I. HOW RUMORS SPREAD

A survey of the rumors started in several cities by the imposition of an Allied security check on 21 July. There were interesting variations arising from local conditions, but a certain basic similarity was found in the FRANKFURT area, HAMBURG, HEIDELBERG and STUTTGART. In MUNICH, the recent change of certain areas to Soviet occupation gave rise to a whole new series of Russian rumors.

II. AFTER THE SOVIETS ARRIVE

The wild speculations which reached fever pitch just preceding Soviet occupation gave way to pleasant surprise after the Soviets actually arrive. The sense of insecurity, residue of ingrained fears, remains. In NUREMBERG, German officials were much impressed by the businesslike attitude of the Russians, by the prevailing orderliness of their troops, by their attitude of friendly cooperation with the Americans they were succeeding.

III. PROTESTING: AMERICAN FILMS IN BINGEN

Three American "shorts", part of a series designed to protest German reactions to American films, were well received. Over 200 questionnaires filled in by the audience showed a preference for "constructive" themes not connected with the war. The young and the educated were far more critical than the other groups. An interesting aspect of the test was the spontaneous interest it stimulated in America and the United Nations.

IV. HISTORICAL NOTE: HITLER'S FIRST DAY IN POWER

A captured record of the minutes of HITLER's first Cabinet meeting on 30 January 1933. It shows the "Fuchner" as fearful of the Communists and wary of the Centrists, much concerned over the possibility of a general strike. (This preceded his systematic program for making such an event impossible). It shows, too, the role of such men as HUGENBERG, PAPEN, GORING, SCHLECHT-KRESCHNICK - all of whom differed from the Fuchner only as to the most expedient means of accomplishing the Nazi end.

V. THE MEDIA OF INFORMATION

Book dealers and printers in FRANKFURT alone submitted 349 applications for registration. In MUNICH, production of Die amerikanische Rundschau (The American Review) was begun. Radio Munich programs were expanded, and Allied officers visiting Radio Berlin studies found them pretty well stripped. In STUTTGART, I.G. astronaut scientists arrived to find at least one chauvinistic German film, with an anti-American strain, on exhibition. In the British zone there was considerable activity in all fields of information control, and in BERLIN the "opus operandi" of the Soviet News Bureau was described by I.G. officers.

VI. ANNOUNCEMENTS OF OUR SOVIET ALLIES

Soviet output has increased its efforts to encourage voluntary movement from cities to farms, to forestall the food shortages which threaten this winter. The alternation of "hard" and "soft" themes, centering about reconstruction projects, was continued. Further steps in the proposed "popular front" of anti-fascist parties were taken.

ANNEX: GERMAN YOUTH: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

The first in a series of studies designed to answer one of the most puzzling questions concerning the present state of German youth. Accurate diagnosis is regarded as an essential condition of adequate therapy.
I. THE SPREAD OF RUMORS

Rumor-sounding in the general area of FRANKFURT has been very active from the start of the occupation and, according to several informants considered fairly reliable, apparently well-organized. It centers around themes which interest all classes of the population – such as food shortages, transport difficulties and unemployment, and it is spread by clever little slogans like :

"Kaum ist der Fuehrer tot
Sind wir in groesster Not"

(Hardly is the Fuehrer dead
Then we are in the greatest need)

The suspicion that the wide spread of similar rumors on similar themes may be deliberate, is encouraged by the occasional revelation of rumors which are pointedly anti-American and seem to stem from systematic defense of Nazism. Current Allied measures toward denazification, for example, are countered by the use (reportedly "widespread") of an old slogan slightly altered :

"Der groesste Schu'b im Deutschen Land"
Das ist und bleibt der Denunziant."

(The greatest scoundrel in Germany
Is and remains the informer).

A similar situation exists regarding Allied revelations during recent months of the atrocities committed in concentration camps for which the Nazis are legally, and the whole German people morally, responsible. Apparently a systematic "reply" to this theme has been spread in the FRANKFURT area, using as basis stories of alleged atrocities by Americans in a P/V camp at BAD KREUZNACH. A woman recently returned from AUSCHWITZ, when speaking to Germans of the atrocities committed there, several times received the answer :

"What do you want? The Americans aren't any better. Look at KREUZNACH."

The basic rumor about KREUZNACH seems to be that many thousands of German P/V die there every day of outright starvation and of "hunger-typhus." When asked where they heard this story Germans vaguely refer to discharged P/V as their source.

One series of rumors whose source is difficult to determine, but whose spread was certainly assisted by its apparent correspondence with the facts, was noted in FRANKFURT and its surrounding towns during the past week-end. As soon as a security check was put into effect by the Allies, I.C.D. investigators began to hear all sorts of explanations. The development and spread of this rumor presents an interesting case study.

1. Fluister in FRANKFURT: The first official announcement of the security check came via the morning broadcast at 0600. Printed announcements were scheduled to be posted by 1100. It was not until late morning that investigators began to pick up the first reactions. The most
notable result was "universal confusion" in the minds of the citizens as to just what was going on. A policeman on the Bechheimer Landstrasse, for example, was overheard telling a man that he had no right to be on the streets at all because there was an "Ausgangsverbot" (restriction to quarters).

The second phase began shortly before noon, when investigators noted a crop of remarkably similar rumors concerning the security check. These rumors centered about the killing of one, two or three Americans, and details were added as the story spread—first it was simply said that 2 Americans had been shot; then 2 American officers had been shot in a house; then several American soldiers had been attacked and stabbed on the opera square. A new element entered when one investigator overheard that an American had been killed in DONNEBUSCH by a man with whose wife the American had had a love affair.

Early signs of fear were evident: "the populace, for the first time since hostilities ended, were apprehensive—even afraid—of the troops." The feeling wore off, however, as they saw that the searching of houses was being conducted in an orderly manner and even, according to some, "rapidly and rather superficially."

Because accurate information had not been adequately disseminated, many of the people were under the impression they were forbidden to go out in the streets. As a result, certain marked changes took place in the public life of FRANKFURT. Traffic on the streets was as nothing compared to similar hours on other days, according to the investigators, and the policemen whom they interviewed. While the street-cars continued to operate, they were practically empty. In most business and municipal offices, at least some of the personnel were sent home, on the theory that someone had to be in each house during the search. Some few business establishments closed down completely. At 1000 hours the Chamber of Commerce closed, by whose order no one seemed exactly to know.

At 1000 hours an investigator visited the special military court set up at the R.P. station, and was informed that approximately 700 people had been arrested up to that hour. The most common types of violations were: lack of proper papers (personal identification and vehicle registration); illegal possession of American goods (principally food). No serious cases, with the exception of a few involving illegal possession of weapons, had yet been brought to book.

By the next day the rumors had proliferated somewhat, some of them apparently based on stories told by people who had been arrested the preceding day. One investigator, mingling with an assorted group of Germans reading classified ads in a store window, overheard several explanations for the security check. One German offered the old favorite: that the Americans were looking for Nazis and SS men. Another thought that they were looking for weapons. Most seemed to have made some connection between the security check and the black market: one elderly woman said simply that "too much business" was going on between American soldiers and Germans; another thought that too many blankets had been disappearing.

