



GERMANY IS MARCHING AGAIN

BLACK-UNIFORMED, NAZI-LIKE "PEOPLE'S POLICE" SALUTE. NUCLEUS OF NEWLY-CREATED RED-RUN WEHRMACHT, THEY ARE HERE REVIEWED BY WILHELM PIECK, COMMUNIST PRESIDENT OF THE EAST GERMAN "REPUBLIC," SOVIET PUPPET GOVERNMENT

The U. S. and U. S. S. R. Must Stop Rebuilding Nazi Military-Industrial Monster Which Almost Enslaved the World

by WILLIAM L. SHIRER

SHORTLY before the German airlift ended, I ran into an old acquaintance in Berlin. He had been a democratic member of the Reichstag before the Nazis came to power and had never sold out to Hitler. I felt sorry for him. After all, he was a German. And Germany lay in ruins, the debris all around us.

"We're not doing so badly," he grinned.

"What do you mean?" I asked, surprised. A big C-54 airlift plane droned overhead toward Tempelhof. Every three minutes a new one interrupted us.

"We're winning the Peace, aren't we?" he said. "Thanks to you and the Russians."

He was right. History tells us that the Germans lost the two world wars. But the Germans won the Peace after 1918 because the victorious Allies fell out and began to compete for Germany's good will. The Germans are winning the Peace again for the same reason—because the Soviet Union and the United States are recklessly outbidding each other for Germany's favor.

So doing, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are rebuilding the same old Germany—Pan-German, ultra-nationalist, Nazi—which fought so barbarously against both nations and most others in the western world.

Lest we forget: it is the same Germany which flagrantly provoked World War II, which committed the worst atrocities the world has seen since Genghis Khan, which murdered in cold blood five million Jews and four million others, including Russian and American prisoners of war, which enslaved several million foreign workers, pillaged the countries it occupied and—but why go on?

Today our own government discourages us from recalling the worst of the savagery. It demonstrated this on two recent occasions.

It refused to release for public showing in U.S. moving picture theatres a documentary film made by the U.S. Army depicting what former Secretary of War Stimson called "the most highly organized and extensive wickedness in history"—the rise and fall of Nazi Germany.

Resurgence of Nazism Is Alarming

I saw the documentary film at a private showing. Its impact was terrific. Made from millions of feet of captured secret German film and from Russian film never before shown in America, it is a picture which, I believe, not only would thrill Americans, but impress them with the nature of the Germany they helped to defeat—and are now rebuilding.

American film producers have offered to exhibit the film. But the U.S. government says no.

Apparently it does not even want us to know that, despite all pronouncements to the contrary, Germany since Hitler's demise is not growing more democratic but is reverting to Nazism.

Recently, in his final report to Washington, Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, chief U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, referred bluntly to "an alarming

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KONRAD ADENAUER, Chancellor of Right-faced West German Government, despite Allied High Commission's ban on militarism, says West must ape East in rearmament.



HEINRICH KOST, Nazi since 1934, today heads West German coal industry. He is one of reactionary magnates who helped Hitler win power, wage war, are again in saddle.

WE ERR BY RESTORING NAZIS TO POWER; RUSSIA BY REARMING THEM

resurgence" of Nazism in Germany. He charged that American occupation officials were "soft-pedaling" Nuremberg's sorry disclosures. He suggested that wider publicizing of them might help democratic forces in Germany. But this report itself was soft-pedaled." Ordinarily, copies of important documents are given to the press by the dozen. This time only one copy was made available to the Pentagon press room. Then it was withdrawn. Hence, few newspapers mentioned it.

Is it any wonder that Americans fail to realize what kind of Germany we are building at a cost to us, as taxpayers, of more than a billion dollars in the fiscal year of 1949 alone?

The last time I was in Germany, American officials gave me the usual smooth talk about how democratic the Germans had become. Before I had been there a week I suspected that this was nonsense. I therefore asked to see some studies made of German public opinion by the Allied Military Government. They were interesting.

Pro-Hitler Press Lords Revive

One showed that the majority of Germans still believe that Nazism was a good thing, though badly carried out. Another showed the rapid re-growth of anti-Semitism in Germany after the first shock of defeat. A third showed that the mass of Germans still have no feeling of war guilt.

