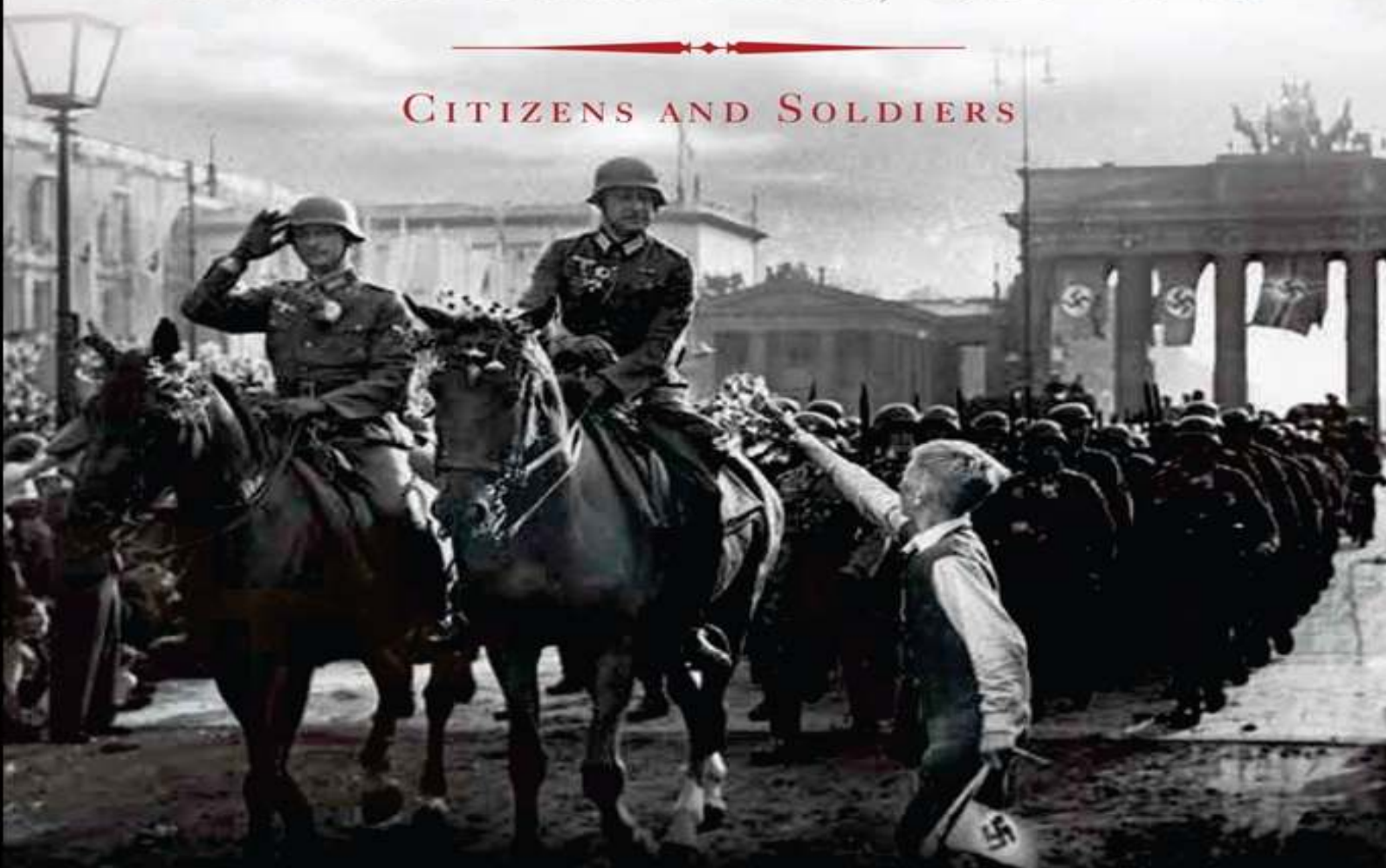


# THE GERMAN WAR

A Nation Under Arms, 1939–1945

CITIZENS AND SOLDIERS



Nicholas Stargardt

---

## More Advance Praise for *The German War*

“Little by little, with a raft of new insights, and a clear and empathetic eye, Nicholas Stargardt’s remarkable new book transforms our view of something we thought we already understood: the German population’s evolving attitudes during the war. For the first time, the wartime chronology of German sentiment, of popular hopes and fears, realism and fantasy, becomes truly visible. A powerful and compelling account.”—Mark Roseman, Professor of History, Indiana University

