

PRESS IN THE TIME OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Kuratorin: Dr. Johanna Niedbalski

Koordination und Redaktion: Lisa Landes (Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek), Lidia Westermann (Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek)

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Many National Socialist newspapers and magazines were sold at a newspaper kiosk on Pirnaischer Platz in Dresden in 1940.

The [German Newspaper Portal](#) of the German Digital Library provides its users with historical press products from the National Socialist era, among other things. Today's readers of these newspapers must be aware that the press had a completely different function between 1933 and 1945 than in a liberal democracy. There was no public discourse, no freedom of opinion, no debates. The press was an instrument of propaganda for those in power, an organ of proclamation for the government and an 'instrument of education' used to 'bring a nation of seventy million people into a unified world view', as Adolf Hitler put it. This virtual exhibition on the press under National Socialism shows how the National Socialists used terror, bans and control to turn the previously pluralistic press landscape of the Weimar Republic into a compliant instrument of their rule. The exhibition shows the institutional and economic conditions under which newspapers were published in Germany between 1933 and 1945, what they reported on and what the work of the so-called 'editors' (journalists) looked like under National Socialism. While control of the media in Germany was almost complete, emigrant journalists in exile tried to maintain freedom of the press. The exhibition dedicates a separate chapter to the difficult circumstances under which opponents of the National Socialists produced newspapers in exile and presents a selection of these publications.

The press landscape of the Weimar Republic



Newspaper Stand Berlin 1929

The press of the Weimar Republic was diverse. There were entertainment papers, fashion journals, 'fighting papers' of political parties, serious daily newspapers, denominational publications and special periodicals for children, women, motorists and literature enthusiasts. This diversity was made possible by the freedom of opinion enshrined in the Weimar Constitution and the abolition of press censorship. Nevertheless, newspaper bans and trials against journalists, editors and publishers were not uncommon, especially in the crisis-ridden early and final years of the republic. They were legitimised by the emergency decrees of the Reich President, the Republic Protection Act or the Criminal Code. The political battles of the Weimar Republic were not only present in the press, they were carried out and fuelled by it. Harsh polemics and sharp attacks on political opponents were not uncommon. The hostility towards democracy and the republic on the part of many press organs poisoned the political climate and is now regarded as one of the causes of the rise of the National Socialists.

1.1 Newspaper diversity and political polarisation in the late Weimar Republic

At the end of the Weimar Republic, well over 3,000 newspapers were published in the German Reich. In Berlin alone, there were over 130 political newspapers, many of which appeared daily, some several times a day. There were 24 daily newspapers in Hamburg and 13 in Mannheim, although very few of them were of national or even supra-regional importance. In Berlin, more than 70 of the 130 newspapers were neighbourhood papers that were only seen within the respective city districts. In Hamburg and Mannheim, only 6 papers each achieved a higher circulation and city-wide distribution.

The provincial press was similarly regionally orientated. There were around 500 newspapers in Bavaria in 1930. The ten with the highest circulation were published in Munich, Nuremberg, Würzburg and Augsburg. The majority, however, were published in the countryside. Almost every large rural community had its own 'Heimatblatt', which was often only published three times a week. Most newspapers - in the countryside and in the big cities - had a small circulation and were aimed at a local readership. The press landscape of the Weimar Republic was therefore diverse, but above all it was politically fractured. The provincial papers in Bavaria and Westphalia were denominationally Catholic. There were the party organs of the political parties, which were also regionally orientated. For example, every larger town had at least one Social Democratic newspaper and one NSDAP party newspaper. There were non-party liberal newspapers, mostly in large cities: Important examples that were also recognised nationally were the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the *Vossische Zeitung* and the [*Berliner Tageblatt*](#). Conservative to nationalist metropolitan newspapers included the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* and the [*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*](#).

Also predominantly metropolitan phenomena were tabloid newspapers sold on the street, such as the liberal *B.Z. am Mittag* published by Ullstein Verlag. The so-called Generalanzeiger, which were primarily financed by adverts and were supposedly politically 'neutral', but often represented clear points of view, also had a high circulation. An example of this was the largest newspaper published outside Berlin, the left-liberal *General-Anzeiger für Dortmund*. The *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, owned by media mogul Alfred Hugenberg, clearly belonged to the right-wing political spectrum.

In addition to daily newspapers, there were a large number of weekly newspapers and magazines. The *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* published by Ullstein Verlag, with its low price and circulation of almost two million copies, was a mass-circulation paper. The *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* was published by the socialist publisher Willi Münzenberg. A politically right-wing magazine was *Die Woche* from the Hugenberg Group. There were also satirical magazines such as *Kladderadatsch* or *Ulk*, fashion magazines such as *Die Dame* or graphically sophisticated magazines such as *Uhu* or *Das Magazin*.



At a newspaper kiosk in Berlin's Kaiserallee in 1932, the dealer offered 966 different publications.

Mit jedem Tag häufen sich die Proteste gegen die Aufrechterhaltung der Ausreisearrondierung. Man flüsterte jetzt, daß Rittwisch nächster Woche, am 26. Wust, die Verordnung fallen sollte. Aber schon erscheint das Reichsanwältministerium wiederum mit der kategorischen Erklärung aus dem Plan, daß an die Aufhebung der 100-Gebühr nicht zu denken sei! Die Gerichte, die für die Aufhebung sprechen, scheitern ebenso wie die Bittsätze auf der Thurnaustraße an überhöhen. Man den

Several articles about the murder of two policemen on Berlin's Bülowplatz appeared on the front page of the B.Z. am Mittag on 17 August 1931.


18. Mai 1930
Nummer 20
39. Jahrgang

Berliner

Preis
des Heftes
20 Pfennig

Illustrirte Zeitung

Verlag Ullstein Berlin SW 68

A black and white portrait of a man, identified as Richard E. Byrd, smiling. He is wearing a dark, textured fur hat with earflaps and round, dark-rimmed sunglasses. He has a mustache and is wearing a dark jacket.

Die Bilder, die Byrd
vom *Südpolflug*
mitgebracht hat,
in dieser Nummer

The cover of the weekly newspaper Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung from 18 May 1930 showed the polar explorer Richard E. Byrd.



Many magazines were lavishly designed, for example the covers of the magazine Uhu from the Ullstein publishing house.

The press products of the Hugenberg Group were politically aligned with the nationalist spectrum. Alfred Hugenberg was an entrepreneur in the coal and steel industry, a member of the Reichstag and chairman of the German National People's Party (DNVP). Due to his publishing activities, he is considered a 'stirrup holder' of the National Socialists. He bought the Berlin publishing house Scherl-Verlag in 1916 and systematically built up a media group that disseminated nationalist, monarchist and völkisch ideologies. Hugenberg not only controlled important newspapers in the capital and from 1927, as the owner of Universum Film AG (Ufa), he also controlled significant parts of the film industry. He also steered the political direction of various provincial newspapers through news agencies and consulting companies that belonged to him.

Hugenberg's press products contributed significantly to the political polarisation of the Weimar Republic. His persistent attacks against democracy and his nationalistic tones created the political breeding ground on which the National Socialists were able to celebrate their successes. After 1933, the National Socialists no longer needed Hugenberg. They bought large parts of his media empire and appropriated his propaganda apparatus.



In July 1932, election campaign newspapers piled up in a party office of Alfred Hugenberg's DNVP.



Cover of the Illustrierter Beobachter published by Franz-Eher-Verlag on 17 September 1932.

In 1920, the NSDAP took over the Munich daily newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*, published by Franz-Eher-Verlag, which was to become its most important and central party organ.

Max Amann was in charge of the party publishing house from 1922. Among other things, Adolf Hitler's '**Mein Kampf**', a growing number of party and regional newspapers and magazines such as the *Illustrierte Beobachter* and *Die Brennessel* were published here.

After 1933, Franz-Eher-Verlag grew through the acquisition of other publishing houses: Ullstein Verlag, various companies of the Hugenberg Group and many smaller provincial and general newspapers were absorbed into the National Socialist press trust. In a complicated network of various holding companies and affiliated publishing companies, the largest press group in the world at the time was created.

02 The destruction of the free press by the National Socialists



Newspaper readers learnt about the state of health of Reich President Paul von Hindenburg in July 1934.

The NSDAP party press accounted for just 2.5% of German newspaper circulation at the beginning of 1933. But immediately after Adolf Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor on 30 January 1933, the National Socialists attacked the Republic's diverse press landscape.

Their massive smear campaign against journalistic opponents and against the alleged 'Jewish press' of the Weimar Republic was now followed by action:

Newspapers were banned, journalists and publishers were persecuted, arrested or forced into exile, publishing houses were seized and the remaining newspapers were forced to follow a National Socialist course.

The aim of the National Socialists was to comprehensively control and dominate the media and thus public opinion.

They were successful: by the end of the Second World War, the NSDAP-owned press trust centred around Franz-Eher-Verlag had a market share of over 80%.

2.1 Newspaper bans

After 30 January 1933, it took the National Socialists just one month to shut down the most important Communist and Social Democrat newspapers. The last issues of the *Rote Fahne*, the central organ of the KPD, reported on acts of violence committed by the National Socialists against their political opponents. At the same time, the newspaper called for anti-fascist actions, rallies and strikes. These calls prompted newspaper bans and the confiscation of issues that had already been printed. On 11 February 1933, the publication of the *Rote Fahne* was banned for a fortnight. Before the deadline expired, the police and SA searched the Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin, the party headquarters of the KPD and the editorial office of the *Rote Fahne*. The last legal edition of the newspaper appeared on 26 February 1933.

The [*Vorwärts*](#), the party newspaper of the SPD, was also banned several times for a few days during February 1933. On the morning of 28 February, the *Vorwärts* still reported on the Reichstag fire. After that, the newspaper was no longer allowed to appear in the German Reich. Between June 1933 and May 1940, the exile newspaper [*Neuer Vorwärts*](#) was published in Karlsbad and later in Paris.

The ban on politically unpopular newspapers was based on emergency decrees issued by Reich President Paul von Hindenburg. The 'Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the German People' of 4 February 1933 served in particular to restrict the freedom of the press and freedom of assembly. The 'Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the People and the State' issued immediately after the Reichstag fire on 28 February went even further, restricting, among other things, freedom of assembly and freedom of opinion and providing the legal basis for the new government's terrorist measures.

Like the *Vorwärts* and the *Rote Fahne*, almost 250 other social democratic and communist press publications throughout Germany suffered the same fate. The election campaign of the SPD and the KPD for the Reichstag elections on 5 March 1933 was massively hindered as a result. The publishing houses and printing works of the banned left-wing newspapers were often seized by National Socialists. Many left-wing journalists fled into exile in the first weeks of National Socialist rule. Those who remained in Germany were subjected to intimidation, arrests and brutal abuse in so-called 'protective custody'.



Book burning by police and SA in Dresden, 8 March 1933.

In Dresden on 8 March 1933, the SA and police raided the editorial offices of the [*Dresdner Volkszeitung*](#), the party newspaper of the Dresden Social Democrats.

The newspaper had been banned six days earlier.

During the raid, the police and SA arrested and terrorised those present, destroyed the furniture and then publicly burned files and writings of the editorial team and the party on Wettiner Platz.

This book burning was the prelude to a series of similar actions by the SA, SS and the 'German Student Union'.

2.2 Forced sales: the example of Ullstein Verlag

Before 1933, Ullstein Verlag was one of the largest in the Berlin newspaper market. Around 10,000 people worked in the publishing house on Kochstraße and in the huge printing plant in Tempelhof. The publishing house published high-circulation daily newspapers such as the renowned *Vossische Zeitung*, the tabloid *B.Z. am Mittag* and the *Berliner Morgenpost*. Ullstein also published various magazines such as the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* and the *Grüne Post* as well as a wide range of books. Ullstein Verlag was a family business. It was founded in 1877 by the paper wholesaler and local politician Leopold Ullstein. After his death, his five sons took over the publishing business, and in the course of the 1920s the grandchildren's generation moved into management. In principle, the Ullsteins supported the republican democracy of the Weimar Republic. However, their publications remained predominantly neutral in terms of party politics. Although all ten children of the founder of the publishing house had converted to Protestantism, the Ullstein publishing house was considered 'Jewish' in the propaganda of the National Socialists. While the publishing house had survived the global economic crisis relatively unscathed, it came under increasing pressure after 1933 due to agitation, boycott measures and newspaper bans by the National Socialists. Initially, the Ullsteins tried to make concessions to the new rulers. The family parted with a portion of the share capital. In addition, non-Jewish people were appointed to the Supervisory Board and Management Board.

