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WOMEN IN NAZI GERMANY--III SOCIAL
AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TRENDS

This Report was written at the invitation of the Staff of "M" Project by Ruth Kempner, a social worker trained and experienced in Germany and in the United States, with the collaboration of her husband, Dr. Robert M. W. Kempner.

This Report, which has been divided into five Parts, will appear as A-8, A-9, A-11, and A-12 in our Administrative Series.

Several members and associates of the Staff of "M" Project contributed suggestions and source materials for inclusion in this Report and the final draft was edited by us.

Attention is called to A-1, A-2, A-3, A-5, A-6, and R-10 in our Series.

Henry Field

CONFIDENTIAL

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INTRODUCTION

In Part I of this study we tried to answer the question of how German women are organized under the Nazi régime, and in Part II how they are employed.

In this Part, we shall discuss various social and psychological trends which have developed during the decade of the Hitler régime. Emphasis is laid on those trends which are of special interest for Allied Officers or Officials who may be assigned to work in Occupied Zones.

In addition, various proposals are suggested for the treatment of German women.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STATE

Paternalistic Attitude

The traditional attitude of German women toward the State is conditioned by the fact that throughout German history the life of German men and women has been subject to strict regimentation by some authority.

In Germany, development of personality means that the individual conforms to the rules of the paternalistic State to the greatest possible extent.

The immature and narrow-minded attitude blocked any real growth of the individual German woman and developed in her characteristics which became typical of the majority of German women. Only a minority who have liberal or labor education is excepted.

The most constructive traditional attitude of German women is the normal healthy aggressive spirit in tackling every day life, bending over backwards to preserve home and family. German women go about this job with thoroughness, enthusiasm, sincerity, and a meticulous feeling for order.

These women demand very little for themselves. They work and sacrifice without complaint to an extent far beyond their personal endurance if they consider it necessary. National Socialism recognized this inborn quality of German women and used it immediately for its own purposes.

Significant and different in comparison with other women is the German woman's inflexible conception of certain ideals and ways of life. Above everything else, there is their traditional, almost masochistic submission to authority represented by the State or an individual human being.

These women have pledged themselves to ideals with a stubbornness and rigidity worthy of a better cause. Their narrow conception of women's tasks in life lacks imagination and creativeness, clinging to the small circle of their personal life, to home and children. They have a fixed conception of love, family, friends, and country, but their emotions are caged in, limited to a traditional degree, well-cut, like hedges in springtime.

There is a kind of peace about their world, caged in on all sides: a clean and shining sense of righteousness where they feel secure. Their limited range of personality may be one reason why these women so gladly accept orders which regulate their life to the most minute detail. They accept official rules and regulations which relieve them of the responsibility for individual planning.

Since German women are taught from childhood that "Some day the world will be improved through the German spirit," they think it natural that everything not German is inferior. Since they belong to a nation the rulers of which regarded the Hundred Years' War as a mission and

looked upon might as the basis of right, the women too are impressed by superior force.

This traditional way of thinking partly explains why German women objected so little to brutality, believing in the right of survival only for the strongest. Nazi education and infiltration was able to dwell upon this general pattern, emphasizing physical endurance to the greatest extent in all their programs for women, stressing the ideal of the heroic woman, as the partner of man.

The glorification of the heroic woman is an old German tradition. "By the side of the heroic men whom the racial brotherhood wants to raise for heroic action and daring, there belongs a racial complement: the heroic woman. Her prefiguration has lived in the Germanic race for thousands of years. The Valkyries with sword and spear are the companions of the heroes of Valhalla."¹

Germany adores the strong Brunhilde, the heroic woman, who has "to fight for life and death with the one she loves, and take revenge in killing him for disregarding her honor as a woman."²

Diehl goes on to say that "the heroic pattern of personality is not only a male character pattern. It is

1. Else Frobenius, Women in the Third Reich.

2. Guida Diehl, Die Deutsche Frau und der Nationalsozialismus, Eisenach, 1933, pp. 111-112.

the woman's feelings as mother that drive her to fight. The new type of German women will be created through the common fight for liberation of Germany. It combines the characteristics of the Germanic but also of the Christian German women who were strong and heroic, as was Mary, and became equal fighters for their Master's Reich, the kingdom of Christ."

Far back in German mythology the character of the German women "reveals itself as hard and proud. Whereas the goddesses of Olympus were lovely, easy-going creatures, the deities of Valhalla could fight, ride and drink as hard as any man. The storm-whipped lands of the North Sea produced in Northern Germany women who knew little about natural beauty and warmth of soul and body. In fighting the hardness and cruelty of their native country, they became hard and cruel themselves."¹

The attitude of German women did not change after World War I, despite attempts to adjust them to a new way of life. The ideal of the pursuit of happiness remained unknown to German women. On the contrary, the experiences of World War I and inflation, and the rising nationalist propoganda deepened their traditionally submissive attitude.

1. Ernst Klein, "Women in National Socialism," The Fortnightly, London, 1942, pp. 285-292.

Positive Reactions to the Nazi Régime

The masochistic tendencies of German women became one of the most important reasons for their surrender to Adolf Hitler. To them, Der Fuehrer appeared as the hero they had been dreaming about, the Prince of the fairy-tales, the Savior of the Fatherland. Their own feelings of dissatisfaction suddenly found an outlet.

They expected compensation, promised by the new prophet who had said over and over again that they were chosen as important participants in the construction of the new Third Reich. Their ego received a tremendous uplift, raising them to a superior position. Their drive for personal recognition, never satisfied and so far neglected, was given a goal. These women, housewives and mothers confined to their homes, suddenly had an opportunity to expand themselves, to be Fuehrers like their hero, working in women's NS organizations or in important rearmament factories.

The Nazis, in their propaganda, appealed to the women's dissatisfied ego, to their love of superiority. It is not surprising, therefore, that once these women obtained satisfaction they were determined to keep it, defending the German cause against anything that might threaten their newly obtained security.

Their Fuehrer could easily expect that they would "sacrifice luxuries and pleasures, and that the German woman would gladly do whatever is expected of her."¹

Even the women who did not join the Party but merely kept house and raised children were given some glorification which made the monotony of the daily routine worthwhile. These were the women to whom the NS Frauenwarte² interpreted the task of German women in winning the battle of National Socialism by saying that "every member of both sexes can fulfill his duty, giving his life a higher meaning. In the end, the recompense is always the consciousness of having worked not in vain, for the past, but for the future world to come."

In general, female public opinion favorable to Hitler increased in Germany during the decade from 1933-1943. A similar development was visible among German women abroad, despite their access to free press and radio facilities.

Many remarks of the most fanatical female admirers of Hitler can be found in the Das Schwarze Korps, organ of Heinrich Himmler's SS. The following letter³ from an

1. Speech by Adolf Hitler, Reich Party Congress, Nuernberg, September 8, 1934.

2. Muenchen, October, 1937, Heft 7, p. 205.

3. Das Schwarze Korps, November 11, 1943.

SS mother is an example of the blind adoration of German women for Hitler even in the Winter of 1943:

"I am proud that I was able to give our Fuehrer five sons who are fighting on various battle fronts. My sixth would like to have the privilege of fighting with the SS. He has begged me to ask whether this would not be possible. He is big and strong, is going on 16, and would like to be in this war, fighting just the same as his brothers."

These are the women who speak of their "pride" in announcing the death of a loved one: "His life was a fight for National Socialism, his death our sacrifice for the Fuehrer."¹

One woman expresses her joy at the liberation of Il Duce "by our wonderful SS men and parachuters, for they have returned a true friend to our Fuehrer. Permit the wife of one SS leader who took part in the 'feast of hussars' to celebrate. I send herewith 100 Marks, and we are also giving a guitar to one of those who participated in the act of liberation."²

It is to be assumed that after the defeat only some of the German women will retain enthusiasm for National

1. Das Schwarze Korps, March 19, 1942.

2. Letter of Mrs. Koenig-Loesche to Das Schwarze Korps, September 30, 1943.

Socialism. This group will consist mainly of the Officials of the Nazi organizations (described in Part I). They are the dangerous ones, and handling them is predominantly an Allied security problem.