“Why did most Germans, reluctant to enter a second world war in 1939, ultimately unify behind an effort that by 1943 seemed doomed to failure? Weaving together first-person testimonies drawn from diaries, memoirs and letters, Nicholas Stargardt provides insightful, illuminating, complex and convincing answers in this big book. Seven decades and a mountain of monographs later, I wouldn’t have thought there’d be much more to say about WWII. Stargardt has proven me wrong.”—Robert Moeller, Professor of History, University of California, Irvine

“Forcing reflection on many different levels, Nicholas Stargardt’s book pierces through the tangles of both propaganda and moralism to offer a searching and compulsively readable account of a conflict that was understood from within as a German, not just a Nazi, war. Stargardt negotiates the considerable risks of writing from inside German experiences of this brutally destructive war with subtlety, humanity and wisdom. This is a rich and deeply impressive lesson in ethical understanding without sacrifice of historical distance or critical judgment.”—Jane Caplan, Emeritus Fellow, St Antony’s College, Oxford

“*The German War* is a tour de force of historical learning, breadth of vision, and narrative skill. In depicting the intricate back and forth between the big violence of the conduct of the war and the impossible complexities inside individual stories—between the challenges facing ordinary lives and the relentlessness of a wartime beyond their control—Nicholas Stargardt brings an acuteness of insight and sureness of touch to an extraordinary wealth of material. A truly epic account.”—Geoffrey Eley, Professor of History and German Studies, University of Michigan

“Nicholas Stargardt spotlights the surprising twists and turns in the popular embrace of both the war and Nazi racial extremism. He explains—as few have—why the German people fought to the finish whereas even the supposedly fanatical Japanese surrendered before an invasion of the homeland.”—Sheldon Garon, author of *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*

---

# THE GERMAN WAR

---

# THE GERMAN WAR

A Nation Under Arms, 1939–1945

---

CITIZENS AND SOLDIERS

Nicholas Stargardt

BASIC BOOKS

A Member of the Perseus Books Group

New York

---

Copyright © 2015 by Nicholas Stargardt  
Published by Basic Books,  
A Member of the Perseus Books Group

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, contact Basic Books, 250 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10107.

Books published by Basic Books are available at special discounts for bulk purchases in the United States by corporations, institutions, and other organizations. For more information, please contact the Special Markets Department at the Perseus Books Group, 2300 Chestnut Street, Suite 200, Philadelphia, PA 19103, or call (800) 810-4145, ext. 5000, or e-mail [special.markets@perseusbooks.com](mailto:special.markets@perseusbooks.com).

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.  
Library of Congress Catalog Number: 2015945013  
ISBN: 978-0-465-07397-9 (EB)