Any lingering doubt of where Germans stand politically was removed by a recent development in Bavaria. There the American authorities decided to abolish the licensing of German publications. Immediately former Nazi publishers announced plans to go back in business.

One was Max Amann, a Nazi tough, long a right hand man of Hitler. With Hitler's help, Amann bought up newspapers which the Nazis had suppressed until he became the biggest press lord in Germany. He was also boss of Hitler's own daily newspaper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*. As soon as the licensing was dropped, Amann told visitors to his prison cell, where he is serving a term as a major Nazi offender, that he intends to publish a newspaper when released.

Industrial Tycoons Show Old-Time Power

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MAX AMANN, publisher of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler's blueprint for world conquest, was jailed by denazification court but, like other Nazi press lords, plan return to trade.



KURT SCHUMACHER, head of Socialist Party, leads opposition to Adenauer, but also sounds nationalistic. German Socialists proved pitifully unable to bar Hitler in 1933.

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Dr. Othmar Best, who was a leading Nazi spirit in the widely read daily, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, said he also was starting a newspaper, to be backed, I'm told, by the German industrial interests who have become such darlings of American occupation officials. Said Best: "My newspaper will show the German people what they lost in Hitler."

Those few Germans who were glad to get rid of Hitler and, as they thought, Nazism have a difficult time today. Germans who served on denazification courts, even though they whitewashed most Nazis, find themselves outcasts. "It's easier for a former Nazi to get a job nowadays than for a former denazification official," says one American occupation authority.

The most important part of Germany is that tiny chunk of territory, the Ruhr. Its coal and steel enabled Germany to launch two world wars. Whom did we put in control of these industries which, for 75 years, have been the basis of Germany's war-making power? Let's see.

The big shot in German steel today is Henrich Dinkelbach. He was a member of the Nazi party, an enthusiastic sponsor of and financial contributor to Himmler's dreaded black-coated S.S.

In 1945, American sleuths were planning to arrest him. But the British decided to make him head of the North German Iron and Steel Control. He was later named chief trustee of the entire Ruhr industry. One of his achievements was to secure the release from prison of 27 Nazi Ruhr magnates held by the British.

Typical Nazis Are in Control

Head magnate in German coal today is Heinrich Kost, one of Hitler's trusted chiefs of the Nazi war economy.

Next to coal and steel, it was the great I. G. Farben chemical combine which enabled Hitler to conduct his war so effectively. Who was put in charge of the so-called I. G. Farben Dispersal Panel (FARDIP)? None other than Hermann Buechner. He is now administering the Farben assets and, presumably, the breaking up of this great German chemical monopoly. What kind of German is Buechner? A U.S. Senate Military Affairs subcommittee found that he is a typical Nazi industrialist who began his career with I.G. Farben and later became a director of the Krupp armament works and top official in 21 other trusts.

In 1933—the year Hitler came into power—he joined the Nazi party. As the committee put it: "He thereafter became intimately associated with the party's efforts and the (Nazi) government's



Under Allies, living conditions in West Zone improve. Necessities are available, some luxuries. In Berlin bar above barmaids wear evening dress on Saturday.

industrial and financial projects.”

Nazi records abound among the big businessmen we have restored to positions of power in Western Germany.

But what happened to the directive of the President of the United States to break up the German cartels? That was sabotaged by American officials in Germany. Ironically, in January 1947 the then Secretary of War, Kenneth Royall, announced that the “pernicious cartels in Germany have been abolished.” A year later the Ferguson investigating committee, appointed by Royall, reported that “the decartelization program, . . . has not been effectively carried out.”

“Pernicious” Cartels Continue

In March 1948, General Clay, then U.S. Military Governor, halted decartelization proceedings against three great combines: Henschel, which produced locomotives—and deadly Nazi tiger tanks—the VKF ball-bearing monopoly and the Bosch optical cartel.

No doubt Clay and the U.S. Government believed that breaking up these combines would hamper their production of materials which the West, including Western Germany, may need if there is war with Russia. It illustrated our frantic effort to rebuild the same old Germany which in two world wars not only fought Russia but the United States as well.

For the same reason we have stopped dismantling German factories earmarked for Allied countries devastated by Germany. The Germans have paid little in reparations for World War II—some 120 million dollars in industrial plants as compared to 4 billions in World War I.