Negative Reactions to the Nazi Régime

Since the Summer of 1943 there has been an increasingly negative attitude toward the Nazi régime among larger groups of German women. The first signs of dissatisfaction centered around the measures on total mobilization of womanpower. The degree to which many women resented these measures has been discussed in Part II of this study; however, the following report should be added:

The National Zeitung of Essen reported on November 7, 1943, that "very severe measures will be taken against those women who have so far evaded work or set a bad example by loafing in the plant." The same paper objects to the many "women and girls who are systematically avoiding registration for work by constantly traveling about the country. This unpleasant example given by those 'drones' is a good reminder to the public that there is a fine for failure to register for work."

A second reason for the change in attitude has been the increase in Allied bombings. The irritation caused by bombing is admitted by the Das Schwarze Korps of

June 24, 1943. An editorial in this issue portrays the typical dissatisfied housewife, "Mrs. Grumbling," who constantly complains: "So, there is a war of nerves, and suddenly Mrs. Grumbling knows why she has such difficulty falling asleep at night. Nerves are an expensive discovery for people who ardently listen to themselves to see whether they haven't some modern interesting sickness. Before people knew anything about nerves there were no nervous diseases. Mrs. Grumbling doesn't know even today what nerves are, but she knows that the war of nerves irritates her. Thus she is one of the people who think the bad weather on Sunday afternoon is due to the heavy anti-aircraft shooting. And she does not know how long she can stand it."

In connection with the bombings it has become apparent that many evacuated women feel that they are outcasts. German newspapers found it necessary to publish reports by women writers who told of the pleasant treatment accorded evacuated women and children.

The third and most important reason for the change in the attitude of women toward the régime is the growing resentment against the tremendous number of casualties. After the years of successful Blitzkrieg, with its comparatively low casualties, the losses on the Russian Front were a terrible shock to German women.

It has been reported that women were throwing themselves in front of outgoing trains to prevent their men from leaving for the Front. The Reich Women's Leader had to remind the women of the country who had lost a son in this war of destiny of the "days when they sat as happy mothers at their child's cradle, hoping that their child would become a genuine boy, evading no danger."¹

The Official directives of the Nazi Party Directorate, explaining the War duties of German women, are significant of the attempts of the Third Reich to stem the tide of the growing resentment of women:

- "1. Do not forget that the soldier at the Front risks his life every day and every hour for you and the home.
2. There is no eight-hour day at the Front, so do not complain, and do not talk, but do your job willingly and quietly fulfill the demands made on you.
3. Accept quietly and as a matter of course all the sacrifices and little privations which are laid upon you to make Germany invincible.
4. You know that criticism of necessary measures is superfluous; the Decrees which are issued have been thought through and are dictated solely by the will to victory, so do not talk, but act.

1. Tagespost, Graz, October 9, 1943.

5. You know that the Fuehrer said, 'the victor will be he who has the better nerves.' Be conscious of this at every moment; let discipline be the law of your actions and thoughts.
6. Do not forget that you owe gratitude to the Fuehrer for having taken care of you and continuing to care for you and your children.
7. The dead of World War I admonish us all. They lost their victory through betrayal. Your absolute confidence in victory, your tireless readiness to work, your steeled will to hold on will avenge them."

The number of women who become dissatisfied with the Nazi régime but remain loyal to their Country will increase more and more until the defeat. They are the group which should be subjected to the morale operations proposed in a later chapter.

Are German Women Revolutionists

The great majority of German women are complacent and conformist and have no revolutionary spirit.

Their inflexibility permits only a comparatively narrow range of reactions, far too limited for resulting in a revolutionary action. Nothing like a "Bastille spirit" or the élan of feminine political fighters of other countries will ever be found. No more than four or five female political rebels grew up in the days after World War I.

In general, even politically-minded German women are followers, able to go along only to the extent of hysterical expressions of their feelings under superior leadership, aroused by a stronger power than themselves.

During the period of the Third Reich, no evidence of revolutionary spirit of larger women's groups can be observed. Occasional outcries by women are rather a sign of desperation than of revolutionary spirit. Women's listening to foreign broadcasts must be considered as a protest against Nazi rule rather than a revolutionary act. Occasional "good deeds," such as hiding Jewish children or feeding war prisoners is an expression of female feelings and not political behavior.

The female underground fighters, mostly from the ranks of female labor, are very small in number and perform under male leadership. The men count upon the faithfulness of the German women rather than on initiative.

It seems, however, that a possibility for the development of revolutionary ideas among the women has been created by the Nazis themselves through measures of total mobilization. The pressure which started during 1943 has become heavier and heavier during recent weeks.

This mobilization means an increased proletarianization of large groups of women. The massing of millions of

women workers in German factories, under an indescribable physical and emotional strain, creates a tension which might lead to revolutionary outbreaks. The sad experiences of female German labor during the final months preceding defeat might contribute to a fundamental change in their political behavior. The group which will be most affected will be the female labor in heavy industry.

Even if this group does not develop revolutionary initiative, it will be very useful material for every kind of revolutionary movement which might arise under strong male leadership. It is therefore important to observe carefully all political developments which might enlist large masses of women.

Reactions to Occupation

Many women in Germany may remember the first days of occupation following World War I, a period which I experienced as a girl in the American-Occupied area of the Rhineland. In the first days of November, 1918, every town had been feverishly decorated with flags and flowers, greeting the German Army marching back from war.

Overnight, during the last days of November, 1918, the towns were stripped of all festivity, the windows closed, even the shutters kept tight during the day,

expecting the victorious occupational forces. The streets were deserted, the children had to play indoors; it looked as though life itself had ceased to exist when the first American soldiers arrived. The town awaited the "enemy's" army with hostility.

Today, the sentiments of large groups of German women will be even more hostile than in 1918. Nazi infiltration, famine and bombing raids have done their part in transforming these women even if not Party members, heightening their resentment to a previously inconceivable pitch. How will things look to a German Frau on the day of occupation?

They may have sat up all night in their kitchens, the windows covered with rags to keep out the cold, expecting the troops. Their cupboards are empty and very little coal is left in their stoves. They will run, fearfully closing their doors when they hear the first soldiers marching down their street. They will be quiet and no sound will be heard outside.

Many have forgotten how to cry out, because they were not permitted to do so even when they lost their sons or husbands in Russia, France, or Italy; they just had to go about their housework as usual, as "proud" women do.

Frustration, constant fear, suspicion, mistrust of everybody and everything have been rooted in their minds for many years. They have had to repress all their feelings, finding no outlet in any expression; not even once could they cry out to a priest, in fear lest the neighbor report them to the Gestapo. Their days were filled with duties, worries and fear: going from the factory to the store, standing in line for food, hustling home to prepare a meal for the children before the air raid sirens sounded. Day in and day out this continued, but hope and fear kept them going. What is it that they had been hoping for? These marching feet outside their windows?

They will feel betrayed and deceived. In their desperation, they will feel hatred toward everything, but most of all toward the "invaders." These women will look down from their windows upon the marching columns with suspicion and hatred. A few of them will come nearer to see them, how well and strong they are, how clean their uniforms, how clear their voices sound, and how they move and talk with a carefree air. It is utterly strange to watch these men who have no resemblance to their own tired looking, haggard countrymen.

These women will feel awkward with their ragged clothes and their tousled hair, having gone without soap

and hot water so long, as they pass by and smell shaving cream, leather and cigarettes, and see hundreds of healthy men who even laugh and whistle.

