (2) Abrogation of the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain; (3) Acquisition of colonies;
- (4) Establishment of citizenship on racial grounds (expulsion of Jews);
- (5) Institution of special legislation for non-citizens, i.e. non-racial Germans; (6) Exclusion of non-citizens, i.e. non-racial Germans from public office and from the press; (7) Discrimination in granting access to sources and means of livelihood on racial grounds; expulsion of non-citizens from the Reich in case of scarcity of foodstuffs; (8) Prohibition of immigration and compulsory emigration of all non-Germans who immigrated after 2 August 1914; (9) Abrogation of the professional militia and creation of a "people's army"; (10) Fight against the "Jewish-materialistic spirit"; and (11) Creation of a strong central authority.

Most of these postulates have been realized. Others, not mentioned above, have been neglected in the course of the years. But the majority of them have determined the political conduct of the Party leadership on the way to power and thereafter. In their uncompromising form the demands of the Party program laid the groundwork for the series of crimes which can-

been described as follows:

1. Establishment of rigid control over the government and all its agencies;
2. Destruction of all political resistance;
3. Division of German citizenry on a racial basis;
4. Unlawful expropriation, spoliation and forced sale;
5. Extermination of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities;
6. Launching of illegal wars of aggression.

II. THE PARTY ORGANIZATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF TOTAL DOMINATION

Nazi leaders have never left any doubt in the mind of their audiences that the Party, from the very outset, intended to arrogate all power to itself (Sie wollte, kompromisslos die alleinige Macht in Deutschland)¹. To this end, the Party was conceived and organized as an instrument of political conquest and political domination. The NSDAP, in accordance with Nazi definition, was "the instrument with which the Führer won the people."² Above and beyond the internal struggle for power, the Party was created "to give the German people a form of government which was meant, for centuries to come, to secure its just and vital interests" ("dem deutschen Volke eine Staatsform zu geben, die auf Jahrhunderte seine berechtigten Lebensinteressen sichern soll")³. Speaking before the old fighters on the eleventh anniversary of the Party's seizure of power, Hitler described the meaning of Nazi domination through Party control as follows: "1. By the solution of social problems, the Reich had again to acquire its lost internal social peace; that is, the element of class cleavage - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat - had to be eliminated in all their manifestations, and in their place a national community set up. The appeal to

1. Hitler, at Nuremberg Party Congress, 1934 published in "Der Kongress zu Nurnberg," Central Verlag der NSDAP, p. 204.
2. "Das Instrument, mit dem der Führer das Volk gewann" -- Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch, 1944, p. 173.
3. Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch, 1944, p. 173.

reason had to be supplemented with ruthless elimination of the viciously resisting elements in all camps. 2. The social-political unity of the nation was to be supplemented by national-political unity; that is, in place of the Reich body rent asunder not only politically but also in its statehood, the National Socialist unified State had to arise, with a structure and with a leadership equipped to face and withstand even the greatest trials of attack and pressure. 3. The unified State built upon national and political foundations had the task of immediately creating the Wehrmacht which in its intellectual outlook and moral attitude, its numerical strength, and in its material armament could serve as a satisfactory instrument in the tasks of self-assertion. After the rest of the world had rejected all German offers for the limitation of armaments, the Reich had to fashion its own armament accordingly. 4. In order to be able at all to maintain her position in Europe with a chance of success, there was necessary the incorporation of all those countries which are populated by Germans or which constitute areas belonging to the German Reich for more than a thousand years and which are territories indispensable, nationally and economically, for the preservation of the Reich, that is, for its political and military defense.¹

A. The Principles of Control

The Manual for the Organization of the Party (Organisationsbuch der

1. Hitler, 30 January 1944; German Text and English Translation available at FCC, Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service.

NSDAP, edition 1943) distinguishes four leading principles of control:¹

1. The leadership principle (Führerprinzip), i. e. the principle of authoritarian organizational and totalitarian control. This principle is embodied in the office of the Führer. Authoritarian control exercised by other Party offices is purely derivative.

2. Subordination and coordination (Unter-und Einordnung in die Gesamtorganisationsform), i. e. the principle of monopolistic control.

This principle is guaranteed chiefly by the following offices of the Reichs-leitung (Reich Directorate) of the Party:

The Reichsorganisationsleiter (Reich Leader for Party Organization) and three Main Offices subordinate to him:

the Hauptorganisationsamt (Main Office for Organization)

the Hauptpersonalamt (Main Office for Personnel)

the Hauptschulungsamt (Main Office for Education)

The Reichsschatzmeister (Reich Treasurer)

The Reichspropagandaleiter (Reich Propaganda Leader)

The Reichspressechef (Reich Press Chief)

The Hauptamt für Volksgesundheit (Main Office for Public Health)

The Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP (Foreign Organization of the Party)

3. Regional Unification (Regionale Einheit), i. e. the principle of regional and vertical control. This principle is anchored in the offices of the so-called Hoheitsträger (bearer of sovereignty) of the Party, i. e.

The Führer

The Gauleiter (Gau Leader)

The Kreisleiter (District Leader)

The Ortsgruppenleiter (Local Leader)

The Zellenleiter (Cell Leader)

The Blockleiter (Block Leader)

4. Manifestation of an Active Community Spirit (Ausdruckgebung des praktischen Gemeinschaftsgedankens), i. e. the principle of mass control, which was the supervision of the so-called Affiliated Associations (Angeschlossene Verbände), Supervised Organizations (Betreute Organisationen), and other Party-controlled organizations by specific Party offices as indicated below:

	<u>Controlled Organizations</u>	<u>Controlling Office</u>
a. <u>Affiliated Associations</u>		
	<u>Deutsche Arbeitsfront</u> (<u>German Labor Front</u>)	Reichsorganisations- leiter (Reich Or- ganization Leader)
	<u>N.S. Volkswohlfahrt</u> (<u>N. S. Public Welfare</u> <u>Association</u>)	Hauptamt für Volks- wohlfahrt (Main Office for Public Welfare)
	<u>N. S. Deutscher Ärzte-</u> <u>bund (N.S. League of</u> <u>German Physicians)</u>	Hauptamt für Volks- gesundheit (Main Office for Public Health)
	<u>N. S. Rechtswahrerbund</u> (<u>N. S. League of Legal</u> <u>Officials</u>)	Führer through Partei-Kanzlei Party Chancellery

Controlled OrganizationsControlling OfficeAffiliated Associations (Cont'd.)

N. S. Lehrerbund
(N. S. League of
Teachers)

Hauptamt für Er-
zieher (Main Office
for Educators)

Reichsbund der Deutschen
Beamten (Reich League
of Civil Servants)

Hauptamt für Beamte
(Main Office for
Civil Servants)

N. S. Bund Deutscher
Technik (N. S. League of
German Technology)

Hauptamt für
Technik (Main Office
Technology)

N. S. Kriegsoferversorgung
(N. S. Organization for
War Victims)

Hauptamt für Kriegs-
opfer (Main Office
for War Victims)

b. Supervised Organizations

Deutsche Studentenschaft
(German Students' Society)

Reichsstudentenfüh-
rung (Reich Stu-
dent Leader)

N. S. Altherrenbund der
Deutschen Studenten
(N. S. League of Former
Corps Members)

Reichsstudentenfüh-
rung (Reich Student
Leader)

Deutsches Frauenwerk
(German Women's Work)

Reichsfrauenführerin
(Reich Women Leader)

Deutscher Gemeindetag
(Chamber of German
Municipalities)

Hauptamt für Kommu-
nalpolitik (Main
Office for Communal
Policy)

Reichsbund Deutscher
Schwestern (Reich
League of German
Nurses)

Hauptamt für Volks-
wohlfahrt (Main
Office for Public
Welfare)

Controlled OrganizationsControlling Officeb. Supervised Organizations (Cont'd.)