A New Army for Western Germany?

Back in 1946, the four occupying powers solemnly agreed to dismantle 1600 west German plants and apply them as reparations to Germany’s victims. In 1947 the Americans and British reduced the figure to 690 plants, which—despite squeals from the Germans—represent less than one percent of German industrial capacity. Then the Western Allies, in a new bid for Western Germany’s favor, removed from the dismantling list eleven great synthetic oil and rubber plants. They also allowed Germany to construct ocean-going shipping.

Our final step toward restoring Germany came late in 1949. There were secret talks between the



Saleslady in Western Zone offers unrationed fish. There are some food shortages in West. But Germans cannot claim deprivation drives them to Nazism.

Bonn government and the Western Allies about establishing a new German army.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer wants to establish a Western German army of 25 divisions—far more than the 100,000 men allowed Germany by the Versailles Treaty. Allied circles are talking of allowing him to begin with three divisions.

This, to be sure, is far less than the Russians are setting up in their zone in Germany. There the Soviet Union, despite its Communism, despite the fact that Nazi Germany came within an inch of destroying it, is doing even more sensational things than we are to revive the old Germany.

Not long ago, in Berlin, I had a revealing talk with an anti-Nazi German I had known before the war. After the war he became one of the principal organizers of the conservative Christian Democratic Union party in Germany's Russian Zone. When I saw him, he said he had had enough.

"They howl me down in my political meetings," he said ruefully.

"Well, what do you expect from Communists?" I asked.

"It isn't Communists," he said. "It's the Nazis! The Russian Zone has become a paradise for Nazis, especially for former SS and SA men."

East German Army Based on Police

I found he had not exaggerated. In the province of Mecklenburg, part of the Soviet Zone, 65 per cent of all ministers, state secretaries, police chiefs and mayors are former Nazi officers or officials. Figures for other German provinces ruled by Communist Russia are: Saxony-Anhalt 61 per cent; Brandenburg 62 per cent; Saxony 47 per cent; Thuringia 39 per cent.

"You can't find a chief of police in any town in the Soviet Zone who isn't a former Nazi," my German friend said. You can't find a policeman who isn't, either.

It is this German police force which has been transformed into an Eastern German army under Russian leadership. The step long has been in preparation.

Some time ago, General Merkuloff, chief of the Central European division of the NKVD, the Soviet secret police, made a speech to German officials of the Russian Zone. It was not reported in the press. He told them, I'm informed, that Moscow intended to set up a "sovereign" German state in the East. This was subsequently done. He also said



Reviving nightlife indicates West Zone's easier economic state. With beach chairs, hostesses in playsuits, this nightclub is decorated to suggest seashore.

a "sovereign" state could not exist without its own army. Thus the delighted Germans learned of the rebirth of a German army in the East. Obviously it would arise from the police force whose numbers had swollen to nearly 300,000.

The key German figure in the Eastern "police" force is General Vincenz Mueller. He was an adjutant to General von Schleicher when the latter was murdered by Hitler in the 1934 purge. Quickly he rallied behind the Fuehrer and advanced rapidly in the army, where he became known as a fanatical Nazi. In the Russian campaign he was made chief of staff of the 17th German Army and became notorious for his slaughter of Jews in Eastern Europe. Captured by the Russians at Stalingrad, he became one of the many German officers taken to Russia to help advance Soviet policies in Germany. Now he has become one of the most powerful men in the Russian zone.

Red-Run Luftwaffe Under Construction

An army must have an airforce. So the Russians have begun to build up a new *Luftwaffe*. For this purpose five German generals, headed by former *Luftwaffe* General von Weech, were brought back from Russia. Former German flyers are being recruited; it is reported that, as a starter, a German airforce of 200 planes will be created. Training will be under a former *Luftwaffe* officer, Lt. Col. Hartnack.

"Anyone who raises the question as to whether a fighter for German unity was once a member of Hitler's party is a saboteur of the National Front," says Walter Ulbricht, deputy chairman of the Socialist Unity (Communist) party in the Russian zone. Ulbricht is the real power in the Communist party in Eastern Germany.