Similar tales were heard through the outlying communities of FRANKFURT. In BAD MAUREN one housewife heard that 3 Americans were shot by German civilians. The number and circumstances of the shooting varied, in one version mounting as high as 10 Americans shot, but the essential story remained the same. Similar tales were heard as far away in opposite directions as BAD MAUREN and WIESBADEN.
2. **Hamburg**: Here news of the security check leaked out in advance and was quickly known all over town. Since U.S. soldiers were restricted to their billets, and allowed out only in formation, the check was immediately connected with the Russians. It was stated that the Potsdam conference had broken down, primarily over the question of occupation of the Kurhessin area. Some "reports", in fact, had it that the Russians were already moving west and had reached the city of Tuchoa. To avoid incidents all U.S. soldiers had been confined, and the U.S. and Great Britain were on the verge of declaring war on Russia. Some of the people "in the know" reported that all military government secretaries had been given notice prior to the move of the detachment, that the American officers themselves were packing their bags.

Investigators in Hamburg point out that the proximity of this town to the Russian zone has always made it fertile soil for any rumors concerning the Russians. In this case the restriction of troops, and their public appearance only when in formation, encouraged the rumor. However, there is some reason to believe that rumors of this type are being deliberately planted by elements trying to hamper the operations of U.S. Military Government. Thus far the rumor has been traced in two cases to the queues in front of food stores. As yet no one has been able to name the individual who actually started it.

3. **Heidelberg**: The first rumor here was picked up at 9 o'clock on the morning the security check began - to wit, an American soldier had been fished out of the river, dead as a result of blows on the head. During the course of the day the following series of rumors were heard by investigators:

(a) The SS had taken control of the west side of the town, fighting between SS and American troops was going on in the eastern half of the town.

(b) 60 SS men in Fiji transit had escaped from their captors: 50 had been rounded up, 10 were still at large.

(c) SS men were known to be at large somewhere in the suburb of Neuenheim (across the river).

(d) SS had blown a bridge somewhere in the vicinity of Heidelberg.

(e) Colored troops had been fired on and several had been killed.

(f) A soldier had been shot at in the city of Karlsruhe.

(g) The Americans were searching for weapons.

(h) The Americans were merely searching for comfortable billets in order to shelter troops arriving with the 7th Army.

(i) President Truman was to pass through Heidelberg and vicinity.

(j) All of Neuenheim and Handschuhsheim (suburbs) were to be requisitioned for the quartering of 7th Army troops.

According to the investigator on the spot, most people in Heidelberg, including our own officers and men, seemed to believe one or another of the rumors. Upon questioning, Military Police said they knew nothing definitely one way or the other.

At 2215 on the evening of the check the siren sounded for about 10 minutes, warning people to get off the streets (customarily the siren had sounded at 2115 in relation to the 2130 curfew). This protracted
sounding of the siren was construed by the people as a terrorististic measure, particularly since, they claimed, their nerves had been rubbed raw by the day-long searching of houses.

4. **STUTTGART:** The security check in STUTTGART released a series of rumors which bore a remarkable family resemblance to those described in the other towns. Of the four listed below, the first three were heard (in one form or another) in all other towns where a security check was conducted. The fourth represents a new and local version:

   (a) in CASSATT, a suburb of STUTTGART, 3 American soldiers had been shot.

   (b) In another suburb, DEDERICH, an American officer was beaten up by a jealous husband.

   (c) Three American soldiers were shot in front of Radio Stuttgart.

   (d) The Russian MPs had to be disarmed because of the many "incidents" between armed Russian MPs and American soldiers.

5. **Handpropaganda in MUNICH:** As indicated above and in previous issues of this summary, (see ICIS No. 2), Russia is probably the most fertile source of rumors in Germany. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of rumors about the Russians is the amazing detail which they contain. In MUNICH, for example, the latest version of the Russian rumor has it that the Russians have already occupied REGENSBURG and HCF, that PASSAU has already been evacuated, and that full occupation of Bavaria by the Russians is imminent. Some residents believe that even though the Russians may not come immediately, their coming is inevitable because they have demanded participation in the occupation of MUNICH. The reasoning behind this shows how amazingly well-informed bir-city Germans are about alleged behind-the-scenes activity in international affairs. They point out that although joint occupation of BERLIN was decided at the Yalta Conference, joint occupation of VIENNA was not. In return for yielding the latter, they claim, the Russians are demanding joint occupation of MUNICH. Another, even more widespread, version of this tale is that MUNICH is to be occupied by the Russians in return for a Soviet declaration of war against Japan.

One interesting corollary to these stories is that demobilized officials and others who lost their jobs through American occupation are said to be joining the Communist Party. When the Americans withdraw and the Russians arrive, they say, the German Communists will naturally take over. The Nazi-bombed-Communists will then be in a position to take revenge on all those who, by cooperating with American military government, got them thrown out of their jobs. A field report of 21 July states that "almost every German interrogated in the past few days has anxiously asked if these rumors are true." The extent of the rumor, and the degree of credibility it has attained, can be judged from the fact that one supposedly informed Allied officer recently asked an interrogator if he thought these rumors were true.

II. **AFTER THE SOVIETS ARRIVE**

Some slight evidence, available from earlier movements of Soviet forces into small areas previously occupied by the Americans, has shown that the anti-Soviet roars are muted and the nervous trembles somewhat stilled by the actual arrival of the Russians. Investigators are struck by the change of atmosphere in areas newly-occupied by the Soviets. While it is quite clear that Sweetness-and-Light do not immediately and totally replace Sound-and-Fury, nevertheless the spread of wild rumors concerning the Russians (see above) slows down to a walk. The first reaction is
usually relief, that the Russians are not really so bad as the Germans' own rumors have made them out. There is pleasant surprise in the simple discovery, as one Austrian farmer put it, that even under the Russians "Man bleibt leben" (Life goes on).

To some extent, this seems to be due to the care with which the Soviets approach areas formerly occupied by the Americans. Apparently to prevent a let-down between the American departure and their own arrival which will lead to unfavorable comparisons, they have carefully selected the troops (and more particularly the officers) whom they brought to such areas. Some additional evidence on first German reactions has become available during the recent transfer of territory from the American to the Russian zone.

1. WERNER: Reports concerning the first phase of Soviet occupation in this city are extremely favorable, and take note particularly of three main points, all highly complimentary to the local Soviet administration:

   (c) Law and Order: The majority of the Russian troops arrived in their own transportation, thus obviating the need for requisitioning German transport on a large scale. There were no excesses committed and it was generally quiet.

   (b) Coordination with Americans: It is reported that the Russian M.G.O., on the day he arrived, started off official business with the following words:

   "We do not intend to change any of the institutions established by the Americans, nor do we intend to remove any officials which were put in office and approved by the Americans. The governmental machine as established by the Americans meets with our complete approval."

These sentiments were reiterated on the following day by a Russian General inspecting the scene, who convened all German officials and told them that close cooperation between the occupying forces of all areas should be expected in the near future. To implement this announcement one of the WERNER officials was sent to PLANFORT to determine what possibility existed for the exchange of goods between the two Regierungsbezirke.

