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PRO-JEWISH REACTIONS IN GERMANY DURING THE NAZI

EPOCH: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

by

Bernard P. King

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters and
Ordination

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For Sheila, Mom, and Dad and their
pro-human reactions,

And for my Referee and his realistic
optimism regarding the human condition
and his autonomous behavior with respect
to truth.

DIGEST

The first chapter of this work constitutes a discussion of the situation of the Jews in Germany under the Weimar Republic in order to provide a background for the subsequent concerns of this writer with respect to the Nazi Epoch. The second chapter provides an historical survey of the legal and social restrictions and punishments visited upon Jews and their helpers under Hitler's rule in Germany. The result of these legal and social restrictions and punishments left a small minority of Jews in Germany by the 1940's to be aided. The attention of the third chapter of this work is turned upon that fringe element of Germany's population which sought to aid Jews during this period. There is included a fairly detailed investigation into the methods and factors involved in providing aid to Jews. As the Nazi process developed progressively from isolation of Jews to their extermination there developed concomitant methods of providing aid by diverse elements of the German population. There were those who provided shelter, food, forged documents, and other essential items to Jews at a great personal risk to themselves and their family. Many actual cases are considered which document the methods involved and the factors to be considered in providing aid to Jews. The final two chapters of this work consider the motivations involved in providing aid to Jews under Nazi rule. The fourth chapter attempts to present a representative survey of explicitly or implicitly proposed motivational factors as expressed by the helpers. The writer draws a skeptical conclusion with respect to the motivations professed by the helpers

themselves. The final chapter is an attempt to investigate less conscious and more fundamental motivational factors involved in altruistic behavior under totalitarian or crisis conditions. The writer then attempts to coordinate his findings and to apply them to those individuals who performed pro-Jewish actions in Germany during the Nazi Epoch.

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CHAPTER I

The Situation Of The Jews Under The Weimar Republic

German Jewry was granted civil and political equality in 1871, and with the abolition of the "Jewish Oath" in 1877 legal discrimination against Jews may be said to have ended. Yet this equality remained far from complete. Jews were still barred generally from all government and allied services, and few Jews were allowed to become full professors at universities. As monopoly and state capitalism developed Jews were¹ excluded from big business and industry.

On the eve of the Armistice in November 1918, the monarchy ended with the setting up of a Socialist Provisional Government. In August 1919 the Weimar Republic came into being. In the early years of the Republic a more liberal attitude toward the Jews prevailed. Barriers were dropped which had prevented Jews from entering the various branches of civil service, government, schools and universities. Opportunities increased in politics and the arts. Economic opportunities became broader. During this early period Jacob R. Marcus saw the Jew as "more willingly accepted as an equal in the economic, political, educational, and social life of the community than at any previous time in history..."²

These few years of opportunity for Jews under the democratically oriented Republic were being undercut by developments in the economic sphere which had begun earlier under imperial policies.³ Capitalism had become a concentrated order of large monopolies. During the war years there began a rapid increase in the concentration of industry which continued after the war. Inflation provided a few industrialists and bankers with the opportunity to consolidate their hold on German industry.

As the mark fell the return on exports was deposited in gold in foreign banks. Unemployment abounded with middle class impoverishment. Peasants, lower middle class, and workers had no purchasing power which resulted in its concomitant impoverishment. The Communist Revolution in Russia now began to cause the German industrialists a great deal of concern. Army officers, the Junker Aristocracy, bankers, manufacturers, and aristocratic intellectuals became allied in an effort to bring into being a government to protect their monopolist system from communist threats. Combining the historic prevalence of anti-Semitic tendencies in the culture and the employment of guerrilla forces to keep the masses in line by force, monopoly capitalism and Junkerdom spelled doom to Jewish hopes for equal opportunity in German society.

On June 24, 1922 Walter Rathenau, a leader of the electrical industry, the Minister of Reconstruction and Foreign Minister, A Jew, was assassinated.

By July 7 one dollar purchased, not 273 marks as on June 1, but 527 marks. By the Fall of 1923 the dollar rose to $2\frac{1}{2}$ trillion marks. Germany was bankrupt. Nationalism and anti-Semitism rose as a response.

In line with the spirit of the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, the "stab-in-the-back" legend was spread. The Jew was declared to have been the agent responsible for the downfall of Germany which caused its surrender in 1918. The ensuing Republic was also declared to be a result of Jews and Socialists working behind the lines to defeat the Fatherland. Rathenau was portrayed as a typical international Jew working for the defeat of Germany to the benefit of the international Jewish conspiracy. The Treaty of Versailles, which was also claimed to

be a Jewish and Socialist ploy, was attributed to Jews by millions of
⁵
 Germans who wished to believe it.

During this period a number of paramilitary groups were formed, most of which were financed by Rightists. Terror became their weapon. In 1923 an ex-corporal of the Kaiser's Army, Adolf Hitler, began his public activity. A synagogue in Frankfurt was bombed out, plays and symphonies composed by Jews were hissed from the stage. Jews were insulted in public places and beaten up.

The condition of the 564,379 Jews in Germany by the year 1925 may be somewhat reflected in their occupational and social patterns of
⁶
 distribution based upon the published census in that year. These figures could conceivably be indicative of the general atmosphere by which we could better appreciate the reactions, pro or con, of the Gentile to the Jewish Germans. By the year 1925 in Prussia, the major German Jewish population, 225,523 Jews were gainfully employed. Of these 49.3% were in commerce and banking; 21.9% were in industry and the crafts; 1.5% in agriculture; and 8.7% in professions and civil services. The Gentile occupational pattern in Prussia at this time for 2,164,398 gainfully employed show 9.8% in commerce and credit; 36.7% in industry and the crafts; 26.6% in agriculture; and 6% in the professional services. Thus the Jews had a slightly larger percentage in the professions (8.7% compared to 6%); a fraction as many in agriculture (1.5% compared to 26.6%); about three-fifths as many in industry (21.9% compared to 36.7%); and about five times as many, proportionately, in commerce and credit (49.3% compared to 9.8%).

Of all Jews in the professions 44% were in Law and Medicine. Of all Gentiles in the professions only 7% were in these two. In the City of Berlin, where 172,672 Jews resided in 1925, most of the Prussian Jewish doctors and lawyers were concentrated. There were actually more Jews than non-Jews practicing law in this City. The figures for the whole of Germany show 13,578 lawyers of whom 21.4% were Jews. Of 1,657,022 civil servants in Prussia, only 5,446 (3%) were Jews. Of 186,520 public school teachers only 1,351 (.8%) were Jewish.

With respect to social stratification 16.6% of all gainfully employed non-Jews were self-employed while 49.7% of Jews were self-employed. Of the Jews 50.3% were employees while 83.4% of the non-Jews were employees. Since 1813 a shift occurred in the number of Jews in the employee class in Prussia rising from 20% to 28.6% in 1852 to 51.7% in 1925. By 1925 the majority of Jewish employees were white-collar workers, while the majority of non-Jewish employees were laborers.

26% of Jews gainfully employed in Prussia were women, while 34.3% of non-Jews were women. Of the Jewesses 23% were self-employed as against 6.4% of the Gentile women. Most Jewish women employees were also engaged, as Jewish males, in white-collar jobs, while the majority of non-Jewish female employees were laborers and domestic servants.

The wide divergence in employment and social distribution most likely served to keep Jews and non-Jews separated. Had pro-Jewish sentiments been required or existent by 1925 to any significant degree it is unlikely that the economic and social distributional patterns would have encouraged their occurrence to any marked degree. Combine this set of factors with the historical prevalence of racial, religious, and political

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anti-Semitism in German culture and we might safely assume a generally negative inclination toward Jews in Germany by 1925.

The inflation was followed by four to five years of moderate prosperity from 1925 till 1929. Hitler spent these years slowly building the National Socialist German Worker's Party. By 1925 they had attracted 27,000 dues-paying members; by 1926 their membership increased to 49,000; to 72,000 in 1927; to 108,000 in 1928; to 178,000 in 1929. In the elections of May 1928 the Nazi Party polled 810,000 votes out of 31 million cast. The Nazis achieved only 12 of the Reichstag's 491 seats. This lull before the storm saw Jews involving themselves increasingly in literary activity,⁸ the social sciences, music, the graphic and plastic arts, and the stage. William Shirer, in his The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich,⁹ records his personal experience of the general atmosphere in Berlin and Munich during this period preceding the Depression:

A wonderful ferment was working in Germany. Life seemed more free, more modern, more exciting than any place I had ever seen. In contemporary writing, painting, architecture, in music and drama, there were new currents and fine talents. And everywhere there was an accent on youth. One sat up with the young people all night in the sidewalk cafes, the plush bars, the summer camps, on a Rhineland steamer or in a smoke-filled artist's studio and talked endlessly about life. They were a healthy, carefree, sun-worshipping lot, and they were filled with an enormous zest for living to the full and in complete freedom. The old oppressive Prussian spirit seemed to be dead and buried. Most Germans one met -- politicians, writers, editors, artists, professors, students, businessmen, labour leaders -- struck you as being democratic, liberal, even pacifist.

One scarcely heard of Hitler or the Nazis except as butts of jokes....

However much these years generated a "democratic, liberal, even pacifist" atmosphere, the government passed securely into the hands of

the Right. In April 1925 Marshall von Hindenburg was elected President of the Republic. The National Socialists and the other racist parties continued their steady growth. During these years of relative stability and calm, 1925-1927, increasing numbers of Jewish cemeteries were desecrated, synagogues were attacked, minor disturbances against Jews grew in frequency, anti-Semitic bills were regularly introduced into State and National legislatures, and some 700 racist and anti-semitic newspapers flourished¹⁰ throughout the Fatherland.

By 1926 an estimate placed one-fifth of all the national wealth¹¹ in government hands with this percentage rapidly increasing. As capital and industry became increasingly concentrated in the hands of the government during this period of cartelization opportunities for Jews diminished. Major industries carried on a clandestine boycott of Jews. The growth of large monopolies tended to undercut seriously the independent businessman, the middle man, and the small shopkeeper who lacked the resources¹² to withstand the competition. Jewish unemployment gradually increased. From 1925 on, when Hindenburg and the Nationalist Forces assumed power, the government began itself to pursue a hostile attitude toward the Jews.

World panic in 1929 and the Great Depression which began in 1930 led to the cessation of the Weimar Republic and any delusions of equality of opportunity in Germany of its Jewish citizens. The Wall Street Stock Market crashed on October 24, American loans to Germany dried up, repayment of the old ones became due, exports dwindled, German industry closed down, production fell by almost half from 1929 to 1932, millions became unemployed, small businesses went under, banks closed down, and the Nazis became Germany's second largest political party. Backstairs intrigue

brought Hitler the Chancellorship in January 1933.

During the years of the Weimar Republic there were no attempts to record instances of pro-Jewish acts by the Gentile population since, by law, Jews were considered first class German citizens. We could, however, conjecture that, on numerous levels of German society, Jews and non-Jews developed positive social relationships. ¹³ Between 1906 and 1930 there were 33,000 intermarriages in Germany between Jews and Gentiles. The social distribution of German Jews, though certainly generating competitive hostilities, no doubt also led to positive relationships on all levels of involvement. The political sphere might also provide a useful indicator. Though numerous Germans attempted to alleviate their economic grievances by casting votes for anti-semitic parties, the majority did not do so until the Great Depression. But one might imagine that concomitant with a decrease in economic stability went a similar decrease in the propensity to offer positive actions on behalf of individual Jews. By the time Hitler had maneuvered dictatorial powers from the Reichstag in 1933, this propensity toward pro-Jewish actions on the part of many Germans had certainly diminished to fringe elements of the population who resisted the shifting value system and clung tenaciously to prior modes of thinking and value commitments.

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

1. Marvin Lowenthal, The Jews of Germany, A Story of Sixteen Centuries, pp. 270-272.
2. Jacob R. Marcus, The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew, p. 2.
3. Lowenthal, op. cit., pp. 321-324.
4. Ibid., p. 336.
5. Ibid., p. 338.
6. Marcus, op. cit., pp. 119-123.
7. Paul W. Massing, Rehearsal For Destruction, A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany, esp. Parts One and Two.
8. Marcus, op. cit., chapters X-XIV.
9. William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, A History of Nazi Germany, p. 168.
10. Lowenthal, op. cit., p. 368.
11. Marcus, op. cit., p. 128.
12. Ibid., p. 129.
13. E.G., Cf. David Baumgardt, "Looking Back on a German University Career," Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook X, pp. 239-251, and Walter Laqueur, "The German Youth Movement and the 'Jewish Question,' A Preliminary Survey," Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook VI.

CHAPTER II

Historical Survey Of The Legal And Social Restrictions
And Punishments Inflicted Upon Jews And Upon Those
Who Provided Jews With Aid 1933-1945

On January 30, 1933 Adolf Hitler became Reich Chancellor of Germany. His rule was barely a few months old when individual acts of violence began against Germany's 515,000 Jews. Thousands of Jews were beaten, robbed, and some murdered. On March 23 the "Law For Removing the Distress of People and Reich" was passed by a vote of 441 to 84. This Enabling Act turned over Parliament's constitutional authority to Hitler. This Act brought on the demise of parliamentary democracy in Germany and provided the legal basis for Hitler's dictatorship. Shortly more than one week passed before Hitler proclaimed a nation-wide boycott of Jewish shops. The Civil Service Law of April 7 eliminated from the judiciary and civil service all "non-Aryans." This was soon followed on April 25 by the First Restrictions regarding the admission of Jewish children to German schools and Jewish students to universities. During April and extending into the month of May various decrees came down restricting Jewish lawyers, doctors, and dentists.

On the basis of the Civil Service Law of April 7 the following
1
regulation was issued which defined non-Aryans :

A person is to be regarded as non-Aryan, who is descended from non-Aryans, especially Jewish parents or grandparents. This holds true even if only one parent or grandparent is of non-Aryan descent. This premise especially obtains if one parent or grandparent was of Jewish faith.