However, the new CEO Richard A. Müller in particular did not act in the interests of the publishing house owners, but in close consultation with leading National Socialists. In the following months, he organised the dismissal of many Jewish employees. Not least the loss of important authors led to falling sales figures and the closure of the venerable *Vossische Zeitung* in March 1934.

The concessions made by the Ullsteins were by no means enough for the National Socialists. They were interested in breaking up or taking over the large publishing house. A critical editorial by journalist Ehm Welk in spring 1934 about a speech by Joseph Goebbels led to a three-month ban on the high-circulation weekly *Grüne Post*. The loss of publishing and entrepreneurial room for manoeuvre, financial losses and threats against family members ultimately led to the Ullsteins feeling compelled to negotiate a sale.

Despite financial difficulties, Ullstein Verlag continued to be an impressive press empire. The real value of the company was estimated at 60 million Reichsmarks. However, the Ullsteins only received around 10.5 million Reichsmarks in the sales negotiations concluded in June 1934. In the end, the NSDAP-owned Franz-Eher-Verlag bought the company through a trust company. The traditional name Ullstein was retained until 1937, when it was renamed 'Deutscher Verlag'. After deducting all the special anti-Jewish taxes, the Ullsteins, who had fled into exile, were left with virtually nothing of the already low purchase price.



Front page of the magazine Die Sirene from November 1937

The takeover of *Sirene*, the official magazine of the Reichsluftschutzbund, in 1933 was an attempt by Ullstein Verlag to adapt to the National Socialist government.

Ultimately, such attempts to adapt offered the publishers no protection from being forced to sell to the National Socialists.



In 1939, passers-by read the displays of the Deutscher Verlag publishing house (formerly Ullstein) on the corner of Unter den Linden and Friedrichstraße.

In 1937, the National Socialist publishing house managers finally cancelled the traditional name 'Ullstein' and replaced it with the new name 'Deutscher Verlag'.

2.3 Self-censorship and adaptation

Most of the newspapers that appeared before January 1933 can be categorised politically as belonging to a broad spectrum ranging from conservative to nationalist. These included many of the sometimes very small provincial and regional newspapers, some larger bourgeois metropolitan newspapers and a number of so-called Generalanzeiger, which made a living from advertising in particular. Many of these publications criticised the Weimar Republic, but by no means all of them initially supported the NSDAP.

After Adolf Hitler was appointed Reich Chancellor, most of these newspapers initially tried to maintain their independence by adapting to varying degrees. Initially, even bourgeois-conservative press products were temporarily banned if they printed texts that displeased the National Socialists. In addition, in many places there was fierce competition for readers between the party papers of the NSDAP and the politically independent regional newspapers.

The Hannoversche Anzeiger, for example, printed an advertisement from the German Trade Union Federation shortly before the election on 5 March 1933, which indirectly called on people to vote for the SPD. The National Socialist newspaper Niedersächsische Tageszeitung then launched a smear campaign against the Anzeiger. The daily newspaper not only denounced the political 'misconduct' of the rival paper, but also polemicised massively against Jewish advertisers of the Anzeiger. Economically, this campaign was intended to hit the Anzeiger twice over: It was to lose readers and advertisers. Like many other newspapers, the Hannoversche Anzeiger relented, dismissed Jewish and liberal employees, stopped printing adverts from Jewish companies and adapted articles and commentaries to the National Socialist style. However, the strategy of adaptation did not always work. A number of bourgeois newspapers lost too many readers and were bought up by the NSDAP-owned Franz-Eher-Verlag.

Other newspapers managed to retain readers by publishing supposedly innocuous articles in the arts and culture sections. After just a few weeks, most newspapers no longer contradicted the guidelines of the National Socialist press politicians on political issues. On 23 February 1933, the Social Democratic [Vorwärts](#) wrote after one of its bans: 'On its return, the Vorwärts finds a bourgeois press that [...] has lost its colour from shock.'



Issue of the regional newspaper Bayerische Ostmark/
Bamberger Tagblatt from 5 August 1938

The *Bamberger Tagblatt* was a family-owned national-conservative regional newspaper that was close to the DNVP until 1933. In July 1933, it merged with the NSDAP party newspaper *Fränkisches Volk*, which was later renamed *Bayerische Ostmark*, and thus became the 'official organ' of the NSDAP.

03 Press control: institutions, measures and individuals



Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, met representatives of the foreign press in October 1933.

According to the National Socialists, the newspapers of the 'Third Reich' were only intended to inform the population about the government's policies. Public discourse, a contest of opinions, let alone criticism, were not intended.

The comprehensive control of the remaining press products after the first bans was therefore a high priority.

Several competing individuals and institutions issued an increasingly confusing number of instructions and guidelines in order to direct and control the day-to-day reporting of the newspapers.

As a result of this control regime, even leading National Socialists complained about the increasing monotony of the press.

The circulation of many newspapers also fell. Although the population's interest in news increased again after the start of the war, newspapers had to make do with fewer and fewer staff and a limited allocation of paper.

The Wehrmacht, with its own propaganda interests, now became an additional player.

3.1 The control of information

After the elections on 5 March 1933, the National Socialists created the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda (RMVP) under Minister Joseph Goebbels.

The task of the ministry was to completely control cultural life and the media in line with the National Socialist world view. Art and literature, but above all the mass media of radio, film and the press, were now used to indoctrinate the population.

The adoption of the Reich Press Conference was of particular importance for the control of the content of the press. During the Weimar Republic, it was the journalists who organised a daily exchange between the press and government representatives. The National Socialists took this responsibility out of their hands in 1933. From then on, the RMVP appointed selected newspaper correspondents to daily press briefings. Government representatives gave the assembled and hand-picked reporters precise instructions as to what they were to write and in what form, or what they were to keep quiet about. Some instructions were formulated as suggestions or requests, others were unequivocal orders. Newspapers that published undesirable reports or used undesirable wording were publicly reprimanded at the press conference.

All instructions and information were presented verbally at the Reich press conference. The journalists present took notes and were asked to reproduce what they had heard in their own words so that not all the newspapers reported the same thing. The transcripts had to be destroyed at regular intervals. Background information was subject to varying degrees of secrecy. If confidential information was passed on or even published, newspapers could be banned or journalists could be prosecuted.

The smaller and regional newspapers, which did not have their own correspondents in Berlin, received instructions from the Reich Press Conference via the regional offices of the RMVP. The centralisation and de facto nationalisation of the news agency was also an effective instrument for controlling the content of the provincial press.

The German News Bureau (DNB) began its work at the beginning of 1934. Reports disseminated by the DNB were just as strictly monitored as those of the Reich Press Conference. Many newspaper readers were aware of this: the abbreviation DNB was translated as 'must not bring anything'.



The Reich Ministry for peoples education and Propaganda*

*Most translation state

The Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda Bureau
but we feel enlightenment is not a fitting translation

3.2 The control of the 'editors'

With the Editors' Act of 4 October 1933, initiated by Joseph Goebbels, the National Socialists put their understanding of press work into legal form.

Access to the journalistic profession was regulated and the press was defined as a public state task.

From then on, journalists were called 'editors-in-chief', editors-in-chief 'chief editors'.

They were no longer answerable to a newspaper publisher, but to the state and thus to the National Socialist regime. The editor-in-chief law obliged them to keep out of the newspapers anything that could weaken the 'strength of the German people', its 'defence' or its 'community will'. Content that was 'immoral for other reasons' was also prohibited - a phrase that could be arbitrarily interpreted and applied.

Anyone who was entered in the so-called list of editors was allowed to be an editor. The prerequisite for this was not only German citizenship, but also 'Aryan descent'. Marriage to a person of 'non-Aryan' descent was also a reason for exclusion. **From then on, the Editors' Act denied foreign journalists who were critical and undesirable for racist reasons access to their profession.**

At the same time, social privileges were introduced for 'Aryan' and politically desirable editors. Neither the professional organisations nor the bourgeois press resisted the law.

The Reich Press Chamber, a subdivision of the Reich Chamber of Culture, which in turn was subordinate to the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda and was also headed by Joseph Goebbels, was responsible for maintaining and controlling the lists of editors.

Verlagspostanstalt: Berlin-Charlottenburg 2

nen ich noch dazu in Betracht ziehe, daß wir eine Regierung haben, die besten Willens ist und noch besten Willen und Gesinnung hat, die Maßnahmen zu treffen vermag, die die Situation zum Wohle des Volkes zu verbessern, wenn ich noch hinzunehme, daß dem deutschen Volke Pläne ganz großen Charakters vorgelegt werden, die die ganze Angelegenheit und den ganzen Zusammenhang des deutschen Volkes in Anspruch nehmen müssen, um sie zum Erlöse zu führen.

3.3 National Socialist press politicians

The central figure in National Socialist press policy was Joseph Goebbels as Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and simultaneously Chairman of the Reich Chamber of Culture. However, he had competitors: National Socialist press policy was characterised by a complicated network of institutional and personal dependencies, overlapping responsibilities and rivalries.

Max Amann

Max Amann had been a close follower of Adolf Hitler since the early 1920s.

From 1922, he headed the party's own Franz-Eher-Verlag publishing house, which published the NSDAP's most important newspapers, magazines and books.

Within the party, Max Amann held the office of 'Reich Director for the Press'. In 1933, he first became head of the 'Reich Association of German Newspaper Publishers', then President of the Reich Press Chamber, the professional organisation of the newspaper industry in the superordinate Reich Chamber of Culture.



He played a central role in the concentration of the German publishing industry.

Right at the beginning of the National Socialist regime, he was involved in the de facto nationalisation of the DNB news agency as well as the purchase of Ullstein Verlag.

In the spring of 1935, Amann issued the three so-called Amann decrees, which triggered a further wave of concentration in the newspaper publishing industry in favour of Franz-Eher-Verlag. With the help of these orders, small newspaper publishers whose newspapers were in competition with the NSDAP party press could be closed or bought up.

The orders also made it possible to exert massive pressure on denominational newspapers and the remaining Generalanzeiger press. The corporate structure of the publishing houses had to be disclosed, some business models were banned and all publishers had to submit an 'Aryan certificate' dating back to 1800. In the following months, up to 600 newspapers gave up, were sold or incorporated into the Franz-Eher-Verlag. This produced over 80% of the German Reich's newspaper circulation in 1945.

Max Amann was imprisoned at the end of the war. In 1948, the Munich district court sentenced him to two and a half years in prison for offences including breach of the peace and assault. In the denazification proceedings, the court classified him as the 'main culprit' and sentenced him to ten years in a labour camp. His considerable fortune, amassed through his business dealings with the Franz-Eher publishing house, was confiscated.

He was released from prison in 1953. He died in Munich in 1957.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-E03529 / Fotograf(in): o. Ang.

Meeting of film-makers at the Kroll Opera House in Berlin in 1939: Max Winkler sat third from the left on the podium, Joseph Goebbels on the far right.

Rolf Rienhardt and Max Winkler

Max Amann did neither his business nor his political tasks alone. Among others, his close associate Rolf Rienhardt was important.

Rienhardt was a lawyer, a Hitler supporter since the early 1920s and is described in the research literature as unusually enterprising and intelligent.

In 1933, Amann made him his deputy as head of the 'Reich Association of German Newspaper Publishers' and head of staff in the 'Administrative Office for the Press of the NSDAP'.

