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# 13. Alfred Rosenberg —The Forgotten Disciple

National Socialism stands or falls by its Weltanschauung. — Alfred Rosenberg

The ideas behind our programme do not oblige us to act like fools. — Adolf Hitler

It was Alfred Rosenberg's tragedy that he really believed in National Socialism. The pedantic certainty with which he saw himself as the scribe of a new gospel of salvation made him something of an oddity among the top leadership of the NSDAP, an object of covert smiles - the 'philosopher' of a movement whose philosophy almost always boiled down to power. Rosenberg himself never realized and certainly never admitted this, and so in the course of the years, as the idea of power itself visibly outweighed its ideological drappings, he came to be the forgotten disciple: scarcely taken seriously any longer, insolently overlooked and pushed around, a prop from the party's recruiting phase when ideology determined action. For a long time he failed to realize that the philosophy he so fervently advocated carried no weight, at least at the centres of power. With heavy consistency he treated the fool's paradise of his faith to the last as the political, social and religious answer to the problems of the time and saw in National Socialism, as he wrote in his 'confession' in the Nuremberg cell, 'the noblest idea to which a German could devote the strength he has been given'. <sup>(1)</sup>

The relation of National Socialism as a whole to its own ideology is difficult to unravel. It was not a programme exclusively determined by tactical considerations and aiming at success and power, which set itself up as an absolute and used ideological props whenever they served its purpose - as the formula has it, 'the revolution of nihilism' <sup>(2)</sup>. On the other hand it cannot be interpreted as part of the history of ideas, isolated from its dependence upon the technique of gaining power. It was at one and the same time the practice of domination and a doctrine, inextricably interwoven together, and even, in the shameless admissions that have come down to us, a drive for power divorced from any other purpose. Hitler and his close associates always reveal themselves as at bottom the prisoners of their own prejudices. Just as National Socialism never absorbed any ideological motives without first inquiring into their value as aids to power, so its crucial manifestations of power are not to be understood without reference to an ideological motive, however fleeting and impalpable.

The leading National Socialists, in so far as they observed or even directed this interplay of ideology and power-seeking, always avoided committing themselves on the subject, emphasizing, like Goebbels for example, that in its totality National Socialism was indefinable, since it was 'subject to continual changes and transformations'. <sup>(3)</sup> Undoubtedly at its roots were certain views to which it remained indissolubly wedded, but with the exception of the idea of struggle and the maxims of the Fuhrer, there was scarcely any article in its creed that it would not have willingly abandoned or set aside at least temporarily for the sake of gaining or holding power. This tactical opportunism was reflected in the arbitrary way the rising movement took over the most diverse ideological elements, and its lack of loyalty towards ideas matched the calculating spirit in which they had been picked up. It had absorbed racial, anti-Semitic, biological and pan-German concepts along with others of an emotional pro-peasant, anti-civilization, militaristic and pseudo-religious nature. Among them flitted the shades of the German Romantics, Wagner, Nietzsche and Paul de Lagarde; the mood of the time was reflected in nationalist, monarchist, federalist and socialist ideas. Down to eccentric reformers like the new pagans and believers in the Garden of Eden, there was scarcely a trend of those years that did not, at least for a time, make its contribution to the conglomerate of National Socialist ideology. 'We have picked our ideas from all the bushes along our life's path,' Hitler once declared, 'and we no longer know where they came from.' <sup>(4)</sup>

Not only the heterogeneous character of this philosophy, but also the varying weights of the individual elements and their greater or lesser importance to the fight for power, make it difficult to determine the

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relationship of National Socialism to its own ideology. Just as National Socialism's lack of unity and its inner inconsistency compel us to mark off the limits of its ideological value in the power struggle case by case, so we can do no more than outline the attitude of individual leaders towards individual ideological postulates. Goring's ideological indifference, for example, was strikingly distinct from Rosenberg's cranky adherence to the ideological letter, and Himmler's sentimentally exaggerated relation to ideology was in the greatest possible contrast to that of his subordinate Heydrich. Hans Frank stated: 'The formula: National Socialism is exclusively what So-and-So says or does, by which the representative who happened to be speaking meant himself, gradually replaced the assumptions of the party programme. Fundamentally there were as many "National Socialisms" as there were leaders.' <sup>(5)</sup> Consequently the idea of power and purpose inevitably moved into the foreground, but underpinned by changing personal obsessions and resentments that were restricted only by unconditional obedience to the Fuhrer. This situation largely explains why the type of the strict believer was relatively rare in the top leadership. Those whose convictions were not moulded by a resolute will to success and capable of being activated in the direction of the aims set by Hitler were soon isolated. Put in a different way, National Socialism had room for every cynical contempt for ideology that was coupled with a will to power, but not for the ideological will that was coupled with contempt for power. Hitler expressed this situation in the words: 'National Socialism is a movement of the people, but in no circumstances a cult movement.' <sup>(6)</sup>

The fate of those of his followers who set faith above power emphatically confirmed this. If Alfred Rosenberg was the paradox of a leading National Socialist who felt obliged to maintain allegiance to his ideological premises with the utmost stubborn consistency, he is also the clearest demonstration of the ludicrous position of all serious-minded people within the movement. A note in his diary on 7th May 1940, evidently so important to him that he repeated it later elsewhere, makes his orthodox-convictions unmistakably clear and at the same time furnishes a key to his nature. The note repeats what he once told Walther Darre, who was trying to persuade him to take part in a struggle for power within the party. 'I told him,' writes Rosenberg, 'I would adopt a standpoint, irrespective of whether someone was for or against it, if I felt deeply that it was right for the movement. I would do that even if in the end I remained alone' <sup>(7)</sup>. In fact, it was not merely 'in the end'. Again and again humiliated and passed over, he sought compensation in casting the contemptuous glance of the true believer on apostate former fellow-fighters who, hungry for power and booty, formed themselves into continually changing packs. His helpless foolishness rewarded with insultingly uninfluential positions, he was a prophet without honour in his own country and with even less outside it. Goebbels ironically called him 'Almost Rosenberg', because 'Rosenberg almost managed to become a scholar, a journalist, a politician, but only almost'. <sup>(8)</sup> This phrase expressed the contempt of the adroit technician of power for a man whose cumbersome convictions forever stood in his own way. As he lost more and more power, Rosenberg shut himself up in his intellectual arrogance and stuck with increasing obstinacy to that over-riding 'philosophy' to which he devoted his narrow-minded loyalty until the end 'the noblest idea'. While, entrusted with tasks of ideological supervision, he guarded the heaven of racial bliss, other, tougher characters set about erecting those hells which Rosenberg later incredulously regarded as a falsification of the pure doctrine. If, as Wilhelm Raabe put it in a phrase which Rosenberg quotes in his last notes, the German spirit draws a third of its strength from philistinism, the German anti-spirit does so no less.

Originating from a petty-bourgeois background in Reval (Estonia), Rosenberg was one of the numerous expatriate Germans whose Germanity complex gave the rising NSDAP much of its character <sup>(9)</sup>. 'The opponents of the National Socialist movement', we read in Richter's contemporary work on racial characteristics, 'insist on seeing a foreigner in Rosenberg, because of his Baltic origins; but anyone who looks at his skull with a trained eye will immediately recognize him as a Germanic man who can with every right claim his place in the ranks of Adolf Hitler. The clearly defined long skull tells us that we are dealing with a man of pure emotion and sensibility. But there is a certain pain in the overall expression of the eyes.' <sup>(10)</sup> This character study, which unconsciously verges on irony, tends to reveal what it seeks to

conceal; for in fact among the robust, tough followers of the period of the party's struggle, a type better represented by figures like Streicher, Dietrich Eckart or Rohm, Rosenberg was regarded from the outset as an outsider. He was made a 'foreigner', not by the movement's opponents, but by his own introverted temperament and by his fellow-fighters. A man in whose hands everything became difficult and complicated, he never found the uncomplicated practicality of Hitler's 'South German' followers, who were precisely the ones who set the movement's tone, and on occasion he remarked himself that he had hardly any friends in the party. <sup>(11)</sup> His one-sidedly ideological tendencies, which ran counter to the nature of the party old guard with their emphasis on activist self-assertion, increased the distance still further. He was 'the buffoon, the stuck-up crackpot ninny', the 'bohemian', as Max Amann said of his editor-in-chief on the *Völkischer Beobachter*, <sup>(12)</sup> when Rosenberg was accused of arrogance on account of what was no doubt really inhibition and intellectual prejudice.