The German naturalization of Eastern Jews was revoked in July. On October 4 admission to the profession of editor was prohibited to non-Aryans.

All of these disabling legal actions against Jews culminated on September 15, 1935 with the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws.

The citizen of the Reich was defined as

...only that subject, who is of German or kindred blood and who, through his conduct, shows that he is both desirous and fit to serve faithfully the German people and the Reich.

Also included in the Nuremberg Laws was a forthright attempt by law to discourage non-Jews and Jews from binding relationships. The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor decreed

1.

(1) Marriages between Jews and citizens of German or similar blood are forbidden. Contracted marriages are invalid even if they are contracted abroad within the scope of this law...

2.

Extra marital intercourse between Jews and citizens of German and similar blood is forbidden.

3.

Jews may not employ female citizens of German and similar blood under 45 years of age in their households.

It was also decreed that "A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich." The definition of the term "Jew" is

1. ...anyone who descended from at least three grandparents who were racially fully Jews[i.e. if the grandparent belonged to the Jewish religious community]...

2. A Jew is also one who descended from two full Jewish parents, if: (a) he belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this law was issued, or who joined the community later; (b) he was married to a Jewish person, at the time the law was issued, or married one subsequently; (c) he is the offspring from marriage with a Jew...which was contracted after the Law for the Protection of German blood and German honor became effective...; (d) he is the offspring of an extramarital relationship, with a Jew... and will be born out of wedlock after July 31, 1936.

These Nuremberg Laws had the effect of cutting the Jew off from the German body politic and restricting his social intercourse with members

of the non-Jewish population. An example of an attempt to restrict social intercourse between Jews and non-Jews was an article published² on July 27, 1935

German women finally wake up and do not buy anymore from Jews. And you, German girl, also finally wake up and do not go with Jews any longer.

The Jew is also a person? Quite Right! Nobody has ever argued that point. The only question is: What kind of person is he? Oh, I know, German women, your grocery-man is such an obliging and decent Jew, and your friend, German girl, is such a nice and polite person! Yes, I understand.

To the devil finally with this nursery tale. Snake remains a snake, and Jew remains a Jew! German women, if you buy from Jews and German girl, if you carry on with Jews, then both of you betray your German Volk and your Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler, and commit a sin against your German Volk and its future!

In such an atmosphere it would be reasonable to assume that, even though there are recorded instances of positive actions toward³ Jews, the majority of the population would have moved progressively toward an acceptance of these anti-Jewish measures and their accompanying shift in value orientation. According to the Nuremberg definition a Protestant or Catholic with three Jewish grandparents now became "full-blooded Jews" with all this title's stigma. Some form of "revaluation of values" must have been necessary for a major proportion of Germany's population.

Anti-Jewish legislation did not cease with the Nuremberg Laws. The Jews were eliminated from the Press on April 15, 1936. One year later registration of Jewish-owned property was made a requirement. Identity cards for Jews were introduced on July 23 to begin on January 1939. Jews were prohibited from practicing medicine on July 25. On

August 17 Jews were forced to use only such names as prescribed in the Minister of Interior's directives. By January 1939 the additional name of "Sara" for women and "Israel" for men had to be adopted by Jews. A decree was legislated on September 27 providing for the elimination of Jewish lawyers by November 30.

On November 7, a German Jewish refugee, Herschel Grynszpan, in order to revenge the general persecution of Jews in Germany and his father's deportation to Poland in a boxcar, assassinated the third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris. This action paved the way for what was to become known as "Crystal Night." November 9, 1938 marked the transition from legal disability to physical violence against Jews in Nazi Germany. On November 9 and 10 the Nazi Party planned and organized "spontaneous demonstrations" throughout the Reich against Jews, their shops and synagogues. Jewish homes were smashed while Jews were beaten and killed. Some 50,000 of them were arrested and marked for concentration camps. Reichsmarshal Goering fined the Jewish community one billion Reichsmarks to cover the cost of damage.

Though this action most likely tended toward the brutalization of the German population and their acceptance of violence perpetrated against Jews, there were instances of helpful acts recorded toward Jews. In a little town in Thuringia, Hans Huter and his wife protected their Jewish friends Emil and Charlotte Rdschild while their apartment was being smashed by a mob. In Berlin Dr. Carl Loesten was protected by the parents of his chauffeur who took him to their home in Wittenau.

A most instructive case which indicates the severe degree of social

pressure applied to non-Jews who were found to have given aid to Jews is the case of Marie Kahle, the wife of Professor Paul Kahle, Arab scholar at Bonn University. In a memoir written shortly after the events Marie Kahle records the experiences her family shared after she and her son helped their Jewish friend Emilie Goldstein to clear up her shop after the Crystal Night.⁵ One week later an article appeared in the newspaper Westdeutscher Beobachter: "Traitors to the Nation. Frau Kahle and son help the Jewess Goldstein to clear up her shop."⁶ The following day she received abusing and threatening phone calls, her son was beaten by the Hitler youth, her husband was requested to leave the university and cease teaching, and the windows of their home were broken during the early morning.⁷ For a short period Marie felt it necessary to flee to a convent and upon her return was interrogated by the Gestapo.⁸ On December 5th her eldest son was called for disciplinary sentence before the court of the University. He was punished with relegation from the University and sent down for a term "on account of behavior unworthy of a student during the protestation against the Jewish shops."⁹ Although the court could find no evidence of premeditated intent on his part to visit the Jewish shop and that it occurred purely by chance

Nevertheless, the conduct of the student is, in every sense, objectionable. Through the fact that he thought it right, after what had taken place, to visit a Jewish shop, he has endangered in a high degree the honour of the University and has offended against his academic duties....He must be punished.¹⁰

The ramifications of Marie's positive act were even felt outside her immediate family.

My brother, who loved me very much, had broken with me because "I had betrayed my German blood." My sisters were too afraid to write to me. My stepmother would not

allow me to enter her home, my father's house."

All but two of her friends "vanished," these were problems with the milk delivery, and the Protestant and Catholic churches in her area refused to allow her son to practice on their organs.¹² The Gestapo ordered Marie's husband to leave a Club of Intellectuals of which he had been a member for fifteen years. Not one of the 20 professors who were present had the courage to leave with him.¹³ Marie sums up her pain which resulted from her action: "certainly the worst part of my suffering was to see my family suffer and to be unable to help them."¹⁴

Such social pressure was not uncommon even in the years preceding Crystal Night. As early as the April 1933 nationwide boycott of Jewish businesses expressions of sympathy for Jews was systematically discouraged. Columns in the press and lists of names on notice-boards identified firms and individuals maintaining business connections with Jews.¹⁵ Yet the very need to resort to such measures in order to discourage contact with Jews is an indication that such contacts were not infrequent in the Reich even as late as November 9, 1938. In fact the "problem" was not settled three years later as reflected in an order from the Gestapo Office for Nurenberg-Fuerth on November 3, 1941:

Lately it has repeatedly become known here that, now as before, Aryans are maintaining friendly relations with Jews, and that they show themselves with them conspicuously in public. In view of the fact that these Aryans still do not seem to understand the elementary basic principles of National Socialism, and because their behavior has to be regarded as disrespect toward measures of the State, I order that in such cases the Aryan party is to be taken into protective custody temporarily for educational reasons; respectively, in serious cases, that they be put in a concentration camp...For a period of up to three months. The Jewish party is in any case to be taken into protective custody until further notice and to be sent to a concentration camp.

Apparently the legislative decrees following Crystal Night had not achieved the desired effect of a total separation of Jews from the German population. On November 28, 1938 a police regulation imposed restrictions with respect to the time and place that Jews might appear in public. In rapid measure Jewish children were eliminated from German schools; it was decreed that Jews could be ordered to sell or liquidate industrial enterprises, real estate, securities, jewelry, precious metals, works of art; their driving licenses were withdrawn; they were prohibited from entering places of entertainment, museums, public baths, sleeping and dining cars; Jewish tenants could no longer invoke the protection of the tenancy laws against an Aryan landlord, and an Aryan could dissolve a lease with a Jew at any time simply by giving notice. On July 4, 1939 the Reichminister of the Interior was authorized to abolish or take over all Jewish organizations and foundations. Even after the introduction of the yellow Jewish star to be worn by all Jews six years of age and older beginning September 1941, it is interesting that the Gestapo still found it necessary to order a cessation of "friendly relations with Jews" one month later.

The legal noose was tightened even more. On March 24, 1942 a decree severely limited the use of public transportation facilities by Jews. It was further decreed that after October 14, 1942 Jews could no longer purchase meat, meat products, eggs, wheat products, or milk. Their right to purchase other rationed foods was restricted sharply, and the hours of the day during which Jews could shop was delimited. Their bread ration was less than one pound per week as compared to more than five pounds for Germans. Yet there were many acts of kindness performed during

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this period toward Jews by average Germans. A Jewish survivor described the attitude of non-Jews toward Jews at this time:

Soon after the introduction of the Star the non-Jews surpassed each other in rendering little favors and services to the Jews, especially by supplying them with food, smokes, etc. Some took those things right up to the Jew's homes, others handed them out quite openly, or in other cases secretly in the streets or in the public transport vehicles.¹⁷

While these legal statutes were being promulgated and the "little favours and services to the Jews" were being performed by German citizens, steps were being taken during the years 1938 to 1940 to bring about the mass deportation of Jews.¹⁸ When Hitler came to power there were approximately 515,000 Jews residing in the Reich. Five years later emigration and the death rate had diminished that number to about 350,000. At the outbreak of war in September 1939, thousands of Jewish families were deported. For a time the plan to deport Jews to Madagascar was considered, but was discarded in favor of a final solution of the Jewish Question.

By the census of 1939 more than two-thirds of Germany's Jews were concentrated in Berlin 82,788, Frankfurt 14,461, Breslau 11,172, Hamburg 10,131, Cologne 8,539, Munich 5,050, Leipzig 4,477, Mannheim 3,024, and Nuremberg 2,688. This concentration may be explained by the migration caused by the gradual impoverishment of the Jews necessitating a greater reliance upon Jewish relief organizations located in the major cities. Though this movement was largely uncalculated the isolation of Jews from the surrounding German population was carefully directed by the Government.¹⁹

The ghettoization of Jews in Germany occurred in five steps. First,

an attempt was made to sever social contacts between Jews and Germans. The dismissal of Jews from the civil service and industry, and the Aryanization or liquidation of Jewish businesses, while primarily motivated for economic reasons, had consequences in the social realm. There were also calculated measures designed to avoid the mixing of Jews and non-Jews. There were two categories under which these measures fell. One was based upon the assumption that the Germans were too friendly with the Jews and that such relationships had to be prohibited in the interest of German blood and honor.²⁰ The other category based itself on the assumption that Germans were hostile to Jews so as to require segregation in order to maintain public tranquility. The former category contained those decrees to be enforced against non-Jews, and the latter those to be enforced against Jews.

An attempt was made to keep Jews and non-Jews separated in public places. Jews were barred on the rationalization that Germans did not like Jews and were inconvenienced by their presence. Jews were therefore expelled from German schools, universities, resorts, beaches, and were assigned special hours to shop.²¹

The second step taken to isolate Jews from Germans was to restrict housing. On December 28, 1938 Göring issued a directive that Jews be concentrated in houses.²² The above mentioned decree that tenancy laws did not protect Jews was part of this second stage. By 1941 the procedure of selecting houses for Jews and steering them into these Judenhäuser was well under way.

The third step which occurred almost contemporaneously with the

second was the restriction of Jewish movement and communications. In September 1939 Jews were under curfew after 8 p.m. Restriction in the use of City transportation²³ is also part of this third stage. In 1941 private telephones were removed from Jewish apartments, and permission to use public telephones was restricted. Signs hung on public telephone booths read: "Use by Jews prohibited."

These restrictions were followed by a fourth step, a system of identifications. Jews had to apply for identification cards by a decree of July 23, 1938. All Jewish passports were marked with a large red J beginning October 5, 1938. On March 11, 1940 ration cards belonging to Jews were also marked with the letter J. This was extended on September 18, 1942 to the word Jude marked obliquely and throughout the ration card. As part of this identification procedure Jewish names were restricted²⁴ and the names Sara and Israel had to be added.

A final aspect of this fourth step was the outward marking of Jews and their places of habitation. The wearing of Jewish star decree of 1941 and the 1942 marking of Jewish apartments completed this stage of isolation.

The effects of this identification system is instructive with respect to the paralyzing effect on the Jew and the concomitant dangers²⁵ and difficulties involved in attempting to provide aid to a Jew. These measures facilitated the enforcement of residence and movement restrictions, and also enabled the authorities to pick up Jews at all times. This procedure engendered docility and self-consciousness on the part of the identified. No escape or hiding was possible without first doing away with the conspicuous tag, the added Jewish names, the ration card,

passport, and identification cards. These were dangerous actions to attempt.

The fifth and final step in the concentration of the Jews was the taking over of the Jewish leadership which controlled the Jewish community.²⁶ The community publications informed the Jewish community of new decrees and orders. The community kept the Nazis informed of all births, deaths, and demographic changes. This development ultimately had great significance with respect to the deportation of Jews to the death camps.

The general effectiveness of this policy of isolating those defined as Jews from the German population was exceptional. In September, 1941 mass deportations of Jews was begun. By the end of 1941 there were ca. 150,000 Jews in the Reich. By the end of 1942 there remained merely 51,327.. The successful procedure of ghettoizing the Jews made attempts to help Jews an extremely precarious venture. The fact that numerous cases of pro-Jewish acts have been recorded during this period is all the more remarkable.²⁷

In the summer of 1942 the Nazis deemed two ordinances to be necessary. Gift parcels to deported people were forbidden, and Germans who had Jews staying with them, without a police permit, were threatened with severe punishment.²⁸ Even at this late date there were most likely numerous social and economic relationships between this concentrated Jewish community and its German neighbors.

On July 31, 1941 Göring sent orders to Heydrich which marked a shift in the history of anti-Semitism from expulsion to extermination.