Riemann also wrote programmatic texts and political speeches for Max Amann. Above all, he was the intellectual and legal mastermind behind the business of Franz-Eher-Verlag and devised the concept for the successful weekly newspaper *Das Reich*.

The businessman and media expert Max Winkler played a central role in the purchase and takeover of many publishing houses.

He organised the purchase of the news agencies, the 'Jewish' publishers Ullstein and Mosse as well as numerous other newspaper publishers via various trusts after Max Amann had created the legal conditions for this with the so-called Amann decrees in 1935.

Contemporaries described Winkler as a skilful and discreet businessman who acted politely and authoritatively as a supposedly independent entrepreneur. However, his business always benefited the National Socialist press trust centred around Franz-Eher-Verlag.

Rolf Rienhardt fell out of favour with his superior Max Amann at the end of the 1930s, was dismissed and served in the 'Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler' from 1943.

However, he was not categorised as the 'main culprit' in the proceedings of the Spruchkammer after the war.

At the beginning of the 1950s, he worked as a lawyer again and became managing director of the *Westfälische Zeitung* and Burda-Verlag publishing houses.

He died in 1975.

Max Winkler was arrested and testified as a witness in several trials against National Socialists, but was himself categorised as 'exonerated' in the denazification proceedings. He advised the Bundestag on the reorganisation of the Ufa film trust, which he had been instrumental in creating.

He died in 1961.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-2011-0211-502 / Fotograf(in): o. Ang.

At the 'Reich Press Day' in November 1934: Joseph Goebbels (left) and Otto Dietrich (right) were among those sitting in the front row.

Otto Dietrich

Another important media politician was Otto Dietrich. Dietrich had been Adolf Hitler's personal press chief and 'Reich Press Chief of the NSDAP' since 1931.

In 1933, the members of the 'Reich Association of the German Press', the organisation representing the interests of journalists, unanimously elected him as their chairman, thereby demonstrating their willingness to adapt to the National Socialist dictatorship.

The 'Reich Association of the German Press' was incorporated into the Reich Press Chamber, which in turn was chaired by Max Amann.

In 1938, Otto Dietrich became State Secretary in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda under Joseph Goebbels. From then on, he was not only

responsible for the party press, but also for the organisation and control of the entire newspaper industry.

He continued to expand his position under Goebbels, who was actually his superior minister, and acted increasingly independently.

During the war, he often stayed in the 'Führer headquarters' in close proximity to Hitler.

From 1940, he published the 'Daily Slogan of the Reich Press Chief' daily at the Reich Press Conference. These concisely summarised, binding announcements to the press, whose content and wording Dietrich specified directly or by telephone, made the control of news even tighter in wartime.

Otto Dietrich was also arrested by the Allies at the end of the war.

In 1949, he was sentenced to seven years in prison in the Wilhelmstrasse trial and released in 1950 for good behaviour.

He then worked for the Deutsche Kraftverkehrsgesellschaft and died in Düsseldorf in 1952.

3.4 War reporting and propaganda companies

With the beginning of the Second World War, 'psychological warfare' and propagandistic control of the 'home front' came to the fore.

Otto Dietrich's press instructions in the form of the daily 'Daily Slogans of the Reich Press Chief' became more rigid. Basic information, for example on troop numbers, enemy air raids or casualties, was forbidden or subject to censorship.

While war propaganda was given an important position, newspaper editors had to struggle with increasing staff shortages and paper shortages.

Alongside the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment [education] and Propaganda, the High Command of the Wehrmacht pursued its own propaganda and media strategy. Even before the start of the war, both institutions had argued about future war reporting and concluded a formal agreement on the delimitation of their respective responsibilities.

The Wehrmacht set up propaganda companies (PK), which were responsible for reporting from and in the war zones. All war correspondents were soldiers; civilians were prohibited from reporting on the war.

The PKs were under the military command of the Wehrmacht. However, instructions regarding content came from Joseph Goebbels' propaganda ministry. The PK soldiers provided film footage, photographs, radio reports, drawings and verbal contributions. They had to be approved by several censors before they were shown in newsreels, broadcast on the radio or printed in magazines and newspapers. In 1942, 15,000 soldiers served in 54 PKs; the SS also had its own propaganda unit.

Many PK war correspondents continued their careers after the end of the war. Above all, their descriptions of the events of the war and their images of wartime operations and soldiers' lives determined the West German image of the Second World War for decades to come.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 1011-133-0703-33 / Fotograf(in): Zermin

Soldiers from a PK took photos and films in the Litzmannstadt ghetto in 1941.

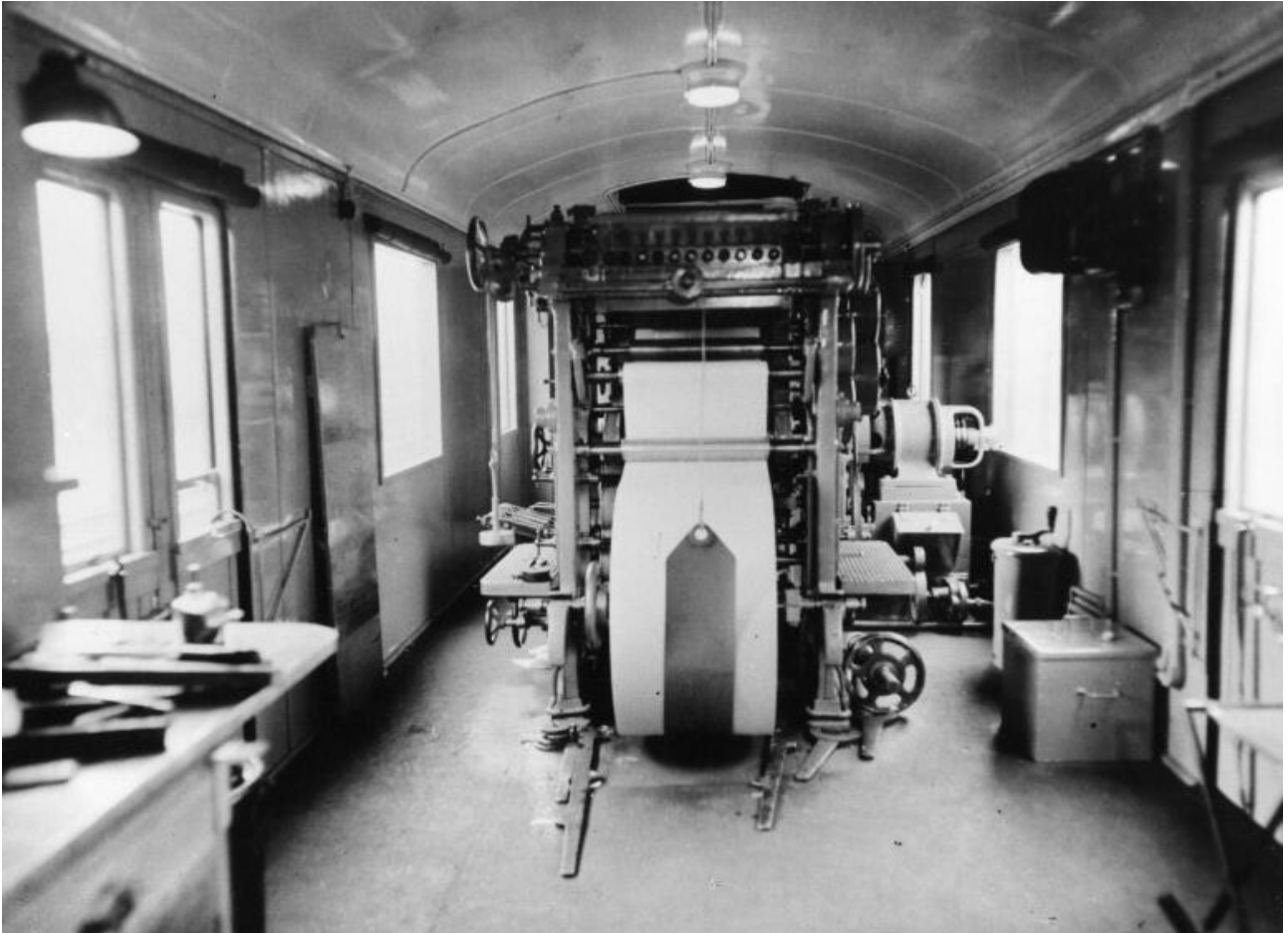
The PK not only produced reports and images of the immediate events of the war.

They supported National Socialist propaganda by providing anti-Semitic, racist and stereotypical film and image recordings from the territories occupied by the Wehrmacht.

The picture above shows soldiers from a PK who took film footage and photos of the Jewish people imprisoned in the so-called Litzmannstadt ghetto.



A soldier from a PK ('word reporter') wrote his report in 1941 after a mission in the Soviet Union.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 146-1972-041-27 / Fotograf(in): o.Ang.

A front-line printing works housed in a train. The rotary press was used to produce 'field newspapers' for German soldiers.

04 Newspapers under National Socialism



Various German daily newspapers were on sale at a newspaper stand on the Postplatz in Dresden in 1935.

During the rule of the National Socialists, the German press landscape became desolate:

all left-wing papers were banned, the liberal press forced to sell and adapt.

The remaining papers were only allowed to write what the National Socialist censors had authorised.

Many newspapers disappeared because they lost disappointed readers.

The beneficiary of the sales, bans and dwindling competition was the NSDAP-owned Franz Eher publishing group.

During the rule of the National Socialists, the press was 'brought into line', bought up, censored or became a staunch propaganda organ of those in power.

The so-called National Socialist 'fighting press', which during the Weimar period had primarily been a means of exchanging information within the party, disseminating National Socialist propaganda and training its members, now became the 'state press'.

In addition, there were still illustrated magazines, serious daily newspapers and provincial papers for local news. But the same information and opinions were printed everywhere.

Only in exceptional cases did the few journalists who kept a critical distance from the government manage to convey unwanted news 'between the lines'

4.1 Völkischer Beobachter: The most important press organ of the National Socialists

When the NSDAP acquired an insolvent local Munich newspaper called the *Völkischer Beobachter* through influential supporters in December 1920, it was impossible to foresee the inglorious role this daily newspaper would play in the German Reich.

In the beginning, the *Völkischer Beobachter* served the National Socialists as a 'fighting paper' for internal communication of events and for propaganda in the fight against the Republic. After 1933, it became the central press organ of the National Socialists.

The newspaper was published by Franz-Eher-Verlag, which had been under the control of the later 'Reichsleiter für die Presse', Max Amann, since April 1922. The publishing centre of the Eher publishing house was located at Thierschstraße 11 in Munich, while the editorial office and printing works of the *Völkischer Beobachter* were located in Schellingstraße in Munich's Maxvorstadt district.

Circulation increased continuously since the global economic crisis of 1929. While only around 4,000 copies were in daily circulation in 1925, this figure grew to over 100,000 copies by the end of 1930. The circulation peaked in 1944 at 1.7 million.

At first glance, the *Völkischer Beobachter* may not appear as inflammatory and vile as *Der Angriff* or *Der Stürmer*, but behind the comparatively milder tone lay an equally consistent anti-Semitism.

The most important press organ of the National Socialists also had a decisive function.

After 1933, the *Völkischer Beobachter* became the Nazis' organ of proclamation and acclamation - a herald for the National Socialist government.

In the first years of the dictatorship, the *Völkischer Beobachter* often printed the laws passed by Hitler directly on the front page. During the war, the perseverance of the German people was invoked and the 'self-sacrificing struggle' on the battlefields was reported.



Uniform wearers advertised for the Völkischer Beobachter during a propaganda week in January 1936.



This is how the National Socialists imagined a cosy read of the *Völkischer Beobachter* in 1938.

4.2 The attack: Goebbels' "Kampfblatt" for Berlin

Der Angriff was originally the 'fighting paper' for the Berlin NSDAP. Berlin was considered difficult terrain for the National Socialists. Their political opponents were strong and the Prussian state government took equally strict action against Communists and National Socialists.