In Western Germany, American officials, restoring Nazis to power, say they can be counted on to keep the Reich anti-Russian. Can they? In Germany's Eastern Zone, many German reactionaries and Nazis are working for a German orientation towards Russia. They have contacts with their counterparts in our Western Zone, notably through the "Nauheim Circle" which used to meet secretly in Bad Nauheim in Western Germany.

One of its ringleaders is Rudolf Nadolny, former German Ambassador to Moscow. He advocates a new Germany tied to the Soviet Union, is hostile to Britain and the U.S. The actual leader of the "Nauheim Circle" is Professor Ulrich Noack, once



Communist papers, even Red Army's *Taegliche Rundschau* (top right), are sold at stand in U.S. sector. Germans choosing reaction had chance to hear all sides.

One of its ringleaders is Rudolf Nadolny, former German Ambassador to Moscow. He advocates a new Germany tied to the Soviet Union, is hostile to Britain and the U.S. The actual leader of the "Nauheim Circle" is Professor Ulrich Noack, once a Nazi spy in Norway. The Berlin *Taegliche Rundschau*, official organ of the Soviet Military Administration, says of him: "Professor Noack and his circle will serve the welfare of Germany."

Another German devoted to bringing the Fatherland into the Soviet orbit is Dr. Otto Korfes, chief of the Central Archives of the Soviet Zone. In the Orangerie Palace near Potsdam, Dr. Korfes, with many high-ranking survivors of the *Wehrmacht*, is working out plans for a future German-Russian alliance. General Korfes was captured at Stalingrad. He is a former Nazi and SS man. "What we need is a German decision for the East," he declares forthrightly.

That is not a new idea for Germans. Says Kurt Schumacher, leader of the German Social Democratic party: "Ever since Bismarck, resurgent nationalism in Germany has sooner or later looked towards Russia." Bismarck made his deals with the Czar. The German Republic made its deal with the Soviet Union in a treaty signed at Rapallo in 1922. And Hitler, in August 1939, made his historic pact with Stalin, and thus made World War II inevitable.

Another Russian-German Deal Is Possible

No German today, however reactionary, sees any obstacle to a new German deal with Russia. And obviously the Kremlin is receptive. When the Russians set up the "German Democratic Republic" recently, Stalin sent a message to the new regime which shocked European diplomatic circles. Said Stalin: "The experience of the last war has shown that the German and Soviet peoples made the largest sacrifice in that war, that both these peoples have the largest potentialities in Europe to complete great actions of world significance."

Pertinax, France's great political writer, concluded that this was "tantamount to a definite reversal of the alliances of the last war."

As I was leaving Berlin the last time, a German friend who had come to bid me goodbye said: "We Germans might win World War III, you know—just by the law of averages."

They might at that. Meanwhile, they are certainly winning the peace following World War II.

Is it too late to halt this disastrous policy of re-

GERMANY IS MARCHING AGAIN (Concluded)



"UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER" MIGHT BE TITLE OF THIS PICTURE OF DEFEATED WEHRMACHT AT END OF WORLD WAR II. WILL U.S.-SOVIET RIVALRY RECREATE A WAR-MAKING GERMANY?

storing the same old Germany? It may not be. I have no illusions about the difficulties of working out a sensible settlement of the German problem with the Soviet Union. But we of the West at least can do something about the Germany we occupy. It is the largest part, the most important economically. It has nearly three times as many Germans as the Russian zone.