This order gave Heydrich the authority to organize the Final Solution. By the end of 1943 some 180,000 Jews from Germany had been deported to Poland and murdered. Of the 51,327 Jews remaining in Germany by January 1, 1943 it is assumed that almost all of the remaining eligible
²⁹ Jews ³⁰ were deported. It was reported that nearly 20,000 German Jews
³¹ had been deported during the first three months of 1943.

Hitler's isolation policy and its social and legal restrictions perpetrated against Jews and those who would be guilty of attempting to show them some kindness ultimately left precious few Jews in Germany
³² to be aided. It is to this fringe element which succeeded in helping and in attempting to help the few Jews it could that we now turn our attention. Who were these people who helped? How did they help? Why did they help?

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

1. All succeeding documentary evidence of a legal nature is taken from Nazi Germany's War Against the Jews, a publication of the American Jewish Conference, 1947.
2. Ibid., Part III, p. 456.
3. H.D. Leuner, When Compassion Was A Crime, Germany's Silent Heroes, 1933-45, pp. 26-35.
4. Ibid., pp. 42-46.
5. Marie Kahle, The Story of the Escape of the Kahle Family From Nazi-Germany, p. 5.
6. Ibid., p. 7.
7. Ibid., pp. 8f.
8. Ibid., pp. 9-11.
9. Ibid., p. 13.
10. Ibid., p. 14.
11. Ibid., p. 15.
12. Ibid., pp. 15-17.
13. Ibid., p. 29.
14. Ibid., p. 27.
15. Leuner, op. cit., p. 29.
16. Ibid., p. 67.
17. Loc. cit.
18. Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews, pp. 257-554.
19. I am indebted to Raul Hilberg, Ibid., pp. 106ff., for the following evaluation interpreting the attempts to isolate socially Jews from the general German population.
20. Above p. 10.
21. See above

22. Above p. 15.
23. See above
24. See above
25. Hilberg, op. cit., p. 121.
26. See above
27. Leuner, op. cit., pp. 66-79.
28. Ibid., p. 68.
29. Cf. Hilberg op. cit., pp. 268ff. for a discussion of Mischlinge.
30. Hilberg, op. cit., p. 299.
31. Ibid. Also cf. Proudfoot's European Refugees: 1939-52, A Study in Forced Population Movement, pp. 322, 334.
32. K.J. Ball-Kaduri, "Berlin is Purged of its Jews: the Jews in Berlin in the Year 1943," Yad Vashem Studies V, p. 314.

CHAPTER III

Methods and Factors Involved in Providing Aid to Jews

The Nazi process against Jews which developed progressively from isolation to extermination provided the framework by which the needs of Jews in Germany increased and by which those who provided aid must be gauged. For example, prior to the beginning of deporting Jews to the East in February 10, 1940 there was little need to hide large numbers of Jews. Prior to the severe restrictions of rations for Jews by January 1940 there was little motivation to share food rations with Jews. Indeed before attempts were made to sever social contacts between Jews and Germans the opportunity had not yet arisen by which an element of the Germans would risk much in order to defy such measures. Thus the legal and social restrictions which steadily progressed during the years of the Third Reich must be borne in mind as we attempt to determine the factors involved in, and the methods employed by those engaged in, providing aid to Jews.

Pro-Jewish reactions range from surreptitiously placing a few cigarettes or food rations into the coat of a Jew to hiding a Jew or smuggling him out of the country. A public act might extend from giving a seat to a Jew on a streetcar to praying for the Jews from a Protestant or Catholic pulpit. I will be primarily interested in delineating some aspects involved in hiding Jews. Of secondary interest will be the aid offered to help Jews leave the country illegally. And finally there will be an attempt to show the broad range of kind actions toward Jews which occurred inconspicuously on a day to day basis.

Provided Shelter

A Jew in hiding was known as a "U-Boat." Under what circumstances did the need arise for Jews to "submerge" into hiding? A typical case is that of the Berlin family of Erich Hopp. In late May, 1942 Erich, his wife Charlotte and their 14 year old son Wolfgang received a large envelope in their mailbox from the Gestapo containing the message: prepare to be evacuated. Erich's experience after receiving this message is recounted as follows:¹

All night we weighed our chances for life. If we avoided deportation, how could we get along without a place to live, without food ration cards, always in danger of being reported by self-appointed denouncers? But deportation meant at best a precarious living and perhaps death. We did not consider the only alternative, suicide. We finally decided to submerge, and live illegally.

Like the Hopps there were approximately 3,000 to 5,000 "illegal" Jews submerged in the city of Berlin by 1943.² Of this number about 75%³ were eventually discovered, leaving merely 1,200 - 1,500 who survived.

The risk was, therefore, quite great for the hidden as well as for the individuals who supplied the shelter. A few examples will suffice to point up the punishments meted out to those caught hiding Jews. In 1942 five women were sentenced to six years of penal servitude because they had given shelter to eight Jewish children of deported families and pretended they were their own.⁴ Gertrud Seele, a 27 year old nurse in Berlin, was executed for helping Jews in January 1945.⁵ The daughter of a Cologne doctor, Lilo Gloeden, her husband and mother were beheaded at intervals of two minutes on November 30, 1944 for the treasonous act of hiding victims of anti-Jewish and political persecution.⁶

The punishments were often severe in the cases of those caught performing small acts of kindness toward Jews as in the case of Heinrich Glawion, a farmer in Silesia, who was sentenced to 18 months penal servitude for trying to give butter to some Jews; ⁷ a fortiori in the case of one caught illegally giving shelter to a Jew. In retrospect we see that the dangers were numerous and the penalties severe for those hiding Jews. What then, may we ask, was involved in providing shelter?

An unlimited degree of practical ingenuity was a necessary ingredient for any attempt to shelter Jews in Nazi Germany. The first consideration was to devise a place to hide. Some helpers, as in the case of Hedwig Muss of Berlin, merely shared their apartments with Jews. Frau Muss, onetime maid in the Jewish home of the Jacob family, hid Herr and Frau Jacob and their nephew in her single room which contained neither gas, ⁸ electricity, nor toilet. For more than two years, from February 1943 until the defeat of Germany, this difficult situation continued. A small attic often served the purpose as in the case of Moritz Mandelkern who was hidden for 18 months by Frau Schwarze whose nine year old son ⁹ and husband, a Nazi block warden, were aware of her actions. The ingenuity involved in securing a hiding place may be dramatized by the case of the Knychala family of three who hid two Jews, Louis Link and ¹⁰ Salli Strien, from 1940 till 1944. In the flat there was a cellar which could be reached by a door that opened into the bedroom. The door had to be removed and a large wardrobe was placed in front of the opening. The plywood-back was removed from the wardrobe. A wooden beam was fixed across the plywood wall and it was bolted on the cellar side. Only in

answer to a special knock would the bolt be opened, thus permitting entrance through the wardrobe and into the cellar.

Two Jews were hidden in Berlin by Herr Noehrenberg in a cleaned¹¹ out repair pit under his furniture van for two years. Many such cases requiring great ingenuity in devising hiding places could be recounted, but suffice it to say that a wide range of possibilities were utilized¹² to their fullest degree. In fact Erich Hopp¹³ spent a short period with his son, hidden in a Berlin brothel.

Another serious concern of those who hid Jews was the procurement of food. It cost Ernst Bruno Motzko his entire savings over a period¹⁴ of 28 months in order to feed four Jews whom he hid in his flat. August Kossmann found it necessary to undertake part time work in order to procure enough food to feed the three Jews whom he kept hidden in¹⁵ his one and a half room flatlet. An eccentric woman in her late forties, Marie Buade, hid three Jews while dividing the food she received¹⁶ from her ration card into four equal parts. Rolf Joseph, one of those hidden by Marie and who relates this account, remarked, "fortunately she was a vegetarian."

Some persons who hid Jews were helped by friends and family who shared the burden of feeding the "U-Boats." One woman in hiding, Valerie¹⁷ Wolfenstein, tells the following:

Having no ration cards we had to live, wherever we were, mostly from the ration cards of our hosts. We heard of a driver for a wholesale grocery firm who delivered food to grocery stores and to the magnificent villas of the Nazi bigshots in Dahlem. He regularly filled paper bags with small quantities of the same things and brought the little packets to Jews in hiding.

There were also instances where Jewish members of families in hiding left their refuge in order to help acquire sufficient food for their loved ones. Such was the case of Erich Hopp's wife, Charlotte,¹⁸ who procured food for her husband and son from May 1942 until the liberation of Germany.¹⁹ Her husband gives the following account of his wife's activity:

She spent every day, from morning till night, looking for food. Many people we knew gave her something, or named other people who would give... Each of these helpful and compassionate persons gave what he could; no matter how little it was -- fifty grams of bread, five grams of fat, or a paper bag full of flour, some potatoes, or a bottle of thin soup -- it helped.... And so, for three years, Charlotte hurried from house to house, from apartment to apartment, from one part of the city to another, asking for food to keep her family alive.²⁰

This necessity, at times, of relying on the connivance of neighbors and friends for food or ration cards makes any attempt to ascertain the number of individuals who helped a distinct impossibility. Some sort of support by a third party was often necessary in such endeavors at hiding Jews. At the same time the more others became involved in aiding the submerged the greater was the danger of discovery, not only for the Jew, but for the family doing the hiding.

It was often the case that those who hid Jews found themselves forced to engage in numerous acts of an illegal nature. In terms of food procurement, "ration books had to be bought from those who had stolen²¹ or embezzled them." Identification cards and false documents had to be forged or purchased at extortionate prices. Some of the difficulties and dangers involved in such activity are alluded to in the following²² account told by Valerie Wolfenstein:

Seeing that no serious efforts had been made to locate Frau Rumppler [a friend who had recently gone into hiding], we too started to think about submerging. Our Gentile friends rejoiced, and tried to help us procure forged papers, spending much money in their efforts. We felt that we must submerge only after getting identification papers, in order to bring less risk upon those who might give us refuge.

Getting the papers was, of course, a dangerous business. Dr. Kaufmann, who had furnished Frau Rumppler's, had been arrested by the Gestapo and executed. We had heard of cases in which Gestapo men themselves offered such papers; then, after the victims had received them and thought their road to freedom was open, they were arrested.... Our friends were unsuccessful in their many attempts to procure false papers. Then someone offered to get us identification cards of the Nazi Labor Front for 4,000 marks. That was a lot of money, but we paid it.²³

Involved, therefore, in a decision to submerge in order to avoid deportation was the consideration of obtaining false papers, not only as a protective measure for the "U-Boat," but for the person offering refuge as well. The individual who furnished such papers risked execution, and, aside from the dangers involved for those who sought to acquire such papers for Jews, the financial expense was very high. Even with all the danger and expense involved there was no assurance of success. In fact, in the case just cited, the Nazi Labor Cards never came and there was no way to recover the 4,000 marks which were swindled.²⁴ However, four months after Valerie and her sister had gone into hiding they received²⁵ identification cards. One card was that of a Berlin housekeeper, the method of procurement remaining unknown to the sisters; the other, an expired postal identification card was expressly given for the sisters by a Viennese language teacher.

²⁶
Erich Hopp alludes to efforts taken to obtain some form of false²⁷ identification papers:

I had nothing as identification except a military pass from the First World war. As a precaution I changed the religion on it from "Mosaic" to "dissident." Wolfgang [his son] used every chance he had to obtain identification papers. He got a pass for the city transportation system under the name of W. Horn, a reader's card at the Lichtenberg Public Library, a postal savings book, and other things. Some illegals went to a police station after an air raid in order to get papers as bombed-out persons. That often worked but sometimes they were arrested and deported.

Other cases could be cited which portray efforts of non-Jews on behalf of Jews to obtain false papers, even to the extent of giving them
28
their own papers which involved merely a change of photos.

Aside from the practical problems involved in offering refuge to a Jew such as devising a suitable shelter and helping to procure false papers, there existed constant sources of tension. Countess Ballestrem-Solf, the widow of a foreign minister and diplomat during the Weimar
29
Republic, tells of her anxiety while helping and hiding Jews.

No one who has not lived through it can fully understand the feeling of being cornered that haunted us day and night. We could trust no one except those whom we know well. We could not use the telephone freely -- it might be tapped. We were never sure we were not being watched.

The Countess had justified reason to worry. On January 12, 1944 she, along with her mother, Aunt and housekeeper, were arrested by the
30
Gestapo. Her imprisonment lasted until the day of Germany's liberation. Of the close circle of anti-Nazi friends of the Countess, 76 were executed
31
by the war's end.

What were some of these sources of tension involved in hiding a Jew? To begin with, spies were a constant danger. There were instances of Jews being sheltered in tenement houses, the occupants of which were
32
aware of the situation and kept the secret; yet the danger of someone

informing was always present. Erich Hopp tells of such a situation:

A young Jewish girl whose parents had owned a restaurant frequented by Jews had purchased her life from the Gestapo by becoming a spy. She would walk about with two Gestapo men and point out people she recognized. Many Jewish illegals were her victims. Unfortunately she knew us.

Another instance of Jewish informers is related in connection with the Knychala Family.³⁵ Two Jews led the Gestapo to the Knychala flat³⁶ where two other Jews were being hidden. Fortunately the hiding place behind the wardrobe was not found, but Leon Knychala was beaten severely by the Gestapo during an interrogation.

These Jewish spies were employed by the Gestapo to get in touch with people whom they suspected of being Jewish and who were submerged. They introduced themselves as being Jewish. Then they attempted to persuade people to talk to them openly and, if successful, immediately afterwards informed the Gestapo.³⁷ These Jewish spies were joined by many categories of non-Jews, from anti-Semites to drunks, who sought to do their legal and patriotic duty. The rewards given for turning in a Jew, though varying from place to place and time to time, usually included one quart of brandy, four pounds of sugar, a carton of cigarettes,³⁸ or a small amount of money.