First published in Great Britain in 2015 by The Bodley Head

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

# Contents

---

Maps  
List of Illustrations  
Preface  
Dramatis Personae

Introduction

## PART ONE Defending the Attack

- 1 *Unwelcome War*
- 2 *Closing Ranks*
- 3 *Extreme Measures*

## PART TWO Masters of Europe

- 4 *Breaking Out*
- 5 *Winners and Losers*

## PART THREE The Shadow of 1812

- 6 *German Crusade*
- 7 *The First Defeat*

## PART FOUR Stalemate

- 8 *The Shared Secret*
- 9 *Scouring Europe*
- 10 *Writing to the Dead*

## PART FIVE The War Comes Home

- 11 *Bombing and Retaliation*
- 12 *'Holding Out'*
- 13 *Borrowed Time*

## PART SIX

- 14 *Digging In*
- 15 *Collapse*
- 16 *Finale*

Epilogue: Crossing the Abyss

Notes

Bibliography

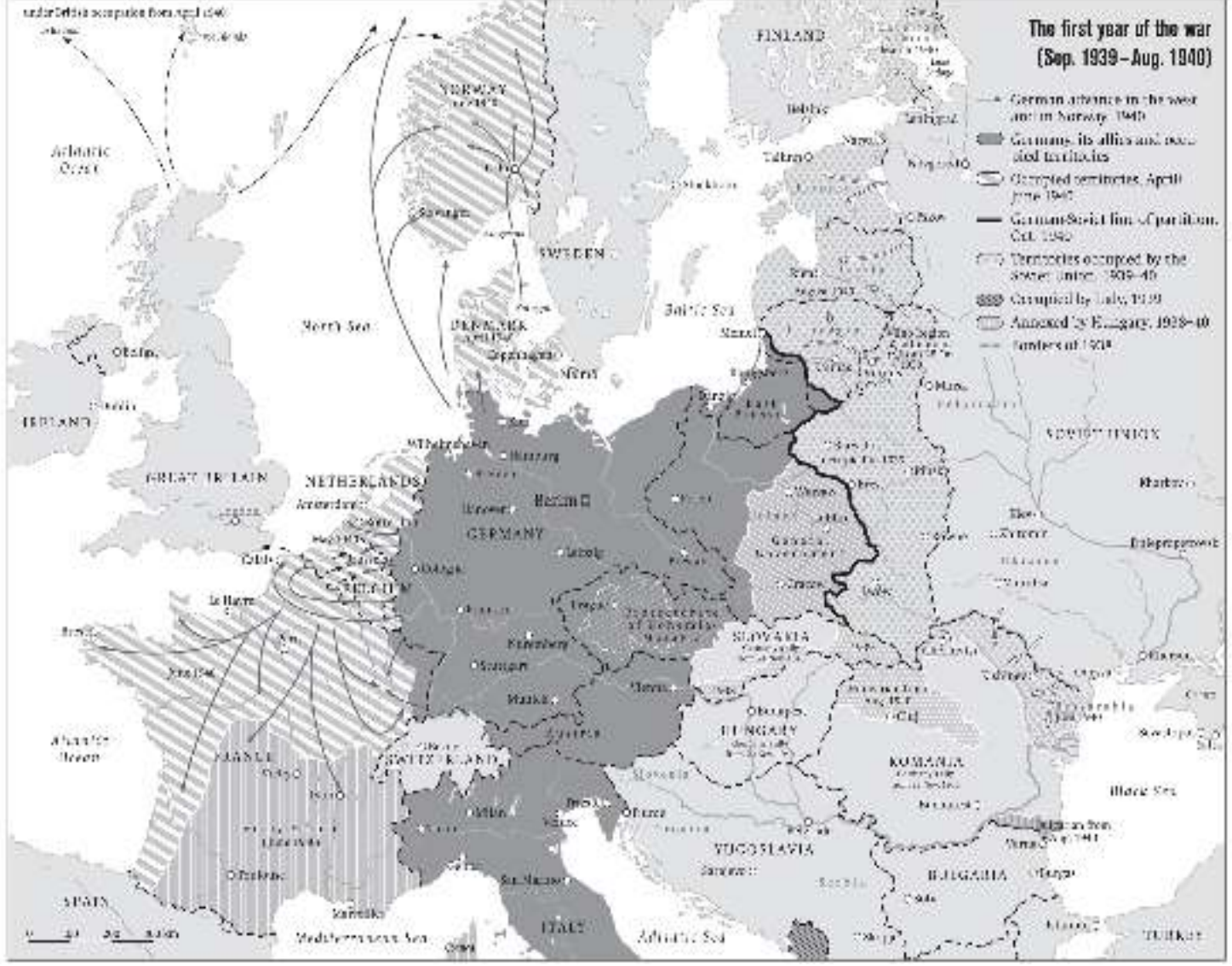
Index

---

# Maps



**The first year of the war  
(Sep. 1939 – Aug. 1940)**



- German advance in the west and in Norway, 1940
- ▨ German, its allies and occupied territories
- ▤ Occupied territories, April-June 1940
- German-Soviet line of operation, Oct. 1940
- ▧ Territories occupied by the Soviet Union, 1939-40
- ▨ Occupied by July, 1940
- ▨ Annexed by Hungary, 1938-40
- - - frontiers of 1914