Their amazement and curiosity will be mixed with fear and wonder as to whether all Goebbels' propaganda stories are true, whether they will be sent off to other parts of the country, imprisoned or even killed by the "enemy." They tremble to think about it, not knowing what to expect.

Until they find out the truth, they will punish their children for talking to the soldiers, for accepting a piece of chocolate for fear **it might** be poisoned or because "German children are too proud to accept anything from the enemy," as we children were told the day before the occupation of the Rhineland after World War I. The German women will be emotionally confused when they face the Allied troops. What are the things which will be most strange to them?

They are not used to the freedom of our soldiers, who will not be continually snapping to attention. It will be strange to them to see how the men move and talk, and stand on street corners. The girls will be offended if one whistles or even says "Hello, baby." Their conception of women's "pride" is different from ours. They will resent deeply any soldier who is drunk

or even tipsy, or who becomes involved in a street fight. They will remember all the propaganda stories they have heard about American gangsters.

The German women will misconstrue our friendliness in approaching them as weakness, which will make them feel superior, since they have no conception of what human fellowship can mean. In the offices, they will not understand an Occupational Officer's manner in talking to them without yelling, and even putting his feet on the table. Their astonishment and surprise at this "sloppy" behavior might deepen their resentment of our way of life. It will surprise them not to have to knock at a door and wait patiently until they are called inside, and to find even kindness toward women.

These German women will object to the noise of a healthy crowd of soldiers; their nerves will always be on edge. They are accustomed to talking in hushed voices for fear the neighbor is listening. They will consider us terribly undisciplined, sitting on doorsteps or lounging in a comfortable place, talking at the tops of our voices, whereas they have been drilled to "behave with dignity" in public.

The result might be an overemphasized reserve, a stiffness and rigidity in attitude and behavior. They will move and feel within the limitations drawn by tradition

and regulation, and since there is little humor in them they will not realize how far removed they are from real living. There will be no spontaneity in their behavior, no sudden improvisations of any kind. "Order" will dominate their joy and laughter, if they learn these again.

The silent hostility of German women and girls will continue during the first days, perhaps weeks, of occupation. Only gradually will they learn that GI's are men too, and that Civilian Affairs Officers are much more likeable administrators than Herr Polizeinspektor of Himmler's Gestapo or Herr Kreisleiter of the National Socialist Party.

Gradually the feeling toward American Occupational Forces may develop as it did after World War I. After the first weeks of occupation, the German women admitted that the conduct of the American Occupational Forces was a great and pleasant surprise.

The terror they felt in having the "enemy soldiers" in their homes and streets changed considerably as they saw how high a standard the Americans lived up to. Even many years after the end of the occupation, German women admitted that no resentment remained against the American Occupational Forces.

Women as Collaborators

Occupational authorities will be interested in the question of whether they will be able to find German women willing to collaborate politically with the American occupational authorities.

In answering this question, the following must be taken into consideration.

Most of the German women who are interested or active in the political field are either Nazi women or women with Communist tendencies. The number of German women who are familiar with the political ideas and ideals of the United States is small. But even among these women there are only a few whose loyalty to such ideas is stronger than their loyalty to a de-Nazified Germany.

The experiences following World War I have shown that even among the most enlightened Leftist leaders of female labor, the desire for international collaboration with the Western powers was frequently overshadowed by nationalist acts. The few women who collaborated politically with the occupational forces after World War I became the objects of continuous political insults.

They were called traitors and Spitzel and were subjected to a violent smear campaign. As late as 1926

pamphlets were published in the Rhineland against "Spies, Spitzel, and Traitors," enumerating the names of women who had collaborated with the occupational forces or had had personal relationships with Allied soldiers.¹

Similar anti-collaborationist tendencies can be observed today both inside and outside Germany. It is significant that not a single German woman outside Germany has come out with a political statement favoring close collaboration by German women with the women of the United States in the post-War period.

Under these circumstances, it will be difficult for the American Occupational Forces to develop female collaborationists, who have a higher standard and are more useful than low grade female informants. The success of attempts in this direction will depend mainly on the general political relationship between the United States and post-War Germany.

It will, however, also depend on the technique of approach used by occupational authorities. If they use women liaison officers who have German background, many ties of utmost value might be established.

1. See, e.g., Spione, Spitzel, Verraeter, Essen, 1926.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS

The religious distribution of German women as far as Church membership is concerned is as follows:

<u>Religion</u>	<u>No.</u> (in millions)
German Protestant Church.....	22.00
Catholics.....	11.50
Gottglauebig (Hitler's New Paganism).....	1.50
Atheists.....	0.75
Mormons, Quakers, and Salvationists.....	<u>0.25</u>
Total.....	36.00

These figures, based upon the Census of 1939, show that about 95 per cent of German women belong to the German Protestant or to the Catholic Church.

The German Protestant Church consists mainly of Lutherans and Reformed Evangelicals who live mostly in the northern, northwestern and southwestern parts of Germany. So far as statistics are concerned, the term Protestantisch and Evangelisch are synonymous expressions for members of the German Protestant Church. It includes the German Christians, very close to paganism, on the one hand, and the members of the Bekenntniskirche (Confessional Church) on the other hand.

"Catholic" refers to the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholics live predominantly in the western and southwestern parts of the Reich.

Gottglauebig literally translated means "believing in God," and is a portmanteau used by Hitler's pagans. The bulk of this group consists of women married to members of the Elite Guard, members of the NS Frauenschaft and of the leader corps of the BDN.

Only a very small percentage of German women belong to other Protestant denominations, such as Methodists, Baptists, Mennonites, or to the Mormon Church.

In order to understand the attitude of German women toward religion, it must be noted that the administration of the Third Reich has its own department for Church matters, that the churches are united public bodies, exercising public authority so far as their matters are concerned. Finally, even under the Nazi Régime, the Church taxes are levied in coöperation with the national internal revenue system.

German Protestant Women

Religion has never been such an integrated part in the lives of German women as in those of other nations. Their traditional conception of the three responsibilities of women, "Kinder, Kueche, Kirche," (Children, Kitchen, Church), is most significant because it emphasizes duties rather than religious convictions and feelings.

German women generally accepted this traditional attitude by being formal members of a Church which represents a part of the State's authority. The close tie-up between the German Protestant Church and the State, based upon the history of Lutheranism in Germany, is one of the main causes of this development.

In general, the "religious" life of German Protestant women consists of being baptized, confirmed and married in the church by Herr Pastor. In addition, attending Church services once a month in the cities and twice a month in rural districts is regarded as appropriate.

An integrated community life of the Lutheran congregations in Germany, such as we have it in this country with Sunday Schools, women's meetings, lectures and social events of the parish, never existed. These functions were a complete surprise to the author, who grew up in a family of South German pastors.

The female members of the congregations are ruled in rural districts by the Gnaedige Frau (wife of the big landowners). In the cities, wives of Army Officers, of high civil servants and of industrialists, are the leading women members of the Lutheran congregations, especially in Prussia.

The few congregations, which did not follow this pattern, became famous throughout the country, among them such parishes

in industrial cities where the pastors were "religious Socialists," and had built up a close relationship with female workers. Other congregations where the average woman participated in the community life can be found in Wuerttemberg, Badenia, and Hesse.

It does not need further explanation that under the existing strong administrative ties between the Protestant Church and the German State, the majority of women with their distinct sense of submission reconciled their Church relationship much more smoothly with the new Nazi political philosophy than might be understandable to the outside world.

Only two larger groups of Protestant women did not comply with the general trend to regard the Nazis as the God-given authority.

The one group combines the members of the Confessional Church (Bekenntniskirche) whose members are political opponents of the Nazi régime.

The other group consists of the growing number of women who lost their faith in the Fuehrer's intuition due to the course of the War and the loss of their own next-of-kin.