In conversation [a former National Socialist has reported] one had the impression that he was not listening properly at all. Every now and then he would purse his lips when critical remarks were made or attempt a supercilious smile, which naturally gained him the reputation of arrogant unamiability. Undoubtedly this was doing him an injustice, as was the accusation that he wished to be a dictator of opinion. He was merely so cramped within his acquired ideas and egocentric dreams of the Baltic noble, the English lord, the scientific genius of Copernican stamp, that he had entirely lost his in any case underdeveloped capacity for making contact and entering into conversation with other people. <sup>(13)</sup>

Fundamentally, therefore, it is hard to say what combination of circumstances led the heavy-blooded, pedantic architectural student and art master to see his vocation in politics at all, let alone in the NSDAP; and even his written statement at Nuremberg does little to clarify this disputed phase of his development. Manifestly it was originally neither the typical resentments of the 'German Balt', nor the desire to further a political vision of the future, but rather the result of chance; for on whatever else his account of his life may keep silent, it at least reveals a weakness in his character that allowed him to be led or driven almost exclusively by arbitrary external pressures. Even for his move to Germany in 1918 he could produce no more impressive explanation than his own irresolution: 'Life drew me and I followed it.' <sup>(14)</sup>

Rosenberg followed life to Munich, where to begin with he lived laboriously by taking odd jobs. He quickly found his way into Russian emigre circles and made contact with the Thule Society, a nationalist secret society with an occult tinge that practised a sectarian Aryan and Germanic cult - chiefly against a background of sinister horror stories and shabby 'revelations' about Jews, Freemasons and Bolsheviks - before becoming for a time the centre of counter-revolutionary activities in Bavaria. Both encounters left an indelible impression in the soft wax of Alfred Rosenberg's personality. Soon after his meeting with Hitler, arranged by Dietrich Eckart, and his entry into the party, he fostered emigre discontent through the *Lebensraum* idea, the basic foreign policy concept of the Hitler movement, while the impressions received in the Thule Society marked the direction and style of his secondary philosophical undertaking. The very titles of his first publications make this clear enough: 'The Tracks of the Jew Through the Ages' and 'Immorality in the Talmud' (1920), 'The Crime of Free-masonry' (1921), 'The Morass, or Plague in Russia' (1922). He was also one of the main disseminators of the famous forgery 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Politics' (1923), which with all his naive-courageous readiness for self-committal he had republished in 1940. <sup>(15)</sup> In this and all his subsequent writings he revealed himself as a man of profound half-culture, acquainted with countless apocryphal sources and theories and all the cranky tract literature of pathological nationalist fanaticism, a reader who assimilated his mass of reading rapidly, uncritically, and inaccurately, so that the result was always in line with his preconceived opinions. His growing literary output, which brought him the over-valued status of 'chief ideologist' of the NSDAP, culminated in *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* in 1930 - according to a contemporary bibliography 'the most important book of National Socialism next to Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*'. <sup>(16)</sup> It

attempted to combine the mutually contradictory historical and emotional elements to which the movement owed its success into a systematic National Socialist philosophy. After the grandiose opening, 'Today world history must be written afresh', it interprets history in terms of race conflict, inspired by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Gobineau and their followers, but also by a misconstrued Nietzsche:

A new interrelated, colourful picture of human and terrestrial history is beginning to reveal itself today if we reverently recognize that the conflict between blood and environment, between blood and blood, represents the ultimate phenomenon accessible to us, behind which it is not vouchsafed to us to seek and investigate. But this realization immediately brings with it recognition of the fact that the struggles of blood and the dimly felt mysticism of living events do not represent two different things but one and the same thing in two different ways. Racial history is therefore natural history and the mysticism of the soul at one and the same time; but the history of the religion of the blood, conversely, is the great world story of the rise and downfall of peoples, their heroes and thinkers, their inventors and artists. (17)

The whole work, in its vehemence and attempted profundity, was based on emotional arguments like these, safeguarded against any objective, logical refutation. Consistently with this, Rosenberg evolved his theory that cultural and state-creating genius was peculiar to Nordic man, not by demonstrating the presence of Nordic blood in the peoples distinguished by such achievements, but by the opposite method, which is difficult to contest; wherever he saw an important culture-creating force at work, as in Greek antiquity, he took this as proof of his incontrovertible initial thesis. In his basic pessimism he saw Germanness, the priceless sediment in the bowl of Nordic blood, and thereby the whole world, as threatened by downfall and destruction. As a symptom of disintegration he lamented the 'psychic bastardisation of our people' and linked with it the 'loss of natural good sense' as well as of 'will-determined Nordic aesthetics'. (18) In a cosmic system of evaluation and devaluation he proclaimed the dissolution of the Christian-Syrian-liberal world idea and contrasted it with the new values which naturally required for their full development the acquisition of new *Lebensraum*. Action and struggle took the place of compassion and humanity, the 'beautiful' was contrasted with the 'good', 'love' was displaced by the masculine Germanic concept of 'honour', and all this in turn was placed under the heading of a blood-determined interpretation of existence:

Today a *new* faith is stirring: the myth of blood, the faith that along with blood we are defending the divine nature of man as a whole. The belief, incarnate with the most lucid knowledge, that Nordic blood represents that mystery which has replaced and overcome the old sacraments. (19)

It was basically from its assault upon Christianity and all that it stands for that *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* gained its reputation. In a 'catechism' of the National Socialist ideology which summarized the views expressed in the book, Rosenberg did emphasize that Christianity was 'ennobled solely by the fact that Germans have believed in it'; but this in no way diminished the resolute harshness of his declaration of war on Christianity. He wrote:

From education by the Church to education by Germanic value is a step of several generations. We are the transition from one education to the other. We are the conquerors of one era and the founders of a new - also religious - epoch. We bear a heavy and therefore a great destiny. To destroy images is something every revolution has been able to do. But to establish its cause upon nothing and yet not to burn all bridges behind it: that is the nobility of character of the National Socialist era.

The German people is not marked by original sin, but by original nobility. The place of Christian love has been taken by the National Socialist, Germanic idea of comradeship . . . which has already been symbolically expressed through the replacement of the rosary by the spade of labour <sup>(20)</sup>.

The wearisome, declamatory mysticism that characterises *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, as it does everything else the author published, evidently rather repelled his fellow-leaders; it certainly did not strengthen Rosenberg's position. Hitler found the book 'derivative, pastiche, illogical rubbish! Bad Chamberlain with a few additions ! ' At the same time he assured the author that it was 'a very intelligent book'. <sup>(21)</sup> During the war he admitted, moreover, that he 'had read only very little of it', because it was 'written in too unintelligible a style', and attributed its great popularity solely to its attacks on the Catholic Church. <sup>(22)</sup> And while Goebbels dismissed it half in amusement, half angrily, as an 'ideological belch', the accused at the Nuremberg trial later stated without exception that they had never read the book. <sup>(23)</sup> Among the public too it found few readers, though thanks to a sales campaign using every trick of the trade it had run to 1,100,000 copies by 1944. Rosenberg's proud entry in his diary for 19 January 1940 that 'gradually hundreds of thousands have been inwardly revolutionized by my book' <sup>(24)</sup> was no doubt an expression of his need to compensate for an unsuccessful political career by convincing himself of his philosophical success.

For by this time it had long been evident that Rosenberg had little or no political influence and no voice in the real decisions. His original ambition, which was not merely ideological but at least equally directed towards foreign policy, had brought him during the so-called time of struggle into the top leadership as Hitler's adviser on foreign affairs and chairman of the NSDAP's committee on foreign policy. After the unsuccessful putsch of November 1923, Hitler actually put him in charge of the movement, but only, as Rosenberg rightly surmised, to hasten its disintegration and thus ensure a favourable starting-point for his own recapture of the leadership. <sup>(25)</sup> With the beginning of the seizure of power Rosenberg found himself being pushed aside; it did not need the painfully unsuccessful trip to England, which was intended to demonstrate his claim to leadership in foreign affairs, to undermine the position which he had laboriously built up for himself. His rigidity of principle, which saw the movement's ideological heritage as being in constant danger, made him an inflexible opponent of all tactical compromise, such as Hitler's compromise with the Church in spring 1933. No doubt he was also disqualified by his positively neurotic ideological suspiciousness, which scented the conspiratorial activity of Jews, Marxists, Freemasons or Jesuits behind every movement of opposition. Thus at the beginning of the 1930s he was 'seriously of the opinion that the Chancellor [Bruning], as the emissary of the Vatican, had only one task: by his policy of emergency regulations and the consequent inevitable impoverishment of ever-widening circles of the population to deliver up Protestant North Germany to Communism, in order by the purgatory of this affliction to leave it ripe for a second counter-revolution with the restoration of the Catholic princely houses'. <sup>(26)</sup> The world of his ideas was dominated by a pandemonium of dark powers, which he saw as being in full assault on the 'world of light'. Behind all obscure movements in the present, whether economic, financial or merely organisational, he surmised the spectral operations of demons, the activities of priests, or the cabalistic work of the Devil. When he asked who were the men secretly behind a newspaper and was told 'No one', he declared with utter conviction, 'There is always someone in the background.' <sup>(27)</sup> Rarely has there been a clearer example than Rosenberg of modern man's tendency, brilliantly exploited by Hitler himself, to blame anonymous powers for his helplessness and his fear of life; and the obstinacy with which Rosenberg sought to mobilize ancient bloodlust against these imagined powers merely reveals his essential ineffectiveness of character.