Reichsbund Deutsche
Familie (Reich League
"German Family")

Rassenpolitisches Amt
der NSDAP (Office for
Racial Policy)

N. S. Reichsbund fuer
Leibesübungen (Reich
League for Physical
Training)

Partei-Kanzlei (Party
Chancellery)

c. Other Organizations

Deutsche Dozentenschaft
(Society of German
University Teachers)

Reichsdozentenführer
(Reich Leader of Uni-
versity Teachers)

Reichsarbeitsdienst
(Reich Labor Service)

Reichsarbeitsführer
(Reich Labor Service
Leader)

Reichsluftschutzbund
(Reich Air Raid Protec-
tion League)

Partei-Kanzlei (Party
Chancellery)

Volkssturm (People's
Militia)

Partei-Kanzlei (Party
Chancellery)

Reichsnaehrstand
(Reich Food Estate)

Reichsbauernführer
(Reich Peasant
Leader)

1. The Leadership Principle. The leadership principle is undoubtedly the most characteristic and the most portentous feature of the Nazi system. Its chief implications are

authoritarian control, inside the Party;
organizational control, inside the Movement;
totalitarian control, outside Party and Movement

a. Authoritarian Control (inside the Party). The leadership principle invests the Führer with exclusive and final authority in all matters submitted to or arrogated by him. The first commandant for the Party member spells it out: "The Führer is always right" (Der Führer hat immer recht!). His infallibility rests upon a presumptive delegation by the people themselves. As a delegate of the people, the Führer is "independent of all groups, associations and interests"; he is bound merely by such laws as are "inherent in the nature of his people"¹. In other words, the Führer is not limited by codified or even by natural laws. Nor is the Führer restricted by any "checks and controls," including the people themselves, since "the true will of the people cannot be disclosed through parliamentary votes and plebiscites but...in its pure and uncorrupted form can only be expressed through the Führer"². The Führer, consequently, is not only above the law, he is the law. "The will of the Führer," according to Party doctrine, "is supreme law in the Party."³

It is worth noting that, when discussing governmental authority in the abstract, Nazi leaders have indicated the limits of governmental authority. In Mein Kampf,⁴ Hitler defied governmental tyranny in internal affairs and granted the right of civil disobedience, even revolution, in the following terms:

1. Huber, Verfassungsrecht des Grossdeutschen Reiches.
2. Huber, ibid.
3. Der Wille des Führers ist oberstes Gesetz in der Partei -- Organisationsbuch der NSDA, 1943, p. 146
4. Complete and unabridged edition in English, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, p. 122. All subsequent quotations from Mein Kampf refer to this edition.

"There can be no State authority as a means in itself, as in that case all tyranny on earth would be unassailable and sacred.

"If a people is led to destruction by the instrument of governmental power, then the rebellion on the part of each and every member of such a nation is not only a right but a duty.

"The question, however, when such a case arises, is not decided by theoretical treatises but by force - and success.

"As every government power naturally claims the right of preserving the authority of the State, no matter how inferior it is or that it has betrayed the concerns of a nation a thousand times, the folkish interest of self-preservation, when subduing such a power in order to gain freedom or independence, will have to use the same weapons with which the adversary is holding his own.

....

"Human rights break State rights."

With regard to international relations Goebbels, in an article in the Volksischer Beobachter of 28 May 1944, defined the limit of military authority as follows:

"It is not provided in any military law that a soldier can be immune from punishment for despicable crimes by claiming that he acted according to instructions from his superiors when such instructions are in sharp contradiction to every humane standard and to every international practice of waging war."

In both cases Nazi protest against breaches of natural or international

laws by governmental (or military) authorities was launched with regard to hypothetical or alleged offenses by enemies. It is therefore questionable whether, in registering their indignation, the Nazis intended to restrict the authority of the Führer to any degree. Only rarely in the history of National Socialism did the Nazis resort to the authority of the Reich Government as such to sustain the legality of measures taken by the Führer. Following the Roehm purge of June/July 1934, the Reich Government decreed the "Law Concerning Measures of State Emergency" of 3 July 1934,¹ which declared in its only article:

"The measures adopted on June 30, July 1 and 2, to smash treasonable attacks are legal as an act of State emergency."

But even this procedure was not intended to legalize formally an act ordered or performed by the Führer; it was designed, rather, to defend the legality of the act before the German public.

The unlimited authority of the Führer makes for total insecurity before the law. In addition, it eliminates, a priori, all actual and potential sources of criticism and opposition. In sum, the leadership principle becomes the principal prerequisite for the destruction not only of the political opposition per se but of all groups which represented, advocated or recognized manifestly an authority besides the Führer and outside the realm of the Party.

1. RGB1, part I, p. 529.

b. Organisational Control (within the Movement). The leadership

principle secured Party domination of the people through enrollment of individuals in organizations under control of Party leaders. The Party,

according to Nazi definition, is an "Order of Leaders" ("Führerorden"). In Hitler's own words, "the Party in the future will constitute the elite of political leaders of the German people" ("die politische Führungsauslese des deutschen Volkes"). "It will train a state of political apostles and

fighters who will serve as obedient and disciplined officers of the movement!"¹ Consequently, the Party for its various formations, recruited

Party and non-Party members suitable for leadership or for the execution of specific political functions. These formations included the SA, SS, NSKK,

HJ, NS Women's League, the NS Students' League and the NS University

Teacher's League. The rest of the population was organized in so-called

"supervised organizations" ("Menschenbetreuende Organisationen"), e.g. the

NS League of German Physicians, the NS League of Teachers, the Reich League

of German Civil Servants, the NS Organization for War Victims, the German Women's

Work, which in turn were placed under the direct control of the Party.

