

Flugblätter der Weissen Rose

II

Man kann sich mit dem Nationalsozialismus geistig nicht auseinandersetzen, weil er ungeistig ist. Es ist falsch, wenn man von einer nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung spricht, denn, wenn es diese gäbe, müsste man versuchen, sie mit geistigen Mitteln zu beweisen oder zu bekämpfen - die Wirklichkeit aber bietet uns ein völlig anderes Bild: schon in ihrem ersten Keim war diese Bewegung auf den Betrug des Mitmenschen angewiesen, schon damals war sie im Innersten verfault und konnte sich nur durch die stete Lüge retten. Schreibt doch Hitler selbst in einer frühen Auflage "seines" Buches (ein Buch, das in dem übelsten Deutsch geschrieben worden ist, das ich je gelesen habe; dennoch ist es von dem Volke der Dichter und Denker zur Bibel erhoben worden): "Man glaubt nicht, wie man ein Volk betrügen muss, um es zu regieren." Wenn sich nun am Anfang dieses Krebsgeschwürs des Deutschen Volkes noch nicht allzusehr bemerkbar gemacht hatte, so nur deshalb, weil noch gute Kräfte genug am Werk waren, es zurückzuhalten. Wie es aber grösser und grösser wurde und schliesslich mittels einer letzten gemeinen Korruption zur Macht kam, das Geschwür gleichsam aufbrach und den ganzen Körper besudelte, versteckte sich die Mehrzahl der früheren Gegner, flüchtete die deutsche Intelligenz in ein Kellerloch, um dort als Nachtschattengewächs, dem Licht und der Sonne verborgen, allmählich zu ersticken. Jetzt stehen wir vor dem Ende. Jetzt kommt es darauf an, sich gegenseitig wiederzufinden, aufzuklären von Mensch zu Mensch, immer daran zu denken und sich keine Ruhe zu geben, bis auch der letzte von der äussersten Notwendigkeit seines Kampfs wider dieses System überzeugt ist. Wenn so eine Welle des Aufbruchs durch das Land geht, wenn "es in der Luft liegt", wenn viele mitmachen, dann kann in einer letzten, gewaltigen Anstrengung dieses System abgeschüttelt werden. Ein Ende mit Schrecken ist immer noch besser, als ein Schrecken ohne Ende.

Es ist uns nicht gegeben, ein endgültiges Urteil über den Sinn unserer Geschichte zu fällen. Aber wenn diese Katastrophe uns zum Heile dienen soll, so doch nur dadurch: Durch das Leid gereinigt zu werden, aus der tiefsten Nacht heraus das Licht zu ersehnen, sich aufzuraffen und endlich mitzuhelfen, das Joch abzuschütteln, das die Welt bedrückt.

Nicht über die Judenfrage wollen wir in diesem Blatte schreiben, keine Verteidigungsrede verfassen - rein nur als Beispiel wollen wir die Tatsache kurz anführen, die Tatsache, dass seit der Eroberung Polens dreihunderttausend Juden in diesem Land auf bestialischste Art ermordet worden sind. Hier sehen wir das fürchterlichste Verbrechen an der Würde des Menschen, ein Verbrechen, dem sich kein ähnliches in der ganzen Menschengeschichte an die Seite stellen kann. Auch die Juden sind doch Menschen - man mag sich zur Judenfrage stellen wie man will - und an Menschen wurde solches verübt. Vielleicht sagt jemand, die Juden hätten ein solches Schicksal verdient; diese Behauptung wäre eine ungeheure Anmassung; aber angenommen, es sagte jemand dies, wie stellt er sich dann zu der Tatsache, dass die gesamte polnische adelige Jugend vernichtet worden ist (Gabe Gott, dass sie es noch nicht ist!)? Auf welche Art, fragen sie, ist solches geschehen? Alle männlichen Sprösslinge aus adeligen Geschlechtern zwischen 15 und 20 Jahren wurden in Konzentrationslager nach Deutschland zu Zwangsarbeit, alle Mädchen gleichen Alters nach Norwegen in die Bordelle der SS verschleppt! Wozu wir dies Ihnen alles erzählen, da sie es schon selber wissen, wenn nicht diese, so andere gleich schwere Verbrechen des fürchterlichen Untermenschen-tums? Weil hier eine Frage berührt wird, die uns alle zutiefst angeht und allen zu denken geben muss: Warum verhält sich das deutsche

land, if "it is in the air," if many join us, then this system can be shaken off in a final huge effort. An end with terror is still better than terror without end.

It is not in our power to pass a final judgment on the meaning and purpose of our history. But if this catastrophe is to be turned to our salvation, then only by these means: to be purified by suffering, to crave the light out of the deepest night, to rouse oneself and finally help to shake off the yoke that is oppressing the world.