Another source of tension for the helper were air-raids which became increasingly frequent toward the end of 1943. Naturally Jews in hiding found it usually safer to risk a bomb than to go to a bomb-shelter where they might be discovered. The anxiety on the part of the helper who provided the hiding place was obviously increased during these frequent air-raids. Not only the raid itself brought physical danger, but the possibility of a Jew being found in his place after a fire had been set-off by a bomb was very great. In fact, this possibility deterred some would be helpers from offering shelter to Jewish friends. A ministry

official who had been a guest of the Hopps turned down their request for sanctuary precisely because he feared that their Jewish corpses might be found in his apartment after an air-raid.⁴⁰ Ironically, Hopp's wife, Charlotte, was later forced from her cellar hiding place due to a fire resulting from an air-raid, and was discovered by a neighbor who "was surprised to see a strange woman coming from the supposedly empty house."⁴¹ She explained that she was a friend of the family whom the owner had asked to guard the house in his absence. This plausible excuse worked in this instance. Not so, however, in other instances. Air-raids thus constituted a major concern, especially for those who hid Jews.⁴²

In the same category of concern was the possibility of sickness, pregnancy, or death of the hidden Jews. Such considerations provided countless moments of anxiety for the helper.

Jews in hiding could be generally classified according to two categories. There were those who remained in one shelter throughout their period of being submerged. There were, however, those who found it necessary to move from hiding place to hiding place. This second category imposed a very great burden on the persons who gave shelter. Most of these "U-Boats," in order to appear as inconspicuous as possible, carried with them very little luggage. As a consequence, all the personal needs of such persons had to be met by those who would hide them. Their clothes had to be cleaned, repaired, and replaced. Since soap products were only to be obtained by means of ration cards, the non-Jewish helper bore the main burden in such situations. Besides such burdens, helpers had sometimes to devise ingenious ways of communicating readiness to accept a fugitive on the move. Valerie Wolfenstein⁴³ describes such a situation

as follows:

In the two-and-a-quarter years we were submerged I had to move eighteen times. Each time I was tormented anew with fear of discovery on the trip and of unknown dangers in my new refuge. Often I did not know until just before my departure what new asylum had been found for me. A close friend, Esther Seidel, living in Southern Bavaria, knew a nun from the Order of the English Ladies who secured me a refuge with a farm family named Gasteiger not far from Munich. Esther of course could not write openly. As a signal for departure she sent a post card saying, "Farmer G's wife will take one of the two puppies, the plump one with the brown eyes" -- an excellent description of me.⁴⁴

Eighteen times in 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ years Valerie was hidden by different people. It is left to our imagination to fill in the countless acts of ingenuity on the parts of her helpers that enabled her to survive until war's end.

Another couple and their small daughter were aided in hiding by 23 persons from October 1942 until the day of liberation.⁴⁵

We see, therefore, that the decision to hide a Jew during the Nazi Epoch entailed a multitude of extremely practical considerations ranging from the devising of the hiding place itself, to the procurement of food and illegal papers, to the clothing and health of the hidden, to the mental and psychological anguish involved in such procedures which held out the likelihood of imprisonment or death if discovered.

Escape From Germany

There were individuals among this fringe element who helped Jews by directing their efforts at aiding Jews to escape from the Reich. We now turn to a discussion of the factors and methods involved in these efforts.

In order for a Jew to escape from Germany once migration became

illegal in 1941 there were many factors to be considered. The geographical perhaps was the most crucial. There had to be an open frontier i.e. a frontier of a country not itself aligned with the policy of extermination of Jews which was prepared to admit fleeing refugees. An equally important factor was the attitude of the local population toward Jews and its willingness to risk the ill-will of Germany. Of the two neighboring neutral countries, Sweden and Switzerland, only the latter held out real possibility of hope for escape. Sweden would have required taking to sea. Although escape by boat from the numerous inlets and harbours of German-occupied Europe continued throughout the war, it became increasingly difficult because of German fortifications along the coasts and the evacuation of the civilian population from coastal areas.⁴⁶ Also, Germany systematically commandeered all ships and small boats in the coastal waters and rivers.⁴⁷ Overland escape was therefore limited to the German border with Switzerland.

What was the immigration policy of Switzerland with respect to Jewish refugees? In the years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, due to the world-wide depression and diplomatic considerations, Switzerland was reluctant to admit refugees from Germany.⁴⁸ Yet, in April 1933 the Federal Council of the Swiss Republic decided to leave the German frontier open and to provide temporary sanctuary to those who fled Germany. Following the events of Crystal Night during November 1938, and the new wave of Jewish refugees it produced, the Netherlands government inquired of Switzerland whether she would be willing to assist these persons.⁴⁹ The Political Department of the Swiss government replied as follows:

In view of her geographical position, the excess of aliens, and the widespread unemployment which has prevailed for years now, Switzerland can only serve as a transit country for the refugees from Germany. For this reason she cannot receive an influx of refugees on her territory without control of individual cases. However, the frontiers are not completely closed. All applications for entry, which are very numerous, are carefully studied, and permits are granted in individual cases within the limits of feasibility.⁵⁰

The following categories of refugees were made eligible for admission into Switzerland during the early months of 1939:⁵¹

1. Persons who have obtained a visa for another country as well as the necessary Swiss or other transit visas entered on a valid passport.
2. Persons who are not in possession of such visas but who can prove that they will be able to obtain them within a short period, and have relatives in Switzerland.
3. Persons over sixty who can furnish the necessary guarantee through Swiss relatives.

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These regulations were later modified as follows:

1. Immigrants will be admitted to the territory of the Swiss Republic provided they are over 65 years of age.
 - (a) Immigrants desiring to reside in Switzerland permanently must furnish a cash guarantee of 2,000 Swiss francs per person per annum for the rest of their lifetime. The exact amount will be fixed by the Swiss authorities in accordance with actuarial principles.
 - (b) Those who have a valid immigration permit or visa from an overseas country (Cuba, for instance), but unable to proceed to such country, may obtain residence for one year provided an amount equal to 2,000 Swiss francs per person is deposited at the Swiss National Bank.
2. Immigrants of any age will be admitted into Switzerland, provided they have relatives who are established in the country. It is not necessary that these relatives be Swiss citizens. The relatives will be required to guarantee the maintenance of the immigrant to the authorities in the manner prescribed in Par. 1(a).

During the years of the Nazi regime before the invasion of Poland, it is estimated that approximately 5,000 Jews found asylum in Switzerland.⁵³

With the outbreak of war an order was issued by the Federal Police directing the deportation of all refugees who had entered Switzerland after September 6, 1939, and this order was followed with another issued on October 17 providing that all foreigners entering the country illegally should be immediately expelled.⁵⁴ However, Switzerland's borders were never completely closed. Approximately 220,000 refugees found sanctuary on its soil during the war.⁵⁵

During the war years Swiss public opinion rallied behind the refugees and the right of asylum.⁵⁶ Clergy, press, and democratic bodies aroused public opinion. Many examples of this could be cited⁵⁷ as in the case of the following pastoral letter from the Swiss National Protestant Church in September 1942 which was read from every pulpit:⁵⁸

...We forsake our first love if we forget that our country must remain, as far as possible, a haven of refuge for the persecuted and refugees. To abandon this role is to betray our spiritual heritage, is "to lose our soul in order to gain the world." In particular, we cannot remain indifferent to the lot of the people of Israel, in whose midst our Saviour was born and who are today the object of measures whose cruelty and iniquity are the shame of our age....

Thus Switzerland became the primary route of overland escape from Germany for a small percentage of its Jews. Since such wartime escape was a clandestine affair, the help of non-Jews became almost a necessity for those few who attempted it. Numerous hazards were concomitant with any such endeavor for both the helper and the helped.

⁵⁹
Countess Ballestrem-Solf frequently applied herself to the task of smuggling Jews out of Germany. Her action involved using her connections with embassies and consulates in quest of visas, then the hiding of the escapee in her house before moving him to a small farm near the Swiss border. Her daughter, who also helped in this manner

gives the following account of their actions:

As the persecution of Jews intensified, I made it my special task to aid them. In 1939 I had been able to help Dr. Ferdinand Mainzer...by taking his jewelry out of the country and escorting his family to England. My mother and I did our best to get emigration affidavits for Jews and she visited innumerable embassies and consulates in quest of visas.

After the first few years of the war the deportation of Jews increased and the "stars" were rarely seen on the street. It became increasingly important to save Jewish families by getting them out of the country illegally or by hiding them. We sheltered some in our house and helped others to find hiding places.... One day we learned of a chance to smuggle some of our proteges into Switzerland... This channel was a small farm close to the border in Baden, from which a few field paths led to Switzerland. This was a reasonably safe way of leaving Germany. The farmers who helped in such an undertaking... put the refugees up for the night, and just before dawn guided them to the path. A picture postcard from Switzerland was indication that the fugitives had gotten through.

The dangers inherent in such an undertaking are exemplified by the fact that the Countess and her daughter were found out by the Gestapo when a couple who had been submerged for months were caught shortly before they were to leave for Switzerland. The couple gave the Gestapo the address of the Countess. ⁶¹ The Countess and her daughter were eventually arrested and sent to a concentration camp until the end of ⁶² the war.

Dr. Gertrud Luckner, an official of a large Catholic philanthropic organization in Freiburg helped Jews find refuge in Switzerland, sent them ⁶³ packages and money. While bringing money to Jews remaining in Berlin, she was arrested in November 1943 and also spent the rest of the war in a ⁶⁴ concentration camp.

As an example of the difficulties and dangers involved in attempting to emigrate illegally to Switzerland, the case of Heinrich Liebrecht is

⁶⁵
illuminating. When the Gestapo attempted to deport Heinrich's wife they went into hiding with friends in July 1942. They then attempted to escape from Germany. Heinrich reports:

Although I had been a judge myself, I had long ago abandoned all futile attempts to emigrate legally. We had given a Senor Velasco, a doctor connected with the Chilean Consulate, several thousand marks to help us get out of Germany. He was to deliver forged passports and papers and arrange the trip to Switzerland.⁶⁶

Velasco, after taking the money, apparently reported to the Gestapo and "split the take" with them. Heinrich was arrested because "this whole emigration game was a racket by which various members of the Gestapo⁶⁷ were getting rich quickly."

Although it is impossible to determine how many German Jews escaped to Switzerland during the war, an important fact is that a few did who were helped by non-Jews. The following estimate, however, does provide⁶⁸ some indication: of the estimated 221,300 Jews of Germany in 1939, 170,000 probably died or were exterminated. Of the remaining 51,300 there were about 22,000 recorded indigenous survivors in 1946. That leaves some 29,300 German Jews who either escaped or died. Many of those who escaped needed the help of so-called Aryan Germans and the existence of a somewhat "friendly" border. Some found both. Most German Jews found neither.

Smaller Acts Of Kindness

Throughout the period of Hitler's rule there were numerous acts of kindness of an inconspicuous nature shown to Jews by non-Jews. Though these acts did not entail providing secret shelter nor helping the persecuted to escape, they did bolster the morale of many Jews while at the same time engendering great danger to the helper. We have already cited

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above the case of a farmer being sentenced to 18 months penal servitude for attempting to give butter to Jews, as well as the case of Marie Kahle⁷⁰ and her son who were persecuted severely for helping a Jewish woman clean up her shop following Crystal Night. Again there is no way of telling the extent of the occurrence of such acts, yet a sufficient number of such reactions occurred to justify a brief survey of them in this chapter.

Leo Baeck, the well-known leader of German Jewry during this

71

period, recounts such acts.

In the last years a countess came to my apartment every Friday and left vegetables which were not on the Jewish ration card. Occasionally I found a bag of fruit at the apartment door left by an anonymous donor. One Sunday in the crowded S-Bahn a man stepped close to me and asked, "Is Tiergarten the next station?" He added in a whisper, "I am from the country. I just put a few eggs in your pocket." Another time a man came up to me on the street and dropped an envelope. As he picked it up he handed it to me, saying, "you dropped this." It was a package of ration stamps.

I knew of instances where people annoyed Jews after they started wearing the star. But the populations of Hamburg and Berlin treated Jews much more decently than those of many other communities, especially in the smaller and more Nazi-imbued towns.

Naturally the little acts of kindness, which often called for considerable courage, lifted our spirits.

Many other instances have been reported which tend to confirm Baeck's experiences. There is the episode in which a Jew wearing the yellow star was approached by a little Christian girl who shook his hand and said: "Heil Hitler, Herr Jude!" Surprised, the Jew asked the little girl the meaning of the strange greeting. The girl explained that her teacher in school had instructed all the children to be kind to people⁷² wearing the star.

This act had its precedent as far back as the April 1933 nationwide boycott of Jewish businesses. On that occasion Frau Heinzmann, the

headmistress of a secondary school for girls in Dusseldorf, sent flowers to all parents of Jewish pupils on the very day of the boycott.⁷³

A number of non-Jews expressed their concern by keeping valuables for Jewish families and synagogues during the Nazi Reign.⁷⁴ For example, Julian Mulek hid the Torah Scrolls and other ritual objects for the Bad Mergentheim Synagogue until he was able to hand them over to an American Army Chaplain.⁷⁵

During the period when numerous restrictions were hampering the daily movement of Jews,⁷⁶ the following incident is told by Valerie Wolfenstein.⁷⁷

Once an old Jewish lady, identified by the yellow star, was standing in a crowded streetcar. A big Berliner saw her, got up and said in his earthy dialect, "little starlet, come and sit down now." Only one person in the car started to abuse him. He answered quietly, "I can do what I damn please with my own buttocks."⁷⁸

Even in captivity there were a few who provided aid in their own small way. A case in point is that of a corporal in the German Army who was detailed as a prison warder. Among his actions are included the transmitting of food parcels to his prisoners, sending letters for them, and acting as go-between for his prisoners and friends on the outside.⁷⁹ For these actions he would accept no remuneration.