Each of these "supervised organizations" was controlled functionally by

the corresponding Party office, e.g. the NS League of German Physicians by

the Main Office for Public Health, and the NS League of Teachers by the Main

Office for Education. The leadership of each organization was supplied by

the Party. This system of control was carried into the regional level. It

1. Nuremberg Party Congress 1934, pp. cit. 211

was the prerequisite for the suppression of the rights of expression and assembly outside the realm of the Party.

c. Totalitarian Control (outside Party and Movement). The leadership principle ensured the supremacy of the Party over all public (political and military) authorities outside the Party. According to Party doctrine, "the NSDAP as the Order of Leaders of the German people dominates the totality of public life" ("das gesamte öffentliche Leben").¹ The prerogative of the Party had its legal basis in the "Law Against the Reestablishment of Parties" (Gesetz gegen die Neubildung von Parteien) of 14 July 1933,² which established the NSDAP as "the only political party in Germany," and in the "Law to Safeguard the Unity of Party and State" (Gesetz zur Sicherung der Einheit von Partei und Staat) of 1 December 1933,³ which declared the NSDAP "the bearer of the German state idea" ("Träger der deutschen Staatsidee") and "indissolubly linked to the state." Party supremacy was enunciated even more drastically by leading personalities of the Party, including Hitler, who stated: "It is not the State which gives orders to us, it is we who give orders to the State" ("Nicht der Staat befiehlt uns, sondern wir befehlen dem Staat!")⁴ Wilhelm Frick, Himmler's

1. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 86.
2. Reichsgesetzblatt (RGBl) part I, page 479.
3. RGBl, part I, p. 1016.
4. Nuremberg Party Congress, 1934, op. cit. p. 162.

predecessor as Minister of the Interior, and bearer of Party membership number one, declared in similar vein: "In National Socialist Germany, leadership is in the hands of an organized community, the National Socialist Party; and as the latter represents the will of the nation, the policy adopted by it in harmony with the vital interests of the nation is at the same time the policy adopted by the country..."¹ Nazi interpreters of constitutional law insisted that "the NSDAP is not a structure which stands under direct state control, to which single tasks of public administration are entrusted by the State, but it holds and maintains its claim to totality as the 'bearer of the German state-idea' in all fields relating to the community -- regardless of how various single functions are divided between the organization of the Party and the organization of the State."² According to another, "the Party stands above and beside the State as the wielder of an authority derived from the people with its own sovereign powers and its own sphere of sovereignty...The legal position of the Party is therefore that of a completely sovereign authority whose legal

1. Quoted in an article entitled "Germany as a Unitary State" which is included in a book called: "Germany Speaks," (pp. 30-31) published in London, 1933; the quotation is cited in "National Social" publication of the Department of State prepared in the Special Unit of the Division of European Affairs by Raymond Murphy, Francis B. Stevens, Howard Trivers, Joseph M. Roland, Washington, 1942, p. 94.
2. Neesse in Die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei - Versuch einer Rechtsdeutung (Stuttgart 1935), p. 131; quoted in op. cit., p. 49.

supremacy and self-sufficiency rest upon the original independent authority which the Führer and the Movement have attained as a result of their historical achievements."

Leadership of the Party over all other organs and bodies of authority became manifest in a number of legislative acts and administrative measures adopted after 1933. The most important are the "Law Concerning the Head of State of the German Reich" (Gesetz über das Staatsoberhaupt des Deutschen Reiches)² of 1 August 1934, which combined the Office of Reich President with those of Führer and Chancellor, and the "Decree Concerning the Command of the Armed Forces" (Erlass über die Führung der Wehrmacht)³ of 4 February 1938, by virtue of which Hitler assumed the command over all Armed Forces (die Befehlsgewalt über die gesamte Wehrmacht). In an article entitled "Germany as a Unitary State," Frick interpreted the unification of the supreme command of the Party, the State, and the Armed Forces as follows: "The unity of the Party and the State finds its highest realization in the person of the Führer and Chancellor who combines the offices of President and Chancellor. He is the Führer of the National Socialist Party, the political head of the state and the supreme commander of the Armed Forces"⁴.

1. Gauweiler, Rechtseinrichtungen und Rechtsaufgaben der Bewegung (Munich 1939) p. 9, quoted in op. cit., p. 42.
2. RGBl I, p. 747.
3. RGBl I, p. 111.
4. "Germany Speaks", p. 31, op. cit. p. 38

The merger of the highest Party and State offices in the person of the Führer set a precedent for Party leaders of minor stature and rank. It introduced synchronization of Party and State offices not merely as a matter of administrative expediency, but as a matter of principle which was followed from the highest to the lowest echelons of the Party and State hierarchy. High officials of the Party, e.g. Reichsleiter, assumed that office within the Reich Government whose functions corresponded most closely to that held to them in their capacity of party leaders. For instance, Goebbels as Reich Propaganda Leader of the Party became Reich Minister for Propaganda. In other instances, Party offices were incorporated bodily into the government apparatus. Thus, Himmler made the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Main Security Office) of the SS a sub-division within the Reich Ministry of the Interior. Major Party officials were also given a newly created government office, or their functions were simply unified with those formerly maintained by government officials. For example, the Gauleiter were made Reich Governors (Reichsstatthalter), Reich Defense Commissioners and, in addition, their office was merged with that of the Provincial Presidents in Prussia.¹ In addition, all members of the Reich Cabinet were made members of the Party at the time of their appointment.

Additional evidence of Party supremacy over State authority can be found in the Law about the German Civil Service (Deutsches Beamtengesetz) of 26 January 1937² which stipulated that the German Civil Service be

1. For details, see Chapter C.
2. RGBl I, p. 39, 136.

"permeated by National Socialist ideology" and that "the German civil servant...is the executor of the will of the State which in turn is carried by the National Socialist Party." No appointments could be made without the consent of the Party Deputy of the Führer.¹

All these measures resulted not only in a steadily growing dependence of the whole government machinery on Party directives and policies but it helped to introduce and to sanction the most elaborate spoils system which ever operated in any government.

In sum, the leadership principle as defined and operated by the Party proved to be, of all principles embodied in the Party, the most effective instrument of political conquest. Among the various categories of war crimes charged to the Party, it helped prepare

"the establishment of rigid internal control over the government and all its agencies, religion, administration of justice, education, news dissemination, finance, commerce, industry, labor and the professions."

2. Subordination and Coordination (Monopolistic Control). To guarantee "Party discipline", i.e. uniformity of thought and action within the Nazi movement, the Party saw to it that authoritarian control by the leader of the individual organization was supplemented by what is called "surveillance" ("Überwachung"). That is to say, offices (Ämter), certain formations (NSD-Studentbund, NS-Frauenschaft, NSD-Dozentenbund) and the affiliated

1. Decree of 10 July 1937; RGBl I S. 769; of. also Interrogation of Karl Hermann Frank, former Secretary of State with the "Reichsprotektor Böhmen und Mähren," 29 May 1945; on file with War Crimes Commission

organizations (Angeschlossenen Verbände) of the Party, with regard to matters of administration and finance, organization, personnel, training, propaganda, press, health, and foreign affairs, were supervised by the Reich Treasurer, the Reich Organization Leader (Main Office for Organization, Main Office for Personnel, Main Office for Training), the Reich Propaganda Leader, the Reich Press Chief, the Main Office for Public Health and the Foreign Organization of the Party, respectively. According to Nazi definition¹ this type of surveillance ensured "a firm anchorage of all organizations within the Party structure and, in all regions of Party sovereignty, a firm liaison with the bearers of sovereignty of the Party, in keeping with the leadership principles." In practice, the principle of subordination and coordination was a double check device which reduced the power of the leaders of (affiliated) organizations in the interest of the all-powerful "bearers of sovereignty" (Hoheitsträger) of the Party, i.e. the Führer, the Gauleiter, the Kreisleiter, the Ortsgruppenleiter, the Zellenleiter, and the Blockleiter, each of which was and must remain sovereign within his sphere of jurisdiction. Subordination and coordination, for once, guaranteed the political prerogatives of members of the Party hierarchy and left to leaders and members of affiliated organizations merely limited powers.