   (c) Businesslike Attitude: German officials were reported to have been very much impressed by the businesslike approach of the Russians. One German official states that the two Soviet officers assigned to his field both speak German fluently and command a specialized technical knowledge of their subjects (heavy industry and mining). Here is noticed a somewhat tighter supervision of German officials by Soviet German-speaking personnel, mainly officers.

The evidence so far available is mainly concerned with the officials, who are certainly pleased and probably surprised, at the conduct and efficiency of the Russians. There is some reason to believe, in addition, that a similar favorable impression is being made upon the population as a whole.

2. BAD BRANTFACH: An I.G.D. investigator visiting this town, which lies just the other side of the Russo-American border, some 10 days after it had come under Soviet occupation, was struck particularly by an atmosphere of tremendous relief here in contrast to the "apprehension and tenseness over the border in Czechoslovakia." People were going about their business without any signs of furtiveness; there was even laughter in the streets (something not heard in the Sudetenland at the present time). A series of comments delivered in turn by the village cab driver, the assistant hotel manager and a woman secretary run approximately like this:

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"Russians are good simple fellows ... well behaved ..."
"All the awful stories were propaganda ... everything is quite normal, no one has been molested ..."
"The food situation is not too good, but we manage ..."
The trains will be running soon and we shall get coal again ..." "Of course, we don't know what is going to happen to all of us, but we think it will be all right."

These remarks bespeak the first shock of pleasant surprise which has been found in other towns newly occupied by the Russians. They bespeak, as well, the lurking sense of insecurity which seems to remain for some time after the Russians arrive.

In BAD NEUSTADT, a village chiefly known as a radium spa, the Soviet administrators were of considerably different calibre than those in WEIMAR. None of them, except the interpreter, a boy of 19 who learned German in school, could speak anything but Russian. They seemed rather suspicious of all questions directed to them. Their suspicion seemed not so much a matter of political sophistication as of the literal adherence to security regulations which only the single-minded indulge in.

III. TESTING: AMERICAN FILMS IN ERLINGEN

To test the probable reactions of German civilians to certain types of films, a series of 5 test programs are being shown for a week each in the small Bavarian university town ERLINGEN. A detailed report has been prepared on the reactions of audiences to the first program of this series, consisting of the two-reel newsreel called The World in Film (Die Welt im Film I); Jeep (Die Selbstbiographie eines Jeeps) 2 reels; TNA (Das Tennessee Id) 5 reels. The newsreel included, among other items, scenes of the ruins of German cities, of German ex-prisoners of war returning home; of looting in Germany and the execution of a German spy. Jeep is the story of the development and use by the Army of the vehicle, told in the first person by a jeep in rather sprightly manner. TVA, the most serious and ambitious of the three, shows the growth, mainly through the eyes of the farmers of the valley, of the project from its inception to realization.

1. Overall Reactions: Over 200 questionnaires on this program show that, as a whole, it was well received. Somewhat less than half of the respondents stated that they found it "very interesting" and another group of equal size found it "fairly interesting." Only about one person in ten found it "not particularly interesting" and only seven persons stated flatly that they did not find the program interesting at all. Moreover, most people believed that the program presented the truth and not a one-sided picture. They did not in the main feel that they were being propagandaized. Only 20 people stated that the films were biased.

An analysis of the personal characteristics of the people making the various replies indicates that age and education play an important role in people's reactions to the films. That is, the young and educated—mainly students—were far more critical of the films than other groups. Far fewer of them found the films "highly interesting" and they were more apt to find them biased. Quite a few of the respondents spontaneously wrote comments about the program as a whole on the questionnaires. Several pointed to the truthfulness and reality of the pictures and to their enlightening effect. Several people, however, objected to the music. A 22 year old officer stated: "Normal ears cannot stand such music," and a 60 year old housewife wrote: "The music hurts my ears."

2. Individual Films: THA was by far the most popular of the three films, with 60% of those asked making a choice selecting it, that is, about twice as many people as selected Jeep. This film was particularly popular among older people, the more educated, and among men rather than women. Professional and white collar people were favorably inclined toward it as were farmers, for whom it had a special interest. It seemed, in general, to appeal to the more serious-minded and thoughtful elements. Many expressed their preference for it in general terms of its presenting reality, of being instructive, and of being technically well done. A fairly large group were stimulated and impressed by the themes of the protection of community interests, the opportunities for a poor man and the demonstration of the great power of a collective effort. Curiously, a few people saw in it a manifestation of what was best in the German spirit: to these the theme of organized social effort for the community good is typically German. Properly channeled, it would seem that this attitude might be employed fruitfully in the task of German reconstruction. Dislike of THA was manifested among a few who seemed to be sufficiently Nazi or nationalistic to find the film biased. Some others found it too far removed from their own lives and several city people pointed out that it had no interest for them. Two girls found in it no special interest for their sex, and one person complained that the music was disturbing.

Jeep was the second most popular of the three, about one-quarter of the group voting for it as the best of three pictures. However, it was the least disliked of the three with only a handful of people electing it to this role. Further analysis shows that it was especially well liked by the workers, among whom it attained equal popularity with THA. In general this film, which was less ambitious than the others in intent and rather more innocuous ideologically, aroused little antagonism. Jeep was liked because of its vivid, lively quality. People found it instructive as well as technically well done. A fairly large group presented the more naive reaction of unbounded admiration for the jeep as a vehicle and expressed desire to possess one. A few reasoned beyond this level and saw in the film yet another piece of evidence of American technical superiority and a reason why Germany was defeated. The few objections to the film revolved around its being rather too sensational and propagandaistic, and its being concerned with war. Statistical analysis indicates a sharp contrast between the reactions of educated young men and educated young women with regard to this film, with the women clearly less enthusiastic about it. Jeep is a film cut to the masculine taste.

The newsreel Die Welt In Film I was by far the least liked of the three films and was also chosen overwhelmingly as the one most disliked. Many people said merely that it was biased and tendentious, but others were more specific. A sizable group found the material presented depressing and humiliating. One professor said: "It is unpleasant to see the lamentable end of a wretched war." A 46 year old male technician said: "I did not like it because it intensifies our already depressed mood." It is clear that the facts of Germany's defeat are unpalatable to German Nationalistic and patriotic feelings. A 62 year old male teacher put it bluntly: "I dislike it because I am a German."

Another group disliked the newsreel simply because it dealt with war at all. Still another group dislikes the newsreel specifically because of the scenes showing German civilians looting. They displayed great emotional resistance to the idea that the looters could be German. A small number of people did like the newsreel, mainly because of the variety of material presented, including world events of which they had been unaware, and the truth of the reporting. A few liked it specifically because it showed German P.O.W. returning home.

3. Films as Stimulants: About half the group stated that the films had given them new ideas with regard to the United Nations. Older people, rather than younger, were apt to state that they had been so affected. The new
ideas obtained from the films are varied but allow themselves to be grouped into several categories. The first group mainly contrasts this picture of the United States with that given by the Nazis. A 35 year old male book-keeper said: "These pictures present to us for the first time the USA in an unbiased realistic fashion." Another man added: "We considered the United States as described to us by our newspapers."