Rosenberg was soon outdone by his more adroit rivals in the struggles for power at the top of the movement, and forced into the thankless role of the man who has continually to point to merits and rights recognized earlier, and this was due not only to their greater ruthlessness but also to his own narrow-

mindfulness. He pursued Goebbels, Ribbentrop and Ley with deep and earnest hatred after they had forced their way into departments for which, as the ideological high priest, he considered himself alone competent. He was a jealous, intolerable grumbler who could play the part of a particularly fanatic racist or, if circumstances demanded, of a mouthpiece for Jewish interests.<sup>(28)</sup> He set his heart on taking over the foreign ministry in any cabinet formed by Hitler. Consequently he never got over the fact that he was passed over in 1933 and, apart from functions connected with ideology and political education, was entrusted solely with the Foreign Department of the NSDAP. In spite of all the activities upon which he immediately embarked, in spite of all his quarrels with the German Foreign Office over the scope of his authority, his department had little to do but look after foreign visitors, and Goring stated in Nuremberg that it 'was never once listened to in matters concerning foreign policy'.<sup>(29)</sup> His ambition therefore turned vigorously in compensation to the aesthetic programme outlined in *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. In 1929, well before the party came to power, he had set up the 'Kampfbund fur Deutsche Kultur' (Fighting League for German Culture) with a view to the establishment of racially orientated criteria of beauty from which his offensive against the 'bastardized mestizoism' of so-called degenerate art could be carried on without restraint and with all the resources of the state behind it. From now on the assumptions and stylistic principles of 'the art of the national community' were dictated by a narrow-minded zeal in whose petty-bourgeois nationalistic scales of values Durer's 'Hare', or, as the then director of the Folkwang Museum declared, the 'Steel Helmet', appeared as the unsurpassable expression of 'inspired' or great German art.<sup>(30)</sup> Entirely in keeping with this, one of the new cultural officials celebrated 'the thunder of cannon at Sedan and Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* as 'expressions of the same cultural capacity of the Germans', while Professor Ewald Geissler declared that only art that was easy to remember could prove its 'Germaness'.<sup>(31)</sup> The call for the 'great destruction of the images throughout the German land', which had been heard for years,<sup>(32)</sup> now reached its height in the demand that 'all productions showing cosmopolitan and Bolshevik symptoms shall be removed from German museums and collections' and burnt; 'the names of all those artists who have been swept along by the flood of Marxism and Bolshevism must never be mentioned again in public'; for here 'we must proceed according to Old Testament morality: an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'.<sup>(33)</sup> And while the Reich Centre for the Advancement of German Literature, presided over by Rosenberg, operating later with 1,400 editors, imposed the dictatorship of the taste of the man in the street on literature as well, the new folk aesthetic was popularized by the National Socialist Cultural Community, also under Rosenberg's direction, in pronouncements of pathetic narrow-mindedness and banality.<sup>(34)</sup>

Rosenberg's boast that he possessed 'sovereignty over the judgement of all intellectual institutions'<sup>(35)</sup> did not allow him to forget what he had lost in the process. The personal documents he left behind are dominated by the marks of a deeply humiliated sense of his own worth: by bitterness, envy, persecution mania and an almost unparalleled vanity. Thus he confides in his diary that on the occasion of his visit to Brunswick the whole town 'was in joyful mood as never before'; declares 'the whole youth of the movement swears by me', or notes 'with inner satisfaction that my struggle for the soul and outlook of the party has already fundamentally triumphed'. Elsewhere he congratulates himself that his *Myth* is the 'success of the century' and sees all the forces of the Catholic Church mobilized against it by Rome: 'The evil Cardinal Faulhaber spoke in Munich and among other things venomously attacked my book; since they do not yet dare to kick the Fuhrer, they are trying to run down his most dangerous colleague. The man will not go unanswered.'<sup>(36)</sup> He avidly wrote down every casual compliment paid him by Hitler. In his notes written in Nuremberg he still happily recalled the mysterious accord the two of them had attained at certain times,<sup>(37)</sup> and through which he felt raised up from the horde of fellow-suitors for the Fuhrer's favour. It may have been some satisfaction to him to observe that his bitterest rival, Goebbels, missed the opportunity of the last word in their long-drawn-out quarrel. He stated in retrospect, with pedantic finality:

Hitler naturally knew that I had a deeper understanding of art and culture than Goebbels, indeed, that the latter was scarcely able to see below the surface. Nevertheless he left to that man the direction of this sphere of German life which he loved so passionately. Because as I later had only too often to tell myself, the latter was able to surround the Fuhrer with an environment such as I would never have created. He fed the theatrical element in the Fuhrer.  
(38)

But immediately back comes the feeling of having been slighted.

In the evenings the Fuhrer often used to invite this man or that for a long fireside discussion. Apart from the usual guests at his table, Goebbels, Ley and some others were favoured in this respect I can say nothing on this subject as I was not once invited.<sup>(39)</sup>

Rosenberg's bitterest disappointment, however, came in spring 1938, when Hitler, in appointing a new Foreign Minister, once more passed him over in favour of the despised careerist Ribbentrop. His worst premonitions were confirmed in summer 1939 when Ribbentrop concluded the Moscow Pact, the political advantages of which did not offset its ideological lack of principle in his eyes, especially as he doubted whether the clash with Poland was inevitable. 'History will perhaps one day make clear', he wrote, *whether* the situation that had arisen *had* to arise'. With unconcealed horror he noted that 'the Soviets are said already to have selected a delegation to the Nuremberg Party Rally' and huffily registered Ribbentrop's remark on his return from Moscow, that 'the Russians were very nice; among them he had felt as though *in the midst* of old party comrades'.<sup>(40)</sup> Summing up, he concluded:

I have the feeling that this Moscow Pact will at some time or other exact vengeance upon National Socialism. That was not a step taken out of a free decision but an act imposed by a difficult situation, a petition on the part of one revolution to the head of another, the overcoming of which has been the ideal held up to inspire a twenty-year struggle. How can we still speak of the salvation and reformation of Europe, when we have to ask Europe's destroyer for help? <sup>(41)</sup>

The Moscow Pact struck a decisive blow against Rosenberg's naive loyalty to his Fuhrer, maintained till then in spite of all humiliations. Thenceforth he believed that the backbone had been torn out of National Socialism and Hitler himself had apostatized to the camp of the opportunists who betrayed an epoch-making cause to the needs of day-to-day politics. Deeply wounded by National Socialist realities, he henceforth withdrew more and more into his confused world of National Socialist ideas, lonely but with his feelings intact. At the beginning of 1940, at his own suggestion, he was appointed by Hitler 'Representative of the Fuhrer for the Furtherance of the National Socialist View', and in the same year he actually succeeded in what he referred to with satisfaction as an 'historical' act of foreign policy, by arranging an ominous personal contact between a leading Norwegian 'National Socialist' named Quisling and the German government. But successes like this merely raised his self-esteem, not his prestige. Again and again he had to remind people of his identity; his burning ambition was ultimately stronger than his readiness to rest content with the role of doctrinal guardian. After the French campaign he asked Hitler's permission to search the libraries and archives, as well as 'ownerless Jewish cultural property', for valuable material, a task which, by means of 'Reichsleiter Rosenberg's Temporary Staff', he extended to cover blatant robbery.<sup>(42)</sup> For the first time, long after his rivals in the leadership, the theorist and 'philosopher' found himself in a position to practise his extremism, which till then had remained purely literary; he devoted himself to his task with a ruthlessness in which euphoria at suddenly finding himself in a position to give orders combined vigorously with the aggressions left over from his disappointment in the field of foreign affairs. At bottom, however, this activity too was already part of his retreat from executive politics; for the expropriated material notably 55,000 books, was earmarked for the so-called

Higher Schools, the post-war 'central institutions for National Socialist research, teaching and education', of which he was preparing not only the curricula and administration but also - with models of grandiose bad taste - architecture. Here he believed that he was dedicating himself to pure doctrine, unsullied by compromise and tactical concessions, and instead of the real exercise of power, which had been refused him, assuming unrestricted dominion over the spirit.<sup>(43)</sup>

In these circumstances even the outbreak of the war with Russia could not heal what was broken within him. It was true that appointment as Reich Minister for the occupied Eastern regions restored to him the feeling of being indispensable as a political specialist which he had so long missed; but he was soon forced to recognize that his appointment was purely formal, made no doubt partly because of his Baltic origins and partly to avoid further troublesome claims. His powers were pathetically limited from the outset. Goring as General Supervisor of the Four-Year Plan, Himmler as Special Commissioner in the Army Operational Zone, Chief of Police and Reichsfuhrer of the SS as well as Reich Commissar for the Consolidation of German National Identity (*Volkstum*) and responsible for resettlement measures, Sauckel as Commissioner for the Labour Force, and finally the Wehrmacht High Command: all these ate away his authority to the point where little was left but the title. Since he rejected Hitler's primitive and short-sighted ideas for the Eastern Region, his subordinates Hinrich Lohse and Erich Koch were soon able to push to the fore. Koch built up in the Ukraine a grandiose and bloody slave state far closer to the spirit of Hitler's Eastern policy than Rosenberg's lone efforts to win over the population by such things as the elimination of the kolkhozes and the preservation of some degree of self-government. In the stubborn conflicts that ensued he remained alone or was a pawn in the game for tougher and cleverer rivals, and his appeals, ignored by Hitler, were increasingly lost in the void. Soon the rival authorities no longer bothered to inform him of their measures or plans; Hinrich Lohse was even able to propose to Hitler the dissolution of the Ministry for the East to which he himself was answerable<sup>(44)</sup> - the Ostministerium, or 'Cha-ostministerium' (Ministry of Chaos), as Goebbels aptly called it in view of Rosenberg's clumsiness in organization and handling of power. Rosenberg, the Minister of Propaganda declared, reminded him of a 'monarch with neither country nor subjects',<sup>(45)</sup> and in truth the function of his office was becoming visibly reduced to writing pleas which no one read, memoranda which were circulated only within his own office, protests which no one took notice of any more: a forgotten man at the head of a forgotten institution. Despised, tricked and ridiculed, finally in autumn 1944 he resigned. Even then he failed, of course, to find the right words for the slights he had suffered and, presumably, his indignation; the only note he could strike was one of demoralized ill-humour, behind which the feelings of an indissoluble attachment to the Fuhrer were clearly visible. In his letter of resignation of 12th October 1944 he wrote:

I beg you, my Fuhrer, to tell me whether you still require my services; since I have not been able to report to you orally, but the problems of the East are being brought to you and discussed with you by various parties, in view of this development I must yield to the assumption that perhaps you no longer consider my activities necessary<sup>(46)</sup>.

It seems that he was not spared the final humiliation; for there is no sign that this appeal was ever answered by Hitler. Rosenberg was no longer a force to be reckoned with.