At times fellow-workers helped as in the case of a Berlin Jewess Ilse Rewald. She was assigned to work in an armament factory with no canteen for ten hours a day. However, her fellow-workers supplied her with fruit, milk, and cigarettes.⁸⁰

At another Berlin factory such help was organized. A whole town of helpers, organized by a foreman Wilhelm Daene and including a director of the factory, a surveyor, the person in charge of the canteen, the

industrial nurse and doctor, all cooperated in providing food, tolerable working conditions and many other forms of relief for Jews who had been⁸¹ drafted for factory work.

Some non-Jews even had regard for the cultural needs of the persecuted. A survivor gave the unusual report that a quartet of German Artists in Berlin during 1942 arranged concerts of chamber music on several occasions⁸² in private homes for Jews.

Such individuals who performed the relatively inconspicuous acts of kindness toward Jews did so in an atmosphere of great danger. We need not reiterate the Gestapo orders which attempted to discourage such actions by taking the perpetrators "into protective custody temporarily for educational reasons,"⁸³ nor the lists of "traitors" in the newspapers of those who aided Jews and the social repercussions which⁸⁴ inevitably followed.

A final factor which we must consider was the phenomenon of ministers who spoke out openly from their pulpits in favor of the Jews. Their number, as in the case of all other categories, was all too few. The question of the relation between the churches and the problem of the Jews in Nazi Germany lies beyond the scope of this work. It could safely be stated, however, that the incidents of help to Jews other than Christian non-Aryans were few and far between in Germany itself.⁸⁵ The fact that there were a minority of such incidents will be our concern.

In March 1933 a Rhineland priest in a sermon characterized the vilification of the Jews as unjust and was fined 500 marks for abuse of⁸⁶ the pulpit.

Following Crystal Night the Provost of St. Hedwig's Cathedral in

Berlin, Bernhard Lichtenberg, began to include in his intercessions the supplication: "...let us pray for the Jews and the poor prisoners in the concentration camps." He then added:

What took place yesterday, we know; what will be tomorrow, we do not know; but what happens today that we have witnessed; outside [this church] the synagogue is burning, and that also is a house of God.

This protest remained a solitary act of witness, as Lichtenberg's bishops remained silent. In October 1941 he said publicly:

If it is said that Germans, by supporting Jews, commit treason, I enjoin you not to be misled by such unChristian sentiments but to act in obedience to Christ's commandment and to love your neighbour as yourself.

Due to these public actions Lichtenberg was arrested and sentenced to two years imprisonment, and in November 1943 he died while being transferred to Dachau.

Very few of the Protestant clergy spoke out openly in favor of the Jews, yet there were those who defended the Judaism of the Old Testament against Nazi derision as did e.g., Martin Niemöller and other anti-Nazi members of the Confessional Church. Such a defence of biblical Judaism rather than contemporary Jews can be found also in the sermons of Cardinal Faulhaber, the Archbishop of Munich.

There was, however, one other clergyman who became outspoken the week following Crystal Night. Pastor von Jan was brutally beaten by a Nazi mob following his delivery of a sermon which contained the following:

Where is the man who, in the name of the God of righteousness, demands like the prophet "practice justice and righteousness, rescue those who are robbed from the hand of the transgressor, do not oppress the stranger, the orphans and the widows, do no violence to the poor, or shed innocent blood [sic.]. God has sent such men but they are in concentration camps or have been silenced. Others who are admitted to the "princes," allowed to administer

the sacraments, are false preachers just as were the national fanatics in Jeremiah's day. They cannot proclaim God's word, all they can do is to shout "Heil and Victory!" -- A crime has been committed in Paris, the murderer will be given his just punishment and, together with our nation, we mourn for the victim of the crime. But who would have thought that this single crime in Paris might result in so many crimes in Germany? The passions have been unleashed and God's commandment disregarded. Houses of worship, sacred to others, have been burned down with impunity -- men who have loyally served our nation and conscientiously done their duty, have been thrown into concentration camps simply because they belong to a different race. Our nation's infamy is bound to bring about Divine punishment.

We have thus seen that among the members of the fringe elements of German society there were those who hid Jews while assuming all the burdens which such action involved, those who aided Jews in escaping from Germany and finding refuge primarily across the Swiss border, those who performed the many and varied smaller acts of kindness which contributed greatly to the well-being of many Jews, and those who utilized their pulpits to speak openly against negative actions performed against the Jews. The next question we must ask concerns the motivation for the performance of such pro-Jewish actions: Why did they help?

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

1. Eric H. Boehm, We Survived, The Stories of Fourteen of the Hidden and the Hunted of Nazi Germany, pp. 98f.
2. American Jewish Year Book, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 606-609; Vol. L, p. 697; Vol. LI, pp. 246f.
3. Cf. Jacob Robinson, And The Crooked Shall Be Made Straight, p. 337, and Boehm, op. cit., p. IX.
4. H.D. Leuner, When Compassion Was A Crime, Germany's Silent Heroes, 1933-45, p. 69.
5. Annedore Leber, Conscience in Revolt, Sixty-Four Stories of Resistance in Germany 1933-45, pp. 82-85.
6. Ibid., pp. 76-78.
7. Leuner, op. cit., p. 77.
8. Ibid., p. 78.
9. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 124ff.
10. Leuner, op. cit., pp. 59-62.
11. Ibid., p. 85.
12. Ibid., p. 85.
13. Boehm, op. cit., p. 100.
14. Leuner, op. cit., p. 74f.
15. Ibid., pp. 84f.
16. Boehm, op. cit., p. 153.
17. Ibid., p. 87.
18. Ibid., pp. 24, 26.
19. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 98-117.
20. Ibid., pp. 101, 105, 106.
21. Leuner, op. cit., p. 83.
22. Ibid., p. 26.
23. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 83f.

24. Ibid., pp. 85f.
25. Ibid., p. 87.
26. Ibid., pp. 24, 26, 27.
27. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 107f.
28. Leuner, op. cit., pp. 69, 71, 82.
29. Boehm, op. cit., p. 134.
30. Ibid., pp. 135ff.
31. Ibid., p. 149.
32. Leuner, op. cit., p. 86.
33. Ibid., pp. 24, 26, 27, 28-29.
34. Boehm, op. cit., p. 109.
35. Ibid., p. 25.
36. Leuner, op. cit., p. 61.
37. K. J., Ball-Kaduri, "Berlin is Purged of its Jews: the Jews in Berlin in the year 1943," Yad Vashem Studies V, pp. 309f.
38. Philip Friedman, Their Brother's Keeper, p. 17.
39. Ibid., pp. 24, 26, 27, 28-29, 30.
40. Boehm, op. cit., p. 99.
41. Ibid., pp. 109f.
42. Ibid., pp. 126f.
43. Ibid., pp. 26, 27-28.
44. Boehm, op. cit., p. 88.
45. Leuner, op. cit., pp. 88f.
46. Malcolm J. Proudfoot, European Refugees: 1939-52, A Study in Forced Population Movement, p. 55.
47. Ibid.
48. Ariele Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossmann, The Jewish Refugee, p. 286.

49. Ibid., p. 288.
50. Ibid., pp. 288f.
51. Ibid., p. 290.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., p. 291.
54. Ibid.
55. Proudfoot, op. cit., pp. 65f.
56. Tartakower, op. cit., pp. 293ff.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 294.
59. Ibid., p. 29.
60. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 133ff.
61. Ibid., p. 134.
62. Ibid., p. 135ff.
63. Guenter Lewy, The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany, p. 295.
64. For other accounts of cases which reveal many of the factors involved in escaping from Germany see Neilson's We Escaped, esp. chaps. 2, 4, 6, 10, 11.
65. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 214ff.
66. Ibid., p. 214.
67. Ibid., p. 216.
68. Proudfoot, op. cit., Table 32.
69. Above Chap. II.
70. Above pp. 13-14.
71. Boehm, op. cit., p. 288.
72. Friedman, op. cit., p. 34.
73. Leuner, op. cit., p. 29.

74. Ibid., pp. 56f.
75. Ibid., p. 57.
76. Above Chap. II.
77. Ibid., pp. 26, 27-28, 31-32.
78. Boehm, op. cit., p. 80.
79. Leuner, op. cit., p. 82.
80. Ibid., p. 71.
81. Ibid., pp. 72f.
82. Ibid., p. 69.
83. Above Chap. II.
84. Above Chap. II.
85. See Lewy, op. cit., pp. 283ff. and Friedman, op. cit., pp. 92ff.
86. Lewy, op. cit., p. 283.
87. Leuner, op. cit., p. 138.
88. Lewy, op. cit., p. 284.
89. Ibid.
90. Leuner, op. cit., p. 138.
91. Ibid.
92. Friedman, op. cit., pp. 95ff.
93. See a collection of his sermons preached during 1933 entitled, Judaism, Christianity and Germany.
94. Leuner, op. cit., p. 113.

CHAPTER IV

Professed Motivations For Pro-Jewish Reactions

We have shown in the preceding chapter the methods and factors involved in providing aid to Jews within Hitler's Germany. The fact is well attested to that a fraction of the population, at the risk of great personal danger, performed actions of a positive nature toward those classified as Jews. That some individuals helped is an established fact. Why they helped may never be adequately understood. It is to the question of motivation that we now turn our attention.

We are beset by a wide range of difficulties in our attempt to establish the actual motives involved in providing aid and comfort to the Jews. First of all, there are few extant statements which would document the stated motives of persons who performed pro-Jewish actions. Few helpers had the inclination or ability to record their reasons for helping Jews to find shelter and food or to leave the country. The second difficulty arises with respect to those few extant documents which attempt to articulate the motives for offering aid. Are we justified in drawing the conclusion that the articulated motivation is, in fact, the actual motivation? For instance, among the reasons given by those who aided Jews was a religious one. A helper might profess to have helped Jews because it was the "Christian thing to do." Yet, "the Christian thing to do" might also be purported as motivation for supporting the Nazi Regime. In Chapter V we will consider some of the aspects involved in individual motivation in such crises situations involving altruistic behavior apart from their stated motivation. In the

present chapter we will limit ourselves to presenting some aspects involved in the motivation for helping Jews as derived from documented evidence.

In the course of this study it appeared repeatedly that the professed motivations of many individuals rested upon ethical and religious convictions or upon the irrepressible demands of simple human decency and conscience.

Lydia Borelli, a German concert singer who sheltered two Jewesses, gave the following reason for her actions:

I was ashamed to be a German. To keep my self-respect I had to share the fate of the persecuted Jews, I had to make it my own.¹

Similar sentiments were expressed by Kurt Gerstein, a member of the Confessing Church and popularized in Rolf Hochhuth's stage play, The Deputy, who joined the SS in a purported attempt to find information concerning the "Final Solution," and then warn the neutral governments and the Vatican. In 1944, he wrote the following to his father:²

The individual must never seek to excuse himself before the dictates of his conscience by saying, this is not my business, I cannot alter things.... I must know that I am personally involved, that I have to assume the responsibility....

Adolf von Harnier, a monarchist and son of an aristocratic landowner, gave his legal assistance to Jews and defended persecuted clergymen. In 1944, convicted of treason, he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and loss of civil rights.³ The motivation for his actions are reflected in the following extracts from his defence:⁴

...on principle I consider it immoral to believe that one race is better than another. I have the same

attitude to the mixing of blood, of which I myself am a product... .
 I have never intended "to tip the scales with my ideas";
 I intended quite simply to give help and advice to a circle of simple, decent, helpless friends who thought as I did, insofar as they asked me to do so. That was simply a social duty, but at the same time it gave me cause to search my conscience.

Self-respect, responsibility and social duty are combined with the values of freedom, justice, honour, humanity and Christianity by Marie Kahle⁵ as explicit testimony for her pro-Jewish reactions. With respect to the events of Crystal Night she rhetorically asks: "Why did the nation not rise on that day, rise up and fight for freedom and justice?"⁶ After Marie was reported to the Gestapo for helping Jews she told her husband and children that

...if anything was to happen to me the next day they were to send my "Ehrenblatt" (Paper of Honour) to some friends outside Germany to let them know that there were people in Germany to whom Anstand and honour was worth more than life, and that humanity and Christian life still existed there.⁷

That Marie regarded her action as courageous, as do I, is reflected in the following account:⁸

One evening we met in the street a colleague, Professor Bickel, with his wife....she asked me how we were. I said to her that I wondered at all our friends being so cowardly that they did not dare pay us a visit. She said: "It is not cowardice; we only consider realities."

This is further supported by Marie's including of an anonymous letter which she received following the appearance of her name in the newspaper as a "Traitor to the Nation" for helping clean-up a Jewish shop. The letter read: "Let me thank you for your beautiful and noble action. All honest people would have done the same, but we have no courage, as is proved by my writing this letter anonymously."⁹

Reacting to questions concerning her ability to endure social

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reprisals, Marie answered:

It is difficult to give an answer. Perhaps a lifelong training in self-control; the love of my family certainly; the stern necessities of life and duty in such a large family; and the unshakeable belief that nothing will happen without the will of God. The love of new faithful friends helped me also, and perhaps a sense of humour which even the Nazis could not kill. One can always find something to laugh at.

11

The motivating ideals of Countess Solf are reflected in her

testimony at the People's Court while charged with high treason, sedition,

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favoring the enemy, and defeatism:

"You called our treatment of the Jews 'inhuman'?"

"Yes."

"What was your husband's political ideology?"

"He was a humanitarian: he tried to be a good Christian, he served his country and helped his fellow men."

When asked about the Quakers she remarked: "Charity stands above all things

and pacifism is, in my eyes, no crime. Love and faith in each other

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should be our goal." The Countess' daughter, referring to their

activities generally said that "... we considered ourselves co-fighters

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for freedom and humanity...."

With respect to the motivation assigned to concern for simple human decency, the following account is striking. Conversing publicly at a gathering in the home of David Baumgardt, a Jewish professor of

Berlin University during the early Nazi years, Professor Bernhard

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Groethuysen remarked:

How can any decent scholar stand it when his Jewish colleagues are abused! When Mrs. Baumgardt is attacked I don't have to argue that she has so often been a most gracious hostess to me. To rush to her defence, it is

enough to know that she has been attacked.