This disillusionment will grow. As a result, a general tendency "back to religion" will become noticeable after .

the defeat, and millions of disillusioned Protestant women will try to find consolation in religion.

However, a true religious life will only be possible if the German Protestant Church severs its ties with the State and is able to build up small Protestant communities which offer real Christian fellowship and a personal relationship between the members of the parish and its minister. It will be a great challenge to all Protestant Churches, especially to our congregations with a large membership of foreign stock.

German Catholic Women

The attitude of German Catholic women is different from that of their Protestant sisters. They have a deeper religiousness, and a more intense feeling for their fellow women. The uniting spiritual bond between them and their Catholic sisters outside the country prohibited the majority of the Catholic women to yield to Nazism. Therefore, their difficulties with the Nazi authorities were much more noticeable than the occasional opposition of Protestant women.

The intensity of the religious attitude of German Catholic women after the defeat will depend largely upon the policy of the Holy See toward the newly arising political forces of post-War Germany and vice versa.

God-Believers

The acceptance of any conception of Church relationship will be most difficult for one group of German women: the God-Believers, Gottglaebigen, the 1,500,000 members of Hitler's and Alfred Rosenberg's new pagan religion.

These women are the result of Hitler's battle for deity. For them Hitler is God, and Nazism is their one and only religion. This group consists of the wives of the SS men, of their children, of BDM and NS Frauenschaft Officials.

They are the women who submit to the Nazi "ersatz" of Christianity, interpreting Hitler as the Aryan God.

A German girl described their feelings most correctly in saying: "Adolf Hitler has become so big and Jesus Christ has become so small." Religion of this group is a mystical political belief. They accept only the idea of the Aryan God, much superior to the Christian idea of brotherly love.

In post-War Germany these women and girls will face spiritual disaster since the breakdown of National Socialism means the disappearance of their pagan institutions. The women and girls of this group form a police problem because they are mostly identical with the key women in the Nazi women's organizations which will be dissolved.

Special spiritual care must be taken of their children, of all the little Erdmuthes, Utes, Gudrun's, and Sieglinde's who carry the label of their parents' paganism throughout their lives.

TRENDS IN MARITAL LIFE

Marriage as an Instrument of Racial Policy

The marital relationship of German women is characterized by the submission of the women to their husbands and their dependency upon them.

In pre-Hitler days, marriage meant a serious decision in life, the establishing of a family and maintaining a closely guarded home life. The step was approached more hesitantly than in many other countries. Early marriages were not customary and the "let's get married" approach did not exist. The engagement period was longer than in other countries of Europe.

Sexual relationships of unmarried couples were generally accorded recognition comparable to that of the American common-law marriage. The community recognized them as Kameradschaftsehe, which sometimes lasted many years and often ended in legalized marriage.

The National Socialists brought a complete change in the attitudes toward marriage based upon their new racial philosophy. Sexual relationships, marital or extra-marital, became an institution of the totalitarian State for the purpose of creating a strong future generation of National Socialists.

Various legal measures and propaganda techniques were used in order to increase the number of marriages and the desire for children. In general, emphasis was placed upon marriage as a traditional institution. However, in cases where marriage was not the suitable institution to "produce" future Nazis, extra-marital relations were encouraged and sanctioned.

Propaganda Approach.- The **psychological** propaganda for the increase of the birthrate glorified all motherhood, whether legitimate or illegitimate. The women of Germany were taught that their country needed them and that without their participation the formation of the Thousand Year Reich is not possible.

"When one says, that the world of man is the State and his struggle for the common good, then one might possibly say that the world of women is a smaller one. But would there be the greater world if no one were to take care of the smaller one? How would the greater world survive if there were nobody to make the smaller one the substance of life."¹

The feeling of being indispensable to the State and to the realization of the Fuehrer's plans greatly appealed to the desire of many women to feel important.

1. Quoted from speech of Adolf Hitler to the women of Germany at the Party Congress in Nuernberg.

In addition, stimulation of sexual relations as a desirable expression of healthy German women is a favored topic of the Officially controlled "cultural" life of the Nation. Sex propaganda increased in magazines and newspapers; exhibitions of nude statues are publicized throughout the country, and erotic songs are favored by the leaders of the BDM.

The number of advertisements for marriage partners, which were always considerable in Germany, increased tremendously during the Nazi régime.

In the Sunday editions of the Voelkischer Beobachter, the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, and the Frankfurter Zeitung, full pages are covered with advertisements for marriage partners. The following is an example: "Secret Government Councillor, Party member, Believer in God, 33 years of age, would like to make the acquaintance of an heroically-minded, well-bred young lady, of no more than 27 years, at least 1.68 centimeters tall, of hereditary good health, God Believer, housewifely disposition, active in war service or in the social service of the NS party."

During the Spring of 1943, the Government was campaigning for marriages between men and women who had lost their spouses in the War.

Newly established Governmental marriage agencies now operate without charge, trying to bring together women whose husbands were killed at the Front with men whose wives were killed in air raids. They also encourage women to choose husbands among those returning soldiers who are unfit for Front duty. The purpose of these marriage offices is announced throughout the country, in factories, Army hospitals, etc. Lectures are arranged to interpret their functions and to encourage registration.

The cynicism of the Nazis in handling the problem of birth rate becomes most apparent in the Schwarze Korps, Official organ of the Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler. In the January 31, 1943, edition artificial insemination is suggested if a husband is hopelessly sterile, substituting the husband by a relative of excellent health and character. The same paper in its issue of November 4, 1943, describes in detail the story of a couple who had been childless over many years. Despite all efforts of medical advisers, they were unable to have a child until the young unmarried sister of the wife took her place in mutual agreement between the three and today, "the heir had arrived even though fate seemed to have decided against it."

In 1939 issues (Nos. 22 and 28) the Schwarze Korps points to the almost inconceivable attitude of sabotaging the new German Reich by the older generation "who advise young couples to wait a few years before they have more children." "Some old women who have only a few children seem to think it is terrible, almost indecent, for any woman to have four or five children."

The organ of the powerful SS is also concerned about young girls marrying "grandfather-civil servants," because such marriages are useless from the biological point of view and create financial obligations to the State, which has to pay pensions to the young widow in case of her husband's death.

The paper even recommends changing the pension laws in order to prohibit such marriages. It quotes in its issue of April 13, 1938, the following case of a municipal official: "He married a 20 year old girl at the age of 57, thus making her the 'mother' of three daughters older than herself, and also a grandmother. After four years of marriage, the husband died and his widow of 25 is receiving a widow's pension of 300 Marks a month. If she should live to be 70, the local Government will have to pay her an amount of 150,000-160,000 Marks. This example is typical for a certain group of ruthless girls

who consent to take up with older men, to be his so-called wife for a few years and then to cash his pension. You may also notice the marriage advertisements in the papers, where older men are offering just 'this security' in exchange for the much desired youthful affections of their prospective wives."

Legal Devices.- The Nazi Government used various legal and administrative devices in its marriage policy.

On the one hand, a network of physical examinations and police investigations is organized in order to exclude marriages between racially and physically undesirable couples.

On the other hand, everything is done to promote desirable marriages and to increase the birth rate.

Kinderreiche, i.e., families with many children, receive extensive tax privileges, whereas unmarried men and women are subject to heavy taxations (Junggesellensteuer).

For the appointment and the promotion of Party and Government Officials, the number of children is now considered as an important factor. Another device is the system of marriage loans, up to 1,000 Marks, for each couple.

Further legal measures for increasing the birth rate were the introduction of strict abortion laws and the enforcement against alleged homosexuals.

New Divorce Facilities

The legal provisions of July 31, 1938, which facilitate the divorce procedure give an example of how family ties became disrupted under the Nazi régime.