Moreover, the control of these organizations in some of their most vital functions, e.g. finance, personnel, and propaganda, was intended to safeguard the monopoly of the Party in these fields and to stifle any attempt

1. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943 p. 88.

by these groups at independent action.

Finally, the principle of subordination and coordination supplied the pattern for the application of similar policies outside the framework of Party and Movement. It helped prepare the ill-famed policy of "Gleichschaltung," i.e. synchronization of all organizations outside the Party with the principles established and executed by and within the Party. Highlights of this policy are the Law for the Restoration of a Professional Civil Service (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums) of 7 April 1933,¹ the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor (Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre) of 15 September 1935,² and the Reich Citizenship Law (Reichsbürgergesetz) of the same date. These laws formed the cornerstones of a policy which found its consummation in the introduction of the Arierparagraph, i.e. the principle of membership on racial grounds, in governmental, professional, and commercial agencies and organizations.

Furthermore, subordination and coordination within the Party set the precedent for the integration of government agencies, functionally, under the direction of Party agencies. Specifically, in such cases where identity of incumbents of Party office and the Government office had not been realized, e.g. the Foreign Office, activities of the governmental office

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1. RGBI I, p. 175.
 2. RGBI I, p. 1146.
 3. RGBI I, p. 1133, 1146.

would be examined by the corresponding Party agency, i.e. The Foreign Organization of the Party.

In sum, the principle of subordination and coordination helped institute and enforce the

"division of the German citizenry on a racial basis and discrimination against those who were adjudged not to be of German blood."

By implementing the leadership principle from a functional angle, it contributed to the "establishment and perpetuation of Nazi control through the total execution of the Führer principle."

3. Regional Unification. (Regional and Vertical Control). The so-called regional or vertical controls of the Party constitute the backbone of the Party structure. While functional controls may be subject to change, the Party Manual stipulates that the regional controls as the so-called "chief pillars of the Party remain forever immune". (Die Grundpfeiler der Partei werden jedoch immer unangetastet bleiben).¹ The regional controls ensure the extension of the leadership principle and of the principle of subordination and coordination to the lower levels of the Party hierarchy. These regional and local controls are exercised by the so-called "bearers of sovereignty" (Hoheitssträger), who, in turn, are in charge of the so-called "regions of sovereignty" (Hoheitsgebiete). Hoheitssträger are the Führer, the Gauleiter, the Kreisleiter, the Ortsgruppenleiter, the Zellenleiter, and the Blockleiter. Their function is an internal one, namely to supervise all Party offices within the area of their

1. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 88

jurisdiction, as well as an external one, namely to represent the Party toward the outside. In addition, however, the Hoheitsträger are responsible for the "total political situation within the area of sovereignty" "verantwortlich für die gesamtpolitische Lage in ihrem Hoheitsgebiet"¹ "Regional unification" thus was conceived not merely as a principle of local control for and within the Party, but also as a means of extending the authority of the Party through its Hoheitsträger to non-Party members by virtue of sheer physical accessibility. The Party Manual expressed it this way:

"It is the intention of the Party to make sure that the individual member of the community, male or female, find his (or her) way to the Party not merely in cases of emergency, but that the Party on its own initiative, in keeping with the will of the Führer, recruits and supervises continually all members of the community, male and female." ("Es ist die Absicht der Partei, zu erreichen, dass der einzelne Volksgenosse und die Volksgenossin nicht nur in Notfällen den Weg zur Partei findet, sondern dass die Partei durch eigene Initiative entsprechend dem Willen des Führers laufend alle Volksgenossen und Volksgenossinnen erfasst und betreut."²)

The principle of regional control thus had four major effects: firstly, in concentrated authority within the Party in the persons of the most reliable leaders, the Hoheitsträger, thereby creating a solid and ubiquitous chain of command; secondly, by placing control on the basis of locale rather than organization, it brought all non-Party members under Party control irrespective of membership in organizations affiliated with,

1. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 88.

2. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 98 a.

or otherwise controlled by, the Party; thirdly, it established the Party Hohheitsträger as the supreme political commander within his area of jurisdiction; fourthly, by assimilating the regional sub-divisions to that of the government, the Party facilitated the amalgamation of Party offices with the corresponding governmental offices. It thus prepared the ground for the development which led to the bureaucratic identity of the office of Gauleiter with that of the Provincial President in Prussia. Furthermore, it facilitated the appointment of the Kreisleiter as so-called Delegates of the Party in matters of municipal administration.¹ Above and beyond this the principle of regional control contributed to the gradual emasculation of government administration and to the demoralization of the German civil service. In sum, it, too, helped prepare

"the establishment of rigid internal control (by the Party) over the government and all its agencies..."

4. Manifestation of an Active Community Spirit (Mass Control). The purpose of this principle was to prevent the establishment of corporative controls by professional organizations on a functional basis. The leadership principle abolished parliamentary controls, thereby preventing political competition by elected bodies; subordination and coordination secured organizational control of the Party proper over all Party affiliated, controlled and annexed organizations, thereby preventing organizational autonomy of any group outside the party proper; regional unification

1. Reich Order for Municipalities [Reichsgemeindeordnung] of 30 January 1935, RGBl I, p. 49, and executive Order of 26 March 1935, RGBl I, p. 470.

extended Party control to all persons, organized and unorganized, on the basis of physical accessibility, thereby preventing the escape of the individual from Party control. The manifestation of an active community spirit added the principle of mass control by diluting the purpose of professional organization -- as realized in the affiliated and controlled organizations and in the German Labor Front (DAF) -- and by placing in its stead the "folk community" (Volksgemeinschaft) as realized in the family, the place of work (Arbeitsstatte), the place of leisure (Freizeit), the community (Gemeinde), and the nation (Volk). The principle of dissolving the people into a - political groupings, i.e. actually into an amorphous mass of individuals, was derived from the conception that "it is fundamentally wrong to organize human beings on functional grounds"¹. Consequently, the affiliated organizations of the Party were reduced to cadres in which Volksgemeinschaft became a matter of "practical drilling." ("Praktisches Exerzieren dieser Gemeinschaft")². As far as labor was concerned, "the Party, in defiance of the idea of corporative controls, as propagated by Ottmar Spann, has attacked the problem of community spirit in the area of human organization and has solved it by creating the National Socialist community organization 'German Labor Front'. "³

The principle of mass control, more than any other, has thus contributed to the continued emasculation of labor and of the professions as

1. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 91.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid

political forces and as social groups entitled to the right of self-representation and privileges inherent in their status. In sum, the principle of mass control helped prepare and exploit

"the destruction of all political resistance to the Nazi system," specifically,

"the elimination of the trade unions."

B. The Means of Control

To achieve domination of public life and to maintain itself in power the National Socialist Party employed and developed a number of devices which, although not always crimes in themselves, prepared for the perpetration of crimes or developed into crimes through the manner in which they were applied. The key devices used by the Nazis as means of political conquest and domination were:

1. Indoctrination
2. Propaganda
3. Infiltration and Intervention
4. Aggression and Terror

Although planned, inaugurated, and directed by the core of the Nazi hierarchy, the actual employment of these means was delegated to specific technical offices within the Party proper, i.e. notably the Reich Directorate of the Party (Reichsleitung), or to formations and organizations affiliated with, or controlled by, the Party.