A second group shows great admiration for America, its way of life and especially its technical progress. A 14 year old girl said simply: "The USA looks forward to a nice future." A 27 year old businessman said: "We saw that a powerful and free people lives there. Sometimes one becomes envious." In a few cases the impact of the great American technology is to make people see for the first time that Germany was fighting against tremendous strength. A young laborer said: "Now I understand why Germany lost the war."

A third group, not numerous but rather thoughtful, is somewhat more critical and continues to ask questions about America. For example, a 25 year old student asked whether there is Socialism in the United States and if so how one explains the coexistence of great wealth with great poverty. He asked also whether there really is a democratic system in the United States: he would like more complete information.

A fourth group was stimulated into looking more hopefully to the future. For example, a 27 year old businessman wrote: "To engage all intelligence, force and work for the welfare of mankind in each country of the earth, and helping mankind means to construct the future." A 31 year old female clerk said: "I hope we all will get help", and an older woman wished "that Germany may rise in such a way."

A fifth group went beyond this to suggest some kind of collaboration between Germany and the United Nations. One 52 year old male white-collar worker said: "I have complete confidence that with the help of the forces of the democratic world, Germany as well will overcome the dark days and a new and better world will come out of it." A 25 year old medical student put it thus: "One hopes for possibilities of American help and collaboration. A 45 year old male technician asked directly: "Under what conditions could Germany join the United Nations?"

IV. HISTORICAL NOTE: HITLER'S FIRST DAY IN POWER

The minutes of Hitler's first cabinet meeting, held on the afternoon of 30 January 1933, provide striking documentary evidence of his "collaborators'" responsibility for the Puchner's rise to power. Hitler is shown as desperately afraid of a general strike, and therefore reluctant to adopt immediate drastic measures against the German Communist Party, which stood in the way of the Nazis gaining a clear majority vote in the Reichstag. Among the cabinet ministers, HUENENBERG, leader of the Conservative Nationalists (''Deutsch-Nationale Volkspartei''), rather than Hitler, most strongly urged banning the Communist Party and excluding the Catholic Center Party (''Zentral'') from cabinet representation. Von PAPEN characterized proposed a compromise to postpone the showdown with the Left which the Hitler Government might not have survived. The document is a clear indication of such men as HUENENBERG, PAPEN and others who did everything to help Hitler out of his initial difficulties and who, from fullest responsibility for the Nazi regime coming to stay. Hitler dropped these accomplices, of course, as soon as his position was firm enough to dispense with their services.

The main subject of the cabinet discussion on 30 January 1933 was the political situation confronting the new government. The two most

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urgent problems were the attitude of the "Zentrum" and the danger threatening the government from the Communist Party (KPD). Although the discussion was glossed over with phrases about the " rejoicing of millions of Germans," the Cabinet members appeared very uneasy about the government's position vis-à-vis the Reichstag.

HITLER realized that it would be essential to adjourn the Reichstag and that this could not be done without help from the "Zentrum" which was angered about "having been left uninformed of the latest developments" (GOERING, Minister and Reich Commissar for Civil Aviation). Significantly, PAPE (Deputy of the Reichskanzler and Reich Commissar for Prussia), a Centrist politician, had not as yet contacted the "Zentrum," and HUGENBERG (Minister of Economics, Food and Agriculture) insisted that representation of the "Zentrum" in the Cabinet "would endanger the unity of opinion." Eventually HITLER proposed to receive representatives of the "Zentrum" on the following morning in order to placate them.

The most critical problem under discussion was the government's attitude toward the Communist Party. HITLER pointed out that "one might contemplate banning the Communist Party, abolish their seats in the Reichstag and thus secure the government majority." The alternative would be adjournment of the Reichstag and new elections. HITLER preferred the latter course. "In his opinion it had proved useless to ban political parties. He feared serious inner-political disturbances and the possibility of a general strike following upon such a ban. Internal peace, he felt, was essential at that moment to stabilize Germany's economic situation." SELDES (Minister of Labor), BISMARCK (Minister of War), NEURATH (Foreign Minister) and SCHRAMM-KRÖNIG (Minister of Finance) shared HITLER's anxiety, that the newly formed government might not survive a general strike. "The Reichskanzler stated that a general strike should not be taken lightly."

HITLER and BISMARCK agreed that it would not be feasible to employ the armed forces in suppression of such a strike, as "the German soldier was accustomed to regarding an outside enemy as his only possible opponent." SCHRAMM-KRÖNIG, again, emphasized the need for peace and order from the viewpoint of German economy and regarded "the dissolution of the Communist Party as the least political expedient." NEURATH decided against dissolution of the Communist Party as detrimental to foreign policy and SELDES thought it would be "unpleasant if the first action of the new government was followed by a general strike." HUGENBERG alone expressed the conviction that the Communist Party must be suppressed, even at the risk of a general strike. "He certainly did not wish a general strike, (but) ... it would be impossible to get around the banning of the Communist Party. Otherwise the government would not secure a majority in the Reichstag."

The only statement about the second largest party of the Left came from GOERING. "According to his information," the minutes read, "the Social Democrats (SPD) would not support a general strike at the moment. The Social Democrats were pressing for a debate in the Reichstag."

The compromise proposal was eventually made by PAPE, who suggested that the government should first ask the Reichstag for an Emergency Power Bill ("Ermächtigungsgesetz"). "If that was refused the situation would have to be reconsidered," REISSNER (Under-Secretary of State in the Office of the Reich President) supported this suggestion and qualified it by proposing the introduction of a "bill authorizing the government to take such measures as are essential to overcome unemployment," since such a bill required only a simple majority in the Reichstag.
Perhaps the most significant item in this revealing document is the light it throws on the mentality of HITLER in 1933, the rabble-rouser newly come to power who retains a wholesome respect for the potential might of the people. Desperately afraid of a general strike, he had to search for ways and means of getting around it. At that time he felt that "it is virtually impossible to suppress the six million people who stand behind the Communist Party." Later on, as he killed off potential opposition and enrolled the core of German manhood under his own banners, such tact was not necessary.

V. THE MEDIA OF INFORMATION

1. Publications: The registration of book and magazine dealers and printers is proceeding all over the U.S. zone in a satisfactory manner. In the city of FRANKFURT, for example, the following applications were received:

| Press and magazine dealers | 135 |
| Book dealers               | 122 |
| Printers                    | 90  |
| Second-hand book dealers   | 1   |
|                            | 248 |

The applications of six book dealers were denied; 35 others are to be closely examined before registration is accepted. It is expected that book stores which were denied registration will take steps to sell their stocks to dealers whose registrations are accepted.

DISCC (District Information Services Control Command)
Publications Officers report that of 32 substantial book publishers in the MUNICH area, 21 have German manuscripts written by anti-Nazi authors. In this field, as well as in the organization of local delivery systems for books, pamphlets and magazines, tangible progress can be expected in the near future. Using the former Ehre Verlag plant in MUNICH, DISCC personnel has started production of Die amerikanische Rundschau (The American Review). Its distribution should start in a few weeks. Publications scheduled to follow are Heute (Today), an illustrated magazine, and the NZ booklet.