The new procedure makes a divorce possible if a new marriage seems desirable from the Nazi biological point of view. An agreement of both parties concerned is not required. The object of the new law is to allow a man who is still capable of having children to divorce his wife who cannot have more children. Financial responsibilities of the divorced husband do not hamper the objective since the divorced wife will find armament work. The new regulations are eagerly practiced by middle-aged Nazi Officials who wish to divorce their wives and marry teen-age girls.

The increase of divorces can be seen in the following figures:¹

NUMBER OF DIVORCES

<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per 1,000 Marriages</u>
1932	42,202	29.7
1933	42,485	29.7
1934	54,402	37.0
1935	50,259	33.0
1936	50,337	32.6
1937	46,786	29.8
1938	49,497	31.1
1939 ²	61,789	38.3

About 60 per cent of the divorcees had children.

Out of the 61,789 divorces in 1939, 13,353 were granted under the new law. In 10,278 cases the husbands were the plaintiffs, only in 2,552 the wives, and both in 523 cases.

The age distribution of women divorced under the new law of 1939 illustrates the extent of disruption of family life:

AGE CLASSES OF WOMEN DIVORCED ACCORDING TO SECTION 55

<u>Age</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Under 25	93	0.7
26-30	532	4.0
31-35	993	7.4
36-40	1,630	12.2
41-45	2,165	16.2
Over 45	7,940	59.5
Total.....	13,353	100.0

1. Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1941, p. 37.
 2. As the result of the new divorce law.

Three-fifths of the entire group, 59.5 per cent, were above the age of 45 and could not be considered valuable for producing children.

The size of this older group reveals the Government's catering to the infatuations of middle-aged men divorcing their over-aged wives in order to enter new unions providing more children.

Out of 7,940 divorced women who were older than 45 years of age, 6,059 had been married over twenty years and 1,629 had been married "only" ten to nineteen years.

The following percentages show the rapid increase of divorces among marriages which had lasted more than twenty years:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1937	9.9
1938	10.6
1939	23.0

Post-War Ratio of Women to Men

The various Nazi measures concerning marriage and divorce mainly affect family relationship and sex morals. The future population figures of Germany will depend, among other things, upon the number of casualties in this War. The following figures show an important angle of the

future German population problem:

The Altreich (Germany within its boundaries of January, 1938) has at present, July, 1944, a female population of 36,000,000 and a male population of 34,500,000. Approximately 16,000,000 of the women are between 18 and 45 years of age. How many of the 15,000,000 men of the same age groups will return from the War? Will the ratio of women to men in these age groups be 2:1 or 3:1?

Unmarried Motherhood

From the beginning of the Nazi régime, unmarried motherhood was encouraged by the Party as one of the means for increasing the birth rate.

In July, 1935, the Deutsche Textilarbeiter Zeitung stated: "We National Socialists esteem any girl who defies outmoded conventions and justifies herself in her child born out of wedlock." Das Schwarze Korps published a letter of the then Deputy Leader Rudolf Hess about the official recognition of **unmarried** motherhood and praised it as an honorable state. In 1943, the paper carried advertisements like the following:

"I am a soldier 22 years old, blond and of good health. Before I give my life to the Fuehrer I should like to meet a German woman through whom I can leave a child for the German Reich."

There are similar ads from girls, and marriage is never mentioned. Even in sentimental stories, unmarried girls are encouraged to have children. The mother of a fallen SS man writes: "At first I went to the place where he had last worked. I knew that he had a little 'friend' there, and I harbored the secret hope that the girl might be expecting his child. But unfortunately my hope was not fulfilled."¹

In order to assist girls who declared themselves ready for illegitimate motherhood, the Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler established the organization Verein Lebensborn,² which manages homes for unmarried mothers and takes care of their children. Various other administrative measures were taken by the NS Party and the Government for promoting illegitimate motherhood.

When an excited father questioned his fourteen year old daughter about the father of her child, she answered that she could not tolerate his way of speaking to a "German mother." Another typical story of the attitude of the girls: A fifteen year old girl, when asked about the father of her child, declared that she had met him at

1. In Das Schwarze Korps of September 9, 1943.

2. Literally translated: "Spring of Life" Society.

an affair held by the Hitler Youth and the Army, but that she did not know anything about him.

The behavior of illegitimate mothers is of special interest since it shows the difficulty of readjustment in the post-War period.

Whereas, before Hitler came to power, illegitimate motherhood was a social and financial problem, it is now chiefly a political problem. The majority of unmarried mothers are convinced that unmarried motherhood is within the moral code. This conviction is a part of their political belief, and therefore future German social workers will have to extend their inquiries to include the political background and present political activities of unmarried mothers.

TRENDS IN MORALS

Before Hitler

The morals of German women after World War I had to stand many tests under difficult circumstances. A large number of women had to face the **emotional** strain of the loss of their husbands, as well as to continue their lives under economic difficulties. But in general, the conservative, reluctant and repressed attitude of German women toward sexual matters did not change during this period. Only a comparatively small group turned away from their distressing personal and economic experiences to the refuge of varying forms of prostitution.

Under Hitler

Years of thorough Nazi indoctrination and propaganda have transformed many women's most subtle feelings. Many followed the laws of mutual attraction without waiting for the sanction of the State, "proud of their bodies and enjoying the natural pleasures of sex without being ashamed." The Nazi Government propagandized "healthy eroticism" emphasizing **their** biological significance and their "glory to the State." Virginity is officially denounced: "A girl who shirks her highest duty in some way or **other** is as much a deserter as a man, refusing

military service in wartime."¹

In Germany of 1943, it does not seem strange to women to see the advertisement of an SS man who is looking "for a girl who will consent to bear his child, since his wife is unable to have any children"; or the sentimental description of a triangle love affair between a man, his wife and her sister "who filled the gap, bearing a child by the husband whom she herself could not have."²

In the course of the Hitler decade a great part of the German women who had been rather stiff, prudish and reserved in their relationships with men became reckless and almost shameless, having been told over and over again that their education had been entirely wrong, unnatural and inhuman, that they had been raised in "criminal bigotry" because of the "oriental Christian mentality," suppressing the healthy German instinct in sexual matters.

Morals and Occupation

The Occupational Forces will find German women divided into three main groups where morals are concerned:

1. Women over 45 years old, who are unimportant in regard to the problem of morals.

1.. Das Schwarze Korps, April, 1940.

2. Ibid., November 4, 1943.

2. Women between 22-45 years of age, who represent a serious moral problem. One-third to one-half of them may have lost their husbands either on the battle front or in the finishing fights against Nazi Party members and SS men. Other husbands may have been assigned to reconstruction work far from their homes.

3. Girls between 14-22 years of age, who have been indoctrinated throughout their juvenile lives with the philosophy that sex relations are a valuable service to the State.

Both the second and the third groups whose sexual or marital life has been so much integrated with the existence of the Nazi State, will feel an emptiness in their lives when this Nazi State has ceased to exist.

These women, who have almost forgotten that they are persons in their own right and who are not accustomed to religious consolation, will hate to give up their position as recognized servants to a State which guaranteed their morals. The result will be twofold:

1. Many of these women, in order to maintain their standard of "morals," will stick to the remaining German men, regardless of whether they are married to them. The promiscuity of these women will increase as the losses of German soldiers increase, and will reach a peak in the period following the Occupation.

2. Another outlet will be a large number of "feminine attacks" on the members of the Allied Occupational Armies. Such attacks will present a serious problem for the Occupational administration, and it is questionable whether an anti-fraternization order such as was issued after World War I will be adequate to the situation.¹

The differences between 1918-1919 and today, where morals are concerned, lies in the fact that the period of Occupation after World War I was comparatively short and the area comparatively small. But even more important is the fact that the ratio of German men to German women was more normal at that time, and that German women and girls were not oversexed in 1918-1919 as they have become during the decade of the Hitler régime.