He never really had been, and it was his personal misfortune always to have stood above his station, however low it may have been. In his clumsy handling of power, his laborious German tendency to complication and his superstition he was not only hopelessly inferior to all his rivals, but in no way was he the figure of a modern totalitarian leader. He was a follower, material for the technicians of irrational modern social religion to work upon. If, in a phrase of Pareto's, the art of ruling consists in exploiting emotions instead of wasting time on vainly attempting to destroy them, this was precisely what he never understood in his excited missionary zeal. Goebbels mocked the ideologue who believed 'that when a member of a U-boat crew comes filthy and oily from the engine room, what he reaches for in preference

to anything is a copy of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*;<sup>(47)</sup> in his warped pseudo-intellectuality Rosenberg did believe this, or at least wanted to. The world as a Walpurgis Night of dark powers and himself in the midst of it, conscious of his mission and unconquerable, side by side with the Fuhrer holding the sword in front of the Holy Grail - in such images he sought and found the heroic compensation he needed; this was the real content of the *Weltanschauung* that sprang from his sickly and distorted personality.

He was infinitely over-valued, especially as to his 'evil influence'. The American military doctor and psychiatrist in the Nuremberg prison, Douglas M. Kelley, called him brutal and cruel; that is certainly wrong.<sup>(48)</sup> It would be much more accurate to say that he was intolerant and given to the petty bullying that is a sign of inferiority. Like many intellectuals of his time he was a lover of old-fashioned stupidities, only he had the opportunity to proclaim them solemnly in public places and gain currency for them, even if greatly restricted. But this remained pure theory with him. He did not think things out to their logical conclusions, like so many who expressed a literary contempt for reason and humanity and mused upon folk truths in fashionable intellectual twilight. Very little in his hazy constructions, which defy translation into any practical programme, entered the real world of the National Socialist dictatorship, beyond the restricted areas placed under his personal influence. True, the accusation against him in the Nuremberg court-room related not to what he had thought but to what he had done. But everything he did was rather that which was done in his name, because he was incapable, either personally or in administrative technique, of living up to his own unfortunate predilection for executive activity. He remained 'Almost Rosenberg'. The evidence before the Nuremberg court, which unequivocally proves that he knew about and indirectly took part in the measures for the extermination of the Jews, makes his horror over Auschwitz and Theresienstadt highly incredible. But if it was genuine, so certainly was the dull-wittedness with which he lied his way out of it, speaking of a 'great disease of National Socialism', a temporary degeneration for which he blamed above all Goebbels, Himmler, Bormann and officials like Erich Koch.<sup>(49)</sup> To the end he never realized that the injustices of National Socialism were inherent in it, that the terrible practice grew in the soil of a terrible theory. Within this broader framework, ideology and reality ultimately did correspond. And if Rosenberg, shortly before his death, expressed the hope that the idea of National Socialism would never be forgotten and would be 'reborn from a new generation steeled by suffering', this too merely indicates that he never grasped the largely false nature of totalitarian ideologies, which as they lose the external power in which they embody themselves also lose their power over men's minds.<sup>(50)</sup>

Thus no one so mistook the character and significance of National Socialist ideology as this man who considered himself one of its founders and authoritative exponents. The final sentence in the notes written in his Nuremberg cell admits, characteristically, his inability 'to *understand* all that in its deepest meaning'.<sup>(51)</sup>

**The Face Of The Third Reich**by Joachim C Fest*'Perhaps the most important recent addition to the literature on the Third Reich'*—Hannah Arendt

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### A Brief Outline of the book

"I am completely normal," claimed Rudolf Hoss, commandant of Auschwitz, in his autobiography. "Even while I was carrying out the task of extermination I led a normal family life and so on."

How did Germany fall victim to a group of psychopaths? To reach a deeper understanding of this terrible epoch in his country's history Joachim C Fest examines the Nazi regime through individual studies of its leaders.

Quoting his subjects own words he explores the psychology of Hitler, who could only talk with confidence before a crowd; of Goebbels, who admitted that "propaganda, has nothing to do with truth"; of the mild mannered Himmler, Reichsfuhrer of the SS, who gave orders for the mass murder; and many others.

A disturbing picture emerges: not only of Nazi Germany, but also of modern man's susceptibility to totalitarian rule.

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## Alfred Rosenberg



(1893-1946)

Alfred Rosenberg was a Nazi racial ideologue, German politician, and Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. A native of Estonia, Rosenberg emigrated to Germany in 1918. He joined the NSDAP shortly after Adolf Hitler. Due to his skill in writing propaganda, Rosenberg was made editor of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, the official Nazi party newspaper, in 1921. During Hitler's imprisonment after the failed Beer-Hall Putsch of 1923, Rosenberg portrayed himself as the ideologue of the outlawed NSDAP.

In 1930 Rosenberg published *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, a racial tract positing the existence of two opposing races: the Aryan race, which is the creator of all values and culture, and a Jewish race, which is the agent of cultural corruption. Rosenberg was named head of the Nazi party foreign policy office in 1933, but, in fact, he did little more than dabble in diplomatic affairs.

In 1940 Hitler appointed him head of the Hohe Schule, the future University of Nazism. On its behalf Rosenberg's emissaries ransacked Jewish libraries throughout Europe, bringing their spoils to Frankfurt. Rosenberg also headed a special unit, Einsatzstab Rosenberg, which plundered objects of art and furniture belonging to Jews in occupied western Europe. Following the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Rosenberg was appointed Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Rosenberg came into conflict with the SS because of his opposition to their harsh repression of non-Russian minorities in the occupied Eastern Territories. He voiced no similar doubts about the treatment of Jews in those areas.

## Alfred Rosenberg



(1890-1946)

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### ***A. THE POLITICAL CAREER OF ROSENBERG.***

I. The political career of Alfred Rosenberg embraced the entire history of National Socialism and permeated nearly every phase of the conspiracy. In order to obtain a full conception of his influence upon and participation in the conspiracy, it is necessary to review his political history and to consider each of his political activities in their relation to the thread of the conspiracy, which stretches from the inception of the party in 1919 to the defeat of Germany in 1945.

It is interesting to note that for Rosenberg 30 November 1918 marked the

"Beginning of political activities with a lecture about the 'Jewish Problem' " (2886-PS)

An official German pamphlet entitled, "Dates in the History of the NSDAP" discloses that Rosenberg was a member of the German Labor Party (afterwards the National Socialist German Workers Party) in January 1919, and that Hitler joined forces with Rosenberg and his colleagues in October of the same year (3557-PS). Thus, Rosenberg was a member of the National Socialist movement even before Hitler himself.

An extract from "Das Deutsch Fuehrer Lexikon" 1934/35 (3530- PS) completes the biographical data on Rosenberg:

"From 1921 until the present, editor of the Voelkische Beobachter; editor of the 'N.S. Monatshefte'; 1930, Reichstag deputy and representative of the foreign policy of the movement; since April 1933, leader of the foreign political office of the NSDAP; then designated as Reichsleiter; January 1934, deputized by the Fuehrer for the spiritual and philosophical education of the NSDAP, the German labor front -and all related organizations" (350-PS).

In July 1941 Rosenberg was appointed Reichsminister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. (2886-PS)

***B. ROSENBERG'S PART, AS OFFICIAL NAZI IDEOLOGIST, IN PREPARING FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER AND THE LAUNCHING OF AGGRESSIVE WAR.***

Rosenberg was the official National Socialist ideologist. Through the ideological tenets which he expounded he exerted an influence upon the unification of German thought, a unification which was an essential part of the conspirator's program for seizure of power and preparation for aggressive war.

Rosenberg wrote extensively on, and actively participated in, virtually every aspect of the National Socialist program. His first publication was the "Nature, Basic Principles, and Aims of the NSDAP" which appeared in 1922. Rosenberg spoke of this book in the following

"During this time (that is, during the early phase of the party) a short thesis was written, which nevertheless is significant in the history of the NSDAP. It was always being asked what points of program the NSDAP had and how they each were to be interpreted. Therefore, I wrote the principal program and aims of the NSDAP, and this writing made the first permanent connection between Munich and local organizations being organized and friends within the Reich."

Thus, the original draftsman of and spokesman for the party program was Rosenberg.

Without attempting to survey the entire ideological program advanced by Rosenberg in his various writings and speeches, certain of his statements may be considered as indicating the nature and scope of the ideological program which he championed. There was not a single basic tenet of the Nazi philosophy which was not given authoritative expression by Rosenberg.

(1) *The theory of racism.* Rosenberg wrote the "Myth of the Twentieth Century" published in 1930. At page 479 of this work (3553-PS), Rosenberg expressed the following views on the race question:

"The essence of the contemporary world revolution lies in the awakening of the racial types, not in Europe alone but on the whole planet. This awakening is the organic counter movement against the last chaotic remnants of liberal economic imperialism, whose object of exploitation out of desperation has fallen into the snare of Bolshevik Marxism, in order to complete what democracy had begun, the extirpation of the racial and national consciousness." (3553-PS)

(2) *"Lebensraum."* Rosenberg expounded the "Lebensraum" idea, which was utilized as the dynamic impulse behind Germany's waging of aggressive war. In his journal, the "National Socialist Monatshefte" for May 1932, he wrote:

"The understanding that the German nation, if it is not to perish in the truest sense of the word, needs ground and soil for itself and its future generations, and the second sober perception that this soil can no more be conquered in Africa, but in Europe and first of all in the East -- these organically determine the German foreign policy for centuries." (2777-PS)

(3) *Persecution of Christian Churches.* Rosenberg expressed his theory as to the place of religion in the National Socialist State in the "Myth of the Twentieth Century" additional excerpts from which are cited in (2891-PS):

"We now realize that the central supreme values of the Roman and the Protestant Churches, being a negative Christianity, do not respond to our soul, that they hinder the organic powers of the peoples determined by their Nordic race, that they must give way to them, that they will have to be remodeled to conform to a Germanic Christendom. Therein

lies the meaning of the present religious search." (2891-PS)

In the place of traditional Christianity, Rosenberg sought to implant the neo-pagan myth of the blood. At page 114 in the "Myth of the Twentieth Century" (2891-PS) he stated:

"Today, a new faith is awakening -- the Myth of the Blood, the belief that the divine being of mankind generally is to be defended with the blood. The faith embodied by the fullest realization, that the Nordic blood constitutes that mystery which has supplanted and overwhelmed the old sacraments."