Professor Groethuysen's clearly implied motive out of respect for simple human decency stands in sharp contrast to the prevalent atmosphere at university campuses during Hitler's reign.¹⁶ The universities contained within both faculty and student body the most fanatical of Nazis during the Thirties. However, following a decade of Nazi rule and the disillusionment brought on by failure to win the war as evidenced by the defeat at Stalingrad, the first public outbreak of unrest occurred in February 1943 at the University of Munich.¹⁷ It was led by Hans Scholl and his sister Sophie together with their mentor Kurt Huber. Their "White Rose Letters" of anti-Nazi propaganda became widely known. In two of its leaflets the mass murder of Jews is explicitly condemned. As could be expected, the movement was quickly suppressed¹⁸ resulting in the execution of all involved. Sophie's motivation, as experienced by the wisdom of her twenty-one years, is reflected in statements extracted from her letters and diary. On November 9, 1939, three years prior to being arrested and executed, she wrote:¹⁹

...After all, one should have the courage to believe in what is good. I do not mean that one should believe in illusions, but I mean that one should do only what is true and good and take it for granted that other people will do the same, in a way one can never do with the intellect alone. (That is to say -- never calculate.)

This attitude of doing "only what is true and good" devoid of calculation appears to confirm Professor Groethuysen's advocating defence of a person under attack without rationalization; "...it is enough to know that she has been attacked." Sophie's motivation which is explicitly

non-rational strives to penetrate beyond mere verbalization as reflected
 20
 by a final entry written just twelve days before her death:

I shall probably be called up for labour service next summer. I am not entirely unhappy about it, because I still want to suffer, to share the suffering of these days (that is putting it too strongly; I mean that I want to be affected more directly). You will understand, sympathy is often difficult and soon becomes hollow if one feels no pain oneself.

Sophie's explicit motivation, one in which "sympathy is often difficult and soon becomes hollow if one feels no pain oneself," is tied closely to an empathic response, a psychic identification. She is moved to incorporate the pain of others into herself and thereby, devoid of "calculation," to "do only what is true and good." Her desire "to be affected more directly" exemplifies action explicitly motivated by the irrepressible demands of simple human decency.

The dean of the Cathedral of St. Hedwig in Berlin, Bernhard
 21
 Lichtenberg, did not remain silent when the Nazi Party disseminated
 22
 inflammatory pamphlets directed against the Jews in October of 1941.

In answer to these pamphlets the Prelate had the following announcement
 23
 read from the pulpits of all the churches of the diocese:

An inflammatory pamphlet anonymously attacking the Jews is being disseminated among the houses of Berlin. It declares that any German who, because of allegedly false sentimentality, aids the Jews in any way, be it only through a friendly gesture, is guilty of betraying his people. Do not allow yourselves to be confused by this unchristian attitude, but act according to the strict commandment of Jesus Christ: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Lichtenberg was denounced, arrested, tried, and condemned to two years' imprisonment for improper use of the pulpit and offences against the
 24
 Sedition Law. He died November 5, 1943 on the way to Dachau, where he

was being sent by the Gestapo after the expiration of his term of imprisonment at Tegel. His last letter, dated September 27, 1943, is
25
very revealing with respect to his consciously held motivation:

Reverend Sister and Mother Superior: The dear Lord has sent me to the prison infirmary for the third time. And so I must write in bed what will probably be my last letter from prison. When I look back upon the last two years, I desire and am obliged to thank God with all my soul, as well as all who have been instrumental in carrying out his holy will upon me.... I shall consider everything that happens to me, joyful or painful things, elevating or depressing, in the light of eternity. In my patience I will possess my soul. By neither word nor deed will I sin, and I will do everything out of love, and out of love I will suffer everything....

A prisoner in the Lord,
Bernhard Lichtenberg

It is clear that Lichtenberg viewed himself as an instrument to be utilized by his Lord, to send him to the prison infirmary, to carry out "his holy will," to view "out of love" the persecution of Jews as an "unchristian attitude." As an instrument of the Lord he was prepared to "suffer everything" in order to fulfill the commandment ordering one to love one's neighbor as oneself, a commandment which he applied to all neighbors, even the Jews.

Since we may safely assume that all Christians were aware of this commandment, and since so few extended its application to the non-Aryans in their midst, we could ponder as to the motivating power which caused a few to so apply it to Jews while the majority failed to do so. For the present we must postpone consideration of actual motivation as we continue to explore that motivation which is either explicitly or implicitly stated by those who performed positive actions toward Jews.

There were those who identified with the persecuted Jews and were motivated primarily by the sense of duty which they believed the church owed to the downtrodden. Walter Hochstadter, a pastor of the Confessing Church, was such an individual. ²⁶ He was openly sympathetic with regard to the racially-persecuted Jews and was interrogated on several occasions by the Gestapo. In his will he incorporated what he called his theological bequest. He had it secretly printed and circulated beginning in July 1944. The following extract reveals his basic motive ²⁷ of religious duty and love:

In the place of the medieval absurdity of witch-hunting, our time is revelling in Jew-baiting. Jew-baiting was practiced in the Middle Ages, but in our time it has entered into an acute phase. In a situation like this, the Church of Jesus Christ has to protest, she has to prove herself true, and exorcize the evil. If she fails to do that she has failed in her mission. The blood of millions of slaughtered Jews, men, women and children, is crying to heaven. The Church must not remain silent and it is not for her to say that the solution of the Jewish question is a matter for the state. There must be no indifference amongst Christians on this question. Nor is there such a thing as a "moderate anti-Semitism for Christians," however much the state tries to make it plausible by citing so-called "scientific proof." The fight against the Jew stems from the same source as a witchhunt in bygone times. It is the Churches' duty to pour oil upon the seething sea of hatred, however foolish this may appear to the world. Woe to the Church if she fails to do it, woe to the Church if by silence or with doubtful excuses she participates in the orgies of hatred. Woe to the Church if she adopts or uses words and phrases that originate in the sphere of hatred. Love knows no compromise; and love knows no frontiers. All those who are troubled and heavily laden, all who are persecuted and bowed down -- and that means especially the Jew today -- have to be taken into the hope the Church holds out. It is her duty to protect the persecuted and to comfort the miserable.

An explicit motive also present in Hochstadter's will is the need "to prove" the Church "true," to prevent the Church from "failing in her

mission" of love and "her duty to protect the persecuted" i.e. the Jews. Hochstadter is one of many who likewise believed themselves to be motivated by the religious duty to resist the evils of persecution. This is exemplified by the motto of another group of helpers who suffered severely for aiding Jews: "anything that severs the fellowship with the persecuted, anything that excludes individuals or groups from the community is wrong, criminal, and sinful, and has to be resisted by all means."²⁸

This "fellowship with the persecuted" reaches its logical conclusion with the close identification, by some individuals, of the Church, its Lord Jesus Christ, and the tormented Jewish people. Hermann Diem, a pastor, together with a circle of his friends, drafted an anonymous letter in 1943 which condemned Nazi persecution and called upon the Church²⁹ to denounce publicly the murder of the Jews. In this letter we see the close identification of its authors with the persecuted Jews. The letter³⁰ in part states:

...the Church has to resist utterly the extermination of the Jews as it constitutes an attempt to fight the God of the First Commandment. The Church has to confess that she is indissolubly linked with Judaism in guilt and promise. She must no longer try to save her own skin.... On the contrary, she has to testify that she and her Lord Jesus Christ are, together with Israel being attacked.... The witness has to be carried out in public.

An attack against the Jews is regarded as an attack on one's Lord and One's Church. This self-professed motivation is again clearly couched in theological terms. However, as might be expected, all such consciously believed motivation for pro-Jewish deeds and statements did not rest upon ethical and religious convictions, nor upon the irrepressible

demands of simple human decency and conscience. This, despite the fact that the majority of such extant records do indicate such motivational values. Other factors provided explicit motivation as well.

The case of Dr. Fritz Roland, a judge who was removed from office after 1933, is instructive. Dr. Roland was arrested during the Crystal Night pogrom of 1938 because, married to a Jewess, he was himself believed to be a Jew. When his father, a Gentile from a distinguished old family, protested his son's arrest, he was released. Upon his release it was discovered that Dr. Roland had in fact passed himself off as a Jew in anger over his earlier discharge from office. He had accepted all discrimination against Jews upon himself. After his release he continued to collect funds for the Jewish community and to offer his help to individual Jews
³¹
 in need.

The motivation in this case appears to make little appeal to broad humanitarian or religio-ethical principles, but simply to the very human reactions of anger and revenge. However numerous the psychological and social interpretations of Dr. Roland's reaction might be, we must puzzle over the fact that so many others lost their positions due to the rise to power of Hitler, without likewise identifying their cause with the outcast Jews. In fact we might even suspect that the converse reaction was most prevalent, viz., the tendency to blame the Jews for one's own
³²
 ill-treatment.

³³
 According to Alice Stein-Landesmann, she herself was given shelter from 1941 until 1945 by a woman whose closest friend, a young Jewish nurse, had been deported to Poland just as she was about to emigrate to the Argentine. The woman told Alice that "...she had made up her mind

to take a Jewess into her home. A year ago she had not been in a position to do so, but now she could offer another woman the shelter she had been unable to give her friend."³⁴

One could evaluate this response in terms of guilt-reaction, yet the question could again be raised as to why this particular individual reacted to the loss of her Jewish friend by deciding upon the dangerous course of hiding another Jew, while to so many others, one could conjecture, the loss of a Jewish friend merely served to confirm the dangers involved and the wisdom of not getting involved. In the name of friendship a few risked so much, while for the majority friendship was not sufficient to motivate them to pro-Jewish reactions.³⁵

In the case of the Resistance Movement the motives for helping Jews were, at best, mixed. Fabian von Schlabrendorff, one of the resisters who survived to tell his story, offers a typical example of the type of explanation offered by those who opposed Hitler. He writes:³⁶

The truth is that our--the resistance movement's--battle against Hitler and National Socialism was based not upon considerations of material or military success or failure, and not even primarily on political ideas, but upon the moral and ethical concepts taught by the Christian faith.

We could imagine, disclaimers aside, that purity of motive is hardly ever the case for any organized group of individuals, if even such could be claimed by, or for, the individuals themselves. The problem of determining the individual's conscious motivation for participating in the Resistance Movement would be a difficult enough undertaking in itself. A fortiori an attempt to determine the conscious motives of the individuals in the Resistance who helped Jews. In fact, the resistance in Germany assumed

a wide variety of forms, of which one form was to give aid to jeopardized persons, especially Jews. ³⁷ As Rabbi Leo Baeck puts it, "sometimes the only way Germans could express their opposition to the Nazis was to be helpful to a Jew." ³⁸ Such individual acts of opposition occurred both within and without the Resistance Movement. Liberals, Socialists and Conservatives were all involved in varying degrees and mixtures in the Resistance in Germany, ³⁹ together with undoubtedly asocial and criminal elements. Few of these elements could name persecution of the Jews as among their primary motivations for joining the Resistance. As in the above stated professed motivations of an ethical and religious nature, it could also be asked: why did some elements of the Resistance aid Jews while others did not? Certainly, the fact of belonging to some aspect of the Resistance is not sufficient explanation in itself, whereas the converse could be stated, i.e., that, for some, providing aid to a Jew was in itself their expression of opposition to the Nazi Regime.

The above stated motivations for aiding Jews does not exhaust the possibilities. Besides being motivated by ethical, religious, humanitarian, patriotic, or oppositional considerations, the following possibilities could likewise have been operative: There were those who did not even attempt to offer reasons for their positive actions toward Jews; they just helped. ⁴⁰ Considering the fact that, of those who helped Jews, few left records of their deeds; and among those who did leave some sort of record fewer still attempted to offer specifically their motives for helping, it could conceivably be the case that, for a great many of the helpers, no satisfactory reason could be articulated. ⁴¹ They just helped.

There were, most likely, many people who performed services for Jews out of material concerns,⁴² as well as some who may have helped Jews only after the invasion of Normandy in the summer of 1944 in order to enjoy a more favourable position in the event of allied victory.⁴³ Those who so acted out of material concern or blatant self-interest are not our concern, since we are dealing only with cases of aid offered without any form of tangible external reward.

This chapter has been an attempt to present a representative survey of explicitly or implicitly proposed motivational factors for pro-Jewish actions as expressed by those who performed them. Whether the motivation was seen to be primarily an act of resistance, a demand of ethical or religious principle, an act of patriotic duty, an act of simple human decency, or "just an act," the question of paucity of action on the part of the majority of persons in the German population seemingly professing the same identical values could still be raised.

We must now make an attempt to understand the actions of those who performed positive actions toward Jews in the light of more fundamental motivational factors. Should we be successful in our endeavor, we may have discovered a universal law of profound significance with respect to the behavior of certain individuals caught up in situations of deep crises involving fellow men in need. Should our endeavor fail we shall be left shaking our heads in amazement over the positive actions of a minority of individuals toward persecuted Jews during the Nazi Epoch.

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

1. H.D. Leuner, When Compassion Was A Crime, Germany's Silent Heroes, 1933-45, p. 85.
2. Ibid., p. 135.
3. Annedore Leber, Conscience in Revolt, Sixty-Four Stories of Resistance in Germany 1933-45, p. 156.
4. Ibid., pp. 157f.
5. See above.
6. Marie Kahle, The Story of The Escape of The Kahle Family From Nazi Germany, p. 5.
7. Ibid., p. 7.
8. Ibid., p. 20.
9. Ibid., p. 7.
10. Ibid., p. 18.
11. Ibid., pp. 29, 35-36.
12. Eric H. Boehm, We Survived, The Stories of Fourteen of The Hidden and The Hunted of Nazi Germany, p. 141.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 133.
15. David Baumgardt, "Looking Back on a German University Career," in Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute, Year Book X, p. 256.
16. Cf. Max Weinreich's Hitler's Professors, The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes Against The Jewish People; and Baumgardt, op. cit.
17. William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, A History of Nazi Germany, p. 1327.
18. Leber, op. cit., pp. 16ff.
19. Ibid., p. 18.
20. Ibid., p. 19.
21. Ibid., p. 41.
22. Leber, op. cit., p. 202.
23. Helmut Gollwitzer, Kathe Kuhn, and Reinhold Schneider, editors, Dying We Live, The Final Messages and Records of the Resistance, p. 19.