How are we going to meet this situation? Practically speaking, by not responding to the "feminine attacks." However, it will be impossible to put this into practice merely by issuing an Army Order; such an order will have to be interpreted to the soldiers, who will not be familiar with the new code of morals for German women.

Furthermore, the Occupational areas will have to support every step taken by their own Occupational

1. See American Military Government of Occupied Germany, Washington, 1943, pp. 203 et seq.

administrators and by the local Governments in Germany toward combating the present over-sexed condition of German women. Some suggestions will be made in a later Chapter.

Teen-Age Morals

The new Nazi morals become especially apparent among German girls. First, the girls were constantly fed with the Nazi propaganda of the "joy of mating." Since 1938, they were even encouraged by the new divorce law¹ to have relations with married men.

The tendency of glamour girls, going "fortune hunting," by chasing men in influential political positions, became more and more noticeable. Girls of sixteen who in former years were satisfied with their teen-age leisure-time activities are now "out-charming" older women in order to get married, to secure for themselves financial security or to obtain privileges granted to Nazi protegées in exchange for youthful affections.

Recent reports from the Reich confirm the rapid deterioration of the morals of German youth. The Essener Nationalzeitung reports a meeting of the Nazi Youth leaders in Western Germany, where Gebietsfuehrer Schroeder, Chief

1. Supra, p. 35.

of the Welfare Office of the Reich Youth Command, referred to the deterioration of the morals of German Youth during 1944.

He tried to contradict the ever-increasing complaints about the rapid deterioration of the behavior of youth, but admitted that morals are lower than in World War I. According to his statement, "the German female youth in comparison to the male, presents a more unfavorable picture than the boys with their stronger discipline in pre-military camps."

Gebietsfuehrer Schroeder then dwelt upon the ever-increasing loafing of youth and declared that "the increasing reports about youth's sickness had to be checked upon, to prevent laziness. If we want to be the "masters," we have to realize the real meaning of the word and have to expect greater efforts on the part of the future "members of the master race."

The problem of wayward girls seems of special concern to the Reich Youth Command. SS Standartenfuehrer Benn admitted in 1944 at a meeting of members of the Party and the Army that "certain manifestations among youth must be looked upon as the natural consequence of war," but demanded "that these manifestations of confusion and error be watched very closely."

Proposals for handling the problem of readjustment of the teen-age girls (i.e., to twenty-first birthday) will be made in Part IV.

Crime Among Teen-Age Girls

The low moral standard of the teen-age group also finds its expression in an increase in crimes in this group. This increase began during 1934 when the girls from 14-18, spoiled by the Hitler propaganda about their importance, lost their "bourgeois" inhibitions.

Despite the fact that the Hitler Youth frequently interfered with the law enforcement against members of the BDM, the number of teen-age girls sentenced increased 100 per cent in the four years between 1934-1937, when even Nazi girls were still being sentenced by the courts. Later statistics are not of any value because violations of the law by members of the BDM were handled by the BDM itself in order to avoid outside discussion of the low moral standards of the girls.

The following Table shows the number of sentences¹ passed on girls between 14-18 for violation of national

1. Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich, Berlin, 1937, 1938.

laws:

CONVICTIONS OF GIRLS

<u>Age</u>	<u>1934</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1937</u>
14-16	627	1,077	940	1,153
16-18	1,182	1,379	1,566	2,650

Other figures reflect the increase in abortion cases in the teen-age group. Sentences were passed on defendants between 16-18 for abortion:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>
1935	43
1936	82
1937	142

These figures cover the years when the campaign for unmarried motherhood had not yet fully infiltrated the minds of the girls.

OUTCASTS AMONG WOMEN

Wives of German Elite Guard Men

Among the various groups of women who will need special attention after World War II are the wives of hundreds of thousands of Heinrich Himmler's SS men, whose marriages and family lives are based upon the existence of the Nazi régime. These wives are supposed to create the future German racial Elite. Their marriage takes place in accordance with Himmler's order of December 31, 1931, which integrated their married life completely with the Nazi State.

This marriage command is worded as follows:

"Munich, December 31, 1931

Reich Fuehrer of the SS

SS Command--A--No. 65

1. The SS is an organization of German men, destined to be Nordic, who are chosen from specific points of view.
2. In accordance with the National Socialist philosophy and in the realization that the future of our people depends on the selection and maintenance of racially and hereditarily good blood, I introduce the 'Marriage Permit' for all unmarried members of the SS, effective from January 1, 1932.

3. The goal for which we strive is the hereditarily valuable race of the German type which is destined to be Nordic.

4. The Marriage Permit will be granted or withheld solely and only on racial and hereditary grounds.

5. Every SS man who intends to marry must obtain the Marriage Permit of the Reich Fuehrer of the SS in order to do so.

6. SS members who marry despite the refusal of a Marriage Permit will be removed from the SS; they have the privilege of resigning.

7. The technical administration of requests to marry is the task of the Racial Office.

8. The Racial Office of the SS maintains the "Racial Book of the SS," in which the families of SS members are entered, after issuance of the Marriage Permit or approval of the Request for Entry.

9. The Reich Fuehrer of the SS, the Chief of the Racial Office and the employees of this Office are in honor bound to silence.

10. The SS is well aware that with this order it has taken a step of the greatest significance. Scorn, derision and misunderstanding will not affect us; the future is ours!

Reich Fuehrer of the SS

Heinrich Himmler"

The fate of the SS wives will be a serious problem after the Nazi State is destroyed and their Elite Guard husbands are either killed or punished for criminal acts. A part of these women might be acceptable to their families, so that they can go back to them, frequently to rural areas. But a large part may find no home, creating a community problem which has to be solved by the local Governments.

Wives of Foreign SS Men

The situation is even worse in the case of wives of SS men from foreign countries. Foreign SS men have been recruited during recent years from annexed, satellite, and Occupied countries. Nazis and adventurers from nearly all over Europe have joined the SS units, among them Croatians, Romanians, Scandinavians, Dutch, French, Belgians, and others.

Very often the non-German wives followed their husbands into the "service," leaving their native land where everybody despised the traitors, and settling in German territory. In present-day Germany, they might feel like "heroes' wives." But later, when the glory of the black SS uniform is gone, they will be left alone with their thoughts and memories.

They will feel that they are wanted nowhere, unable to go back to their native country, but also disliked

within the Reich because of their husband's service to the Gestapo cause.

After Germany's defeat these women will have to make the decision of their lives. Some might become dangerous by continuing to serve the "new Fatherland" to the end. With their knowledge of various countries and languages, they may become valuable contact persons in a coming Nazi underground. Others might become a problem for social agencies.

Foreign Wives of German Soldiers

A similar group is formed by such women of foreign countries who collaborated with the German Army or maintained close personal ties with Officers and soldiers. They will have maneuvered themselves into a position which ties them logically to the fate of the German Army.

Many of them were long ago sent to Germany by their soldier husbands or friends in order to escape the antagonism of their own compatriots. In post-War Germany, they will be strangers, unfamiliar with the language, customs, and traditions.¹ Not accepted in Germany, they will be forced to bring up their children as Germans, since they have no way of returning home. If the community does not take care of them, they will be ready for anything that gives them the slightest chance to make up for their failure.

1. See A-2 of our Series.

Victims of Sexual Conquest

This group consists of women in Occupied Countries who became victims of the Nazi methods of sexual conquest. The plan for the Germanization of the European race as part of the New Order was directed by the Office of Racial Policy of the NSDAP (Rassenpolitisches Amt).

Dr. Walter Gross, head of this Office, expressed its objectives as follows:

"Our victory will be complete and enduring only if in the next decades enough men grow up who are bound to the New Order by blood. It is the most important task of the Office of Racial Policy to provide the necessary guarantees."