Rosenberg's attitudes on religion were accepted as the only philosophy compatible with National Socialism. In 1940 Bormann, in writing to Rosenberg, made this statement:

"The churches cannot be conquered by a compromise between National Socialism and Christian teachings, but only through a new ideology whose coming you yourself have announced in your writings."

Rosenberg actively participated in the program for elimination of church influence. Bormann frequently wrote Rosenberg in this regard, furnishing him information as to proposed action to be instituted against the churches and, where necessary, requesting that action be taken by Rosenberg's department. See 070-PS dealing with the abolition of religious services in the schools; 072-PS dealing with the confiscation of religious property; 064-PS dealing with the inadequacy of anti-religious material circulated to the soldiers; 089-PS dealing with the curtailment of the publication of Protestant periodicals; and 122-PS dealing with the closing of theological faculties.

(4) *Persecution of the Jews*. Rosenberg was particularly zealous in his pursuit of the "Jewish Question" On 28 March 1941, on the occasion of the opening of the Institute for the Exploration of the Jewish Question, he set the keynote for its activities and indicated the direction which the exploration was to take. He spoke in part as follows:

"For Germany the Jewish Question is only then solved when the Last Jew has left the Greater German space.

"Since Germany with its blood and its nationalism has now broken for always this Jewish dictatorship for all Europe and has seen to it that Europe as a whole will become free from the Jewish parasitism once more, we may, I believe, also say for all Europeans: For Europe the Jewish question is only then solved when the last Jew has left the European continent." (2889-PS)

Rosenberg had called an Anti-Jewish Congress in June 1944, but the Congress was cancelled due to military events. (1752- PS)

Rosenberg did not overlook any opportunity to put these anti- Semitic beliefs into practice. He recommended for instance that instead of executing 100 Frenchmen as retaliation for attempts on lives of members of the Wehrmacht, there be executed 100 Jewish bankers, lawyers, etc. (001-PS). The recommendation was made with the avowed purpose of awakening the anti-jewish sentiment.

(5) *Abolition of Versailles Treaty*. In the realm of foreign policy, in addition to demanding "lebensraum," Rosenberg called for elimination of the Treaty of Versailles, and cast aside any thought of revision of that treaty. In his book, "Nature, Principles and Aims of the NSDAP" Rosenberg wrote:

"The National Socialists reject the popular phrase of the 'Revision of the Peace of Versailles' as such a revision might perhaps bring a few numerical reductions in the so-called 'obligations,' but the entire German people would still be, just as before, the slave of other nations."

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" 'We demand equality for the German people with other nations, the cancellation of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.' " (2433-PS)

(6) *Foreign Nazi Penetration.* Rosenberg conceived of the spread of National Socialism throughout the world and, as will be subsequently shown, took an active part in promoting the infection of other nations with his creed. In the "Nature, Principles and Aims of the NSDAP" he stated:

"But National Socialism still believes that its principles and ideology though in individually different suitable ways of fight according to racial-national conditions -- will be directives far beyond the borders of Germany for the inevitable fights for power in other countries of Europe and America. There too a decision of ideas must take place, and the racial-nationalistic fight against the ever similar loan-capitalistic and Marxist internationalism must be taken up. National Socialism believes that once the great world battle is concluded, after the defeat of the present epoch, there will be a time when the swastika will be woven into the different banners of the Germanic peoples as the Aryan symbol of rejuvenation." (2455-PS)

Thus, Rosenberg gave authoritative expression to the basic tenets upon which National Socialism was founded, and through exploitation of which the conspiracy was crystallized in action.

(7) *Ideological training and education.* Rosenberg's value to the conspiratorial program found official recognition in his appointment in 1934 as the Fuehrer's Delegate for the Entire Spiritual and Philosophical Education and Supervision of the NSDAP. is activities in this capacity were many and varied. The National Socialist Year Book for the year 1938, at page 180 describes as follows the functions of Rosenberg's office as the Fuehrer's delegate:

"The sphere of activity of the Fuehrer's Commissioner for all spiritual and ideological instruction and education of the movement, its organization, including the 'Strength through Joy', extends to the detailed execution of all the educational work of the Party and of the affiliated bodies. The office, set up by Reichsleiter Rosenberg, has the task of preparing the ideological educational material, of carrying out the teaching programme, and is responsible for the education of those teachers suited to this educational and instructional work." (3531-PS)

As the Fuehrer's delegate, Rosenberg thus supervised all ideological education and training in the Party.

It was Rosenberg's belief that upon the performance of his new functions as ideological delegate depended the future of National Socialism. An excerpt from an article by Rosenberg appearing on page 9 of the March 1934 issue of "The Educational Letter" states:

"The focus of all our educational work from now on is the service for this ideology, and it depends on the result of these efforts, whether National socialism will be buried with our fighting ancestors or whether, as we believe, it really represents the beginning of a new

era." (3552-PS)

In his capacity as the Fuehrer's Delegate for Spiritual and Ideological Training, Rosenberg assisted in the preparation of the curriculum for the Adolf Hitler schools. These schools selected the most suitable candidates from the Hitler Jugend and trained them for leadership within the Party. They were the elite schools of National Socialism. An excerpt from "Documents of German Politics" reads as follows:

"Voelkischer Beobachter, 19 January 1937. -- 'As stated by Dr. Ley, Reichsorganisationsleiter, on 23 November 1937 at Ordensburg Sonthofen, these Adolf Hitler Schools, as the first step of the principle of selecting a special elite, form an important branch in the educational system of the National Socialist training of future leaders [Fuehrernachwuchs] "Voelkischer Beobachter dated 24 November 1937. \*\*\*

The curriculum has been laid down by Reichsleiter Rosenberg, together with the Reichsorganisationsleiter and the Reich Youth Leader." (3529-PS)

Rosenberg exercised further influence in the education of Party members through the establishment of community school for all organizations of the Party. The following statement is taken from the 1934 edition of "Das Dritte Reich"

"We support the request of the Fuehrer's Commissioner for the supervision of the whole spiritual and ideological training and instruction of the NSDAP, Party member Alfred Rosenberg, to organize community schools of all organizations of the NSDAP twice a year, in order to show by this common effort the ideological and political unity of the NSDAP and the steadfastness of the National Socialist will." (3528-PS)

Rosenberg's program was endorsed by Schirach as well as by Himmler, Ley, and others.

Virtually every phase of National Socialist training came under Rosenberg's influence, and unified ideological concepts were inculcated in every echelon of the party due to his influence. The 1936 edition of "Das Dritte Reich" under the heading "Education in the Ordensburg" states:

"Those Party members, selected for training in leadership in accordance with such points of view (who must have completed their labor service and their military service satisfactorily) are to be taught in the Ordensburgen by the best teachers in history and science of race, philosophy and culture, economics and specialized training, etc. To determine the ideological direction of this education, to choose suitable teachers and to train them, is one of the tasks of the Senior School of the Party [Hoche Schule der Partei] which is to be established in the near future and will be placed under the direction of the Reich Leader Party member Alfred Rosenberg in his capacity as Delegate of the Fuehrer for the Supervision of the Entire Spiritual and Ideological Teaching and Education of the NSDAP." (3552-PS)

(8) *Plunder of art treasures.* In his capacity as the Fuehrer's delegate, Rosenberg established the Institute for the Exploration of the Jewish Question, in Frankfurt on Main. (This institute, commonly known as the "Hohe Schule" has been referred to in the discussion of the Plunder of Art Treasures in Chapter XIV.) Into its library there flowed books, documents, and manuscripts which were looted from virtually every country of occupied Europe. As Ideological Delegate Rosenberg conducted the fabulous art looting activities of the Einsatzstab Rosenberg, activities which extended to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, the Occupied Eastern Territories, Hungary, and Greece.

The extent of the plunder is indicated in document 1015-B-PS which contains a detailed account of the seizure of over 21,000 valuable objects of art, and in document 188 in which the looting of the contents of over 71,000 Jewish homes is described.

The importance of Rosenberg's activities as official ideologist of the Nazi party was not overlooked. The Hart biography of Rosenberg, entitled, "The Man and His Work" (3559-PS), states that Rosenberg won the German National prize in 1937. The creation of this prize was the Nazis' petulant reply to the award of the Nobel prize to Carlin Assietzky, an inmate of a German concentration camp. The citation which accompanied the award to Rosenberg read as follows:

"Alfred Rosenberg has helped with his publications to lay the scientific and intuitive foundation and to strengthen the philosophy of the National Socialist in the most excellent way. His indefatigable struggle to keep National Socialist philosophy clean was especially meritorious. Only future times will be able to fully estimate the depth of the influence of this man on the philosophical foundation of the National Socialist Reich. The National Socialist movement, and beyond that, the entire German people, will be deeply gratified that the Fuehrer has distinguished Alfred Rosenberg as one of his oldest and most faithful fighting comrades by awarding him the German National Prize." (3559-PS)

The contribution which Rosenberg's book, "The Myth of the Twentieth Century," made to Nazi ideological propaganda was appraised in the November 1942 edition of the official National Socialist book review publication, "Bucher Kunde" as follows:

"Next to the Fuehrer's book it has contributed to a unique extent to the rise and the spiritual and physical development of this people. Twelve years after Alfred Rosenberg's 'Mythus' first appeared, a million copies of the book have been published and circulated."