We do not want to write about the Jewish question in this leaflet, or compose a defensive plea—no, simply as an example we want to briefly state the fact that since the conquest of Poland, three hundred thousand Jews have been murdered in the most brutal manner in this country. Here we see the most terrible crime against human dignity, a crime for which there is no comparison in the entire history of mankind. The Jews are people too—no matter what position one takes on the Jewish question—and this crime has been perpetrated against human beings. Some might say the Jews deserved such a fate; that would be a monstrous claim; but assuming some were to say that, how would they stand on the fact that the entire youth of the Polish aristocracy has been exterminated (God grant that it is not yet so!)? In which way, they ask, did such a thing happen? All male offspring of aristocratic descent between 15 and 20 were deported to concentration camps in Germany for forced labor, all girls of the same age to Norway to the brothels of the SS! Why are we telling you all this, as you know it already, and if not this, then other, equally heinous crimes of the terrible sub-humanity? Because this touches upon a question that affects us all most deeply and that must give us all cause for thought. Why do the German people behave so apathetically in the face of all these most abhorrent, most degrading crimes? Barely anyone thinks about this. The fact is accepted as such and filed away. And once again, the German people sleep on in their obtuse, stupid sleep and give these fascist criminals the courage and opportunity to continue creating havoc—which they do. Might this be a sign that the Germans have become brutalized in their most primitive human emotions, that no string within them cries out shrilly in the face of such deeds, that they have fallen into a deathly sleep from which there is no more awakening, never ever again? It appears so and it is certainly so, if the Germans do not finally rise up out of this torpor, if they do not protest wherever they can against this clique of criminals, if they do not sympathize with these hundreds of thousands of victims. And they must feel not only sympathy, no, but much more: partial blame. For it is through their apathetic behavior that they give these dark people the possibility of acting in this way; they suffer this "government," which has shouldered such infinite

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One cannot deal with National Socialism on an intellectual level, because it is unintellectual. It is wrong to speak of a National Socialist ideology, for if this were to exist one would have to attempt to prove it or oppose it by intellectual means—reality, however, offers us an entirely different image: even in its very first germ, this movement relied on the deception of fellow men, even then it was rotten to the core and could save itself only through constant lies. Hitler himself writes in an early edition of "his" book (a book written in the worst German I have ever read; nevertheless it has been elevated to a bible by the nation of poets and thinkers): "One can hardly believe how one has to deceive a nation in order to

govern it." If this cancerous growth of the German nation had not yet made itself all too noticed at the beginning, then only because there were still sufficient good forces at work to hold it back. As it became larger and larger, however, and finally came to power by means of a final cruel corruption, the boil broke open, so to speak, and besmirched the entire body; the majority of the former opponents hid themselves away, the German intelligentsia fled to a basement hideaway, there to gradually suffocate as nightshade plants, concealed from the light and the sun. Now we are facing the end. Now is the time to find one another again, to enlighten from one person to another, to think constantly of the problem at hand, and to allow oneself no rest until even the last man is convinced of the ultimate necessity for him to fight against this system. If such a wave of turmoil goes through the

guilt; they are even themselves to blame that it could come about at all! Every individual wants to exonerate himself from such partial blame; every individual does so and then sleeps peacefully again with the calmest, clearest conscience. But they cannot exonerate themselves; every individual is guilty, guilty, guilty! Yet it is not too late to eliminate these most despicable monstrosities of governments, so as not to shoulder even more blame. Now that our eyes have been entirely opened over the past few years, that we know with whom we are dealing, now it is high time to eradicate this Nazi horde. Up until the outbreak of war, the majority of the German people were blinded, the National Socialists did not reveal their true nature; but now that we have seen through them, it must be the sole and highest duty, even the most holy duty, of every German to destroy these beasts!

“He whose government is unobtrusive, his people are happy. He whose government is insistent, his people are broken. It is misery, alas, on which happiness is built. Happiness, alas, merely veils misery. Where shall it end? The end cannot be seen. The ordered transforms into disorder, The good transforms into bad. The people descends into confusion. Has it not been this way every day for a long time? Therefore the sage is square, but he cuts no one, he is angled, but he injures no one, he is upright, but not curt. He is clear, but he does not want to dazzle.” Lao-tzu.

“He who sets out to rule the kingdom and to shape it according to his will; I do not see him achieving his goal; that is all.”

“The kingdom is a living organism; truly, it cannot be made! He who would make it destroys it; he who would gain power over it loses it.”

Therefore: “Of the beings, some go ahead, others follow them; some breathe warm, some cold; some are strong, some weak; some come to fullness, others are defeated.”

“The sage therefore avoids exaggeration, avoids arrogance, avoids encroachments.”
Lao-tzu.

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