Methods for the sexual conquest were expressed frankly by Dr. Hans Endres, Nazi Race expert, in a German magazine:¹

"There will come a time when the young German will be the most desired male in all Europe. He will make the women shiveringly submissive wherever he appears. Radiant, tall and vigorous, he will conquer and embrace them. There will be no sin in it when the foreign women yield to him. They will merely help to procreate men of his kind, of

1. Race, Marriage, Breeding, Heidelberg, 1939.

the strong Nordic Race which nations need for their life even as people need air to breathe."

Instructions for sexual conquest issued to the German soldiers in Occupied Netherlands read as follows:

"Re intercourse of members of the Army of Occupation with girls and women of Dutch nationality. Supplementary Decree to the instructions issued on July 15, 1940, and January 7, 1941:

1. Friendly intercourse between our soldiers and the Dutch feminine population is to be encouraged as before. The soldiers should be given ample opportunity to meet Dutch girls in clubs, theaters, and sport grounds in their leisure time.

2. The soldiers are to be warned explicitly to avoid any contact with the following categories of women; those suffering from venereal disease; those having any percentage of Jewish blood in their veins; those who are the result of unions between Hollanders and natives of the Dutch East Indies; and those who cannot be trusted politically.

3. Intercourse with a Dutch girl should not be considered by the soldiers as merely a physical function. Every soldier should be conscious at every moment that he is a representative of the Fuehrer and should try to awaken an understanding of our aims in his companion.

4. Girls who become pregnant in consequence of their sexual relationship with a soldier shall be granted full moral and material assistance by the Occupying authorities within the limitation of the means at their disposal.

Signed: Prof. Dr. Walter Gross
Berlin, September 15, 1941."

Similar policies were followed by the "Latin Section" of the Racial Office. This Section worked in close cooperation with the medical officers of the German Occupational Forces in France, selecting girls for the process of improving the European Race.

The Office for Racial Policy provided the necessary maternity facilities for these girls by establishing institutions in the Occupied Countries, e.g., near Bergen in Norway. They are controlled by the Verein Lebensborn of the Elite Guards, which also manages certain maternity facilities in Germany itself.

The girl victims of the Nazi plan for sexual conquest and their children will form a serious problem for the Occupational authorities. In many cases, it will be difficult to prove that these girls do not belong to the group which had relations with German soldiers and SS men on their own initiative.

In order to protect the girl victims of the Nazi soldiers or Officials, it might be necessary to shift them to other regions until rumors die down and the girls are again accepted by their community.

Another problem is that of their children. There is some evidence that the larger part of these children do not live with their mothers. Some of the children are in homes in the Occupied Territories, but other groups have been shifted to Germany. It may be extremely difficult to establish the legal status of many of these children, since the records with the names of the mother and father may disappear during the days of the Liberation, or when the Rassenpolitisches Amt disappears.

Under these circumstances, the responsibility for the children should be taken over by the local Government of their place of residence, until final decision can be made.

Sterilized Women

As a result of the Erbgesundheitsgesetz of July 14, 1933,¹ many thousands of women in Germany and Occupied Areas were sterilized.

Their exact number is not known, but the German

1. Reichsgesetzblatt, 1933, vol. 1, p. 529.

administration was forced to admit that sterilization created a large group of women "free to all," subject to rude attacks because their names became known in their communities.

The increasing number of these women is of general concern to German social workers, who have tried to find a solution for the problem of protecting sterilized women.

In order to relieve the situation, sterilized women received permission to marry sterilized men and special bureaus were organized for promoting contacts between such persons.

It will be necessary for the Occupational Authorities to register the sterilized women in their districts in connection with other measures against prostitution. Such registration should be performed with utmost delicacy because many of the sterilized women are not in the category of potential prostitutes.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TRENDS

Change of Reactions

Before 1933, German women shared woman's fundamental reactions, the deep concern and conviction of woman's task as a wife and mother, with women all over the world.

Their typical German reactions, bound by tradition, had no abnormal or even morbid qualities. Instead, their general approach to life was normal and positive, with a quiet self-assurance resulting from consciousness of their abilities.

After Hitler's rise to power, German women, indoctrinated with Nazi ideology, were trained for aggression; the necessity of this attitude was interpreted as a matter of self-defense in the nation's fight for self-preservation. These aggressive impulses in German women, fostered by all German women's organizations (See Part I), finally dominated their energies.

The reality of their horrifying experiences during World War II with its terror and its destruction of their homes and families, with their own physical and psychic exhaustion and the collective trauma of final annihilation, has completely unbalanced large groups of German women emotionally.

There is a noticeable change from the average German woman's normal reactions to a temporary neurotic response to the demands of life, as a result of the ever-increasing and abrupt adaptations now required of them in their daily lives.

An additional complication is the paranoid trend in German women's reactions.

The emotional status of groups of German women will find its most obvious manifestation in mass aggression and hostility directed against the Allies and is therefore of special interest to us. Various devices for the treatment of these women will be given in Part IV of this Study.

Aggression as Group Conflict

Aggression as an expressive phenomenon is used in psychiatric terms as the idea of an attack, the drive to injure with hostility as a component. Hostility can be considered as emotional attitude which sometimes might find its expression in aggressive behavior.

Aggression in itself does not have destructive meaning only. It is also a constructive force in human lives, the dynamic force and source of activity. The various manifestations of German women's aggression in its

destructive form might give the impression that aggression is not a normal biological factor but something pathological.

Its positive value depends entirely upon the direction of the destructive energies into constructive channels. If this cannot be accomplished by individual or group therapy, the accumulation of aggressive drives without any socialized outlet may lead to the impairment of others, to revolt, destruction and death, or, turning the aggression toward one's self, to self-destruction.

Aggressor Training

The majority of German women have undergone various kinds of training, which constantly nourished and revived their aggressive impulses.

Their "philosophical" indoctrination was first aimed at their own training in aggression, secondly, at their training other women in the same manner. This was performed, as we have shown in Part I, in the various Party Training Schools, the Mothers and Brides Schools, the Colonial Schools, the "Welfare" organizations, and the Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten.

In all these schools and courses, German women have received instructions down to minute details, preparing

them for attack and training them for aggression. Even the program of physical education was for the most part nothing but an aggressor's training, to toughen them, thus preparing them as prospective members of a Nazi Underground.¹

The aggressor's training was followed by aggressor's experiences which German women had in the various female contingents of the German Army in Occupied Territories or in semi-military activities at home and foreign countries.

Even German women abroad received their aggressor training in classes in Germany, e.g., in Stuttgart, or in lectures in foreign countries. Their aggressive reactions will remain strong since they are not going through the experiences of defeat.

Such women abroad may even go so far as to marry a foreigner; but in their hearts, they will remain missionaries of the Nazi cause, their children will remain Nazis and they themselves will use the same methods of indoctrination as their "master" did in the Fatherland. They will carry on with even greater determination after Hitler's downfall, and many of these women will be a danger to foreign countries, no matter how much they may have adjusted themselves on the surface.

1. See A-2 in our Series.

Their aggression, openly expressed or repressed, paralyzes all other energies and is the sole motor of their existence.

Aggressive Types

The aggressive-reaction type of German women presents an immediate and serious problem. These women have somewhat pathological reactions, are arrogant, have a dictatorial will and drive for the satisfaction of exercising power; at the same time they are submissive, typical of many German women.

The destructive character of the aggression of German women clearly shows the stagnation of their emotional growth. The negative aggressive behavior is usually the response to certain situations which an individual is facing, such as fighting against real or imaginary losses, or dangers. These women find themselves in the position of children who refuse to grow up, clinging to their security, the Party, and defending their ego-satisfactions obtained from their position in the Party.