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"It must therefore be stated that the phrases coined by Alfred Rosenberg have passed into the consciousness of the whole people, and it is just today that they are proving pillars of an ideological building whose completion is the purpose of the fight being waged not least today." (3554-PS)

The significance of ideological training in promoting the aims of the conspiracy is emphasized in a brief statement which Hitler made to his supreme commanders on 23 November 1939. On that occasion, Hitler said:

"The building up of our armed forces was only possible in connection with the ideological education of the German people by the Party." (789-PS)

The contribution which Rosenberg made through formulation and dissemination of National Socialist ideology was fundamental to the conspiracy. As apostle of neo-paganism, exponent of the drive for "Lebensraum," glorifier of the myth of nordic superiority, and as one of the oldest and most energetic Nazi proponents of anti-Semitism, he contributed materially to unification of the German people behind the swastika. He provided the impetus and philosophy of National Socialism.

### ***C. ROSENBERG'S ACTIVITIES ABROAD THROUGH THE APA, IN PREPARATION FOR AGGRESSIVE WAR.***

Rosenberg also actively contributed toward the preparation for aggressive war through the international activities of the APA (The Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP). Rosenberg became a Reichsleiter, the highest level of rank in the Leadership Corps, and was made chief of the Foreign Political Office of the NSDAP in April 1933 (3530-PS). The Organizational Manual of the NSDAP (2319-PS) describes the functions of the APA as including the influencing of public opinion abroad so as to convince foreign nations that Nazi Germany desires peace. The following excerpt indicates the far-flung activities of the APA:

"II. 1. The APA is divided into three main offices

"A. Office for Foreign Referats with the Main Offices

a. England and Far East

b. Near East

c. South East

d. North

e. Old Orient

f. Controls, personnel questions, etc.

"B. Office of the German Academic Exchange Service.

"C. Office of Foreign Commerce.

"2. Moreover, there is in the APA a main office for the press service and an educational office." (2319-PS)

The Press activities of the APA, designed to influence world opinion in such a manner as to conceal the conspirators' true purposes and thus facilitate the preparation for waging aggressive war, were conducted on an ambitious scale. "A short Report on the Activities of the APA of the NSDAP" describes the press activities as follows:

"The Press The Press Division of the APA is comprised of persons who together master all the languages that are in use. Daily they examine approximately 300 newspapers and deliver to the Fuehrer, the deputy Fuehrer, and all other interested offices the condensations of the important trends of the entire world press. I know that these press reports are highly praised by all who constantly follow them. The Press Division furthermore conducts an exact archive on the attitudes of the most important papers of the world and an exact archives on the most important journalists of the world. Many embarrassments during conferences in Germany could have been avoided had one consulted these archives (case of Leumas, Nurnberg, 1934; case of Dorothy Thompson; and others). Further, the Press Division was able to arrange a host of interviews as well as conducting a great number of friendly foreign journalists to the various official representatives of Germany." (003-PS)

The nature and extent of the activities of the APA are amply disclosed in a "Report on the Activities of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Party from 1933 to 1943," signed by Rosenberg (007-PS). This report contains a recital of widespread activities -in foreign countries. These activities range from the promotion of economic penetration, to fomentation of anti-Semitism; from cultural and political infiltration to the instigation of treason. Activities were carried on throughout the world and extended to such widely separated points as the Middle East and Brazil. (007-PS)

(1) *Activities in Hungary, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg.* Much of the APA's achievements were brought about through the subtle exploitation of personal relationship. Activities in Hungary proceeded as follows:

"The first foreign state visit after the seizure of power took place through the mediation of the Foreign Affairs Bureau. Julius Gombos, who in former years had himself pursued anti-Semitic and racial tendencies, had reached the Hungarian Premier's chair. The Bureau maintained a personal connection with him." (007-PS)

The APA endeavored to strengthen the War Economy by shifting the source of food imports to the Balkans:

"Motivated by reasons of War Economy, the Bureau advocated the transfer of raw material purchases from overseas to the areas accessible by overland traffic routes, i. e., primarily in the Balkans, naturally insofar as practicable. At first little heed was paid to the Bureau in these endeavors, but it later secured the active support especially of the Food Estate [Naeurstand]. Through its cooperation, e. g., on the subject of fruit and vegetable imports, a very substantial shift in the source of imports was attained, particularly through the currently initiated cooperation with Croatian and Hungarian cooperatives as well as with commercial associations all over the Balkans." (007-PS)

Activities in Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg were confined to "observation of existing conditions" and "to the establishment of relations, especially of a commercial nature." (007-PS)

(2) *Activities in Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq.* In Iran the APA achieved a high degree of economic penetration, in addition to promoting cultural relations:

"The Bureau's initiative in developing, with the help of commercial circles, entirely new methods for the economic penetration of Iran found expression, in an extraordinarily favorable way, in reciprocal trade relations.

"Naturally in Germany, too, this initiative at first encountered a completely negative attitude and resistance on the part of the competent state authorities, an attitude that had first to be overcome.

"In the course of a few years the volume of trade with Iran was multiplied five-fold, and in 1939 Iran's trade turnover with Germany had attained first place. Even Soviet Russia, the competitor who had been biggest and most dreaded previously, had been eliminated from the running. Concurrently with activation of commercial relations, the Bureau had also intensified cultural relations and had, in conjunction with growing commercial influence and in closest collaboration with the Iranian Government, created a series of cultural institutions headed and directed by Germans."

(Signed) Rosenberg (007-PS)

Rosenberg further reports on APA activities in other parts of the

"Afghanistan's neutral position today is largely due to the Bureau's activity."

"The Arab question, too, became part of the work of the Bureau. In spite of England's tutelage of Iraq the Bureau established a series of connections to a number of leading personalities of the Arab world, smoothing the way for strong bonds to Germany. In this connection, the growing influence of the Reich in Iran and Afghanistan did not fail to have repercussions in Arabia." (007-PS)

In view of the numerous "personal connections" maintained by the Bureau in many different countries, it is not difficult to surmise what Rosenberg meant when he stated at the conclusion of his report:

"The Bureau has carried out the initiating of all politically feasible projects. With the outbreak of war it [the APA] was entitled to consider its task as terminated. The exploitation of the many personal connections in many lands can be resumed under a different guise.

"Signed) Rosenberg" (007-PS)

(3) *Activities in Rumania.* Annex Two of the report deals with activities in Rumania. Here the APA's intrigue was more insidious, its interference in the internal affairs of a foreign nation more pronounced. After describing the failure of what Rosenberg terms a "basically sound anti-Semitic tendency" due to dynastic squabbles and party fights, Rosenberg describes the APA's influence in the unification of conflicting elements:

"What was lacking was the guiding leadership of a political personality. After manifold groping trials the Bureau believed to have found such a personality -- the former Minister and poet, Octavian Goga. It was not difficult to convince this poet, pervaded by instinctive inspiration, that a Greater Romania, though it had to be created in opposition to Vienna, could be maintained only together with Berlin. Nor was it difficult to create in him the desire to link the fate of Rumania with the future of the National-Socialist German Reich in good time. By bringing continuing influence to bear, the Bureau succeeded in inducing Octavian Goga as well as Professor Cuza to amalgamate the parties under their leadership on an Anti-Semitic basis. Thus they could carry on with united strength the struggle for Rumania's renaissance internally, and her Anschluss with Germany externally. Through the Bureau's initiative both parties, which had heretofore been known by distinct names, were merged as the National-Christian Party, under Goga's leadership and with Cuza as Honorary President." (007-PS, Annex II)

Rosenberg's man, Goga, was supported by two "splinter parties" which had not joined the anti-Semitic trend of these two parties. Rosenberg has this to say:

"Through intermediaries, the Bureau maintained constant contact with both tendencies, just as it constantly consulted with Goga, through Staff Director [Stabsleiter] Schickendanz, about tactics to be followed." (007-PS, Annex II)

Goga was appointed Prime Minister by the King in December 1937. The influence of Rosenberg's ideology had achieved a major triumph, for he states:

"Thus a second government on racial and anti-Semitic foundations had appeared in Europe, in a country in which such an event had been considered completely impossible." (007-PS, Annex II)

Rosenberg's intrigues made a significant contribution to Nazi preparations for aggressive war, and the benefit to Germany's position in the Balkans was great. Rosenberg reports that upon Goga's resignation he left a personal heir in Marshal Antonescu, who was appointed by Goga as Minister of War against the wishes of the King. Of Antonescu Rosenberg says:

"After Goga's resignation, Antonescu still remained in the king's cabinet at Goga's wish. He

also maintained continued relations with the Iron Guard. Thereby the possibility of eliminating the king was at hand -- and was exploited. Antonescu today appears in practice as executor of the heritage bequested to him by Goga, who had led him from political insignificance into the political arena. Thereby a change to Germany's liking had become possible in Rumania.

"(Signed) Rosenberg." (007-PS)

It will be recalled that on 9/5/1940 Antonescu became President of the Rumanian Council of Ministers and immediately suspended the Rumanian constitution. King Carol abdicated on the following day, and Rumania existed as a German satellite throughout the war. Rosenberg's aims had been achieved.