2. Radio:

MUNICH: The program of Radio Munich was expanded during the past week by a total of two hours a day. Additional world news, as well as an English lesson period and a dictation speed English news period, were included. The considerably reduced number of D/Ps in the area has led, conversely, to the elimination of all D/P programs except the Polish-language one.

BERLIN: According to the latest information received from qualified German informants the studios of Radio Berlin as well as its transmitter, both in British territory, had been stripped by the Russians of about 90% of their material. Only fundamental operating units were left, in all cases the oldest equipment on the premises. The policy of the station is implemented by a German staff which is instructed to be completely neutral. This is interpreted to mean no leaning toward any one of the anti-fascist German parties or any one occupying power. Supervision is exercised by female and male Russian officers, but no written instructions are given.

3. Films: It was found that the re-opening by the French authorities of the German movies in STUTTGART had been done hastily, quite without proper screening of the films to be shown. At least one anti-American film, showing chauvinistic German tendencies, was playing as late as 14 July. Neither new releases nor Allied educational films were part of the program in any of the four movie houses actually playing.
In HARTHAUSEN, near MUNICH, the 6876 DISCC Team controls about 40 American and 10 French films, none of which has previously been seen in Germany. They are all suited for exhibition in line with the re-education program. About 5 of those films already have German sub-titles; the others can be provided with sub-titles within a few days by available experts.

At a plant about 40 miles south of MUNICH considerable production facilities as well as an important raw film stock were discovered. There is estimated to be enough equipment to start production in 10 different European countries. At the same place much documentary film material on German military and political subjects has been discovered which could be used for the production of shorts on the "March of Time" pattern. In caches near the UFA studios in BERLIN-BABELSBERG, 5,000 entertainment films mainly of German, American or French origin have been discovered, in addition to previously reported secret films. In the same area 200,000 meters of raw film have been found.

The equipment and material discovered indicates that rather large-scale resumption of public movie exhibits in Germany will be possible with relatively few imports from abroad.

4. Media in the British Zone:

Press: During the week ending 14 July, the total circulation of the 13 newspapers appearing in the British zone increased slightly, with the following main changes regarding individual newspapers: the Ruhr Zeitung, which had been distributed free until 13 July, started selling for 20 pf. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung appeared on 13 July 1945, and the anticipated circulation is 300,000. It will sell for 20 pf, as a bi-weekly and will reduce the circulation areas and figures of the three newspapers already published in that district. Advertisements started appearing in the Ruhr Zeitung and similar arrangements are being made for the Koelnischer Kurier. The Neuer Hannoverscher Kurier and Nordwest Nachrichten are now publishing twice weekly.

Publications: In the HAMBURG and SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN areas considerable plant facilities are available, but the present standstill of that industry, combined with the overall shortage of German labor, may lead to a progressive loss of qualified personnel, unless publishing activities are resumed in the near future. An inaugural meeting of the Norddeutscher Buchhandelverband (North German Book Sellers Association) was attended by over 350 book sellers, etc.

Radio: On 21 July 1945, Radio Hamburg went on the air with a new schedule, adapted to changed needs and originating a great majority of the items locally. A relay station at HANNOVER, designed to improve reception, is under discussion. The preparations for putting Radio Cologne back on the air are proceeding.

Films and Entertainments: It is expected that by the end of July a limited number of movie theaters will be open to the German public. Musical activities consisted in a concert by the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra on 8 July. Cavalleria Rusticana and Pagliacci were produced in HANNOVER. Preparations are proceeding for a revival of the Brunswick Opera. Circus performances have started in HAMBURG.

5. Soviet News Bureau in BERLIN: The News Bureau of the Soviet Military Administration (Das Nachrichten-Bureau der Sowjetischen Militarverwaltung) started operations on or about 1 July 1945. The chief and his deputy are both ex-service men working in civilian clothes.
rest of the Russian staff is in uniform. Two "white" German journalists are employed to polish the style of the Russian editorial staff. A number of carefully selected subordinate German employees are on the pay roll.

The agency has its own monitoring station on the premises, 41 Lindenstrasse, Berlin (together with the Soviet Military Censorship). Existing Hillebrand equipment serves to receive Reuters and the Allied Press Service, possibly also TASS. The news bulletin of Radio London, Paris, and Moscow and a voice transmission in Germany of the British Exchange Telegraph Company are being monitored.

The agency sends its material three times daily by messengers to the existing Berlin newspapers as well as to Radio Berlin. Teleprinters are supposed to be installed shortly in the newspapers and radio offices in order to cut out the messengers. The only existing priority in the use of the material, are "recommended" items which are considered as "musts". This recommendation is made orally. So far the service of the agency has been free of charge, but it is expected that in the near future a subscription fee will be levied.

A somewhat haphazard analysis of the material provided by the agency reveals that of 56 items in a 28-hour period only 13 were of Soviet origin, and 43 mostly of British but also U.S. and French origin. The Soviet items seem to be considerably longer since 13 of them consist of 3,450 words while the 43 others consist of 3,300 words.

VI. ANNOUNCEMENTS OF OUR SOVIET ALLIES

1. Back to the Soil Movement: Soviet output has placed increasing emphasis upon the necessity of securing a good harvest and producing the utmost from German soil if widespread famine is to be prevented. In firm tones the urban population has been advised to head for rural areas and help overcome manpower and agricultural machinery shortages. In pithy sentences the theme was reiterated by Radio Berlin:

"The most urgent problem of the present time is to prevent famine ... It is useless to shut our eyes to the coming emergency ... The very bottom of the manpower barrel must be scraped ... Men and women must indeed take up the role of draft animals, if the number of animals still available to the farmers should prove insufficient - or catastrophe will occur."

A stark picture of the future is painted and Germans are reminded that they must help feed themselves or starve. Famine already threatens some districts and it depends upon all the population whether hunger will become general by next winter and spring. Edvin KORNE (second Vice President of the Brandenburg Provincial Administration) bluntly told his radio audience. He pointed out that the supreme Command of the Red Army has "generously instructed" its district and local commanders to assist the farmers with horses, vehicles, fuel and other implements. Communal effort was emphasized by Landrat Wilhelm H. MATHERN, who told of harvest preparations in NEUSTRELITZ, where work will be allocated to families ready for it by the Landrat. In addition, a column of workers is to be assembled daily and sent to the country for a day or a week at a time. Where necessary, harvest kindergartens and communal kitchens will be established.
The big estates of "Junkers, counts, dukes and feudalists" will be broken up and divided among the small peasants, although part will remain in state hands, reported Radio Moscow. (This is in accordance with Article 7 of the Communist Party program). An incentive for the farmers to produce more is contained in the pledge that peasants will be allowed to sell their surpluses freely after delivery of the compulsory quota, and it is emphasized that this differs from the Nazi system where the peasants had to surrender everything except a fixed minimum for personal needs. Heavy industry must be given the same treatment as the big estates, said Radio Moscow, declaring that in the future Germany would be a land of medium and light industries, producing mainly consumer goods.