1. Indoctrination. According to Hitler's definition¹ the National Socialist Party, from its earliest beginnings, intended to be a "genuinely ideological Party" ("eine wahrhaftige Weltanschauungspartei"), that is to say, a Party founded not on the similarity of economic and social interests or religious beliefs, but on a basic outlook on life which is "correct" (Hitler²: "Die Nationalsozialistische Partei.....nimmt bei der Betrachtung und Behandlung der ihr gestellten Lebensaufgaben einen Standpunkt ein, der, abstrakt genommen, richtig ist"). The privilege of being the owner of the "correct" outlook, in turn, bestows on the Party as an "order of Leaders" the right and the

1. Nuremberg Party Congress, 1934, o. cit. p. 204

2. Ibid

duty to propagate its ideology so as to make it the foundation of national education, and through this, the matrix of political leadership. In the words of a Party spokesman:

"Since the Party is called upon to form an organization through which a political elite of the nation shall be continuously recruited to all eternity, the Party is also in duty bound to ensure that the State be led on the ground of a stable philosophy. In fulfillment of this historical imperative, the Party must create an organization that assures the stability of the leadership in the State by the right selection, training and orientation of the leaders of the State. The Party must, in this, act on the principle that all Germans should be brought up in the Weltanschauung of National Socialism; that the best of the National Socialists become members of the Party; that the best Party members take the lead in the State. Thus shall the organization of the Party provide the German State in the future with a supreme general leadership; thus shall its educational activities provide a foundation for this National Socialist State in a National Socialist nation."¹

As regards the objects of indoctrination, the will of the Party to educate was all-inclusive and permanent. It included not merely the Party but the German people as a whole. It was not thought of as a temporary type of training but as a life-long service. To realize this objective, the Party directed its efforts at the recruitment of the German youth. In his speech of 12 February 1938 Hitler declared:

"Our youth will be educated to think and act as Germans. After having been educated in the organizations of the Party they will get the final polish when entering the Army. When leaving the military service, they will again join the SA, the SS and our other organizations so that they will not drift off again. They will, in fact, as long as they live, never again be free."

1. Deutscher Beamten Kalender, p. 81

As regards sources of indoctrination, the will of the Party to educate was exclusive. It did not permit of any other authority, e.g. parental home, church, political group, to introduce a competing system of thought or values. Walter Schultze, former leader of the League of University Teachers, once insisted:¹

"The new generation to be educated in the colleges for training of teachers is to be chosen exclusively from the ranks of the Hitler Youth and the BDM (League of German Girls)".

As regards subject matter the will of the Party to educate was total. It implied the teaching of National Socialist principles in the following fields: internal policies, foreign policies, science of race and inheritance, economic and social policies, history, geopolitics, cultural politics, and others.² Some Nazi leaders and intellectuals have added to these subjects the exact sciences. Reich Student Leader Scheel, in a lecture to professors and instructors at Hamburg, on 30 April 1938, stated categorically:

"Science is not yet National Socialistic. But it must become so, if the universities are to continue to exist."³

Finally, as regards the content of indoctrination, the will of

1. Meeting of NS Lecturers at Elster, 5 March 1938. Quoted in "Nazi Guide to Nazism," published by the American Council on Public Affairs, p. 147.
2. Organisationsbuch des NSDAP, 1943, p. 181 a lists under "Aufgabengebiet des gesamten weltanschaulich-politischen Aufbaus" the following: "Einzelgebiete: Vermittlung von Nationalsozialistischen Grundsätze auf den Gebieten der Innenpolitik, Außenpolitik, Rassen- und Vererbungslehre, Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik, Geschichte, Geopolitik, Kulturpolitik usw."
3. Nazi Guide to Nazism, p. 140

of the Party to educate was highly onesided. According to the Party Manual:

"The Party was created by the Führer with the purpose in mind that if our nation shall live and flourish, it must be led according to a Weltanschauung which corresponds to our kind. (die unserer Art entspricht)"¹

The chief objective of this Weltanschauung was not to communicate knowledge but to help build body and character: In Mein Kampf Hitler stated²

"The folkish State...has to direct its entire education primarily not at pumping in mere knowledge, but at the breeding of absolutely healthy bodies. Of secondary importance is the training of mental abilities. But here again first of all the development of the character, especially the promotion of will power and determination, connected with education for joyfully assuming responsibility, and only as the last thing, scientific schooling.

Ultimately the pre dominance of physical and of character education had political implications. For again according to Hitler:

"It is precisely our German people, that today broken down, lies defenseless against the kicks of the rest of the world who need that suggestive force that lies in self-confidence. But this self-confidence has to be instilled into the young fellow-citizen from childhood on. His entire education and development has to be directed at giving him the conviction of being absolutely superior to others. With this physical force and skill he has again to win the belief in the invincibility of his entire nationality. For what once led the German army to victory was the sum of the confidence which the individual and all in common had in their leaders. The confidence in the possibility of retaining its freedom is what will restore the German people. But this conviction be the final product of the same feeling of millions of individuals."³

1. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 86.
2. Op. cit. p. 613 ff.
3. Mein Kampf p. 618

The virtues through which such confidence can be acquired were defined as "loyalty, willingness to sacrifice, and silence."

The Nazi system of education can thus be summarized as follows: Instillment, by the Party, in each German of a feeling of uncritical belief in his own physical superiority over the rest of the world in order to regain the political status lost in the last war. Hitler's thesis that the folkish state "has to put the race into the center of life in general"¹ has been frequently interpreted as a matter of merely domestic concern. Actually, it constitutes, to no lesser degree, the basis of aggressive nationalism and Nazi imperialism. Hitler himself gave this implication away in Mein Kampf when he stated:

"For the rest, it is the task of a folkish State to see to it that at last a world history is written in which the race question is raised to a predominant position."²

The following authorities, agencies and organizations were responsible for the indoctrination of all persons and groups organized within, or controlled by, the National Socialist Party.

The Reichsorganisationsleiter (Reich Leader for Organization) through the Hauptschulungsamt (Main Office for Training), and the agencies and schools under its supervision;

the Hauptamt für Erzieher (Main Office for Educators)

the NS Lehrerbund (NS League of Teachers)

the Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP (The Delegate of the Führer for the Total Supervision of all Intellectual and Ideological Training of the Party), and

the zuständigen Dienststellen der Gliederungen (the special offices within the Party formations).

1. Ibid., p. 608

2. p. 630

The chief institutes of indoctrination were:

the Ordensburgen
 the Reichsschulungsburgen
 the Adolf-Hitler-Schulen
 the Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten (NAPOLA)
 the Deutsche Heimschulen, and

the various technical schools attached to individual Party formations and affiliates.

At a relatively late stage, Nazi indoctrination was instituted within the Armed Forces as a means of maintaining or strengthening troop morale. The task was assigned to the so-called National-sozialistische Führungsoffiziere who were directly subordinated to the Supreme Commander, Hitler, but had their supervisory offices within each of the three service commands, Army, Navy and Air Force.

2. Propaganda. In Nazi theory propaganda is the psychological means for the attainment of power. Better still, it is the strategic prerequisite without which the Party cannot hope to operate successfully. In Mein Kampf¹ Hitler defined the correlation of propaganda and political organization as follows:

"The task of propaganda is to attract followers; the task of organization to win members.....