24. Leber, op. cit., p. 201.
25. Gollwitzer, Kuhn, and Schneider, op. cit., pp. 20f.
26. Leuner, op. cit., pp. 127ff.
27. Ibid., pp. 128f.
28. Ibid., p. 119.
29. Ibid., p. 106.
30. Ibid.
31. Boehm, op. cit., p. 106.
32. It must be noted that in this particular case the fact that Roland was married to a Jewess may have been the determining factor for his actions. Should this be the case there would still be the need to explain the reason for the majority of others married to Jews not so identifying themselves so closely with the persecuted as did Roland.
33. Ibid., p. 4.
34. Ibid.
35. Leber, op. cit., pp. 70ff.
36. Fabian von Schlabrendorff, The Secret War Against Hitler, pp. 32f.
37. Rudolf Pechel, Freedom in Struggle, p. 8.
38. Boehm, op. cit., p. 288.
39. Hans Rothfels, The German Opposition to Hitler, An Assessment, pp. 152ff.
40. Cf. Leuner, op. cit., p. 85; and Boehm, op. cit., p. 87.
41. The following chapter will be an attempt to deal more thoroughly with this subject of actual motivations as distinct from those motivations which are professed.
42. Cf. Boehm, op. cit., p. 107.
43. Leuner, op. cit., p. 84.

CHAPTER V

Actual Motivation for Autonomous Behavior
Under Totalitarian Systems

The preceding chapter indicated the variety of professed motives offered by those who helped Jews under the most stressful of conditions. It was suggested that, owing to the fact that similar if not identical motives were professed by the majority of German citizens as their rationale for their failure to aid Jews, we must look for more fundamental motivational factors for such altruistic behavior. If it is true that verbal symbols can and do provide conscious rationales for a certain form of behavior as well as for its opposite, we would then be inclined to conclude that such verbal symbols are not in themselves the cause of values which, in fact, operate in man irrespective of such professed ideological symbols. This chapter will attempt to investigate various theories which relate to human motivation in general, and to human motivation for altruistic behavior, especially under conditions of stress, in particular. It is hoped that such an investigation would be applicable to an appreciation of the fundamental motivational factors operative in the cases of individuals who reacted in a positive manner toward Jews in their midst in Nazi Germany.

During the past century the history of motivational theory reveals the quest for underlying genotypes in motivation rather than the surface phenotypes. ¹ Schopenhauer's doctrine of the primacy of the blind will caused him to give little credence to the rationalizations

proposed by the individual's intellect to account for his conduct. He did not believe that motives could be taken at their face value. Together with Schopenhauer in reacting against the rationalizations offered by self-justifying persons when asked to account for their conduct was Charles Darwin. He followed with his similar anti-intellectual emphasis on primordial struggle and its concomitant stress on instinct. Freud, likewise, perceived that the fundamental motivational factors may be hidden from consciousness.

The genetic theory bears affinity to that of irrationalism. The original instincts in man's nature are held to be decisive, or if not, then the experiences of early childhood are regarded as crucial. Stimulus-response theorists also agree insofar as they view adult motives as conditioned, reinforced, sublimated, or otherwise elaborated editions of instincts, drives, or of an unchanging id structure.

None of these theories of motivation allows for the possibility of an essential transformation of motives in the course of an individual's life. Man's motivational structure is determined by his equipment of instincts. New objects may become attached to an instinct through learning, but the motive power is always the same. Using Freudian terminology, the concept of "sublimation" and of shifting object "cathexis" accounted mainly for the apparent changes which occur. The stimulus-response school views man as responding only to objects that have been associated with primary drives in the past to the degree that such responses have been rewarded or punished in the past.

In the above theories, the individual's conscious report is

rejected as untrustworthy. In contrast, Allport places a greater reliance upon the conscious reports of individuals with respect to their aims and motives in life. Whereas Freud relegated all motivation to the id and regarded the conscious region of personality, the ego, as devoid of dynamic power; Allport views the principal current in psychoanalytic theory today as moving in the direction of a more dynamic ego. This trend tends to ascribe a measure of true autonomy to the ego. By way of illustration Allport discusses the example of religious sentiment as a psychogenic interest of maturity:

Freud's handling of the matter is well known. To him religion is essentially a neurosis in the individual, a formula for personal escape. The father image lies at the root of the matter. One cannot therefore take the religious sentiment, when it exists in a personality, at its face value. A more balanced view of the matter would seem to be this: sometimes one cannot take this sentiment at its face value, and sometimes one can. Only a careful study of the individual will tell. In a person in whom the religious factor serves an obviously egocentric purpose -- talismanic, bigoted, self-justificatory -- we can infer that it is a neurotic, or at least immature, formation in the personality. Its infantile and escapist character is not recognized by the subject. On the other hand, in a person who has gradually evolved a guiding philosophy of life where the religious sentiment exerts a generally normative force upon behavior and confers intelligibility to life as a whole, we infer that this particular ego formation is not only a dominant motive, but that it must be accented at its face value. It is master motive and an ego ideal whose shape and substance are essentially what appears in consciousness.

Allport argues that "we need in our motivational theory to make a sharper distinction between infantilisms and motivation that is strictly con-³ temporary and at age." He concludes:⁴

That normally healthy personalities have various systems of psychogenic motives. They are not limitless in number. Indeed in a well-integrated adult they may be adequately indicated on the fingers of two hands, perhaps one. What a person is trying to do persistently, recurrently, as a function of his own internal nature, is often surprisingly well focused and well patterned. Whether these leading motives are called desires, interests, values, traits or sentiments does not greatly matter. What is important is that motivational theory... should take these structures fully into account..

Drawing on his experiences and observations as an inmate in the Nazi concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald during 1938-39, Bruno Bettelheim arrived at a psycho-social interpretation of behavior and its motivations.⁵ He found that one and the same environment could bring about radical changes in human behavior both for the better and for the worse.

If one and the same society, in this case the world of the concentration camps, could create deep reaching changes in man, then it seemed that society accounted for personality; but since it produced wide varieties, and sometimes radically opposite personality changes and types of behavior, then it stood to reason that it was man who was the decisive factor in what he is and will be like within it, irrespective of society. And psychoanalysis by no means assured that a man would become a better or worse person under the impact of a better or worse society.⁶

Bettelheim's experiences in the camps caused him to modify radically his previous view that only changes in man could create changes in society. "I had to accept that the environment could, as it were, turn personality upside down, and not just in the small child, but in the mature adult too."⁷

When the chips were down it became utterly unimportant why a person acted the way he did; the only thing that mattered was how he acted.

Bettelheim came progressively to believe that "how a man acts can alter what he is. Those who stood up well in the camps became better men, those who acted badly soon became bad men; and this, or at least so it seemed, independent of their past life history and their former personality make-up, or at least those aspects of personality that⁸ seemed significant in psychoanalytic thinking."

The way a person acted in a showdown could not be deduced from his inner, hidden motives which, likely as not, were conflicting. Neither his heroic nor his cowardly dreams, his free associations or conscious fantasies permitted correct predictions as to whether, in the next moment, he would risk his life to protect the life of others, or out of panic betray many in a vain effort to gain some advantage for himself.⁹

When human life, whether one's own or another's, depended on one's actions, then those actions were much more indicative of one's "true" self than unconscious or preconscious motives. Since these actions so often ran counter to that which could be deduced from the working of the unconscious mind, Bettelheim concluded that "what goes on in his unconscious is certainly true of man, it is part of him and his life, but it is not the true man."¹⁰ Psychoanalysis is consequently regarded by Bettelheim as the best method for uncovering and understanding the hidden man, but not an especially good tool for understanding man in his entirety. It is least of all an effective tool for understanding what makes for "goodness" or "greatness" in man. "The conclusion then seems warranted that while psychoanalysis can explain the psychological upheaval, the pathology that got something started, it is much less successful in explaining why and how, from such starts, positive developments take place."¹¹

The concept of autonomy becomes crucial to Bettelheim's thinking. Autonomy refers to "man's inner ability to govern himself," and to his "conscientious search for meaning" in his life.¹² "The continuous balancing and resolving of opposing tendencies within oneself, and between self and society -- the ability to do this in keeping with personal values, an enlightened self-interest, and the interests of the society one lives in -- all these lead to an increasing consciousness of freedom and form the basis for man's deepening sense of identity, self-respect and inner freedom, in short his autonomy."¹³ That which supports self-esteem and actual independence is not fixed and unchanging, but depends on the capricious nature of the environment. "Each environment requires different mechanisms for safeguarding autonomy, those that are germane to success in living, according to one's values in the particular environment."¹⁴

The oppressive mass state is seen by Bettelheim to be the greatest danger to individual autonomy due to its need to induce or force citizens into conformity.

Once created, the existence of such a state depends on citizens who are willing to give up personal identity and individualized ways of life and let themselves be managed. The greatest hope of mankind, but also the greatest danger to this type of mass state lies in the existence of a sizeable minority who resist such a fate. They must be eliminated or else made to conform whether or not they are supervised, because any other course would endanger the state if its controls should lapse.¹⁵

Bettelheim points out that most people would not risk their lives in order to prevent small inroads into their autonomy. When a state makes one small inroad after another the majority of individuals never

reach the point at which they say: No more, even if it costs me my
¹⁶
 life! Shortly one's nerve to take action has been sapped by the
 increasingly progressive inroads. The anxiety which is generated by
 fear follows the same pattern.

To take action in the moment of the first onset of
 anxiety is relatively easy, because anxiety is a
 powerful motivating force to action. But if action
 is delayed, the longer anxiety lasts and the more
 energy is spent on binding it, that is, on not
 acting to relieve it, the more a person is drained
 of vital energy and the less he feels capable of
 acting on his own.¹⁷

The individual who becomes so incapacitated is tempted to find
 strength by becoming part of the tyranny of the mass state and thus
 enjoy its power. In this manner some degree of inner integration is
 made possible through conformity. The price the individual must pay,
¹⁸
 however, is to give up autonomy.

Individual autonomy became increasingly difficult to retain during
 the Nazi epoch both inside the concentration camps and within the con-
¹⁹
 fines of the German mass state. To remain independent implied hard-
 ship and danger. Life was made easier through direct compliance with
 the Regime. Even heroism which can be an assertion of individuality
 was severely discouraged. Within the confines of the camps

The SS was usually successful in preventing martyrs or
 heroes from being created, through its consistent
 suppression of all individual action or, if this was not
 possible, by changing it into a group phenomenon. If
 a prisoner tried to protect others and it came to a
 guard's attention, the prisoner was usually killed.
 But if his action came to the knowledge of the camp
 administration, the whole camp was always punished
 severely. In this way, the group came to resent its
 protector because he brought them suffering. The
 protector was also kept from rekindling respect for
 the individual, or from inspiring an appreciation of
 independence.²⁰

In Germany itself a similar tactic was employed to discourage heroic behavior in aiding Jews. Those who were found to have aided Jews, as we have seen, were labeled as traitors and subjected to constant harassment of a social, economic, psychological, and physical nature. Similar pressures were experienced by Civil Rights workers who lived in the American South during the early Sixties. The poor southern Negro came to resent, out of fear, those who came, at a great personal risk, to help them.²¹

It appears to be the case that only a minority of individuals will resist incursions upon their personal autonomy. This seems to be progressively the case the nearer the influence of the environment over the individual comes to being total. As in the instance of the concentration camp under the Nazis, the system of thought reform known as "brainwashing" in China, or Stalinism particularly during the purge trials, the influence of the environment over the individual can become total.²² Bettelheim found that "whether or not one survived may have depended on one's ability to arrange to preserve some areas of independent action, to keep control of some important aspects of one's life, despite an environment that seemed overwhelming and total."²³ This was necessary if one was to survive "not as a shadow of the SS but as a man."²⁴ Such survival required that the individual remain informed and aware of what made up his personal point of no return, the point beyond which he would never, even at the risk of his life, give in to the oppressor. The individual had to keep in mind the realization that if he survived at the price of going beyond this point his life would be one which had lost all its meaning. "It would mean surviving -- not with a lowered

self-respect but without any." ²⁵ This point of no return was dynamic. It was different from person to person, and changed for each person as time passed.

Ultimately, a basic question of sanity arose for such individuals. Under a system of total thought control "truth" may become an increasingly relative matter. Whatever the totalitarian power holds to be true becomes truth. Once this power can effectively control men's minds, it can thereby control truth. Truth becomes subordinated to the controlling power. The individual caught up in such a system begins to transform reality increasingly into something relative to his own interests and instrumental functioning. When truth ceases to be an objective judgment concerning reality, then the individual who views reality in a manner different from the majority of his contemporaries may be inclined to regard himself as insane.

In a certain sense, the price such an individual may be asked to pay for maintaining some degree of independence and integrity would be his certainty of an objective reality, i.e. he begins to doubt his sanity. Once this point has been passed, the individual surrenders his autonomy and self-respect by regarding himself as an object which belongs to the totalitarian power. He feels himself to be free because he is no longer aware of any discrepancy between truth and falsehood. ²⁶ "He becomes, in short, "a good Nazi."