It is a very natural process that human maturation, involving constant changes and inevitable frustrations, be met by the particular individual with aggression. But such a healthy, progressive aggression differs from the

abnormal, regressive reaction of the Nazi women who have so far found recognition only in political campaigns and competition in physical and Party matters. The moment they lose their field of activity, their innate aggressiveness must find another outlet, and as a result we will become the targets of their destructive drives.

Their hostile feelings will seek expression wherever and whenever possible. This group is especially dangerous in city districts, which offer facilities for easy assembly. These women, who have had thorough training within a group, can easily be used to organize riots and inspire underground activities. They will respond only to authoritative leadership, preferably in an organizational setup which is familiar to them. This would provide protection for society during a period of adjustment.

Aggressive Mothers and Widows

We must be aware of the almost deadly spirit of aggression of mothers and widows who have lost their sons or husbands as soldiers, or children in air raids. These women dwell upon their hostility and desire for revenge as compensation for their losses.

As an example of this situation we need only visualize the effect, upon the minds of German women, of an order

providing heavy punishment for mothers who object to being temporarily separated from their evacuated children. The penal provisions for not complying with evacuation regulations, immediately turned these mothers' aggression against us, the assumed source of their temporary misery. Various instances of the hostile reactions of these mothers against us became known. Such behavior is an indication of their feelings in cases of real losses.

The hostile reaction of widows and mothers of German soldiers have also an economic background because they have a personal interest in the survival of the German Reich as their source of support. In fighting for the existence of a powerful post-War Germany, these millions of widows are fighting for their personal survival, financially expressed in pension allotments. Their reaction to any change in Government will be hostile because they realize that change means insecurity. Therefore they will fight tooth and nail for their "Nazi cash."

The only positive way of approaching this group will be to promise the continuation of widows and orphans pensions.

Paranoid Trends in German Women's Aggression

One of the main difficulties in meeting and solving the emotional problem of German women is the paranoid trend in their aggression.

The general paranoid pattern of group reactions dominates the individual reactions of the members of almost all German organizations. This is especially true in such groups as the NS. Frauenschaft, the BDM, the Labor Service, etc., directed authoritatively by a leader who enforces strict regulations upon all group members.

The individual woman entering such a group is forced to accept and to conform to the behavior pattern dominant in the entire group, regardless of her individuality. The effect is the subordination of a normal, healthy German woman entering an organization, to the paranoid trend of aggressive group behavior. We must recognize this general tendency in order to deal with it constructively.

Richard M. Brickner describes the paranoid attitude of the German culture of today as follows:¹

"To speak of the paranoid character is to bestow an

1. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, July, 1943, pp. 401, 403.

appellation on a certain group of people whose reactions to the world fall into a descriptively recognizable pattern....

"Adults of paranoid character are those who are chronically sulky, disagreeable, self-important, arrogant, quick to sense insults, who shift responsibility for their lives onto others and distribute blame freely upon all those others, who refer every glance, gesture and remark to themselves, are suspicious and feel that people want to injure them, and that therefore they are the victims of persecution.

"The longing to dominate every situation, which clothed in evident anxiety shows through the whole psychological structure of these people, eventuates in hostile attitudes and destructively aggressive behavior which at its climax sometimes results in murder.

"Clinical experience shows that this type of general reaction, when it exists in whole patterned fashion, becomes the major or even the single way in which the individual relates himself to others. It becomes a total reaction, and by its very nature cannot co-exist equally with other reactions but must predominate over them....

"In the group we call Germany, paranoid attitudes have become the preferred attitude of the culture.

Probably this is the most conspicuous and timely illustration available to show how paranoid attitudes can characterize the feelings expressed by a group of people.

"Their aim both implies and states that other kinds of individuals are inferior, are injurious to the superior type, plot against the anticipated supremacy of the superior type, and must be held in yoke and stamped out.

"The action associated with these feelings is thoroughly aggressive and destructive, often involving physical injury or death to the always defenseless victim."

The paranoid tendencies described above were a perfect basis for indoctrinating people and directing their aggression toward their fellowmen. The ideas typical for paranoid characters, those of "mission" and of "persecution," planted in the rigid minds of German women by Nazi propaganda, spread like a contagious disease.

Their inborn sense of self-righteousness and their pronounced sense of superiority dwelt upon these ideas and presented an excellent opportunity for all malcontents among them to gather around the Nazi banner, leading them to a complete change. They were promised an opportunity to turn the tables upon their enemies and gain the satisfaction of "victory" never before experienced.

Defensive Types

Aside from the aggressive-reaction type of German women, we will face the women with defensive reactions. These women have lived under the same conditions as the others but are affected differently.

Instead of reacting with an attack, they have withdrawn from reality into a sphere completely dominated by their instincts of self-preservation. They lack the capacity for aggression and for initiative, and suspicion has diseased their minds. They have lived too long under a tremendous mental strain, and have not stood up under it but have gone to pieces. On the surface, they will keep up a quiet, smooth front; they may appear to us to be somewhat cruel and without feelings. They are the tightlipped, unsmiling women we pass every day on the street, watching every movement with suspicious eyes.

They have arrived at such an emotional low point of their existence that they react in the same mechanical manner to a bombing raid, to the distribution of food and to an unexpected friendly word. They are worn out and unable to feel anything. Their self-defensive fixation has removed them from reality just as a real mental illness would do, and they will need time to recover to

a more normal reaction, which can be brought about most favorably under a regular daily routine which will provide some security for them.

These women are no snipers, no matter how much hostility they may feel, because they lack the driving force their aggressive sisters have. They are a dependable group, if given time, shelter and food, and will react to the satisfaction of their most urgent needs on a purely infantile level. Under supervision, in a protected environment, in a community enterprise such as a factory or camp, they might be able to perform routine tasks which would speed their recovery.

Indifferent Types

This group of women includes the indifferents who have always been the "lukewarm," the superficial, easy coöperators who have no deep convictions; and also the "shocked" indifferents who are on the borderline of mental illness.

The "lukewarm" indifferents will constitute the mass of German women. They conform to all regulations easily and hang out a different flag every time the régime changes. This time they will express their reactions by

carrying the Stars and Stripes or the Hammer and Sickle soon after the Occupation.

They will violently deny ever having been Nazi, and will derive the same feeling of superiority from their pretence of always having been anti-Nazi that they gained by belonging to a Nazi women's organization. They will go along with the others, will listen, agree and conform readily.

They are not actively dangerous to us, but extremely dangerous to themselves because of their constant inability to resist strong outside influence. They yield immediately and might be used for all kinds of purposes. They will have to be protected through supervision, and will work efficiently if kept under constant control. The more intelligent group among them may accept educational opportunities and, after a period of readjustment, may come to have a more lively personal interest in and a clarification of their own position.

The "shocked" indifferents are comparable to shell-shocked soldiers. Their conduct, due to their experiences, is so deviant from the usual behavior pattern of their community that the discrepancy might come to the notice of other persons. Their transgressions constitute a continued minor offense against the traditional attitudes,

and many cases may require hospitalization. These women may become criminal or promiscuous if they have not drifted into real mental illness.

Among them there may be many of the mercilessly beaten souls about whom Die Weltwoche¹ of Zurich: "The young woman's mother and father were buried alive in an air-raid shelter together with seven hundred other victims, and never rescued. The chance grave, left untouched in the middle of the city, at least received the mass blessing of the Archbishop. Her sister drowned in another air-raid shelter when the water pipe burst. Her little boy was burnt to death by a phosphorus bomb. There was no more fear of the Gestapo in her. 'Let them come and arrest me, let them kill me. Why does this war go on? We are tired and weary; we want an end.'" "

The approach to these women will mean, depending upon the seriousness of the case, institutional supervision or, in the more promising cases, an opportunity for practical activities, preferably in rural districts, working outdoors on dairy farms, in rural institutions, etc.

Slowly, they may be brought back to a more positive acceptance of community life.

1. October, 1943.