When the Berlin NSDAP was banned in May 1927, Joseph Goebbels, then Gauleiter of Berlin, launched the *attack*.

He was not only looking for a way to continue propagandising for the National Socialist cause in Berlin. *The Angriff* was also intended to ensure that party members and SA men remained loyal during the ban period by helping to produce and distribute the newspaper.

On 4 July 1927, *Der Angriff* appeared for the first time - with eight pages and a circulation of around 2,000 copies. However, the newspaper was not regarded as an official organ of the NSDAP, but as Goebbels' private newspaper. The background to this was a conflict between Goebbels' paper and the *Berliner Arbeiterzeitung*, which was published as the official organ of the Nazi movement in Berlin.

For the staff, *Der Angriff* was often a career springboard. Important editors included Julius Lippert, the National Socialist caricaturist Hans 'Mjölner' Schweitzer and, as the only woman, Melitta Wiedemann, who Goebbels soon forced out of the editorial office.

The newspaper, which was first published weekly and then daily from November 1930, was saturated with the typical elements of a National Socialist 'fighting newspaper': it was anti-Semitic, disseminated simple, radical friend-foe images and targeted the moods and emotions of its own base - usually without providing any arguments or facts.

It is particularly noteworthy that *Der Angriff* also addressed socio-political issues in order to appeal to Berlin workers.

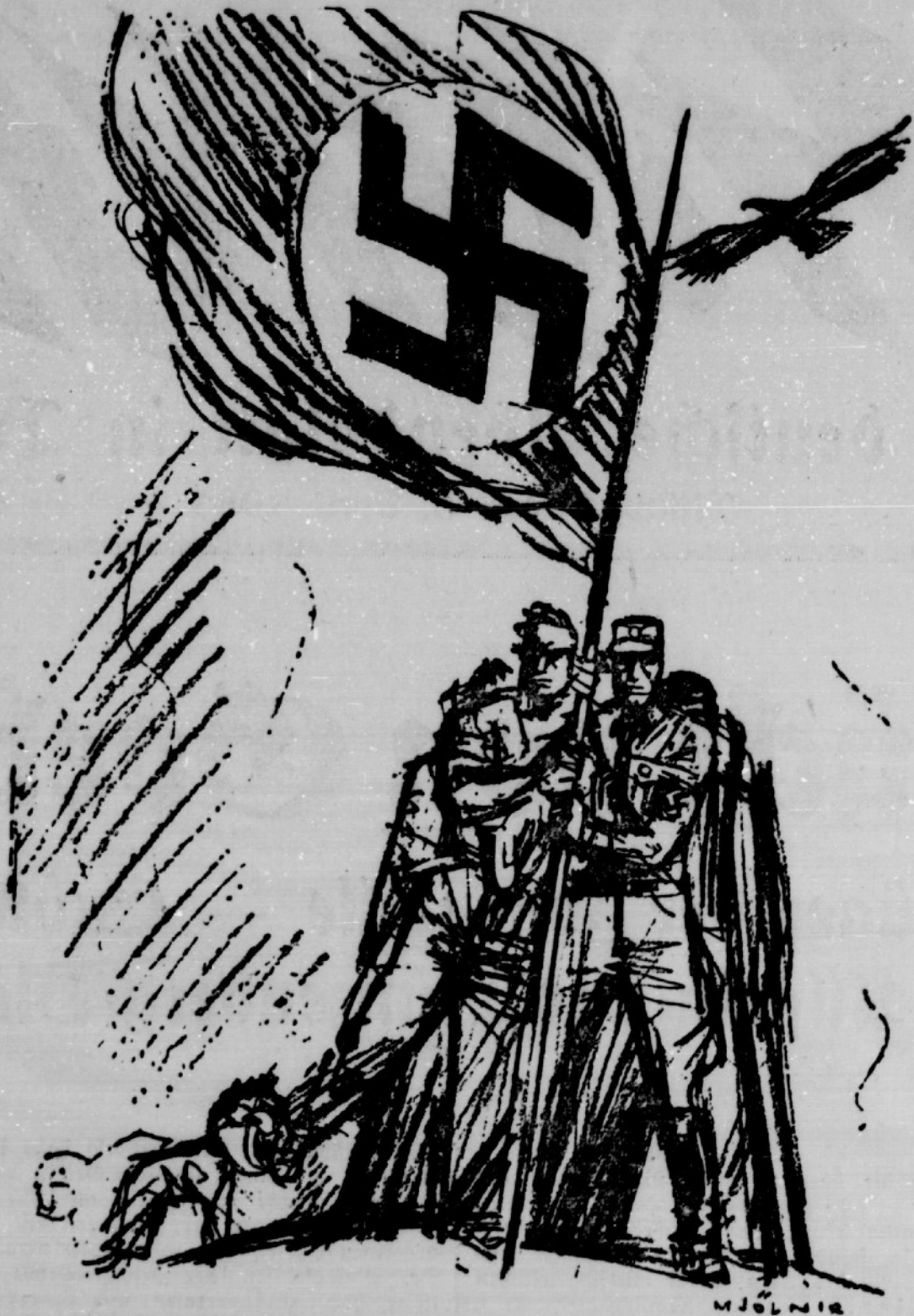
In the early 1930s, Goebbels advertised NSDAP political events in *Der Angriff* with the slogan 'Freedom and Bread'.

The journalist Kurt Tucholsky made fun of this: 'You could take freedom with you right away - they didn't have the bread yet, that will only come when they open their third Reich.'



During the Reichstag election campaign in Berlin in November 1932, a huge campaign poster was displayed at the publishing house of the Angriff in Wilhelmstraße.

**„Immer werden wir siegen,
wenn wir zusammen steh'n!“**



Drawing by the National Socialist caricaturist Hans 'Mjölner' Schweitzer in the attack of 8 April 1931

27. Bruder, wen verfolgst Du?



Drawing from the joint publication by Goebbels and Mjölner: 'Das Buch Isidor. A contemporary picture full of laughter and hatred' from 1931.

The *attack* showered politicians and civil servants with abuse. Bernhard Weiß in particular, Berlin's police vice-president until 1932, was repeatedly depicted in anti-Semitic caricatures by the illustrator 'Mjölner', and he was always labelled 'Isidor Weiß' with defamatory intent.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 146-2006-0068 / Fotograf(in): Weinrother, Carl

In June 1932, a newspaper vendor offered the National Socialist newspapers Der Angriff and Reichswart for sale.

4.3 Der Stürmer: The most aggressive anti-Semitic diatribe

Hardly any other printed matter illustrates the inhuman world view of National Socialism as drastically as the *Stürmer*, published by Julius Streicher. The infamous quote from the anti-Semitic historian Heinrich von Treitschke '**The Jews are our misfortune**' was emblazoned at the foot of the title page of every issue.

The Stürmer was initially launched in 1923 as a local paper in Nuremberg. Its founder, the teacher and NSDAP district leader of Franconia Julius Streicher, was a 'nationalist' who sought to channel his displeasure with the Weimar Republic.

Among other things, he led a smear and defamation campaign against Hermann Luppe, the liberal mayor of Nuremberg.

Above all, the *Stürmer* was a radical anti-Semitic hate paper. Streicher constantly repeated topics such as so-called 'racial dishonour' or alleged Jewish 'ritual murders'. *Stürmer* often collected its 'material' from denunciatory letters to the editor, which were either printed directly or 'reworked' by the editors.

In addition, the Nazi cartoonist Philipp 'Fips' Rupprecht contributed repulsive anti-Semitic clichés and distorted images of Jews. **Even in National Socialist Germany, many readers were disgusted** and *Der Stürmer* was not without controversy.

In many major German cities, so-called 'Stürmerkästen' were set up on busy streets, in which the latest issue of the hate newspaper was displayed. During the 1936 Olympic Games, the Stürmerkästen were temporarily removed from the Berlin cityscape so as not to present the aggressive anti-Semitism to foreign guests.

Julius Streicher was sentenced to death at the main war crimes trial in Nuremberg and executed in 1946.

Der Stürmer

Sonder-Nummer

Wöchentliches Wochenblatt zum Kampfe um die Wahrheit

HERAUSGEBER: JULIUS STREICHER

Preis 20 Pfennig

Sonder-
nummer 5

ersch. wöchentlich, Ausgabe: 20 Bg. Reg.preis monatlich 5.40 Bg. wöchentlich 1.25 Bg. (einschl. Porto). Bestellungen an den Verleger, Julius Streicher, München, Reichsparteitag 1936, oder an den Verleger, Julius Streicher, München, Reichsparteitag 1936, oder an den Verleger, Julius Streicher, München, Reichsparteitag 1936.

München,
Reichsparteitag 1936

Verlag: Der Stürmer, Julius Streicher, München, Reichsparteitag 1936, oder an den Verleger, Julius Streicher, München, Reichsparteitag 1936, oder an den Verleger, Julius Streicher, München, Reichsparteitag 1936.

14. Jahr
1936

Weltverschwörer

Die enthüllten Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion

Das große Rätsel

Der Reichsparteitag 1936 findet in einer Zeit statt, die gekennzeichnet ist durch Unruhen, Revolutionen und blutige Bürgerkriege. Eine gewaltige Erschütterung geht durch die Welt. Verschwörungen haben sich in allen Ländern gebildet. Ihre Ränke reichen hinein bis in die höchsten Stellen der Politik und der Wirtschaft. Politische Agitatoren sind fieberhaft tätig und peitschen die Massen auf. Ein großer Teil der Weltpresse scheint geheime Richtlinien bekommen zu haben. Er feuert offen oder versteckt auf ein bestimmtes Ziel los. Dieses Ziel heißt: Durch die Weltrevolution zum Weltkommunismus.

Der nicht völlig mit Blindheit geschlagen ist, sieht die Welt unglücklich und riesengroß am Himmel stehen. Überall zeigen sich die Zeichen der Zeit. Schon schlagen die Flammen des in allen Ländern angelegten kommunistischen Brandherdes da und dort zum Himmel empor. In Brasilien brach vor nicht langer Zeit ein bolschewistischer Aufstand aus. Er wurde mit Wut und unter großen Opfern niedergeschlagen. In anderen Ländern Amerikas treiben die bolschewistischen Agitatoren offener und gewalttätiger auf denn je. In den Vereinigten Staaten stellen anlässlich einer kommunistischen Kund-

Das auserwählte Volk



Deutscher Volksgenosse!

Was hat es für eine Verwandnis mit den Geheimnissen der Weisen von Zion? Woher kommen die Unruhen, die Revolutionen, die Kriege in der Welt? Wer sind die Drahtzieher des

Massenmordens in Spanien?

Dies diese Sonder-Nummer und Du bist Wissender geworden. Bist mit an der Aufklärung! Gib diese Sondernummer weiter! Schicke sie denen, die die Judenfrage noch nicht kennen! Es soll das ganze deutsche Volk lebend werden. Es soll auch der letzte deutsche Volksgenosse wissen, worum es geht. Sorge auch Du dafür, daß dieses große Ziel erreicht wird!

Der Stürmer

Den Satan, der die Menschheit quält / Hat nur der Teufel auserwählt

gebung die beiden größten amerikanischen Radiogesellschaften ihren Rundfunk zu einer Revolutionsrede zur Verfügung. Der Staat Uruguay brach die diplomatischen Beziehungen zur Sowjetunion ab. Er wies nach, daß Sowjetagenten den Sturz der Regierung Uruguays vorbereitet hatten. In anderen Ländern ist der Bolschewis-

Die Juden sind unser Unglück!

Special edition of the Stürmer on the occasion of the Reichsparteitag in Nuremberg in 1936 with lurid and anti-Semitic texts and illustrations



Bundesarchiv, Bild 133-075 / Fotograf(in): o.Äng.