The Berliner Zeitung reported that 10,000 people had already left BERLIN for farming districts in the Russian zone. But other sources reported that labor and food authorities required 350,000 Berliners to go to farms if the city food supply were not to suffer. Radio Berlin promised good working conditions to families settling on farms in the BERLIN area. Meanwhile, it reported that, despite all efforts, only half of the city's vegetable requirements can be produced in the city area and the grain and potato yield will cover only 1 to 1½ per cent of the metropolitan needs. Livestock available is only 10 to 15 per cent of normal, according to the same report.

2. Destruction and Reconstruction: The "nerd" campaign continued to drive home to the Germans that they are all responsible for the destruction wrought by the Nazis, and that they are therefore expected to pay the price of reparations and reconstruction.

"The passivity of the German worker, craftsman, peasant and shop keeper - the broad masses of the German people - was the backbone of the Nazi regime," was the very plain answer given by HENR (spokesman on the "You ask, we answer" program over Radio Berlin) to a query on collective guilt for the rise of Nazism.

HITLER solved unemployment by expanding armament production and preparing for war. But in the end he destroyed more German men than the 6,070,000 unemployed Germany had at the beginning of 1932. It will require many years to repair the destruction done in Germany, and in addition there must be reparation for what the war destroyed in other countries, the solemn warning continued. Initiative for this reconstruction must come from the Germans themselves and so far it remains insufficient. Competition within communities to outdo each other on reconstruction was encouraged, with the Soviet Union cited as a model.

Not all of the medicine was bitter, however: as is customary in the BERLIN programs the hour had an admixture of the sweet. Plans for the development of youth hostels, and the resumption of sports (without military influence) among the youth were described. It was reported that training courses in the crafts have been set up, through which unskilled workers may learn a trade; that the clothing situation in BERLIN has improved, with the textile and leather industries resuming work. A sprightly feature described the re-opening of the zoo, although only about 100 animals are left of the 4,000 former inhabitants. However, commented the narrator, "BERLIN has got its zoo back and this is a great day, a very important day for our city."

The re-opening of the Waldschule in CHURMIALD, a secondary school where Russian was being taught for the first time, was reported. Traffic improvements in the city were listed, with the entire zoo underground again operating. Radio Moscow also described the "serious,
concentrated educational work" being done over Radio Berlin, saying it not only treats its listeners to fox trots and the works of great composers, like TCHAIKOVSKY, but also in "calm, businesslike tones" gives its listeners facts and ideas vastly different from those they heard from GORESCHI and his assistants. The Berlin Municipal Administration announced that the Committee for Victims of Fascism is issuing railway tickets to enable returning prisoners and concentration camp victims to return to BERLIN, provided their permanent home was there previously.

3. Anti-Fascist Party: The formation and alignment of political parties to constitute a united "anti-Fascist" front was reported. Party manifestoes were issued by the newly-formed Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union. The latter favors private property, a free and independent press, trade unions for all workers, and the subjection to state control of mines and other monopolies. The Liberal Democratic manifesto favored state control only if the interests of individual establishments were subordinated to the interests of the community, this applying to agriculture as well. Their manifesto emphasized freedom of speech, of spirit, of science, of learning and art, and of creed. The family is the original cell and the school is the agency of communal life, it said, while the purpose of state is law and order.

The Communist Party, Social Democrat Party and the Christian Democratic Union joined in issuing a common program for:

"(1) the extermination of Fascism and militarism, the purging of Fascists and the handing over of war criminals;
(2) reconstruction of administrations on a democratic basis;
(3) active cooperation with the new administration in its tasks;
(4) mobilization of all forces in town and country for the harvest;
(5) organization at joint meetings;
(6) members of the joint parties to organize themselves."

ROBERT A. McCOURT,  
Brigadier General, G.S.G.  
Director of Information Control Service.

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Distribution:

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Colonel Poley
Lt Col Garfield
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Commander, U.S. Naval Forces in Europe
Radio Luxembourg (3)
Hq., 9th Air Force (Lt Penfield) (2)
ANNEX

GERMAN YOUTH: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

We are confronted with the problem of re-educating Germany to the
ways of peace. The task is viewed by some, with a dour outlook on German
history, as the cleansing of the Augean stables; by others, impressed
with power of education, as a job relatively simple to perform. From
any point of view, practical steps will depend upon knowledge — not so
much of what Nazism was as of what it did to the minds of the people.
It is not enough to analyse the drug of Nazi doctrine; for its effects
one must study the patient. We know, generally, what the Nazis were
trying to do. They were, in HITLER's phrase, "bending the mind" to
appreciate material and military success under the National Socialist
banner. The touchstone of success was military supremacy, as surely as
to the young reader of HORAT!E AGAR it was becoming a millionaire.
Now that Nazism as a military force has failed we should take stock of what
its teachings have done to the regimented youth of Germany.

It will not be enough to probe for their opinions on any broad,
superficial set of political symbols and slogans. The lip service the
German youth now renders to the phrase "Now we live without oppression",
or his expressed opposition to the "Nazi party boss", tell us little as
to his potential for re-education and his future usefulness as a citizen
in a peaceful world. We need to know much more, to wit: To what extent
and in what ways do his basic values remain Nazi while his ideology
changes color? How does he view his former youth leaders, his former
teachers? To what extent has the absence of free access to information
during his formative years, left its mark in ignorance of current world
affairs and the causes of the war? In addition, we need to know the
German youth as ordinary young people: what are their ambitions, their
interests, their expectations and how do they compare with the youth of
the United States and Great Britain?

I.C.B. analysts have begun a series of studies designed to produce
answers to these questions, of which the following is the first:

FRIEDBERG Youth: On 20 July 1945, a write-in questionnaire was given by
I.C.B. investigators to a group of 59 boys and 76 girls, between the
ages of 14 and 18, in the town of FRIEDBERG. These 135 children,
assembled in a schoolroom by summons of the Bürgermeister, represented
a fair middle-class sample of German youth. Geographically, they came from
various parts of Germany, and their religious affiliations were fairly
representative for Germany as a whole.

The children were told specifically to state their own personal
opinions and not to give their names. In spite of this, their answers
were doubtless influenced by the fact that the test was administered by
American army personal, that is, on occasion the children tended to
give answers which they thought would please the Americans. The results
must be read with this factor in mind.

The Questions: In addition to questions on age, sex, religion and
father's occupation, the children were asked in what country would they
like most (and least) to live. Did they believe that the officers were
justified in making the Putsch of 20 July 1944; who began this war
(Russia, England, Germany, U.S.A., the Jews or Poland); why did Germany
lose the war; who declared war against the other (Germany against the
USA or USA against Germany); is it possible to have lasting peace after
this war. Were they of the opinion that the Germans as a people were
better than (the Italians, the Americans, the Russians, the English,
the Poles, the French). Should German Jews be allowed to return to
Germany, and who was Heinrich HEINE. Should HJ and EDM leaders assume leading positions in any new youth movements; what did they think life would be like in Germany 10 years from now (pleasant and flourishing; endurable; or oppressive and difficult). Does the older German generation understand the current problems of German youth. They were asked for their opinion as to who was the greatest man in world history, and to define democracy, national socialism, race and honor as if they had to write a dictionary.