# The invasion of the Soviet Union

June–December 1941





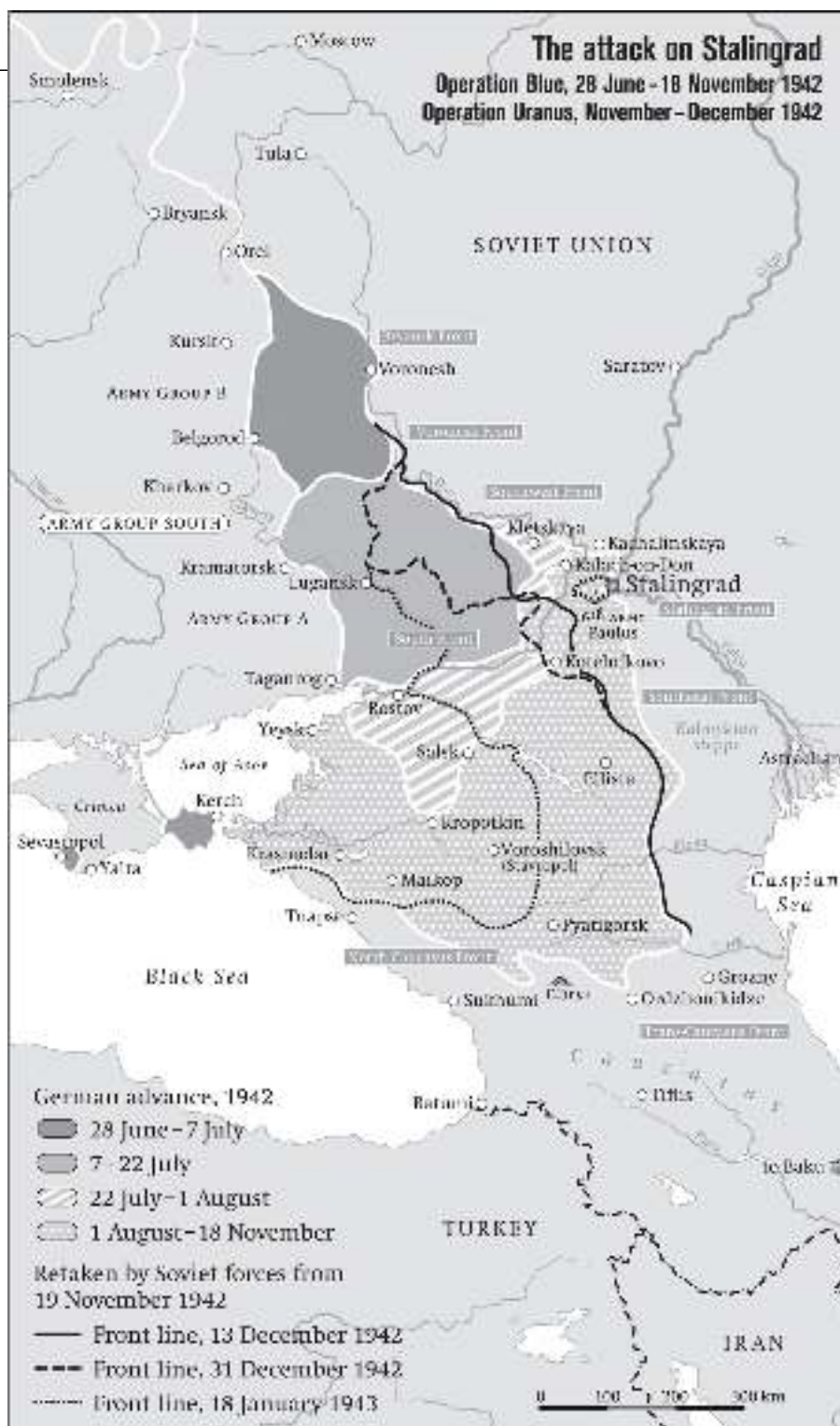
### Concentration camps in Europe (1937-1943)

- Main concentration camps (with year of building)
- ◆ Death camps (built 1941-2)
- Subcamps
- Sites of mass murder
- ▲ Main ghettos
- Cities
- International borders
- - - Lines of partition 1939-41