It will now be instructive to survey briefly the phenomenon of thought reform which aims at breaking through this point of no return and thus bringing about a surrender of personal autonomy. Robert Lifton ²⁷

views Chinese brainwashing "as taking place against a background of historical dislocation, of the loss of vitality in the relationship of individuals and groups to their own heritage due to the breakdown of the symbolic structure that had been a source of this vitality."²⁸

Historical deprivation can be experienced in a variety of ways: In an economic sense relating to living standard or even the ability to survive; in a political-military sense relating to national power; in an educational sense relating particularly to science and technology; and in a racial-exploitative sense relating to explosive feelings of inferior status and outside domination.²⁹

Brainwashing, the official Chinese Communist program of Szu-hsiang Kai-tsao, is one of the most powerful efforts at human manipulation ever undertaken. Brainwashing consists of two basic elements: 1. The exposure and renunciation of past and present "evil"; and 2. The remaking of a man in the Communist image. "These elements are closely related and overlapping, since they both bring into play a series of pressures and appeals -- intellectual, emotional, and physical -- aimed at social control and individual change."³⁰ Penetration by the psychological forces of the environment into the inner emotions of the individual person is perhaps the outstanding psychiatric fact of thought reform according to Lifton.³¹

The milieu brings to bear upon the prisoner a series of overwhelming pressures, at the same time allowing only a very limited set of alternatives for adapting to them. In the interplay between person and environment, a sequence of steps or operations -- of combinations of manipulation and response -- takes place. All of these steps revolve about two policies and two demands: the fluctuation between assault and leniency, and the requirements of confession and re-education. The physical and

emotional assaults bring about the symbolic death; leniency and the developing confession are the bridge between death and rebirth: the re-education process, along with the final confession, create the rebirth experience.

This process of death and rebirth, even when symbolic, affect the prisoner's entire being. It affects primarily "that part related to loyalties and beliefs, to the sense of being a specific person and at the same time being related to and part of groups of other people --
32
or in other words, to one's sense of inner identity."

This point of "symbolic death" wherein the individual surrenders his personal autonomy is closely, if not identically, related to Bettelheim's "point of no return" for prisoners in the Nazi camps. In both cases self-respect and attempts to reassert one's adult human identity and to express one's own will have ceased. The individual escapes from his burdensome freedom into a state of automaton conformity.
33
to the wishes of others.

It will be helpful at this juncture, toward an understanding of those who remained aware of their "point of no return" and thus retained their personal autonomy to some degree, if we attempt to understand the ability of those who successfully resisted brainwashing. This may also be indicative of those who resisted the reform of thought of German citizens brought about by the historical dislocation of the Nazi period and its concomitant breakdown of the symbolic structure of previously held values.

Hans Barker was a Belgian Bishop who was successful in resisting
34
thought reform. He had lived in the interior of China for more than

forty years prior to his three years of imprisonment. Bishop Barker viewed the sources of his own resistance as religious ethical, and personal. "I had to become more religious or else give way to the Communists."³⁵ Of great import regarding his personal experience was the theological significance which he attributed to it. As Lifton evaluated the Bishop he explains that

...his life is a remarkable study in continuity. From the age of three to seventy, the direction of his life and of his view of the world never changed, only expanded. Moreover, he was one of those fortunate men who could achieve the unachievable, and live out fully during his adult life the imaginative fantasies of his childhood... which is certainly one of the best paths to self-realization. His was undoubtedly an identity of great strength and consistency, combining fundamentalist absolutism with a well-developed worldliness and a taste for high drama.³⁶

Lifton argues that "Bishop Barker illustrates dramatically the psychological strengths and weaknesses of the apparent resisters. The same factors are present to some extent in all prisoners...."³⁷ Lifton sees these "strengths and weaknesses" as "methods of resistance" of which there are five classifications.³⁸ The first form of resistance is the acquisition of a sense of understanding, a theory about what is occurring, an awareness of being manipulated. "Each of my subjects formulated his own psychological, theological, or philosophical concepts to explain the experience to himself, even while he was going through it. These theories offered protection: they gave each prisoner a capacity to predict what was coming next, a sense of anticipation; and they provided him one of the rewards of knowledge, a sense of control."³⁹

The second form of resistance was the avoidance of emotional

participation, i.e., the prisoner remained as much as possible outside the communication system of thought reform. He was able "to maintain a private inner world of values, judgments, and symbols, and thereby keep a measure of independence from the ever-pressing environment." ⁴⁰

The third important resistance technique was a form of passive resistance. This passive resistance took the form of an humane stoicism which often had the result of reaffirming a moral position superior to the claims of thought reform.

The fourth and generally most important resistance technique was that of identity reinforcement. "Bishop Barker's major way of resisting thought reform was to make it a Catholic theological struggle, rather than a Communist remolding. He sought always to maintain himself as a priest struggling against his selfishness...." ⁴¹

Lifton, as Bettelheim, concludes that for a prisoner to survive by holding on to his physical and psychic life he must avoid being totally overwhelmed by environmental influence. "From the standpoint of identity, survival and resistance to influence converge, at least in an absolute sense: one cannot have his deepest feelings about who and what he is totally replaced, and still survive in a nonpsychotic state." ⁴² One could go quite far in permitting his identity to give way to outside influence, yet there had to be some point, which differed for each individual, beyond which he could not allow himself to go and still maintain some degree of personal autonomy.

We are now in a position to begin to relate this discussion of survival in the Nazi camps and resistance to Chinese brainwashing to

the phenomenon of pro-Jewish reactions during the Nazi epoch. We have seen that the major thrust during the past century of motivational theory has been anti-intellectual in emphasis, even though some present trends would qualify this approach towards a greater reliance upon the conscious reports of individuals respecting their motives. Many apparently insoluble problems with respect to motives for aiding Jews disappear if we begin to realize that motives by which people believe themselves to be motivated are not necessarily, nor likely to be, the ones which actually drive them to behave, feel, and think as they do. One must seek a deeper and more fundamental motive, whether unconscious or not articulated, which adequately explains positive behavior by some individuals in situations of a crisis nature. Due to the fact that Nazi Germany was a totalitarian state which used legal, social, economic, and military pressures to demand obedience and conformity from its citizens; We attempted to achieve an understanding of those factors which made for survival and resistance in situations where the environmental influence was nearly total. The factor which allowed for this individual survival and resistance was the maintenance of a degree of personal autonomy by the individual. It seems likely that a fundamental motivation of those who performed positive actions toward Jews in a totalitarian situation which demanded a conformity of anti-Jewish thought and behavior, was likewise an attempt to assert a measure of personal autonomy from the oppressive system. Such fundamental motivation could be seen as operating irrespective of the realm of verbally held symbolic motives. In fact such autonomous seeking behavior could be viewed as

operative against a background of historical dislocation in which the previously functioning symbolic structure was breaking down.

It might be conjectured that individuals who performed extremely dangerous actions to hide, feed, or help Jews escape were moved by a system of values which laid primary stress upon, and guaranteed, personal autonomy, self-esteem and dignity. Such a value system caused this minority of individuals to retain a degree of self-respect and thus to withstand a warping of their positive drives under the Nazi mass state. There would appear to be no definite criteria by which one could a priori determine who, under crisis conditions, would risk personal safety and sanity in order to give aid to someone in need. The most that could be projected is that in every crisis situation where environmental influence threatens to overwhelm individual autonomy there would arise a diversity and polarity of behavior within that population. This projection could be indicated by the findings of Pitirim Sorokin with respect to the effects of war, revolution, famine, and pestilence upon human behavior.⁴⁴ Such calamities, according to Sorokin, produce both positive and negative polarization in different parts of the population involved. The effects of such radical occurrences are often of an opposite nature for different individuals in the society due to their biological and psychosocial differences.⁴⁵ There would, likewise, arise in any totalitarian system a polarity and diversification of behavior, one pole composed of individuals who would strive to maintain as much personal autonomy as possible, the other pole composed of automaton who have completely

surrendered their individual identity and its concomitant self-respect. The former may be driven to regard themselves as abnormal, while the latter which constitutes the majority would consider themselves to be normal.

This writer believes that any attempt to determine in a priori fashion the sociological constituency of the former pole would fail to be of more than academic interest due to its fringe nature. We found persons who helped Jews during the Nazi period derived from every socio-economic, religious, ideological, and political class. This writer has argued that those individuals who helped Jews were fundamentally motivated by considerations of personal autonomy and self-respect. The further question with respect to what type of individual would be a likely candidate to so act under crisis as to maintain his personal point beyond which further freedom would not be forsaken, can at best be merely discussed in abstract terms. The actual answer is of such a concrete nature that the individual must be existentially faced by a crises situation, and then depending upon his action, he will become aware as to whether or not he is so motivated to assert his individuality against environmental power. An individual's decision to opt in favor of helping others at the risk of social, mental, and physical anguish must retain a certain quality of the mysterious. We ourselves may know how we believe we should act in crises situations, but the fact remains that we do not know for certain how we would act. An indication of how we might act would be available if we were conscious of our own actual motivational factors, those which "made us tick." Had we gradually

evolved a guiding philosophy of life which exerted a generally normative force upon our behavior and provided intelligibility to our life as a whole, we would be in a position to infer that this particular ego formation is a dominant motive for our behavior. This, however, is not usually the case for most persons. It could safely be stated, I believe, that most ordinary persons who engage in heroic acts, are not philosophically oriented with respect to their behavior.

In the cases we have encountered involving aid to Jews under the most stressful of conditions, the striking factor is that the actions involved in helping were of a very ordinary nature. In the case of providing shelter to Jews ordinary daily concerns predominated, e.g. procuring food, disposal of waste materials, etc., etc. The types of individuals who would be inclined to so risk their security and sanity for others while performing such mundane and unexciting tasks were most likely "ordinary" and non-ideologically-oriented persons. Coles' remarks concerning civil rights workers in the American South could likewise be applied to Aryans who helped Jews. Their acts were of an ordinary nature which means that the civil rights workers "...are not readily characterized by the particular qualities of their 'personality,' or by any chosen style of action."⁴⁶ Coles' adds an additional commonplace quality to their "heroism," "...it has not been a matter of specific deeds done, but of an everyday willingness to go about one's business under vague, continual, and in a flash dangerous hostility."⁴⁷ Such a willingness characterized those individuals who were most tenacious

in their involvement. "The least resilient have sometimes been the most ideological: the fair-minded idealist or intellectual who feels compelled to demonstrate -- to himself as much as others -- his 'practical' or 'realistic' side."⁴⁸ The question as to what actually activates an individual's ego and causes him to generate an idealism of deeds as well as of thought is naturally more difficult to answer for those who helped Jews than for those who helped Southern Negroes since the civil rights worker received some praise in northern circles. A basic struggle for autonomy, a guiding philosophy of life generating a normative force upon behavior, characteristics of idealism, fanaticism, timidity, belligerence, innocence or sophistication; factors of environment, heredity, innate dispositions, moral impulses, and institutions -- all must be considered as generative factors involved in producing individuals who will risk personal security in order to aid fellow human beings.

An optimistic conclusion of this thesis is that such individuals who are motivated to help their fellow man will always be with us, if only as a polarized fringe element of society irrespective of its ideological - symbolic orientation. There will always be those individuals who will be so motivated that their value system will not succumb, at the risk of questioning their own sanity, to verbal symbols which do not generate self-esteem and self-respect, or seek to destroy individual autonomy. The central challenge of society, it would seem, is to encourage values which would guarantee the individual's autonomy, his self-esteem and respect. Ideological commitments and slogans would

assume secondary importance to such an undertaking. In the realms of education, politics, economics, science, and religion, individual autonomy, self-growth and expansion would, it is this writer's opinion, lead to self-respect and the growing impossibility of the wearing away of positive drives. Attempts to infringe upon the individual's autonomy by the state's utilization of verbally symbolic - values as a means of control in order to enhance its own power would become increasingly difficult, since more than a fringe element of the population would not tolerate a decrease in its personal freedom beyond a particular point. The controlling power would begin to realize that it is to its own advantage to increase each individual's autonomy to the greatest degree since self-respect engendered by such autonomy would be sufficient to stimulate positive behavior.

When such autonomy was seriously challenged during the Nazi epoch certain individuals irrespective of ideological, socio-economic, or religious orientation rose against the system by asserting their autonomy through pro-Jewish behavior. Their actions spoke louder than their words. Regardless of his words, man seems to be of such a nature that his deeds determine his identity.

CHAPTER V

FOOTNOTES

1. The following is adapted primarily from Gordon W. Allport's "The Trend in Motivational Theory," in Measuring Human Motivation, An Enduring Problem in Psychology, pp. 164ff.
2. Ibid., p. 175.
3. Ibid., p. 176.
4. Ibid., pp. 179f.
5. Bruno Bettelheim, The Informed Heart, Autonomy in a Mass Age.
6. Ibid., p. 14.
7. Ibid., p. 15.
8. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
9. Ibid., p. 17.
10. Ibid., p. 18.
11. Ibid., p. 27.
12. Ibid., pp. 72ff.
13. Ibid., p. 73.
14. Ibid., p. 198.
15. Ibid., p. 103.
16. Ibid., pp. 268f.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 294.
19. Ibid., pp. 134ff.
20. Ibid., p. 139.
21. See Robert Coles, Children of Crisis, A Study of Courage and Fear, especially Chapter VI.
22. Cf. Ibid. pp. 147ff; and Robert Jay Lifton's Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism, A Study of Brainwashing in China.

23. Bettelheim, op. cit., p. 147.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 157.
26. Cf. George Orwell's novel 1984; also cf. Ellis Rivkin's "Utilization of Non-Jewish Sources," The Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. 48.
27. Lifton, op. cit.
28. Ibid., p. vii.
29. Ibid., p. viii.
30. Ibid., p. 5.
31. Ibid., p. 66.
32. Ibid.
33. Cf. Erich Fromm's Escape from Freedom, pp. 185ff.
34. Lifton, op. cit., pp. 134ff.
35. Ibid., p. 141.
36. Ibid., p. 143.
37. Ibid., p. 145.
38. Ibid., pp. 145ff.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., p. 149.
43. Cf. Fromm, op. cit., Chapters V and VI.
44. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Man and Society in Calamity, The Effects of War, Revolution, Famine, Pestilence Upon Human Mind, Behavior, Social Organization and Cultural Life.
45. Ibid., pp. 14, 46, 161f., 180f., 193, 226ff.
46. Coles, op. cit., p. 226.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.

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