Over-all Attitudes:

The majority of young Germans in this sample displayed a strange admixture of Nazi and democratic (or pro-American) ideas. On the one hand, they reject certain obvious Nazi symbols and arguments, and echo democratic slogans. On the other hand, when basic values come into play and when they apparently do not know the appropriate democratic pass-word, then the Nazi foundations of their thought and character become apparent. "Democracy" appears to be a kind of talk (like "G.I. slang") rather than a way of life with these children. It is something that is being picked up rapidly, but this should not be a particular source of gratification for us.

Further evidence of confusion can be found in their historical thinking. For example, a 16 year old girl, who correctly stated that Germany had started the war, yet believed that the United States declared war on Germany. She would not accept HJ leaders and EDM leaders as leaders for future youth organization (she even was able to define Democracy in terms of the "will of the people"), yet she betrayed her education by maintaining that the Germans as a people were superior to the Russians, Poles and French. She argued the necessity for keeping one's race pure. Another young girl thought that the US declared war on Germany and that England started the air attacks on cities. Yet she rejected National Socialism as "a bad party whose leaders brought misfortune." Still a third girl believed that the Jews started the war, and they should not be allowed to return to Germany. But, at the same time she discovered completely the Nazi theory of German superiority over other peoples, and defined Democracy as a form of Government that stood for the welfare of people.

The Illustrative Cases: An example of the Nazi type was a 16 year old girl whose ambition it is to become a doctor, and who felt that the German people were superior to all other races including the Americans and the British. The 20 July Putsch was unjustified because it was an act of treachery against the German people. The Jews had started the war. While Germany had declared war on the United States, it was only because of the pressure that the United States had placed upon Germany. Most interesting were her reasons for Germany's loss of the war: treachery of the officer class and collapse of will to resist in the homeland. She specifically denied that the corruption of the Party, the behavior of the German Government, or the material superiority of the Allied forces were factors in Germany's defeat. She defined democracy as an anti-German party which means the decline of Germany, while National Socialism was the Party of true Germans. In 10 years from now she predicted that life in Germany would be oppressive and hard. In her opinion the greatest man in the history of the world was Frederick the Great, and all she had to say about Heinrich HEINE was that he was a Jew.

One 15 year old lad, an extreme anti-Nazi type, stated that Germany started the war and declared war first on the United States. Likewise, Germany was responsible for the air attacks against cities. He felt that Germany lost the war because of the material superiority
of the Allied armies and because of the air attacks on the German cities. Pointedly, he did not choose treachery of the officer class or collapse of the will to resist on the home front. He was of the opinion that the 20 July Putsch was justified because at that time the war had already been lost and the German officers were attempting to prevent further loss of useless blood. He defined Democracy as a party in which one expressed his opinion without punishment if things run properly. National Socialism is a party in which the truth is punished more than the untruth. He rejected Nazi concepts of race to the point of declaring that it was better to mix with other peoples than to hold to one’s race. Nevertheless he felt himself obliged to declare that the Germans, as a people, were better than the Italians and the French, although he did not affirm German superiority over the Americans, Russians, English and French. He felt that in 10 years from now life in Germany would be bearable. For him the greatest man in world history was President ROOSEVELT.

Girls vs. Boys: In every question testing pro-Nazi or pro-Germanic sentiment, the girls revealed themselves as significantly stronger in these values than the boys. For example, more of them disapproved of the 20 July Putsch.

"Do you think that the officers were justified in making the Putsch of 20 July 1944?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comment on this question, the only boy who disapproved the Putsch explained, "They broke their oath of honor". On the other hand, 9 girls said that the behavior of the officers was "a betrayal of the people"; 2 girls said that "as German officers they should have followed the Government"; and 2 others said that HITLER had done his best.

In connection with the question of boy-girl attitudes, the following data are also interesting:

"Do you think that the older German generation understands the current problems of German youth?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>26 (44%)</td>
<td>46 (60%)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24 (41%)</td>
<td>22 (29%)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>9 (15%)</td>
<td>8 (11%)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results suggest that the German boys have stronger feelings of rebellion and rejection of their parents' generation than the girls, who for the most part identify themselves with the older Germans. Similar dissatisfaction from the older Germany turns up more frequently in the boys' answers to the question: "In which country would you prefer to live?" Of the boys 22% chose a country other than Germany, whereas only 9% of the girls expressed a desire to live outside of Germany.
In other questions (data given elsewhere in this report) the girls showed a greater adherence to the racial superiority dogma; greater admiration for the German and Nazi hero, Frederick the Great; a greater approval of Hitler Youth and ENS leaders; a wider belief that the war was started by the Jews and that the Jews should not be allowed to return to Germany; and a greater pessimism with regard to the future conditions of life under Allied control. Significantly, more girls than boys also attributed the loss of the war to the betrayal by the officers (20 July), whereas more boys than girls attributed defeat to corruption in the Party. If the FRIEDBERG sample is representative, it would appear that the German girls are going to be a harder nut to crack than the boys, and a more dangerous one, because their influence is more subtle.

Heros: A psychologically significant way of testing a youth's values is to find out who his heroes are. The FRIEDBERG group were asked, "Who, in your opinion, is the greatest man in world history?" The answers to this question provide some evidence that while overt Nazi symbols are rejected, certain basic Nazi values remain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frederick the Great</td>
<td>5 20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bismarck</td>
<td>7 17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td>12 3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalin</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlemagne</td>
<td>5 -</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Eisenhower</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesar</td>
<td>2 -</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Churchill, President Truman, Leo XII, &quot;the future peace will tell&quot;)</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Don't know&quot; or &quot;no-one&quot;</td>
<td>8 19</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>12 70</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adolf HITLER's name does not appear on this list, nor does that of any other Nazi. Yet the man who leads the list, "Frederick the Great", was the favorite historical hero of HITLER and the Nazis. (HITLER's personal study in the " Braunhaus " in MUNICH used to be filled with pictures and busts of Frederick the Great). It is also interesting to note that while HITLER's name does not appear in the list, neither does the name of Christ, nor the name of any writer, artist, philosopher, scientist, inventor or business leader. For the German youth, "greatness" means only "power"; with the exception of Leo XIII, every individual named (including such Allied figures as ROOSEVELT, STALIN and EISENHOWER) is either a military or political power symbol. (Similar tests given to American youth have shown no such unanimity of admiration for power figures). The fact that these German youth substitute Allied symbols of power, like ROOSEVELT, STALIN and EISENHOWER, for German ones, indicates only a superficial change of values. It would have been more significant if, for example, some of the children had mentioned GOTTHER.
In this particular sample the overwhelming bulk of the entire group fell into this pattern of mixed attitudes. The only really consistent children were the Nazis, numbering approximately 15 to 25%, who gave answers true to the Nazi formula. Among those with confused ideas there was a small percentage, roughly equal to the Nazi-minded group, who strongly and clearly rejected Nazis but whose ideas were nevertheless not perfectly consistent, several Nazi ideas protruding themselves at one point or another.

