

Flugblätter der Weißen Rose

III

"Salus publica suprema lex."

Alle idealen Staatsformen sind Utopien. Ein Staat kann nicht rein theoretisch konstruiert werden, sondern er muss ebenso wachsen, reifen, wie der einzelne Mensch. Aber es ist nicht zu vergessen, dass am Anfang einer jeden Kultur die Vorform des Staates vorhanden war. Die Familie ist so alt, wie die Menschen selbst und aus diesem anfänglichen Zusammensein hat sich der vernunftbegabte Mensch einen Staat geschaffen, dessen Grund die Gerechtigkeit und dessen höchstes Gesetz das Wohl Aller sein soll. Der Staat soll eine Analogie der göttlichen Ordnung darstellen, und die höchste aller Utopien, die civitas Dei ist das Vorbild, dem er sich letzten Endes nähern soll. Wir wollen hier nicht urteilen über die verschiedenen möglichen Staatsformen, die Demokratie, die konstitutionelle Monarchie, das Königtum usw. Nur eines will eindeutig und klar herausgehoben werden: jeder einzelne Mensch hat einen Anspruch auf einen brauchbaren und gerechten Staat, der die Freiheit des Einzelnen als auch das Wohl der Gesamtheit, sichert. Denn der Mensch soll nach Gottes Willen frei und unabhängig im Zusammenleben und Zusammenwirken der staatlichen Gemeinschaft sein natürliches Ziel, sein irdisches Glück in Selbstständigkeit und Selbsttätigkeit zu erreichen suchen.

Unser heutiger "Staat" aber ist die Diktatur des Bösen. "Das wissen wir schon lange," höre ich dich einwenden, "und wir haben es nicht nötig, dass uns dies hier noch einmal vorgehalten wird." Aber, frage ich dich, wenn ihr das wisst, warum regt ihr euch nicht, warum duldet ihr, dass diese Gewalthaber Schritt für Schritt offen und im Verborgenen eine Domäne eures Rechtes nach der anderen rauben, bis eines Tages nichts, aber auch gar nichts übrigbleiben wird, als ein mechanisiertes Staatsgetriebe, kommandiert von Verbrechern und Säufnern? Ist euer Geist schon so sehr der Vergewaltigung unterlegen, dass ihr vergesst, dass es nicht nur euer Recht, sondern eure s i t t l i c h e P f l i c h t ist, dieses System zu beseitigen? Wenn aber ein Mensch nicht mehr die Kraft aufbringt, sein Recht zu fordern, dann müsse er mit absoluter Notwendigkeit untergehen. Wir würden es verdienen, in alle Welt verstreut zu werden, wie der Staub vor dem Winde, wenn wir uns in dieser zwölften Stunde nicht aufrichten und endlich den Mut aufbrächten, der uns seither gefehlt hat. Verbergt nicht eure Feigheit unter dem Mantel der Klugheit! Denn mit jedem Tag, da ihr noch zögert, da ihr dieser Ausgeburt der Hölle nicht widersteht, wächst eure Schuld gleich einer parabolischen Kurve höher und immer höher.

Viele, vielleicht die meisten Leser dieser Blätter sind sich darüber nicht klar, wie sie einen Widerstand ausüben sollen. Sie sehen keine Möglichkeiten. Wir wollen versuchen ihnen zu zeigen, dass ein jeder in der Lage ist, etwas beizutragen zum Sturz dieses Systems. Nicht durch individualistische Gegnerschaft, in der Art verbitterter Einsiedler, wird es möglich werden, den Boden für einen Sturz dieser "Regierung" reif zu machen oder gar den Umsturz möglichst bald herbeizuführen, sondern nur durch die Zusammenarbeit vieler überzeugter, tatkräftiger Menschen, Menschen, die sich einig sind, mit welchen Mitteln sie ihr Ziel erreichen können. Wir haben keine reiche Auswahl an solchen Mitteln, nur ein einziges steht uns zur Verfügung - der p a s s i v e W i d e r s t a n d.

nothing, absolutely nothing will remain but a mechanized state machinery commanded by criminals and drunks? Are your spirits already so very defeated by the violation that you have forgotten it is not only your right but your moral duty to put an end to this system? Yet if a person can no longer raise the energy to demand his rights, it is absolutely inevitable that he will perish. We would deserve to be scattered across the world like dust on the wind if we did not rouse ourselves in this twelfth hour and finally find the courage we have been lacking until now. Do not conceal your cowardliness under the mantle of cleverness! For with every day that you hesitate, that you do not resist this vile spawn of hell, your guilt grows higher and higher like a parabolic curve.