"Propaganda and organization - that means followers and members - have thus a definite mutual relationship.....

"The first task of propaganda is the winning of people for the future organization; the first task of the organization is the winning of people for the continuation of propaganda. The second task of propaganda is the destruction of the existing condition and the permeation of this condition with the new doctrine, while the second task of the organization must be the fight for power, so that by it it will achieve the final success of the doctrine.

1. p. 560 ff

Goebbels, chief propagandist of the Nazi system, once described the objective of propaganda as "the conquest of the masses".¹ More specifically, the aim is "to acquaint the people with certain ideas in such a way that they yield voluntarily and without inner resistance to the tasks and aims implied in the ideas of a superior leadership of the State."² Hadenowsky, Goebbels' chief of staff, expressed the same idea somewhat less subtly. Propaganda, according to him is "the will to power." The aim of propaganda is "the elimination of all serious resistance in the masses in order that they may be provided with bread on the basis of the national will of the masses devoted to the cause."³

The same lack of scruples in the use of propaganda as a political instrument is apparent in the formulation of propaganda content.

Again according to Hitler:⁴

"The task of propaganda is, for instance, not to evaluate the various rights, but far more to stress exclusively

1. Kampf um Berlin, p. 91

2. Goebbels in Propaganda als Mittlerin, quoted in an article "Goebbels' Conception of Propaganda," published on pages 200-218 in Social Research, Quarterly of Political and Social Science, published by the New School for Social Research, Volume 10, May 1943, Number 2. The same idea was expressed by Goebbels at the Nuremberg Party Congress, 1934: "Die Propaganda ist ein Mittel zum Zweck. Der Zweck selbst aber besteht darin, das Volk in die Erkenntnis, die ihm zum Verstaendnis nahe gebracht werden soll, so einzufuehren, dass es sich willig und ohne inneres Widerstreben den darin eingeschlossenen Aufgaben und Zielsetzungen einer ueberlegenen Staatsfuehrung hingibt." in "Der Kongress zu Nurnberg, 1934" p. 131.

3. Propaganda und Nationale Macht, p. 37, quoted in Social Research.

4. Mein Kampf, p. 238

the one that is represented by it. It has not to search into the truth as far as this is favorable to others, in order to present it then to the masses with doctrinary honesty, but it has rather to serve its own truth uninterruptedly..."

Goebbels' permanent fight against the German sense of "super-objectivity" was dictated by the same principles. He stated:

"Today we have no time for false objectivity..we regard it as a danger and a threat Fairness comes only in relation to our own people... Today the most radical fanaticism and the most violent passion for our great cause is the proper attitude for us...."1

In the light of these definitions propaganda became not only an instrument of political conquest but also of continued political control. According to Goebbels;

"It was the strongest weapon in the conquest of the State, it remains the strongest weapon in the consolidation and building up of the State. What in many ways remained understandable to the world was a matter of course for us. The weapon by which we conquered the State has to remain...in the service of the state, lest, with power, we run the danger of losing the people and with the people, the power."2

It is this continued need for permanent control which accounts for the transfer and the incorporation of the Party Propaganda machine into the government apparatus. Through the Propaganda Ministry the various propaganda offices of the Party extended and consolidated their grip on the German people. The chief propaganda offices within the Party were:

Der Reichspropagandaleiter der NSDAP (The Reich Propaganda Leader of the Party) and offices subordinate to him

1. Das Reich, 27 November 1942
2. Propaganda als Hitlerin, quoted in Social Research

Der Reichspressechef der NSDAP (The Reich Press Chief of the Party) and the offices subordinate to him.

Der Reichsleiter für die Presse (The Reich Leader of the Press)

Die Parteiamtliche Prüfungskommission zum Schutze des NS Schrifttums (The Party Commission for the Protection of Part Literature).

3. Infiltration and Intervention. German infiltration into non-German territory and German intervention in non-German affairs served the following purposes: they established Pan-Nazism as a rallying point for all individuals who were recognized as being German by race, i.e. irrespective of present citizenship, place of birth, or domicile; they help to propagate National Socialism abroad; they helped organize the network for an international intelligence and espionage system preparatory to aggressive action; they supplied the pattern and cadres for occupation controls prior to the actual annexation or occupation of the territories in question, and they prepared the ground for a revision of the world political status quo including large-scale transfers of territories and populations to Germany.

As a device to foster and spread Pan-Nazism, infiltration had its ideological foundation in Article 1 of the Party Program, which stated:

"We demand the union (Zusammenschluss) of all Germans to form a Greater Germany, on the basis of the right of self-determination enjoyed by all nations (auf Grund des Selbstbestimmungsrechts der Völker)."

The implications of this demand became more distinct in a speech delivered by Dr. Steinacher, the former leader of the VDA (League for Germanism Abroad), who stated at the meetings of the VDA in Passau, 1938:

"The fight of the Germans abroad has taken on an entirely new significance.... Between the Germans within and those outside of the State there is no difference of rank but only a difference of function. Every German folk-group in the world, out of its own peculiar life, out of its own special geographic and cultural situation, will in the future have to collaborate in a common European task and a world task of Germanism. These functions will be very different. In one place, the German folk-group will have to be a wall against foreign claims. In another place, they will be bridges, and in a third place, factors bringing about an alliance..."

"The aim of our work is the maintenance of the race outside of our borders. This work cannot be isolated from the life of the Germans within our borders. Borders can separate the life of states but not the life of a people..."¹

In similar vein, Gauleiter Bohle, leader of the Foreign Organization of the Party, speaking at the Nuremberg Party Congress, 1936, defined the character of international Germanism as follows:

"We German National Socialists abroad start in our work from the basic premise that there is no 'question' of foreign Germanism but that our Germanism abroad is composed of individual Germans who can only live as Germans if they form among themselves an indestructible community and if this community is incorporated in the community which Adolf Hitler has given the racial comrades in the Reich. We believe in the eternal value of the race and the blood and we feel ourselves the appointed protectors of these values in foreign Germanism..."²

Membership in this folk-community was defined as follows:

1. Quoted in Der Nationalsozialistische Staat, Walter Gohl, Part I p. 215 ff.
2. Der Parteitag der Ehre, 1936, Official Report, published by Zentral Verlag der N.D.A.P., pp. 124-131

"The German folk-community includes not only all those who are members of the NSDAP, it includes all who by origin, language, and culture belong to the German folk-community and in accordance with the rigid law of nature acknowledge their allegiance to the German folk-community. The German folk-community includes therefore not only the members of the folk within the German borders but those everywhere in the world, without regard to residence or temporary place of abode, without regard to class and profession, and also without regard to what former political direction or party the individual may have formerly adhered to, and without regard to how the individual used to look at National Socialism and Adolf Hitler, at a time when he was not yet enlightened about the essence of National Socialism and the NSDAP, about Adolf Hitler and his intentions. The one and only presupposition is that the folk-member today pledges allegiance to the German folk-community and lets all his thinking, feeling, and acting be directed toward that which the flag of the German folk-community, the flag of the National Socialist German Reich, the Adolf Hitler flag commands him."¹

The idea of the racial community not only created a double allegiance for all "racial Germans" living abroad and having acquired a foreign citizenship; it also established the priority of racial stock above political loyalty. According to Gauleiter Bohle,

"We acknowledge only the concept of the total German who as a citizen of his country is always and everywhere German and nothing but German and therewith National Socialist."²

German race, according to Nazi theory and practice, created a type of allegiance that cannot be lost through physical distance or political changes. The legal consequences have been considerable.