Stürmerkasten in Worms, August 1935

People read the *Stürmer* in front of a so-called Stürmer box [Stürmerkasten] in Worms in August 1935 . The infamous slogan 'The Jews are our misfortune' and the anti-Semitic slogan 'With the Stürmer against Judah' were written above the box.

4.4 The Reich: prestige project of the National Socialist press

Newspaper bans, strict control of content and language, the intimidation and persecution of journalists and the creation of the party's own publishing trust led to a monotonous press characterised by National Socialist phrases.

Even convinced National Socialists found reading the newspapers boring. The re-founding of the weekly newspaper *Das Reich* was an attempt to create an intellectually sophisticated but loyal National Socialist paper.

The concept came from Rolf Rienhardt, a lawyer and close associate of Max Amann.

The first issue was published in May 1940 by Deutscher Verlag, formerly Ullstein, which now belonged to the Franz Eher publishing empire.

Das Reich differed from other National Socialist newspapers both in appearance and content. It was not printed in Fraktur, and the layout appeared dignified.

The editors-in-chief endeavoured to recruit the most capable journalists for the newspaper. The obligatory press instructions for all other newspapers did not have to be copied verbatim. Overall, some journalists endeavoured to achieve greater objectivity and seriousness, a higher information content, more cultivated language and a sophisticated feature section. But even if the authors in the *Reich* had somewhat more journalistic freedom than in other newspapers, the weekly newspaper was a National Socialist prestige project and instrument of power.

There was no diversity of opinion or even criticism. Joseph Goebbels himself wrote a number of editorials in return for high fees. The newspaper was successful.

Circulation rose from 500,000 in autumn 1940 to over 1.4 million in spring 1944, although the paper shortage caused the newspaper to shrink from its original 32 pages to just 8 in the last issues in 1945.



Front page of the weekly newspaper Das Reich from 16 November 1941

On the front page of the weekly newspaper *Das Reich* on 16 November 1941, Joseph Goebbels published the article 'The Jews are to blame!'.

At the beginning of the systematic deportations of Jews to concentration and extermination camps, he not only justified the introduction of the 'Jewish star', but also blamed 'world Jewry' for the war and unequivocally announced the 'annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe'.

On the same front page, another article under the heading 'Growing demands' portrayed England's Prime Minister Winston Churchill as the real warmonger.

Even in the supposedly intellectually 'sophisticated' National Socialist *Reich*, the question of war guilt was arbitrarily blamed on others, certainly not on Germany.



Front page of the weekly newspaper *Das Reich* from 19 April 1942

The front page of the newspaper *Das Reich* from 19 April 1942 featured a picture of Adolf Hitler, an editorial by Joseph Goebbels and a portrait of Albert Speer, who had been Reich Minister of Armaments and Munitions for a few months.

4.5 Frankfurter Zeitung: A political daily newspaper under dictatorship

During the Weimar Republic, the internationally recognised *Frankfurter Zeitung* took a clear republican and democratic stance. This made it a target for monarchists, 'Völkische' and National Socialists.

Press products such as the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the [Berliner Tageblatt](#) and the *Vossische Zeitung* were vilified by Joseph Goebbels as 'Jewish asphalt press' that would promote 'national decomposition'.

For several years after 1933, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* maintained a certain special position on the German newspaper market. On the one hand, many Jewish editors, including Siegfried Kracauer, had to leave the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

The members of the founding family, the brothers Kurt and Heinrich Simon and their mother Therese Simon-Sonnenbaum, were also forced to give up their shares in the newspaper.

On the other hand, the newspaper remained in private ownership until 1939. At the end of the 1920s, the industrial magnate Carl Bosch, CEO of IG Farben, had already acquired a stake in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* through intermediaries. In 1934, Carl Bosch increased his stake in the newspaper publisher to over 90%. Later than most other newspapers, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was not bought out until 1939 by a company belonging to the Franz Eher publishing group.

The newspaper was also granted a small amount of freedom in terms of content. It remained a constant thorn in the side of the National Socialist regime. Articles and wording published in it were repeatedly criticised at the Reich press conference. Although Goebbels wanted to ban the newspaper, he valued its function as a figurehead for a supposed freedom of the press in Germany more highly: 'I don't want to let it go yet, as it is read so much in foreign business circles,' he noted in his diary.

However, even the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was not able to provide truly free reporting. The editors had to be inventive in order to publish more than just controlled news.

Thus the 'Brief News' section was introduced. This printed local news from provincial papers that had not previously been censored by the German News Bureau. The rather apolitical feuilleton remained a place of freer creative freedom - a fig leaf for the censored rest of the newspaper.

In 1943, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was finally banned after all.

4.6 Das Deutsche Mädel: The youth magazine of the Bund Deutscher Mädel

The most important educational goal of the National Socialists was to win over children and young people to their ideology.

In addition to the parental home and school, the Hitler Youth (HJ) as the 'state youth organisation' was solely responsible for education.

After 1933, around 55 different youth magazines were published under the control and management of the Press and Propaganda Office of the 'Reich Youth Leader' Baldur von Schirach.

The official magazine of the Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM) was called *Das Deutsche Mädel*. It was published monthly, cost 20 pfennigs per issue and had a circulation of over 143,000 in 1938. Like all youth magazines, it was illustrated with many photos. Hilde Munske was the main editor from 1934 until the newspaper was discontinued in the final years of the war.

The magazine's choice of topics reflected the National Socialist image of women: girls were to be educated to become 'good' and 'healthy' mothers and housewives. The 'national community' was propagated and performance, competition, discipline and obedience were demanded of the children.

The magazine published reports on the work of the Nazi youth organisations in order to explain the goals and work of the BDM and HJ to children, parents and teachers and to promote them.

Das Deutsche Mädel packaged National Socialist racism in age-appropriate articles and instructed readers on topics such as sport, home culture and motherhood. After the start of the war, the magazine reported on the tasks of young women on the 'home front'.

Many articles were written from the perspective of children and young people - it is no longer possible to determine who actually wrote them. In any case, they were intended to convey a sense of closeness to the readers and to train them in the National Socialist world view as forcefully as possible through supposedly authentic reports.



The BDM magazine *Das Deutsche Mädel* appeared in August 1940 with a report on harvest workers, among other things.

PREIS 20 PFENNIG

Das Deutsche Mädel

Die Zeitschrift des Bundes Deutscher Mädel in der HJ.

JAHRGANG 1939
OKTOBERHEFT

VERLAGSORT
HANNOVER



In Stadt und Land leisten Mädel und Jung-
mädel freudig auf dem Platz, auf den sie
gestellt sind, Kriegsdienste. In Kindergärten
nehmen sie den wehrkräftigen Müttern die
Sorge um die Jüngsten ab. Überall, wo
fleißige Hände gebraucht werden, haben sie
sich eingereiht. Sie alle haben nur einen
Wunsch: in dieser Zeit dem Führer zu helfen!

BDM magazine Das Deutsche Mädel, October 1939, explaining to readers, among other things, the invasion of Poland by German troops.

05 Editors under National Socialism



Editor and chief editor at an editorial meeting of the Hamburger Tageblatt in 1940

The organisation representing the interests of journalists, the “Reich Association of the German Press”, directly subordinated itself to the National Socialist rulers in 1933.

A few months later, the National Socialists passed their “Editors' Law”.

Journalists were now called “Schriftleiter”, editors-in-chief “Hauptschriftleiter”.

The Reich Press School was set up in 1934 to train the new editors working for the National Socialist state. Attitude tests, memberships in Nazi organisations and certificates of political reliability were decisive criteria for the selection of “suitable” editors.

After the Second World War, many journalists justified themselves by subtly expressing their rejection of Nazi propaganda “between the lines”, so to speak. For example, formulations required by the state were placed in quotation marks or an overly martial choice of words was avoided.

In everyday life, however, these subtle differences were barely perceptible.

The resistance fighter Ruth Andreas-Friedrich wrote in her diary at the end of September 1938 about her daily newspaper reading: “I can't help myself. I don't read anything between the lines.”

5.1 Hans Schwarz van Berk (1902-1973)

Hans Schwarz van Berk was regarded as the star journalist of the National Socialists.

He was well connected and well informed, wrote readable articles and knew how to give his National Socialist propaganda a seemingly objective veneer.

The equally well-known editor Margret Boveri called Schwarz van Berk 'the only truly talented journalist the National Socialists had'.

During the Weimar Republic, Schwarz van Berk was a member of several Freikorps, the Stahlhelm-Bund, the NSDAP from 1930 and later the SS. Among other things, he was the main editor of Joseph Goebbels's *Der Angriff* from 1935-1937 and editor of a collection of essays by the Reich Minister of Propaganda.

As head of the Reich training programme, he was jointly responsible for training young editors at the Reich Press School.

He returned to Germany at the beginning of the war after a four-year trip around the world, about which he published articles in *Angriff* and *Völkischer Beobachter*, among others.

He volunteered as a war correspondent. At the end of 1939, he also became head of a 'special editorial office' in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda, which was tasked with launching targeted disinformation in the press products of the opponents of the war.

Schwarz van Berk also wrote articles for the weekly newspaper *Das Reich*, in which he warned against Germany's 'enemies', encouraged people to hold out until the 'final victory' and spread propaganda in favour of the Nazis' supposed "miracle weapon".

After 1945, Schwarz van Berk no longer worked as a journalist, but in the advertising industry.

SCHWARZ VAN BERK



Die sozialistische Auslese

WILH. GOTTL. KORN VERLAG AU

In his book published in 1934, Hans Schwarz van Berk propagated the supposedly 'socialist-comradely' life in the 'Third Reich'.

5.2 Giselher Wirsing (1907-1975)

Giselher Wirsing's career began in the circle of authors of the young conservative anti-democratic magazine *Die Tat*.

In 1933, he became a staff member of *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, a high-circulation, previously Catholic-monarchist daily newspaper that was taken over by the National Socialists.

From 1938 to 1941, he was the newspaper's chief editor.

From 1943 onwards, he wrote numerous editorials for the illustrated magazine *Signal*, of which he became chief editor for a few weeks in 1945. He was also an employee of the SS Security Service SD, a member of the SS, a war correspondent in propaganda companies and worked for the Foreign Office as an adviser on anti-Bolshevik language regulations.

Wirsing published travel reports and foreign policy analyses in which he expressed his anti-American, anti-Bolshevik and anti-Semitic views.

In the denazification process, Giselher Wirsing was categorised as a fellow traveller.

In 1948, he co-founded and from 1954 was editor-in-chief of the conservative Protestant weekly *Christ und Welt*, a high-circulation and influential publication in early West Germany.



Front page of the Münchner Neueste Nachrichten
of 22 June 1940

The illustration shows the front page of the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* of 22 June 1940.

Under the headline ‘Disgrace of 1918 erased’, the newspaper reported on the victory of the German Wehrmacht over France and spoke of ‘compensatory justice’.

The main editor of the newspaper at the time was Giselher Wirsing.

5.3 Gerhart Weise (1913-1945)

Gerhart Weise had sympathised with the National Socialists since his school days, but did not join the NSDAP.

After a traineeship at the *Dresdener Anzeiger*, a National Socialist newspaper that had been loyal to the Nazis since 1933, he took part in the second course at the Reich Press School in 1935.

He then wrote in particular about film, variety and cultural topics for the *12 Uhr Blatt*, *Die HJ. Kampfblatt der Hitler-Jugend* and the newspaper *Angriff*.

During the war, Weise worked for the secret propaganda office headed by Hans Schwarz van Berk in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda, which was tasked with spreading disinformation in the foreign press.

Weise also ghostwrote the biography of submarine captain Werner Hartmann for the weekly newspaper *Das Reich* about the air and naval war and worked as a film censor. In 1945, he was arrested by the Soviet secret police and died in custody.

Gerhart Weise was involved in the arrest and death of two artists critical of the regime, the caricaturist and illustrator of the 'Father and Son' picture stories Erich Ohser and the journalist and poet Erich Knauf.

Both were charged with making defeatist statements in 1944. Gerhart Weise knew Erich Ohser and was aware of his imminent arrest. Nevertheless, he did not warn him.