The substantial contribution which Rosenberg had thus made to Germany's strategic plans for aggressive war is evident from a brief review of the military action which followed in the wake of his political maneuvers. Shortly after King Carol's abdication Antonescu "invited" German troops to "protect" the Rumanian oil fields. When Hungary subscribed to the Axis pact a few weeks later, Germany acquired a continuous land bridge to the Black Sea, through Austria, Hungary, and Rumania. When Bulgaria subscribed to the Pact in March 1941, a German thrust southward through Yugoslavia and Greece became feasible, for with Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria secure, the entire German eastern flank was safe from attack. A month later, Yugoslavia and Greece were invaded. Only when they were overcome was Germany free to attack the Soviet Union. Seven weeks after the fall of Crete, Germany launched her war on the U.S.S.R. Thus, Rosenberg's intrigue in Rumania provided a vital link in the chain of the German strategy of aggression.

(4) *Relations with Quisling in Norway.* Rosenberg also played a leading role in the development of fifth-column activities in Norway. He fostered the development of close relations between Germany and Quisling, procured financial backing for Quisling's activities, and brought him into contact with Raeder and Hitler. Rosenberg kept the Reich informed as to internal developments in Norway through his contacts with Hagelin, Quisling's deputy, and took an active part in the development of plans for a Quisling coup in Norway. The record is clear that Rosenberg provided the inspiration and the means for the betrayal of Norway by Quisling and Hagelin -- treason for which the Norwegian Government has tried, condemned, and executed them. (007-PS; C-64; C-65; C-66; 004- PS; 957-PS)

#### ***D. ROSENBERG'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IN THE OCCUPIED EASTERN TERRITORIES.***

Rosenberg participated in the conspiracy to commit war crimes and crimes against humanity in the areas of the Occupied East which he administered for over three years. This area included the Baltic States, White Ruthenia and the Ukraine, and the Eastern portion of Poland.

(The mass murder and mistreatment of the Eastern peoples, and the spoliation of their territories is discussed in Chapter X on Forced Labor, Chapter XIII on Germanization and Spoliation, Chapter XI on Concentration Camps, Chapter XII on Persecution of the Jews, Section 5 of Chapter XV on the SS, and Section 6 of Chapter XV on the Gestapo and SD.) Rosenberg bears personal responsibility for these crimes.

Rosenberg may contend that some of these crimes were committed against his wishes. There is, indeed, some evidence that he protested on occasion, not out of humanitarian reasons, but on the ground of political expediency. Rosenberg may also attempt to place the blame for these crimes on other agencies and other defendants. The documents prove, however, that he himself formulated the harsh policies in

the execution of which the crimes were committed; that the crimes were committed for the most part by persons and agencies within his jurisdiction and control; that the other agencies which participated in the commission of these crimes were invited by him to cooperate in the administration of the East, although the brutal methods customarily employed by them were common knowledge; and that his Ministry lent full cooperation to their activities despite the criminal methods that were employed.

(1) *Activities as "Commissioner for the Central Control of Questions Connected with the East European Region."* Rosenberg was actively participating in the affairs of the East as early as 20 April 1941, two months prior to the German attack upon the Soviet Union. On that date he was designated by Hitler as "Commissioner for the Central Control of Questions connected with the East European Region" (865-PS). The initial preparations undertaken by Rosenberg for fulfillment of his new task indicate the extent to which he cooperated in promoting the military plans for aggression. They also show that he understood his task as requiring the assistance of a multitude of Reich agencies and that he invited their cooperation.

Shortly after his appointment by Hitler, Rosenberg conducted a series of conferences with representatives of various Reich agencies (1039-PS). Cooperation of the following agencies in the administration of the Eastern Territories was contemplated and solicited by

OKW  
OKH  
OKM  
Ministry of Economy  
Commissioner for the Four Year Plan  
Ministry of the Interior  
Reich Youth Leadership  
German Labor Front  
Ministry of Labor  
and the SA -- (as well as several others). (1039-PS)

These arrangements, it should be noted, were made by Rosenberg in his capacity as Commissioner on Eastern Questions before the attack on the Soviet Union, before Rosenberg was appointed Minister of the Occupied East, and before there was any Occupied Eastern Territory for Germany to administer.

(a) *"Solution" of the Jewish Problem.* Emphasis must be placed on Rosenberg's basic attitudes regarding his new task, and the directives he knew he would be expected to follow. On 29 April 1941 he stated:

"A general treatment is required for the Jewish problem for which a temporary solution will have to be determined (forced labor for the Jews, creation of Ghettos, etc.) " (1024-PS)

On 8 May 1941, instructions were prepared for all Reich Commissars in the Occupied Eastern Territories (1030-PS). The last paragraph of these instructions reads as follows:

"From the point of view of cultural policy, the German Reich is in a position to promote and direct national culture and science in many fields. It will be necessary that in some territories an uprooting and resettlement of various racial stocks [Voelkerschaften] will have to be effected." (1030-PS)

In his "Instructions for a Reich Commissar in the Baltic Countries and White Russia" (officially referred to together as the "Ostland" Rosenberg directs that the Ostland be transformed into a part of the Greater

German Reich by Germanizing racially possible elements, colonizing Germanic races, and banishing undesirable elements. (1029-PS)

In a speech delivered by Rosenberg on 20 June 1941 he stated that the job of feeding Germans was the top of Germany's claim on the East; that there was no obligation to feed also the Russian peoples; that this was a harsh necessity bare of any feeling; that a very extensive evacuation would be necessary; and that the future would hold many hard years in store for the Russians. (1058-PS)

On 22 June 1941 the German armies invaded the U.S.S.R.

(b) *Deportation of Prisoners of War for Labor in the Reich.* On 4 July 1941 a representative of the Rosenberg Bureau attended a conference on the subject of mobilization of labor and utilization of Soviet prisoners of war. A memorandum of this conference (1199-PS) states that among the participants were representatives of the Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan, of the Reich Labor Ministry, of the Reich Food Ministry, and of the Rosenberg Bureau. The conference proceeded as follows:

"After an introduction by Lt. Col. Dr. Krull, Lt. Col. Breyer of the P.W. department explained that actually there was in effect a prohibition by the Fuehrer against bringing Russian P.W.'s into the Reich for mobilization of labor [Arbeitseinsatz]; but that one might count on this prohibition being relaxed a little."

\*\*\*\*\*

"The chairman summarized the results of the discussion as indicating that all the interested bureaus unqualifiedly advocated and supported the demand for utilization of P.W.'s because of manpower needs [Arbeitseinsatz] in the Reich. The War Economy and Armament office will approach the Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan with a request for relaxation of the restrictive regulations and express to the Chief of Operational Staff of the Armed Forces its point of view, accordingly." (1199-PS)

(c) *Germanization.* On 16 July 1941, the day before Rosenberg's appointment as Minister of the Occupied East, he attended a conference at the Fuehrer's Headquarters. At that time Hitler stated that

"The Crimea has to be evacuated by all foreigners and to be settled by Germans alone." (L-221)

Hitler further stated that Germany's objectives in the East were three-fold, first, to dominate it; second, to administer it; third, to exploit it. (L-221)

Thus, the character of the administration contemplated for the Occupied East was well established before Rosenberg took office as Minister of the Occupied East. He knew of these plans and was in accord with them. Persecution of the Jews, forced labor of prisoners of war, Germanization and exploitation were basic points of policy at the time he assumed office.

2) *Activities as Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories.* On 17 July 1941 Hitler appointed Rosenberg as Reichsminister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, territories which included nearly all the area seized by Germany from the U. S. S. R. (1997-PS)

(a) *Rosenberg's complete control over, knowledge of, and responsibility for all non-military German activities and policies in the occupied Eastern Territories.* The organizational structure and chain of responsibility within the Ministry for the Occupied East emphasizes Rosenberg's responsibility.

A treatise entitled "The Organization of the Administration of the Occupied Eastern Territories" (1056-PS) is undated and unsigned, but further information regarding it may be obtained by reference to document EC-347, Goering's "Green Folder." Part II, subsection of EC-347 is entitled,

"Excerpts from the Directives of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories for the Civilian Administration. (Brown Folder, Pt. I, pp. 25-30)." (EC- 347)

The two paragraphs which follow are identical to two paragraphs found in document 1056-PS. Thus, 1056-PS is identified as being a reproduction of Part I of the Brown Folder which was mentioned in the "Green Folder," and was issued by the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories.

The directives issued by the Rosenberg Ministry itself (1056- PS) prove the extent of Rosenberg's authority: he was the Supreme civilian authority in the Eastern Territories. There was a continuous chain of command from Rosenberg down to regional administrative officials, extending even to the local prison warden (1056-PS). The relationship which existed between the Rosenberg Ministry and other German agencies varied from full control by Rosenberg, to close cooperation with them made mandatory by his directives and by Hitler's orders. Finally, the various subdivisions of the Ministry were required to submit period-reports of the situation within their jurisdiction -- so that the numerous reports of brutality which Rosenberg received were submitted to him pursuant to his orders. (1056-PS)

The treatise on the organization of Rosenberg's ministry states as follows:

"The newly occupied Eastern Territories are subordinated to the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. By directions of the Fuehrer he establishes a civil administration there upon withdrawal of the military administration. He heads and supervises the entire administration of this area and represents the sovereignty of the Reich in the occupied Eastern Territories."

\*\*\*\*\*

"To the Reich Ministry is assigned a deputy of the Reich Leader SS and Chief of the German Police in the Reich Ministry of the Interior." (1056-PS)

The responsibility of the Reich Commissars is described as follows:

"In the Reich Commissariats, Reich Commissars are responsible for the entire civil administration under the supreme authority of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories. According to the instructions of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories the Reich Commissar, as a functionary of the Reich, heads and supervises, within his precincts, the entire civil administration. Within the scope of these instructions he acts on his own responsibility.