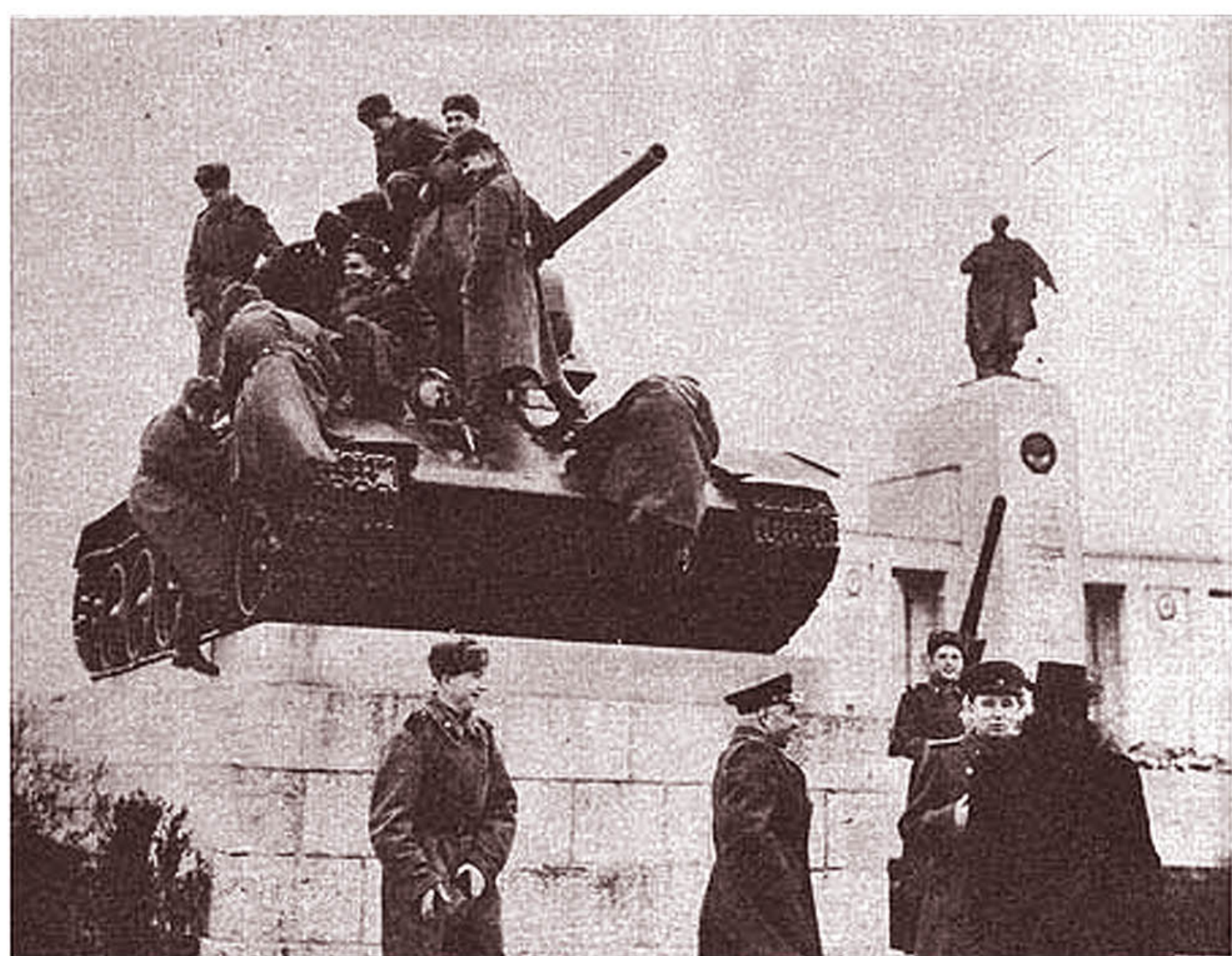
We can make a fresh start. We can remove the Nazis from their powerful positions in government, in business, in the schools and universities. We can break up the monstrous German cartels. We can give more encouragement to Germany's moderate elements.

It is only from such moderate elements, having our firm support, that a democratic, peaceful, un-military Germany can ever be expected to arise.

Finally, we can make up our minds to stay in Germany until the old Germany is dead and a new one has been born. If the Russians see we mean business, they may wake up too. The Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Germany of Hitler each came within an ace of destroying Russia. It would seem that no Russian, however befuddled by Communism, can really want to risk that again.



THIS CHEMICAL PLANT AT LEVERKEUSEN IS PART OF HUGE I.G. FARBEN TRUST. ALLIES PUT FARBEN ASSETS, WITH VAST WAR POTENTIAL, UNDER HERMAN BUECHNER, NAZI SINCE 1933



After commemorating anniversary of Red Army's founding, Red soldiers swarm happily over Russian War Memorial in Berlin, symbol of Soviet dominance in East Germany. Tanks were first to enter.



Red poster on Germany's Tomb of Unknown Soldier shows amputee, troops. "Again?" It asks, innocently.



WORLD WAR II CASUALTIES ROAM GERMANY'S STREETS NEVERTHELESS; MILITARY-MINDED RED-EAST ZONES REBUILDS ARMY



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