Gerhart Weise had also been instructed by his superior to check the credibility of the informer who had reported Ohser and Knauf. He characterised the informer as reputable and trustworthy.

Ohser and Knauf were arrested. Erich Ohser committed suicide in custody, surely anticipating a conviction. Erich Knauf was sentenced to death and executed.

Gerhart Weise

Ab Untersekunda warf ich mich auf die Politik, wir gründeten in Dresden eine Ortsgruppe der HJ. Als Unterprimaner schrieb ich die ersten Theaterkritiken. Sie waren nicht gut, aber das Theater war auch nicht gut. Das glückte sich aus. 1934 nach Berlin.



kannte keinen Menschen. Ich lebte ein halbes Jahr lang von Marmeladenbrot und lies einmal drei Stunden hin und zurück von Pankow nach

Dahlem, um einen Filmstar zu interviewen. Mangels Heizung

schrieb ich meine Manuskripte im Wartezimmer oder im Bett. Dann kam ich zum „Angriff“. Zwei Jahre lang rasender Reporter, im ständigen Kontakt mit der Filmindustrie. Meine Lieblingsbeschäftigung ist

es, in den Himmel, ins Wasser oder in kochenden Asphalt zu starren. Verblödend ist es, stelle ich fest, sich selbst anzustarren.

Article by Gerhart Weises from the attack of 25 November 1938

As a participant in a prize competition, Gerhart Weise wrote a self-portrayal in *theAngriff* of 25 November 1938.

Curiously, he described himself as a ‘raving reporter’ - actually the nickname of Egon Erwin Kisch, a left-wing journalist and Jew who was persecuted by the National Socialists.

5.4 Werner Höfer (1913–1997)

Werner Höfer's career as an editor began at the Cologne newspaper *Der Neue Tag*.

He mainly wrote theatre reviews and feature articles.

In Berlin, he first worked for the magazine *Koralle*, which was published by Deutscher Verlag, previously Ullstein, and then as a theatre critic for *B.Z. am Mittag*.

During the war, he was press officer for the 'Organisation Todt', a paramilitary construction group that carried out building projects in the territories occupied by Germany. As a result, Höfer avoided deployment on the front until the last year of the war.

He continued to write theatre reviews, reported on the activities of the Organisation Todt and wrote endurance articles in the feature section of the *12 o'clock newspaper* and in the *Reich*.

After the end of the war, Werner Höfer continued his career in West Germany, becoming a radio journalist, television presenter and television director at WDR.

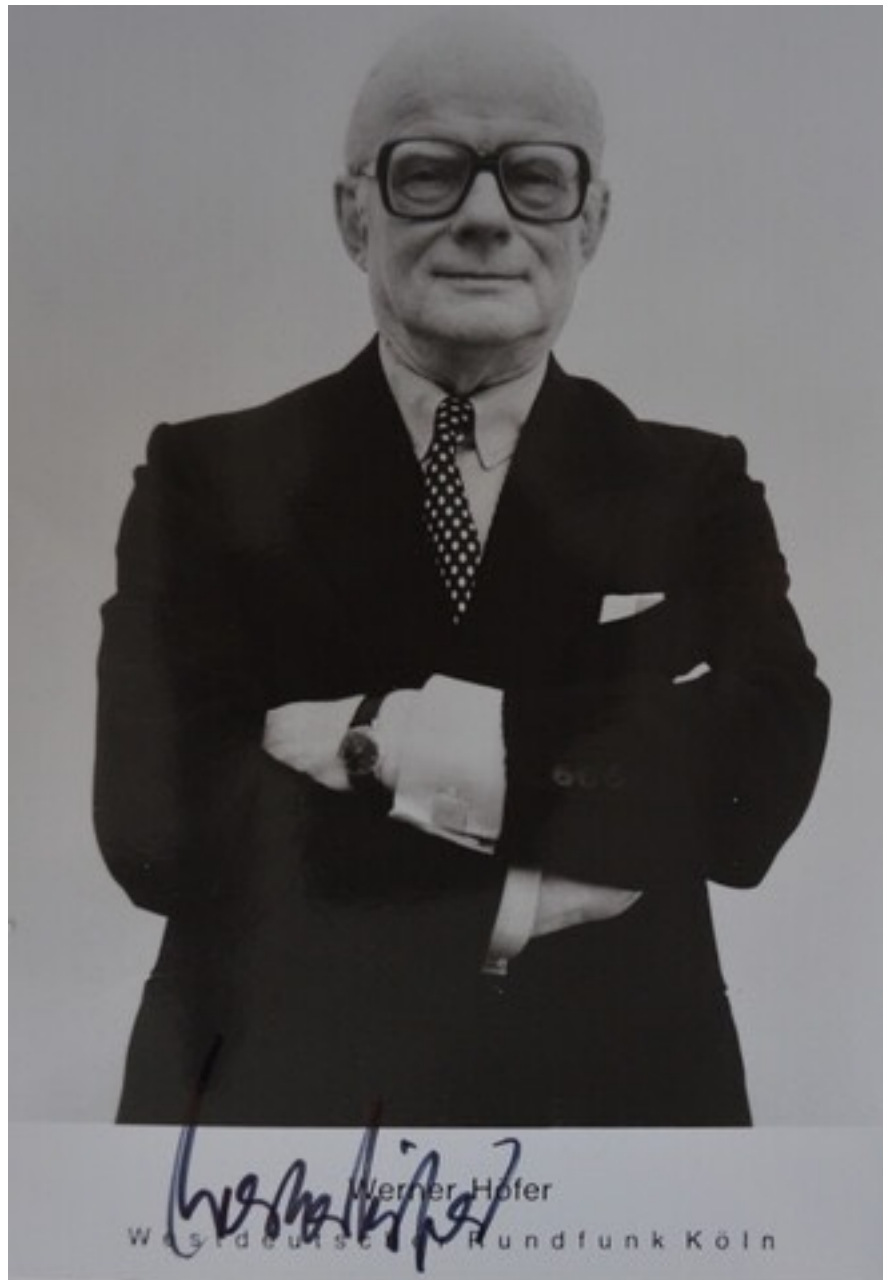
He became particularly famous for his role as host of the 'International Morning Drink', a talk show featuring international journalists that was broadcast over 1,800 times on Sunday afternoons, first on radio and then on television. Höfer was regarded as a liberal and cosmopolitan journalist, a respectable representative of the Bonn Republic.

However, he had to give up 'Frühschoppen' and his positions at WDR in 1987 when *Der Spiegel* publicised his career under the National Socialists.

The accusations were not entirely new; the GDR had already drawn attention to his publications before 1945 in the 1960s. An article by Werner Höfer, published in the *12 o'clock paper* in September 1943, justified and welcomed the 'severe punishment' of an 'artist who had forgotten his honour'.

The article referred (albeit without naming names) to the conviction and execution of the pianist Karlrobert Kreiten for allegedly making statements that 'undermined the defence forces'.

Werner Höfer always denied having written these lines himself. He said that he had been 'edited into' his articles.



Werner Höfer's autograph card, around 1985

The so-called 'Kreiten Affair', in which Höfer's involvement with the National Socialist regime was discussed, aroused public attention in West Germany at the end of the 1980s.

5.5 Margret Boveri (1900-1975)

Margret Boveri actually wanted to work for the League of Nations.

She had travelled a lot, was interested in foreign policy and had written her doctoral thesis on a foreign policy topic.

As Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933 cancelled her plans for the future, she wrote about her extensive study trips in the [*Berliner Tageblatt*](#) and *Frankfurter Zeitung* from 1934.

These two formerly liberal papers offered little journalistic freedom until they were banned in 1937 and 1943.

In 1940, Boveri was appointed foreign correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in New York and travelled to the USA via Siberia and Japan.

After the United States entered the war, she returned to Germany and wrote anti-American articles for *Das Reich*.

The previously cosmopolitan-minded Boveri now held much more nationalistic and conservative views. Although she was not a National Socialist, she came to terms with the regime in order to be able to work as a journalist.

After the end of the war, she remained a conservative journalist, but unlike many of her colleagues, she came to terms with her journalistic work during National Socialism. She admitted to having betrayed her own convictions in conflicts of conscience.

In retrospect, she justified her stance as follows: 'I am not prepared to write anything that I believe to be untrue or false, but I have to accept that I cannot write everything that I believe to be true and worth writing.'



Margret Boveri in the 1930s

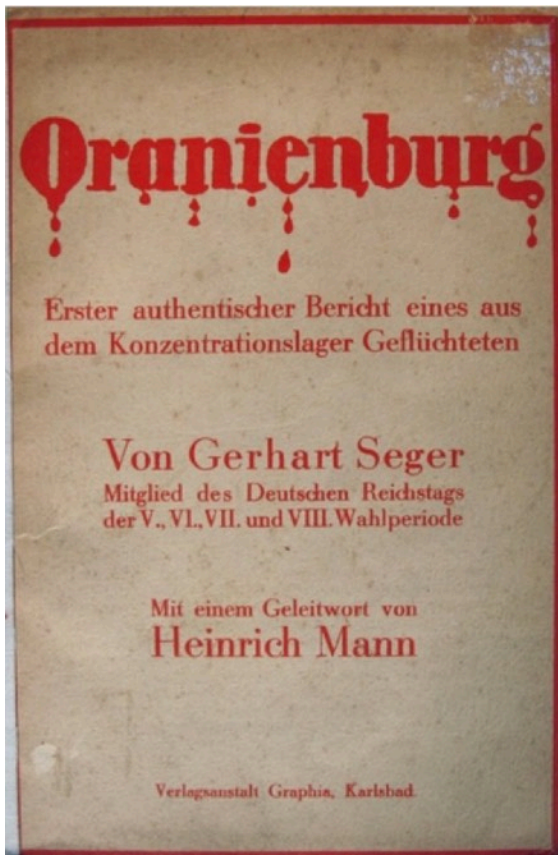
Margret Boveri played a special role among the publicists of the 'Third Reich', as there were not many well-known and successful *female* editors.

They were mostly responsible for the women's pages of newspapers, at best for local news.

A woman travelling the world alone or with other women and commenting on foreign policy was an exception.

It was only when more and more editors were ordered to serve in the war effort that more professional opportunities temporarily opened up for women in newspaper editorial offices.

06 Exile press



Gerhart Seger's account of his experiences in Oranienburg concentration camp, written in exile in Prague in 1934

Gerhart Seger was a journalist and member of the Reichstag for the SPD.

The National Socialists arrested the staunch pacifist in March 1933 and sent him to the Oranienburg concentration camp in June 1933. Gerhart Seger managed to escape from the camp. In exile in Prague, he wrote a book about the terrible prison conditions in the concentration camp.

His report 'Oranienburg' was published in a large edition with a foreword by Heinrich Mann and caused an international sensation.

In January 1934, the National Socialists imprisoned Gerhart Seger's wife and daughter in order to force him to return to Germany.

Only after massive international protests were they both released and the family emigrated to the USA together. Seger worked there for the emigrant newspaper *Neue Volkszeitung* and gave numerous lectures on conditions in National Socialist Germany.

The National Socialist tyranny forced a total of around 500,000 people into exile.

Some fled head over heels after the National Socialists came to power, while others only decided to make an 'orderly' departure years later.

The individual fates, reasons for fleeing, routes, means of transport and destination countries varied. Different residence regulations applied in each country.

The refugees had to overcome bureaucratic hurdles and language barriers and deal with cultural alienation. Poverty, social isolation, torn families, worries about relatives and friends who had stayed behind and the threat of German troops advancing successfully during the war were also a massive burden for many exiles.

Many fugitive writers and journalists fought the National Socialists from exile with newspaper articles.

Over 400 press publications by exiles appeared around the world, mostly under extremely difficult journalistic and publishing conditions.

The exiled journalists lacked access to sources of information, financial resources and dialogue with a broad readership. Many newspapers were published in small print runs with few pages and only for a short time.