1. Fritz Reinhard, Vom Leben der Volksgemeinschaft (published in Grundlagen, Aufbau und Wirtschaftsordnung des nationalsozialistischen Staates, Berlin, 1936), vol. I, group 1, no. 8, pp. 1, 2, 12.
2. Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro, 30 August 1937, reporting Bohle's speech at the Annual Assembly of the Germans Living abroad.

One of the most significant legal developments in the field of international intervention was the conclusion of so-called "Volksgruppenschutzverträge", i.e. treaties for the protection of folk-group. They made the German folk-group abroad "legal persons" according to public law and the Party group the "executive organ" of the folk-group.¹

The political, legal, and psychological changes brought about by the propagation of Pan-Nazism are, admittedly, the work of the Party. According to Nazi legal theoreticians,

"The present legal position of foreign Germans and of the foreign groups of the NSDAP has been decidedly influenced by the historical fact of the seizure of power by the Party."²

Hess boasted of it at the Fifth Assembly of Germans Living Abroad at Stuttgart, 29 August 1935:³

"Under the leadership of the Foreign Organization Germanism abroad is also becoming more and more filled with the National Socialist spirit. The Foreign Organization of the NSDAP has brought together the Germans out there...and joined them with Adolf Hitler's Reich. The National Socialist care for Germanism is maintaining an enormous number of Germans for the nation, who otherwise would be absorbed as cultural fertilizer for other nations."

Propaganda remained one of the most outstanding functions of Party agencies operating abroad. The stated task of the Foreign Organization of the Party was that of

"winning the German citizens who live abroad or are engaged in navigation for the National Socialist view of the world and...."

1. of. Agreement of 23 October 1940 between the Rumanian Legionary State and the German folk-group, published in Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte, December 1940, p. 803. published in "National Socialist", p. 471.
2. Otto Gauweiler, Rechtsseinrichtungen und Rechtsaufgaben der Bewegung, p. 71 ff.
3. Published in "National Socialism", p. 103

keeping alive in every

keeping alive in every single German abroad the principle of the racial community, which transcends all classes and religious denominations."¹

For this reason Gauletier Bohle wrote in the Almanach der

Nationalsozialistischen Revolution:

"Only National Socialists who are ideologically well grounded can unite the German colonies, which outside of the homeland are often still divided, and create a unity in which alone the guaranty for support of the homeland by foreign Germandom can be given...

"Therefore we need Party members abroad who have mastered our ideology and who are able to communicate it to other Germans. We know that Germans abroad are still in part cool to the movement because they do not know what they want. The education of racial comrades who still stand apart has, therefore, been made a special task of the group leaders abroad, and it is pointed out to them that there are still many Germans abroad who are not friendly toward us...."²

As regards the intelligence function of the Party, Erich, personal adviser to Bohle, in his monograph on the Foreign Organization of the Party chose the following form of circumscribing activities of this type:

"The diversity of conditions abroad requires that the Central Office of the Foreign Organization have offices which, on the one hand, are continuously and precisely informed concerning all events abroad which are in any way connected with and exert influence upon the existence of foreign Germandom, and which, on the other hand, must be in a position politically to determine and carry out the work of the Party divisions and organizations associated in the Foreign Organization and the activities of

1. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1940, p. 143.
2. Almanach der Nationalsozialistischen Revolution, Berlin, 1934, pp. 90 ff.

the departments which are charged with functions not limited to specific geographic regions."¹

Finally, statements by German occupation authorities reveal that political groups organized by the Party prior to occupation were later incorporated bodily in such official groups as the SS.²

Infiltration tactics designed to stir up interest in Pan-Nazism abroad and to unite all Germans under racial viewpoints were ultimately directed at a revision of political status quo which rested on the Versailles Treaty. Article 2 of the Party Program stated:

"We demand equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations and abolition of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain."

Hitler elaborated this demand as follows:

"That we have to fight for is the security of the existence and the increase of our race and our people, the nourishment of its children and the preservation of the purity of the blood, the freedom and independence of the fatherland in order to enable our people to ature for the fulfillment of the mission which the Creator of the universe has allotted also to them."³

From here it was merely a short step to the demand for

"Lebensraum" (living space). Article 3 of the Party Program added it:

"We demand land and territory (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and for settling our superfluous population."

The demand for Lebensraum is an integral part of the Party Program and belonged to the perennially repeated postulates of Nazi

1. Dr. Eril Ehrlich, Die Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP, 1940, p. 17.
2. of. report by Ss Group Leader, State Secretary, Karl Hermann Frank, "The SS on March 15, 1939," published in Bohmen und Maehren, official periodical of the Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, published in "National Socialism", p. 465.
3. Mein Kampf pp. 288-89

foreign policy. In Hitler's own words:

"The right to soil and territory can become a duty if decline seems to be in store for a great nation unless it extends its territory."¹

In the years preceding the outbreak of the war, Party agencies operating abroad or dabbling in the field of foreign policy frequently supplied the platform for Nazi claims to "lost" territories or populations. Rudolf Hess, addressing the Sixth Assembly of Germans Living Abroad, on 28 August 1937, in Stuttgart, used the occasion as a springboard for intervention in the then burning Czechoslovakian issue, stating:

"The German people looks at the German racial comrades in Czechoslovakia with the profoundest sympathy for their suffering. No one in the world, who loves his own people, will find fault with us, if from this place here we also turn our thoughts to the Sudeten Germans.... You in Sudetenland know! We stand by you with passionate hearts. The right of three and one-half million German men lies with you, the right of millions of members of a great people to conduct their life and so to shape it as adherence to this people of culture demands."²

But it was only after the outbreak of the war that Nazi leaders openly employed Party agencies, formations, and affiliated organizations to carry out a grand-scale policy of compulsory relocation, repatriation and elimination of populations.

The main Party organizations chiefly engaged in the tactics of international infiltration and intervention were:

1. Mein Kampf, p. 950

2. Der Montag, Berlin Daily, 20 August, 1936; published in "National Socialism", p. 110.

Hauptamt für Volkssturmfragen
(Main Office for Folkdom)
Aussenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP
(Foreign Office of the Party)
Kolonialpolitisches Amt
(Colonial Office)
Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP
(Foreign Organization of the Party)
Arbeitsbereiche der NSDAP
(Spheres of Operation of the Party)
Deutsche Arbeitsfront
(German Labor Front)

Organizations and agencies of Party formations and affiliates operating outside Germany proper, e.g. SS:

Hauptstelle für Volkische Schutzarbeit
(Central Bureau of Protective Measures for Racial Germans)
Amt Zwischenstaatlicher SS- und Einrichtungen
(Office for SS-related Formations and Establishments Abroad)
Hauptamt Volkadutsche Mittelstelle
(Main Office for Repatriation of Germans)
Stabshauptamt des Reichskommissars für die Festigung des Deutschen Volkstums
(Staff Hq. of the Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of Germanism)
VDA - Volkshund für das Deutschtum im Ausland
(German League for Germanism Abroad)
Regional Sections of the
HJ - Hitler Youth
SA - Schutz Abteilung
NSKK - National Socialist Motor Corps
Party-sponsored and Party-controlled organization, e.g.
Deutsches Ausland Institut
(German Foreign Institute)

and other pseudo-scientific institutes, international cultural associations, etc.