"Subordinate offices of the Reich Commissar are:

"General Commissariats,  
"Main Commissariats,

"District Commissariats." (1056-PS)

The SS was placed under Rosenberg's jurisdiction and control

"The Higher SS- and Police Leader is directly subordinated to the Reich Commissar. However, the Chief of Staff has the general right to secure information from him also. His official title is:

'The Reich Commissar for the Eastern Territory

The Higher SS- and Police Leader.'

"Great stress is to be placed on close cooperation between him, the Chief of Staff, and the other Main Department Heads of the office of the Reich Commissar, particularly with the one for Policies."

The scope of Rosenberg's control over the SS in the Occupied Eastern Territories is revealed in a decree signed by Rosenberg, dated 17 July 1941, and found in the Verordnungsblatt of the Reich Minister for the Occupied East, 1942 #2, pages 7 and 8. This decree provides for the creation of summary courts-martial to punish crimes committed by non-Germans in the East, as determined by the Reich Commissar. The courts are to be presided over by a police officer or an SS leader, who have authority to order the death sentence and confiscation of property, and whose decisions are not subject to appeal. The General Commissar is given the right to reject a summary Courts' decision. Thus, the determination of the SS is subordinated to the authority of Rosenberg's Ministry.

The position of the General Commissar is defined as follows in the organizational treatise:

"The General Commissar forms the administrative office of intermediate appeal. Within his jurisdiction he heads the administration according to the general directives of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories and the prescriptions of the Reich Commissar."

\*\*\*\*\*

"The SS- and Police Leader assigned to the General Commissar is directly subordinated to him; however, the Chief of Staff has the general right of requiring information from him." (1056-PS)

Regional Commissars are described as follows:

"The Regional Commissar heads the entire administration of the lower administrative office in the Circuit District [Kreisgebiet] in accordance with the instructions of the General Commissar and the superior offices \*\*\* The leader of the police unit assigned to him is directly subordinated to him." (1056-PS)

Main Commissars are described in these terms:

"Upon recommendation by the Reich Commissar the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories appoints Main Commissars for Main Districts formed by the consolidation of several Circuit Districts." (1056-PS)

The order of superiority in the service among these various officials is stated as follows:

"The Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories is the service superior of the Reich Commissar and the officials and the employees subordinate to them. The Reich Commissar is the superior of all officials and employees of his office and of the offices subordinate to him. The General Commissar is the superior of the officials and employees of his office and of the officials and employees of the offices of the Main and Regional Commissars. The Main Commissar and the Regional Commissar are the superior of the officials and employees of their offices." (1056-PS)

Thus, there is a continuous chain of command and of accountability from the Reich Minister, Rosenberg, down through each subdivision of the Ministry.

Furthermore, Rosenberg had authority to legislate for the entire area, and the jurisdiction of his Ministry was exclusive, aside from that of the military. The organizational treatise states:

"The Reich Commissars, General Commissars, Main Commissars and Regional Commissars (City Commissars) are aside from the military agencies the only Reich authorities [Reichshehoerden] in the Occupied Eastern Territories. Other Reich authorities may not be established alongside them. They handle all questions of administration of the area which is subordinate to their sovereignty and all affairs which concern the organization and activity of the administration including those of the Police in the supervision of the native [landeseigenen] agencies and organizations, and of the population.

"The Reich Minister governs the occupied Eastern Territories by order of the Fuehrer. He can make the law for all the territories."

The following passage shows that the economic exploitation of the territory was undertaken in fullest cooperation with the Commissioner of the Four-Year Plan:

"The Fuehrer has entrusted Reich Marshal Hermann Goering, as Commissioner for the Four Year Plan, with the supervision of the tasks of the war economy in the Occupied Eastern Territories. The economic inspectorates and economic commands are active there as his representatives [Organe] [see Green Folio]. These economic inspectorates and economic commands will be substantially absorbed in the agencies of the civil administration after the establishment of the civil administration." (1056-PS)

Careful provision was made for channeling to Rosenberg complete and accurate information as to the situation throughout the territory governed by him:

"The Reich and General Commissars will determine the periods at which the subordinate agencies are to report regularly about the general situation without prejudice to the duty to provide individual reports and special delivery reports (at first, at short intervals which can be later lengthened). At first the Reich Commissars will give the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories a comprehensive report on the situation in brief form twice a

month, on the first and fifteenth of each month. The Reich Minister is to be given a report by the Reich Commissar immediately about incidents of an especially important nature. The General Commissars and Regional Commissars must report directly to the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories by the quickest means particularly important incidents, as, for example, widespread unrest, more important acts of sabotage and strikes, great natural catastrophes and the like, and at the same time report them to the next superior agency." (1056-PS)

The Second Section of this organizational treatise, entitled "Working directives for the Civil Administration," contains this

" the Hague Rules of Land Warfare which deal with the administration of a country occupied by a foreign armed power are not valid." (1056-PS; EC-347)

The document continues as follows:

"The handling of cases of sabotage is the concern of the Senior SS- and Police Leader, of the SS- and Police Leader and/or the police leaders of the lower echelon. Insofar, however, as collective measures against the population of a definite region appear appropriate, the decision about them rests with the competent Commissar on the proposal of the Police Leader. The calling of the population for the tasks of guarding can be ordered by the Regional Commissar.

"The assessment of fines of money or goods, as well as the ordering of the seizure of hostages and the shooting of inhabitants of the territory in which the acts of sabotage have taken place, can only be by the General Commissar, insofar as the Reich Commissar himself does not intervene."

"The District Commissar is responsible for the supervision of all prisons, insofar as the Reich Commissar does not decree otherwise." (1056-PS; EC-347)

(b) *Rosenberg's Use of His Authority and Power for Criminal Purposes.* The manner in which Rosenberg's authority and power were wielded is illustrated in other sections of this volume, which show that in the Eastern Territories millions of Jews were exterminated; that millions of slave laborers were pressed into service under indescribable conditions; that the populace was degraded, starved, beaten, and murdered; and that the country was stripped of its resources. However, in order to illustrate the manner in which Rosenberg participated in the criminal activities conducted within his jurisdiction, four examples may be mentioned.

1. *Seizure of Jewish Property.* The first illustration is contained in the decree signed by Lohse, Reichscommissar for the Ostland, which is published in the *Verordnungsblatt* of the Reichscommissar for the Ostland, 1942, No. 38, pages 158 and 159. This decree provides for the seizure of the entire property of the Jewish population in the Ostland, including the claims of Jews against third parties. The seizure was made retroactive to the day of the occupation of the territory by the German troops. This sweeping decree was issued and published by Rosenberg's immediate subordinate, and it must be assumed that Rosenberg knew of it and acquiesced in it. The power to enact such a decree, as previously outlined, arose by virtue of delegation of that power by Rosenberg to the Reichscommissar.

2. *Extermination of Jews.* The second illustration is the report of the prison warden of

Minsk that 516 German and Russian Jews had been killed. The warden called attention to the fact that valuable gold had been lost due to the failure to knock out the tooth- fillings of the victims before they were done away with (R-135).

3. *Deportations for Forced Labor.* The third illustration is a letter which Rosenberg wrote to Sauckel on 21 December 1942 in the following terms:

"I thank you very much for your report on the execution of the great task given to you, and I am glad to hear that in carrying out your mission you have always found the necessary support, even on the part of the civilian authorities in the occupied Eastern territories. For myself and the officials under my command this collaboration was and is self-evident, especially since both you and I have, with regard to the solution of the labor problem in the East, represented the same view- points from the beginning." (018-PS)

As late as 11 July 1944 the Rosenberg Ministry was actively concerned with the continuation of the forced labor program in spite of the retreat from the East. A letter from Alfred Meyer, Rosenberg's deputy, addressed to Sauckel, dated 11 July 1944 shows that this time it is Rosenberg's Ministry that is urging action:

"1. \*\*\* The war employment command [Kriegseinsatzkommando] formerly stationed in Minsk must continue under all circumstances the calling in of your white Ruthenian and Russian manpower for military employment in the Reich. In addition, the command has the mission to bring young boys of 10-14 years of age to the Reich." (199-PS)

4. *Economic Exploitation.* The final illustration of Rosenberg's criminal responsibility is contained in a secret letter from Rosenberg to Bormann dated 17 October 1944 (327-PS). It furnishes a graphic account of Rosenberg's activities in the economic exploitation of the Occupied East. The first paragraph reads:

"In order not to delay the liquidation of companies under my supervision, I beg to point out that the companies concerned are not private firms but business enterprises of the Reich, so that also actions with regard to them, just as with regard to government offices, are reserved to the highest authorities of the Reich. I supervise the following companies \*\*\*." (327-PS)

There follows a list of nine companies -- a trading company, an agricultural development company, a supply company, a pharmaceutical company, and five banking concerns. The mission of the trading company is stated to be:

"Collection of all agricultural products as well as commercial marketing and transportation thereof. (Delivery to armed forces and the Reich.) " (327-PS)

The letter continues as follows:

"During this period, the Z.O. (Central Trading Corporation), together with its subsidiaries, has collected:

Grain 9,200,000 tons

Meat and meat 622,000 tons  
products  
Linseed 950,000 tons  
Butter 208,000 tons  
Sugar 400,000 tons  
Fodder 2,500,000 tons  
Potatoes 3,200,000 tons  
Seeds 141,000 tons  
Other 1,200,000 tons  
agricultural  
products  
and 1,075,000,000 eggs

"The following was required for transportation:

"1,418,000 railroad box cars and 472,000 tons of boat shipping space." (327-PS)