Some publications were smuggled into Germany at the risk of their lives.

They were provided with camouflage envelopes so that they were not immediately noticed at border controls or during distribution campaigns.

However, these publications did not reach the vast majority of the German population.

6.1 Neuer Vorwärts (Karlsbad; Paris 1933-1940)

["New Forwards"]

Following the banning of [Vorwärts](#), the traditional paper of the German Social Democratic Party, [Neue Vorwärts](#) became the mouthpiece of Sopade, the German Social Democratic Party in exile, from June 1933.

Growing pressure from the National Socialists on the Czechoslovak government forced the editorial team to move to Paris in 1938, where the newspaper was published until the invasion of the German Wehrmacht in May 1940.

As Karl Kautsky put it, the *Neue Vorwärts* wanted to be the 'organ of struggle, information, organisation and theoretical clarification' of the Sopade.

The newspaper was intended to help keep the exiled comrades abroad together, to inform them about the political situation in Germany and to give hope to the remaining Social Democrats in Germany and encourage them to resist.

Theoretical and strategic discussions on the future development of social democracy also took up a lot of space in the newspaper.

In the early years in particular, attempts were made to smuggle as many copies as possible into Germany via couriers. Correspondents working illegally provided information about political and social conditions in the German Reich.

Arrests and persecution of socialists made this increasingly difficult.

[illegible]

'The defeated of today will be the victors of tomorrow!'



Drawing of Friedrich Stampfer, made by the well-known press draughtsman Emil Stumpp, 1925

Friedrich Stampfer was editor-in-chief of the social democratic daily newspaper [Vorwärts](#) from 1916 and a party functionary of the SPD.

At the end of the Weimar Republic, he campaigned for a united front of Social Democrats and Communists against the NSDAP. After the Reichstag fire, he and his family fled into exile in Czechoslovakia, where he became editor-in-chief of the weekly newspaper [Neuer Vorwärts](#). His exile also took him to France and the USA.

Vor der physischen Ausrottung der Juden in Deutschland

Heute herrscht in Europa all-
gemein ein Geist der Fremdenfeind-
lichkeit, des kurzschichtigen kleinbürger-
lichen Vorurteils, das weit entstan-
nen ist von dem Geiste der Selbstverant-
wortung und des freien Wettbewerbs
der Einzelnen, der die Grundlage der
politischen und der Wirtschaftsver-
fassung der noch freien Länder ist. Es
ist ein Geist, der zwar nicht dem Rasen-
wahn des deutschen Antisemitismus
wählt, aber den sozialen Rassen-
haß und den kurzschichtigen fal-
schen Wirtschaftsauffassungen vor-
wandt ist, die zur Ausbreitung des
Rassenwahns in Deutschland beigetra-
gen haben. Helfen nicht, diesen
Geist der Fremdenfeindlichkeit über-
winden! Möchte das Grauen, das die
antiestnischen Menschen in Europa an-

gesichts der Tragödie des deutschen
Judentums erfasst hat, zur Sprengung
dieser Geistesverfälschung beitragen!
Es würde damit nicht nur den Opfern
des Dritten Reiches geholfen werden,
sondern allen Völkern. Denn dieser
Geist der Fremdenfeindlichkeit ist
nicht jüdisch. Er ist menschlich. Er ist
ein jüdisches jüdisches. Er ist ein
Krieg psychologisch möglich machen.
Wer den Frieden will, darf nicht in
den Feinden von vornherein die
Schuldung und den Feind erblicken!

C. G.

Netz

den - Lichtsignale über
den - verhaftet

Ausführliche aus, hatte aber so gut wie

Ausführlicher aus, hatte aber so gut wie keine Schüler. Er pflegte häufig nach Kottbusch zu reisen und dort mit Knaben-
Lehrung zusammenzukommen.
Als er jüngst wieder einmal dorthin
ging, um, dring die Polizei in seine Heu-
sen. Sie fand in so großer Fülle branden-
des Material, dass selbst ein Halbhektol
gegen Viehl ausgewechselt wurde.

Im Verlaufe der Festgenommenen
die, dass er die Anweisungen für seine Tä-
tigkeit von Pötk-Botschaft erhält habe
als Chef der genannten branden Manöver-
arbeit in Dinnmark zu betrachten sei.

Die Spitzel-Fälle.

Nach der Lücknecker-Mörder wurde dar-
aufhin verurteilt. Er kam in einer Dar-

On 4 December 1938, under the headline 'Before the physical extermination of the Jews in Germany', it published eyewitness reports on the so-called 'Polenaktion', the expulsion of at least 17,000 Polish Jews from Germany in October 1938.

6.2 Pariser Tageblatt; Pariser Tageszeitung (Paris 1933-1936 bzw. 1936-1949)

The [*Pariser Tageblatt*](#) was published daily and had a circulation of up to 14,000 copies. It was aimed at left-liberal and democratically-minded bourgeois emigrants in France and other countries, to which the newspaper was sent by post.

Under difficult journalistic and publishing conditions, the *Pariser Tageblatt* attempted to cover all the sections that made up a 'complete' daily newspaper: It provided information on world events, published political commentaries, carried business news and an international press review. There was also local Paris news and event information, film, music and theatre reviews, serialised novels and a sports section.

In mid-1936, the editorial team led by Georg Bernhard and Kurt Caro provoked a scandal by accusing their editor Vladimir Poljakoff of wanting to collaborate with the National Socialists. Although these accusations proved to be unfounded, the *Pariser Tageblatt* did not survive.

Instead, almost all of the former *Tageblatt* journalists founded a new newspaper, the [*Pariser Tageszeitung*](#).

The *Pariser Tageszeitung* was organised in a similar way to the *Pariser Tageblatt*.

In terms of content, it was more involved in the debate among emigrants in the mid-1930s about the founding of a cross-party popular front of all left-wing exiles against Hitler's Germany. While the *Pariser Tageblatt* was very cautious about the cross-party alliance, the new *Paris daily* supported such endeavours. Important writers and journalists who had fled Germany wrote in both newspapers: Alfred Kerr provided film and theatre reviews, Joseph Roth and Heinrich Mann wrote articles, Klaus Mann's 'Mephisto' appeared for the first time as a serialised novel in the *Paris daily*. Egon Erwin Kisch, Lion Feuchtwanger and Oskar Maria Graf, among others, wrote in the feature section.



Titelseite der ersten Nummer des Pariser Tageblatts vom 12. Dezember 1933

In the first issue of the [Pariser Tageblatt from 12 December 1933](#), a programmatic article by editor-in-chief Georg Bernhard appeared on the front page, in which he wrote: ‘This paper wants [...] to be a newspaper for all Germans who live outside the command of the Third Reich and do not want to give up the right to think what they like.’ In order to inform the French public about the situation in the German Reich, articles were also published in French.



Georg Bernhard nach 1925

Georg Bernhard was editor-in-chief of the *Vossische Zeitung* for many years and a member of the Reichstag for the German Democratic Party. He fled to Paris via Copenhagen in 1933 and remained editor-in-chief of the *Pariser Tageblatt* and then the *Pariser Tageszeitung* until 1938. He campaigned for the creation of an anti-fascist popular front against Hitler's Germany and took part in the League of Nations refugee conference in 1936 as a representative of German emigrants. After the invasion of France by German troops in 1940, he managed to flee to the USA

BANQUE PARISIENNE DE CHANGE
UNTERSTÜTZUNGSMARK NACH DEUTSCHLAND AUF OFFIZIELLEM UND LEGALEM WEGE
Überweisungen nach Ausland
PARIS 140 PEN 1 BUREAU, von 9 bis 12 Uhr
PARIS 140 PEN 1 BUREAU, von 9 bis 12 Uhr
PARIS 140 PEN 1 BUREAU, von 9 bis 12 Uhr

LOTTERIE NATIONALE 4. TRANCHE
Ziehungen am 15. April 1937
Gewinn: 100.000.000 Francs

HOTELS
Paris 16 - 8. Avenue de la Paix
HOTEL DE LA PAIX
HOTEL VENETIA
HOTEL DE LA RESIDENCE

RESTAURANTS
Paris 16 - 8. Avenue de la Paix
HOTEL DE LA PAIX
HOTEL VENETIA
HOTEL DE LA RESIDENCE

VERANSTALTUNGEN
Paris 16 - 8. Avenue de la Paix
HOTEL DE LA PAIX
HOTEL VENETIA
HOTEL DE LA RESIDENCE

RECHERCHES
Paris 16 - 8. Avenue de la Paix
HOTEL DE LA PAIX
HOTEL VENETIA
HOTEL DE LA RESIDENCE

EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE PARIS 1937
Tröffen Sie sich jetzt alle notwendigen Vorbereitungen zur Pariser Weltausstellung (Beginn: Mai 1937)

Pariser Tageszeitung

Lebensmittel
ZAHNARZT E. SMOULAI
Franz. Deutsche Klinik
FELADY & WECHER

Wohnungen
AVENUE DU BOIS
Stellungsangebote
KAPITALISTEN

Arbeitsstellen
Wasser-Pommes
Frischfleisch am Braten
Schnee-Gelbkohl
Paul & M. WEINSTEIN

Chemiker
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

Verkaufe
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

Wäsche
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

Stellungsangebote
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

Klinik für Geburtshilfe
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

DEUTSCHE POLIKLINIK
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

LOUIS BROMFIELD
PASSAGIERE ERSTER KLASSE

Centre Economique et Social International
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

Automobile auf Kredit
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

Auto-Unterricht und Prüfung in Deutsch
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

RUSSISCH-KAFFEE
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

OSNER Kundenliste
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

THE INDAR
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

NOTIZEN
KAPITALISTEN
KAPITALISTEN

Advertisements on pages 5 and 6 of the Paris daily newspaper of 11 April 1937

The newspaper was financed to a large extent by adverts.

It advertised Parisian hotels and restaurants, there were adverts for crossings to South America and Palestine, as well as job and housing adverts, marriage proposals and adverts for German-speaking doctors.

6.3 The counter-attack (Prague, Paris, Basel 1933-1936)

The anti-fascist weekly *Der Gegen-Angriff* saw itself as a militant response to Joseph Goebbels' smear and propaganda paper *Der Angriff*.

The newspaper called for resistance against the National Socialists, it called for a counter-attack and wanted to be loud in order to be heard. The first issue stated: 'Enough of the quiet whispers! [...] It's time to shout out loud [...] the cry of the enslaved, tortured, maltreated Germany.'

The *counter-attack* initially appeared in several editions in Prague, Paris and Switzerland, as well as in a small print edition for illegal distribution in Germany.

One of the contributors was the publisher Willi Münzenberg, who had fled Berlin.

Although *Gegen-Angriff* was not an official party organ, it received financial support from the Communist International. The reporting was correspondingly pro-Soviet and the discussions followed the themes and guidelines of the exiled Communist Party.

The main aim of the newspaper was to provide information about the National Socialist terror, to report on the social and political situation in Germany and to call for solidarity with the resistance against the National Socialists. *Gegen-Angriff* launched support campaigns for imprisoned Nazi opponents, printed reports from people who had survived the concentration camps and published the names of murdered anti-fascists.

He drew attention to economic and social grievances in the German Reich and published original documents to expose Nazi propaganda.



Front page of the first issue of *Gegen-Angriff*, April 1933

The lead article in the first issue of *Gegen-Angriff* from the end of April 1933 was written by journalist Bruno Frei, who often wrote under the name Karl Franz and was in fact editor-in-chief of *Gegen-Angriff*.

The newspaper reported extensively on the Reichstag fire trial - in this issue with an article by Egon Erwin Kisch - and supported the accused communists by publishing secret documents of the National Socialists as well as expert reports, etc.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 10-775-1227-67 / Fotografiert o. Ang.

Willi Münzenberg and his partner Babette
Gross

Willi Münzenberg was an important publisher of communist newspapers and books as well as a film producer in Berlin during the Weimar Republic.