Attitudes Toward Other Nations: The children were asked "Do you think that the Germans as a people are better than (the Italians, the Americans, the Russians, the British, the Polish, the French) ?" The results indicate a strong survival of the racial superiority doctrine, particularly among the girls who in every instance affirm German superiority (many of the girls hesitated to comment about the Americans and British).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No ans.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No ans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Polish are the least unfavored nation, followed closely by the Italians and the Russians. The Americans and the British, as might be expected, are the most favored peoples, and it is interesting to note that there is no significant difference between the attitude toward the Americans and the British. While the Poles and Italians are least favored, the German youth in overwhelming majority consider Russia the place they definitely do not want to live. Of the 135 answering the question "In what country would you like least to live ?", 81 wrote "Russia" (three of the children specified "Siberia"); 11 put down "Poland". Other scattered references were to Africa (6), Germany (5), France (4), Japan (2), Australia (2), China (2), Italy (2). One girl ventured to put down "now..."; 7 remarked that it didn't matter where they lived; 11 refrained from answering.

Although anti-Semitism has by no means disappeared, the majority of the German youth apparently do recognize and admit the injustice of the treatment of the Jews. When asked "Should German Jews be permitted to return to Germany ?" 91 boys and girls (67%) replied in the affirmative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No ans.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No ans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Areas of Ignorance:

(a) Questions of Fact: The Nazis have left behind great intellectual vacuum. For example, 93 of the 125 boys and girls in this study could not answer the question "Who was Heinrich HEINE ?" (Two boys thought that it was another name for HITLER). Of those who approximated a correct answer, four children said he was "a Jew", 17 said "a writer", 4 said "a German writer" and 20 said "a Jewish writer". Doubtless a number of children picked at the answers written by their neighbors, so that the amount of ignorance about HEINE is probably even greater than indicated by these figures.
The following questions and answers indicate the ideas of this group on other questions of fact:

"How many Americans do you think are of German extraction?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than a fourth</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A half</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost three-quarters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Who started the war?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jews</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Who first declared war against the other?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany against U.S.A.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A. against Germany</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Abstract Definitions: In addition to these questions of fact, the group was asked to explain a number of generalized and abstract ideas. When asked to define what Democracy meant the group as a whole displayed striking inability to produce even the most simple stereotype associated with the word. Almost half of the group either answered that they did not know or left the question blank. The girls were more nazified in general, in that 70 per cent of them made no attempt at definition, while 40 per cent of the boys failed in this respect. The definitions given were seldom more complicated than simple phrases such as "free opinion", "individual liberty", "equality of the people", "rule for the people" and the like. Examples of the fuller definitions encountered were:

"Democracy overthrows all racial laws with the declaration that all people are equal and thereby possess equal rights."

"Freedom in thoughts, words and deeds insofar as one can answer for them before God and mankind."

"Rule by the people; the people elect their candidates in a common free election, and no force is applied to them."

There were an isolated number of Nazi-inspired definitions such as an "anti-German party which means the decline of Germany" or "a clash between two classes of people."

The definitions given for race proved the most valuable in locating one of the most successful points of Nazi penetration. Well over one-third of the boys and half of the girls gave definitions which clearly revealed the Nazi imprint. Such definitions involved phrases about the need for keeping one's race pure, purity of blood, racial superiority, and the like. For example:

"A people is racially conditioned. I believe that a pure race has the best possibilities for existence. A people, whose blood is very mixed, will one day decline."
"The Aryan race is better than the non-Aryan race."

"It is the duty of each race to remain pure."

"There are many races. Everyone should have a racial feeling in order not to join himself with other races."

A minority defined race in purely neutral terms which betrayed the success of the Nazis in emphasizing the importance of race, but gave no indication as to whether these individuals accepted the significance of racial differences according to the Nazi point of view. Only an isolated anti-Nazi offered definitions which clearly rejected Nazi training: "One does not need to consider them as inhuman because they have another color." In general, many more of these youths believed there was something to say about race than about democracy.

**Attitudes Toward the Future:** The attitude of these youths toward the future shows neither great optimism nor great pessimism. The majority feel that the future will be endurable.

"Do you think that in 10 years from now life in Germany will be..."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pleasant and flourishing</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endurable</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oppressive and difficult</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also a rather tempered optimism with regard to enduring future peace:

"Is it possible to create a lasting peace after this war?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reasons for Defeat:** The explanation most frequently given by FRIEDBERG youth for the defeat of Germany is "material superiority of the Allies" - the explanation which has also been found most prevalent among the common German soldiers and the high military leaders. Other opinions about defeat are indicated in the following table (the children checked as many reasons as they thought applied):

"Why do you think Germany lost the war?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Betrayal of the officers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption in the Party</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collapse of resistance in the Home Front</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The motives of the German Government turned all peoples against Germany</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material superiority of the Allied armies</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air attacks against German cities</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In comments on this question, a number of children took the occasion to place the blame on Adolf Hitler—his incompetence, his betrayal of the people, his lack of understanding of military affairs. One youth noted that Germany lost the war because "our soldiers did not fight for a definite goal but had to follow the mad ideas of one man." Another child remarked that it was a good thing that Germany lost the war.

A COMPARATIVE GROUP OF "ANTI-NAZI" GIRLS

The same questionnaire given to the FRIEDBERG youth was also given to a group of 23 girls in a private school near BAD HOLZBERG, which was known to have been courageously conducted along anti-Nazi lines during the Hitler regime. The results obtained from these girls are remarkable in their difference from the FRIEDBERG group. They also illustrate the fact that the German problem is educational rather than biological.

Perhaps the most outstanding difference was the ability of these girls to think critically and to express balanced judgments. For example, in the question concerning the superiority of the Germans over other people, 7 of the girls wrote in a comment to the effect that there were "good and bad people in every country." One of the girls remarked that "all that matters in a man is his character, not his race." Only 2 of the 23 girls checked answers indicating that the Germans were superior to any other people (in both cases, to the Italians, Russians and Poles).

In answering the question "Who was the greatest man in world history?" 2 said Christ, 2 Caesar, 2 Bismarck, and 1 Napoleon. Of the 23, however, 16 stated that they were not in a position to judge. It is interesting to observe that these girls did not attempt to play up to the Americans by giving President Roosevelt's or President Franklin's name. Their favorite country to live in was Switzerland, with France, Germany and England following behind. Like the FRIEDBERG children, however, these girls felt that Russia was the country they would least like to live in.

None of these girls expressed the opinion that the officers were unjustified in making the Putsch of 20 July. Only one felt that Hitler Youth and BDM leaders should take a leading part in any future youth organizations, and even this girl qualified her "Yes" by saying: "certain ones."

All but one (the exception gave no answer) agreed that Germany started the war; all agreed that Germany declared war first on the United States; and all agreed that Germany first started the bombing of cities. The chief reason given for German defeat in the war was the "infatuation of the German Government which turned other peoples against Germany," followed by the explanations of Allied material superiority and air bombings. None checked "the treachery of the officers" nor "the collapse of the home front."

Every one of these 23 girls identified HEINE, some explaining not only that he was a Jewish poet, but that he lived in PARIS, was a romantic of the 19th century, and wrote "Hans Lorceld." Although among these girls also there was a certain amount of copying, the superiority of their knowledge in this question is unquestionable and striking.