Many, perhaps most of the readers of these leaflets, are unsure of how to exercise resistance. They see no possibilities. We will try to show you that every one of us is capable of contributing something to bringing down this system. Not through individualistic opposition, in the manner of embittered hermits, will it be possible to prepare the ground for a downfall of this "government" or even to bring about the overthrow as soon as possible, but only through the joint effort of many convinced and dynamic people, people who agree on the means by which they can achieve their goal. We do not have a wealth of choice of such means; there is only one at our disposal—passive resistance.

The purpose and objective of passive resistance is to bring down National Socialism, and we must stop at no means, no deed in this struggle, no matter in what fields they happen to lie. National Socialism must be attacked at all points at which it is at all vulnerable. We must put an end to this anti-state as soon as possible—the victory of fascist Germany in this war would have inconceivable, terrible consequences. The prime concern of every German should not be military victory over Bolshevism, but rather the defeat of the National Socialists. This must unconditionally take first priority. We shall prove the greater necessity of this latter demand in one of our next leaflets.

And now, every resolute opponent of National Socialism must pose himself the question: How can he fight against the present "state" most effectively; how can he deal it the most severe blows? Through passive resistance—without doubt. It is clear that we cannot possibly provide guidelines for every individual's behavior; all we can indicate in general is that everyone must find their own way to attain these ends.

Sabotage in companies vital for armaments and the war, sabotage in all meetings, rallies, festive occasions, organizations initiated by the Nazi Party. Prevention of the smooth running of the war machinery (a machine that works only for a war concerned solely with the

Leaflets of the White Rose

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All ideal forms of state are utopias. A state cannot be constructed purely in theory, but must grow and mature just like individual human beings. But it must not be forgotten that the preliminary form of the state existed at the beginning of every culture. The family is as old as man himself, and out of this initial togetherness man, gifted with reason, created a state that should be founded on justice and regulated for the welfare of all. The state should be an analogy to the divine order, and the highest of all utopias, the Civitas Dei, is the model toward which it should ultimately strive. We do not want to judge here the

various possible forms of states, democracy, constitutional monarchy, kingship, etc. One thing, though, must be clearly emphasized: every single individual has a right to a decent and just state, which secures the freedom of the individual and the welfare of the whole. For according to God's will, man should seek to achieve his natural goal, earthly happiness in autonomy and through his own deeds, freely and independently, in the mutual life and actions of the state community.

Our current "state," however, is a dictatorship of evil. "We've known that a long time now," I hear you object, "and we don't need to be reproached with it again here." But, I ask you, if you know that, why don't you rise up, why do you tolerate these violent men robbing you step by step of one domain of your rights after another, openly and in secret, until one day

salvation and maintenance of the Nazi Party and its dictatorship). Sabotage in all scientific and intellectual areas active in continuing the present war—be it in universities, higher education institutions, laboratories, research institutions, technical bureaus. Sabotage in all events of a cultural nature that might raise the “standing” of the fascists among the population. Sabotage in all branches of the fine arts that are in the slightest way linked to and serve National Socialism. Sabotage in all writing, all newspapers in the pay of the “government” which fight for its ideas, for the dissemination of the Nazi lie. Don’t sacrifice a single penny for street collections (even if they are carried out under the mantle of charitable purposes). For this is merely camouflage. In reality, the takings benefit neither the Red Cross nor those in need. The government does not need this money, is not financially dependent on these collections—the printing machines run uninterrupted, after all, and produce any amount of paper money. The people, however, must be kept under permanent tension; the reins must never be allowed to slacken! Donate nothing to the metal, fabric, or other collections! Seek to convince all acquaintances, including those from the lower classes, of the senselessness of the continuation, of the futility of this war, of the intellectual and economic enslavement, of the destruction of all moral and religious values by National Socialism, and to encourage them to assert passive resistance!

Aristotle “Politics”:“Furthermore it is part (of the nature of tyranny) to seek to ensure that nothing that a subject speaks or does should remain concealed, but that spies eavesdrop on him everywhere furthermore to indoctrinate all the world against each other and to make friends hostile to friends, and the common people to the noblemen, and the rich against each other. Thereupon it is part of such tyrannical actions to make the subjects poor so that the guards may be paid and so that they, occupied by concern over their daily living, have no time or leisure to incite conspiracies....Furthermore, however, also such high income taxes as those imposed in Syracuse, for under Dionysius the citizens of this state had happily spent their entire fortune in taxes in five years. And the tyrant also has a tendency to incite wars constantly...”

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