He fled into exile in France after the Reichstag fire and fought the National Socialists with various newspaper and book projects, in particular the 'Braunbuch über Reichstagsbrand und Hitler-Terror'.

In 1935, he was instrumental in the efforts to create a cross-party anti-fascist popular front.

In 1938, Münzenberg broke with the KPD leadership in Moscow, was expelled from the party and vehemently criticised the German-Soviet non-aggression pact ('Hitler-Stalin Pact').

After the invasion of the German Wehrmacht, he escaped from a French internment camp and died in June 1940 under unexplained circumstances.



Front page of the counter-attack of 24 January 1935

A front page of the exile newspaper *Der Gegen-Angriff* from 24 January 1935.

An important concern of the newspaper was to warn against the National Socialists' rearmament policy and preparations for war.

The newspaper was discontinued in 1936.

6.4 Construction - Reconstruction (New York 1934-2004)

Initially an internal newsletter of the 'German-Jewish-Club' in New York, the newspaper developed into the most important source of information and cultural discussion platform for Jewish and non-Jewish German-speaking emigrants in the USA.

The newspaper, which was initially published monthly and later weekly, increased its circulation to over 30,000 in 1944, with the issues running to around 30 pages.

The *organisation* was concerned with the integration of Jewish refugees into American society. Readers were expected to support the Constitution of the United States and the American way of life.

The German-Jewish Club and its newspaper promoted the rapid and (especially during the war years) accent-free acquisition of the English language as well as the establishment of a professional existence and social relationships in the new homeland.

To this end, the newspaper provided practical assistance: Legal advice, support in dealing with the authorities, adverts for language courses, practical everyday tips and job placement played an important role.

It was also important to hold on to Jewish identity and maintain a connection to the German language and culture.

Reports on the situation of Jews in Germany played a major role, as did the refugee policy of other exile countries.

Information was provided on the situation in Palestine, the American war policy was discussed and the question of how to deal with Germany after the end of the war was debated from various points of view.

AUFBAU



NACHRICHTENBLATT DES GERMAN-JEWISH CLUB INC., NEW YORK, N.Y.

2. Jahrgang

NEW YORK, DEN 1. DEZEMBER 1935

119

No. 1

WELTGEWISSEN UND OLYMPIADE

Von EDUARD W. JELENKO.

Vorbemerkung:

Unser Klubmitglied Eduard W. Jelenko, der sich seit Monaten mit dem gesamten Fragenkomplex der amerikanischen Beteiligung an der Olympiade in Berlin eingehend beschäftigt hat, hielt am 5. November 1935 die nachfolgende Rede über die hiesige Radiostation WBNX.

Die Übertragung war eine Erweiterung an Dietrich Wortmann, der kraft seiner Stellung als Vizepräsident der "Amateur Athletic Union" und Führer des nationalen amerikanischen Handball- und Schwerathletik-Teams erheblichen Einfluss auf die Entscheidung hat. Ausserdem ist Wortmann einer der entschiedensten Parteigänger von Sherill, Brundage, Rubien, Walsh usw. Ferner ist er zweifellos als Informationsquelle für Lewald, Diem und die deutschen Sportbehörden zu betrachten.

Wir sind Herrn Jelenko besonders dankbar dafür, dass er unserer Bitte, den Entwurf zu seiner Rundfunkrede hier veröffentlicht zu dürfen, stattgegeben hat.

Die Schriftleitung.

Meine Damen und Herren:

Der deutsch-amerikanische Sportführer, Herr Dietrich Wortmann, ist mehrfach in der Presse für die Teilnahme des amerikanischen Teams an der Olympiade in Berlin 1936 eingetreten. Amerikanischen und demokratischen Freiheitsprinzipien gemäss und im direkten Gegensatz zur restlosen und brutalen Freiheitsunterdrückung durch den Nationalsozialismus sind wir der festen Überzeugung, dass jedem das Recht auf freie und unbehinderte Meinungsäusserung gewahrt bleiben muss. Gleichzeitig aber müssen wir von einem Sportsmann wie Herrn Wortmann mit Recht erwarten, dass er stets von den obersten Geboten der Wahrheit, der Ritterlichkeit und Fairness geleitet werde. Diese so überaus berechnete Erwartung hat Herr Wortmann aufschwerste enttäuscht.

Wir kennen die berühmtesten Methoden der Hakenkreuzerei, wonach alle aufrechten, tapferen Männer und Frauen in

Deutschland, die noch an höhere Sittlichkeit und Menschenrechte zu glauben wagen, als "Staatsfeinde" und Kommunisten bezeichnet werden. Mit bemerkenswert auffallender Ähnlichkeit hat auch Herr Wortmann jene 100 hervorragenden Bürger dieses Landes, angesehene Würdenträger des öffentlichen Lebens und die städtische Reihe hochverehrter Geistlicher der katholischen und protestantischen Kirche den Kommunisten gleichsam eingereiht. Er hat des Weiteren die unerhörte Kühnheit besessen, den Präsidenten der Amateur Athletic Union, Jeremiah T. Mahoney des politischen Strebertums zu zeichnen, indem er Mr. Mahoney als Motiv seiner so wohlbegründeten und fundierten Opposition gegen die amerikanische Olympiateilnahme die Spekulation auf das Gouverneursamt des Staates New York untergeschob. Wenn Herr Mahoney, der sich wahrlich um die Wohlfahrt dieses Staates hohe Verdienste erworben hat, wirklich solche Absichten hätte und nur deshalb gegen die amerikanische Teilnahme wäre, würde das nur beweisen, dass er sich eins weiss mit der Majorität dieses Staates, der wohl 12 Millionen zu seinen Bürgern zählt, wovon allerdings nur etwas über 2 Millionen Juden sind.

Wie steht es hingegen um die Prinzipientreue des Herrn Wortmann? Er, der einen jüdischen Geschäftspartner hat, der sich vielfach damit brüstete, die besten Beziehungen zu Tammany Hall zu unterhalten, der sich als Freund der gegenwärtigen Stadtadministration LaGuardias ausgab, der für das Verbot des Deutschen Tages im Jahre 1933 eintrat, der sich für die Wiederwahl des von den Deutsch-Amerikanern so befiedelten Mayors O'Brien einsetzte, dieser gleiche Herr Wortmann, einstmals ein ausgesprochener Gegner alles dessen, was Nazismus bedeutet, er entdeckt ganz plötzlich, dass die Hitlerei nichts getan und verschuldet hat, was die elementarsten Grundsätze des Amerikanismus und des Sportgeistes aufs grübelichste verletzt hätte. Uns sind die rätselhaften Beweggründe

für seine flagrante Gesinnungsänderung nicht bekannt. Mit Fug und Recht darf man aber vermuten, dass es ihm zumindest darum ging, in Berlin als deutsch-amerikanischer Mittler, Sportführer und Heros gross gefeiert zu werden.

Ebenso wie der deutsche Sportführer und Nichtarier Dr. Lewald, weist Herr Wortmann mit sichtbar schadenfroher Genugtuung darauf hin, dass der New York Athletic Club auch keine Juden aufnehme. Dieser Vergleich ist eine bewusste Entstellung der Tatsachen. Denn es ist stets das Privilegium einzelner Vereine gewesen, die Auswahl ihrer Mitglieder nach beliebigen Gesichtspunkten zu treffen. So gibt es Vereine, in denen nur Studenten oder Arbeiter aufgenommen werden, andere bestehen nur aus sogenannten Ariern oder aus Juden, andere wieder nur aus Farbigen oder aus Weissen. Niemand ist berechtigt, einzelnen Organisationen darüber Vorschriften zu machen. Ob der New York Athletic Club Juden aufnimmt oder nicht, ist demzufolge seine eigene Angelegenheit. Uebrigens — und ganz nebenbei bemerkt — ist neuerdings festgestellt worden, dass dem New York Athletic Club auch Juden angehören.

Seit Jahrzehnten haben einige Sportvereine in Deutschland, wie z. B. die feudalen Rudergesellschaften, keine Juden unter ihren Mitgliedern gehabt. Niemals wurde dies vom olympischen oder sportlichen Standpunkt aus beanstandet. Zum Beweis für diese Behauptung sei hier daran nur erinnert, dass ein deutsch-amerikanischer Jude vor 4 Jahren \$5000 zu den Reisekosten des deutschen Teams zur X. Olympiade des Jahres 1932 in Los Angeles beigelegt hat, während unter dem Nazi-regime und unter der geräuschvollen Leitung des Herrn Wortmann bisher nur \$1500 aufgebracht wurden.

Solange also die Mitgliederauslese eine innere Angelegenheit des Vereins war, und freiwillig ohne Druck von aussen geschah, war praktisch nichts dagegen einzuwenden. Im Dritten Reich hingegen ist der Fall grundlegend verschieden. Hier hat

Leitartikel des Aufbaus vom 1. Dezember 1935

The lead article in the December 1935 issue of *Aufbau* discussed whether the USA should take part in the upcoming Olympic Games in Berlin the following year.



Manfred George in New York, around 1940

Manfred George was editor-in-chief of *Aufbau* from 1939 until his death in 1965.

George came from Berlin, worked for various newspapers of the Ullstein and Mosse publishing houses before 1933, wrote film and theatre reviews and was head of the feature section of the Ullstein paper *Tempo*.

In 1933, he first emigrated to Prague and worked for newspapers in exile, including the *Jüdische Revue*.

He also reported on the Spanish Civil War. After the Germans invaded Czechoslovakia, he fled to the USA via Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy, Switzerland and France.

The issue also contains contributions to the debate on the future of German light of the crimes of the National Socialists, including one by Hannah Arendt on page 6.

07 Press in the post-war period

At the end of hostilities, the victorious Allied powers banned all German newspapers, which had already only been published irregularly and with few pages in the final months of the war.

The aims of the Allied press policy were the complete destruction of the National Socialist propaganda apparatus, a new start for the German press and the re-education of the population.

In the first few months after the end of the war, so-called army group newspapers published by the respective Allied military authorities provided people with the most important information. Gradually, the occupying powers authorised so-called licensed newspapers, which were published by unencumbered German publishers under their control and censorship.

The Allies installed new press agencies, the NSDAP-owned press trust around the Franz-Eher-Verlag was broken up and Nazi opponents and remigrants were appointed to key positions in the new newspaper editorial offices.

In the newly founded Federal Republic of Germany, the obligation to hold a newspaper licence ended in 1949.

Publishers who had published newspapers before 1945 were now allowed to resume publishing activities.

Many journalists who had not held high ranks in the NSDAP or SS were also able to work in their profession again after a denazification process.

In the GDR, the press was still subject to a licence requirement and political control. The press organs of the SED, the block parties and the mass organisations dominated.



A newspaper stand in post-war Berlin

The illustration above shows a newspaper kiosk in Berlin that sold newspapers from the various sectors:

Der Tagesspiegel received its licence from the American administration in September 1945,

Der Kurier was an evening paper licensed by the French occupying power and the *Tägliche Rundschau* was published directly by the Soviet military administration.

The weekly newspaper *Sie* bore the subtitle *for women's rights and human rights* and was published under an American licence from December 1945 as the first women's newspaper of the post-war period.

In addition to news, published advertisements, exchange offers and wanted lists were of great importance for the organisation of people's everyday lives.

After reading it, the newsprint was used as toilet paper, for rolling cigarettes or as packaging material.

List of the newspapers mentioned,
which are [available](#) in the [German
newspaper portal](#)

Newspapers published in Germany

[*Badische Presse*](#)

[*Berliner Tageblatt*](#)

[*German General Newspaper*](#)

[*Dresdner Volkszeitung*](#)

[*Forward*](#)

Newspapers published in exile

[*Aufbau - Reconstruction*](#)

[*Jewish Review*](#)

[*New Forward*](#)

[*Pariser Tageblatt*](#)

[*Pariser Tageszeitung*](#)



In 1942, a Hitler Youth sold the Hamburger Anzeiger as a 'war mission'.

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