4. Aggression and Terror. The use of force as a means of political strategy is a vital feature not only of National Socialist ideology but of the National Socialist Party and Movement. It is indissolubly bound up with a system which proposed to change the political, economic

and territorial status quo, regardless of the interests of groups of nations opposing such objectives. On the surface, the use of force appears as another means designed to effect Nazi conquest and Nazi domination. Actually, all other means instrumental to conquest and domination, e.g. indoctrination, propaganda, and infiltration, implied the use of force, not merely as ultima ratio but as the means essential to the pursuit of Nazi objectives, and inevitable from the point of view of Realpolitik. In fact, all other means of Nazi strategy were not intended to supplement but to prepare, step by step, psychologically, politically, and militarily, the eventual application of force.

Historically, force in Nazi strategy emerges alternately in two forms: as aggression and as terror, aggression being the means by which conquest is achieved, terror being the means by which conquest is secured and exploited. In turn, aggression and terror taught aggressiveness. They created a predisposition conducive to the application or toleration of aggression and terror on the part of the German people. Thus, the use of force is distinctly sanctioned, in fact guaranteed, by all official statements which make activism and aggressiveness a political quality obligatory for Party members. According to Hitler:

"A follower of the movement is one who declares himself in agreement with its aims; a member is one who fights for it..."¹

1. Main Kampf, p. 849

Consequently, membership in the Party must be reserved for the political activists:

"Only a part of the people will consist of really active fighters. It is they who were the carriers of the National Socialist struggle. It is they who were the fighters of the National Socialist revolution, and it is they who are the keepers of the National Socialist State. Of them more is demanded than of the millions among the rest of the population. For them it is not sufficient to confess: 'I believe,' but to swear: 'I fight'." ¹

In keeping with such requirements, the Manual of the Party stipulated:

"The Party includes only fighters, who are ready to accept and sacrifice everything in order to carry through the National Socialist ideology."

(Es gibt in der Partei .. nur Kämpfer, bereit, alles für die Durchsetzung der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung auf sich zu nehmen und alles einzusetzen.)²

Fight for the National Socialist Weltanschauung is by no means to be understood in a mere academic sense. It is not restricted to political discussion, but implies resort to physical force as a legitimate means of political strategy. The Party Manual made it obligatory for every political leader (Politische Leiter) of the Party to undergo training in pistol shooting. ³ According to Hitler's own words, the use of force, far from contradicting the use of spiritual weapons, supplements these, in fact is contingent upon the existence of a strong ideology. For,

"The lack of a great, new creative idea means at all times a limitation of the fighting power. The conviction of the

1. Hitler, Nuremberg Party Congress, 1934. op cit, p. 211.
2. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 86
3. Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p 162 a.

justification of using even most brutal weapons is always dependent on the presence of a fanatical belief in the necessity of the victory of a revolutionary new order on this globe.

"A movement which does not fight for such highest aims and ideals will therefore never take the ultimate weapon."¹

As regards the Nazi Movement, the ideological justification for the use of force was stated to lie "in the endeavor to establish an organic folk-state."²

"Thereby, from the first day on, the young Movement upheld the view that its idea can be represented spiritually, but that the protection of this representation has to be secured, if necessary, by means of physical power."³

This statement is contained in the chapter which familiarizes the reader with "Fundamental Thoughts on the Meaning and Organization of the Storm Troop," i.e. the SA.

In the early days of the Nazi Party, the application of force was a strategic complement of Nazi propaganda. It was conceived of and employed as a means to secure "the conquest of the streets."

Secret murder was replaced by open terror. Hitler postulated:

"What we needed and what we need, were and are not a hundred or two hundred daring plotters, but a hundred thousand and again a hundred thousand fanatical fighters for our view of life. The work has to be done, not in secret conventicles, but in enormous mass demonstrations, and not by dagger and poison or pistol can the way be paved for the Movement, but by the conquest of the streets. We have to drive home to Marxism that the future master of the streets will be National Socialism, exactly as some day it will be the master of the State."⁴

Once in power, the need for the use of force continued, as a means of the Party to maintain itself in authority. For, according

1. Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 784

2. Mein Kampf, p. 785

3. Ibid.

4. Mein Kampf, p. 798

to Hitler:

"In power...that means in force, we see the second foundation of all authority [the first being "popularity"]¹

Describing, in retrospect, the tasks and achievements of the Party, which ensured total domination of domestic life, Hitler on the eleventh anniversary of the seizure of power declared:

"The appeal to reason had to be supplemented with ruthless elimination of the viciously resisting elements in all camps."²

After total domination of public life inside Germany had been achieved, Nazi aggression turned toward the outside world. The objectives remained in keeping with the demands set forth earlier in Mein Kampf:

"...we National Socialists must cling unflinchingly to our foreign-policy aims, that is, to guarantee the German nation the soil and territory to which it is entitled on this earth. And this is the only action which, before God and our German posterity, would seem to justify an investment of blood...."³

It is this postulate which finally led to the launching of aggressive wars.

Again, following the conquest of new territories by force, terror was the means applied by the Party and Party formations abroad to maintain Nazi authority in occupied and annexed territories. The nature of this terror is best exemplified in a speech by Himmler made at a conference of commanding officers of the Wehrmacht in Bad Schachen on 14 October 1943. The speech was published in a booklet "Sicherheitsfragen" marked "For official use only," and was reprinted in No. 1566 of the News Digest of 30 September 1944. In it Himmler, Reich Commissioner

1. Mein Kampf, p. 764

2. Speech on 30 January 1944, FCC files

3. Mein Kampf, pp. 947-8

for the Consolidation of German Folkdom, stated the principles of work with foreign populations in foreign (primarily Eastern) territories as follows:

"Any means that induces these wild peoples to serve us and which results in a Russian dying instead of a German is justified..."

"Therefore I consider that in dealing with members of a foreign, especially some Slav, nationality (Volkstum) we must start not from German points of view and we must not endow these people with decent German thoughts and logical conclusions of which they are not capable, but we must take them as they really are.

"Obviously in such a mixture of peoples there will always be some racially good types. Therefore I think that it is our duty to take their children with us, to remove them from their environment, if necessary by robbing and stealing them... Either we win over any good blood that we can use for ourselves and give it a place in our people or...we destroy this blood."

The overall purpose of this policy was defined by Himmler thus:

"For us the end of this war will mean an open road to the East, the creation of the Germanic Reich in this way or that...the fetching home of 30 millions human beings of our blood, so that still during our lifetime we shall be a people of 120 million Germanic souls. That means we shall be the sole and decisive power in Europe..."

The chief terror organizations of the Nazi system were:

The SS, including the SS Security Service (SD), the Allgemeine SS, Waffen SS, Germanic SS, SS Totenkopf-Verbände and the various offices and agencies subordinate to the Reichsfuehrer SS.

The SA

The HJ, in parts, particularly the HJ Streifendienst

The NSKK, in parts