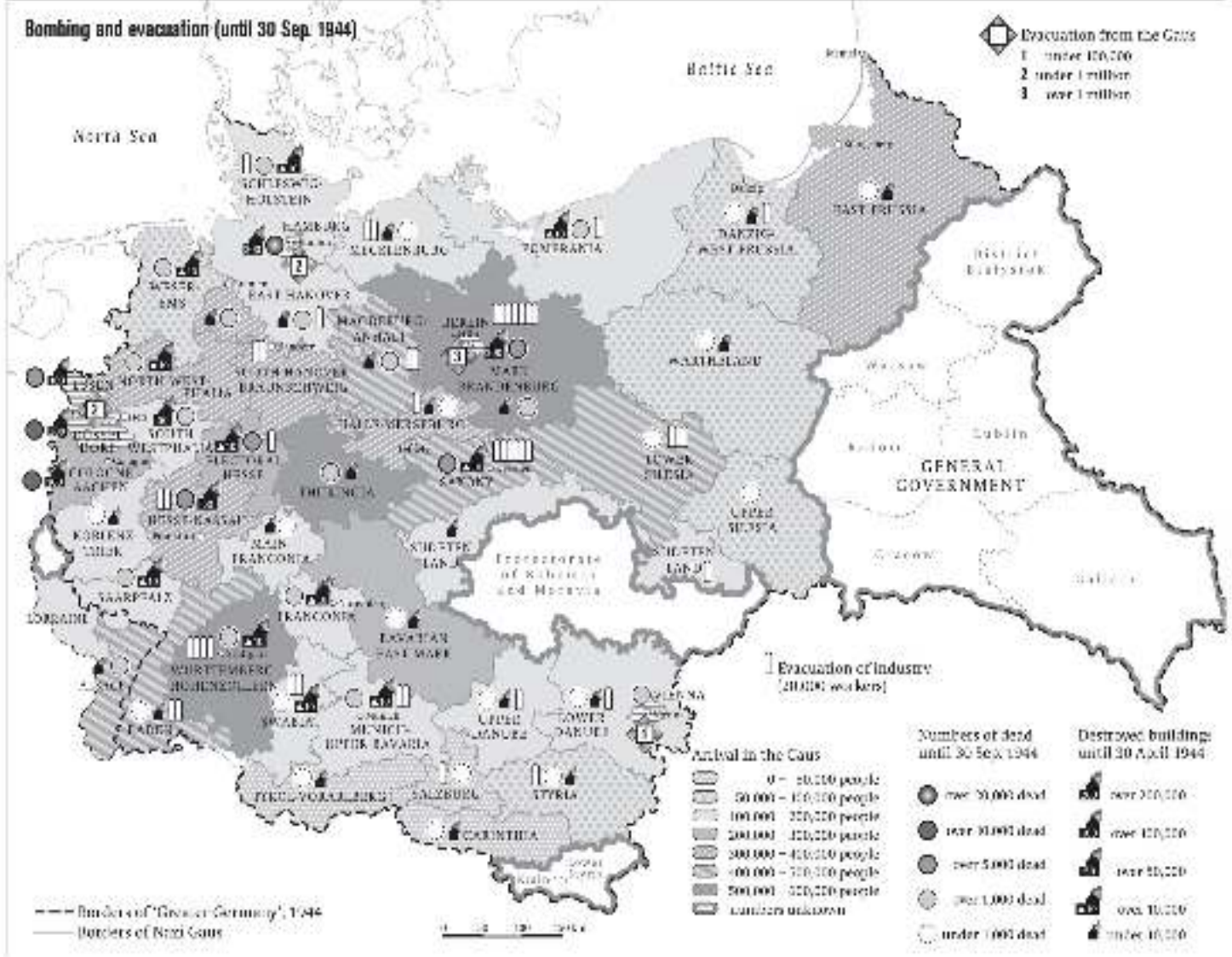


# The attack on Stalingrad

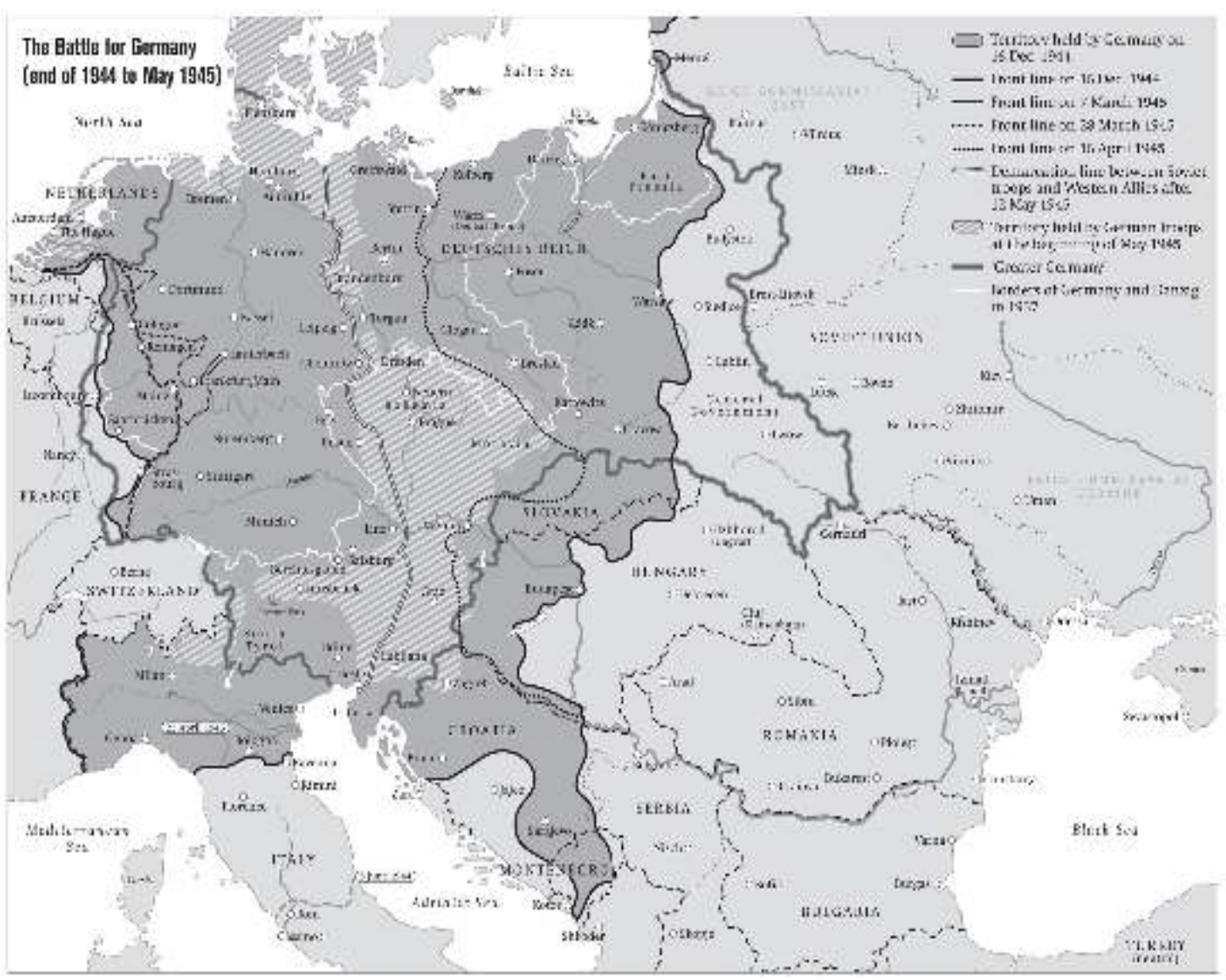
Operation Blue, 28 June - 18 November 1942  
 Operation Uranus, November - December 1942



# Bombing and evacuation (until 30 Sep. 1944)



**The Battle for Germany  
(end of 1944 to May 1945)**



---

## List of Illustrations

Irene Reitz and Ernst Guicking (*estate of Irene and Ernst Guicking, reproduced courtesy of Bernhi Breithaupt*).

Wilm and Helmut Hosenfeld (*estate of Wilm Hosenfeld, reproduced courtesy of Detlev Hosenfeld*).

August and Karl-Christoph Töpferwien (*estate of August Töpferwien, reproduced courtesy of Loren Töpferwien*).

Kazimiera Mika with her sister, killed by a German plane (*Julien Bryan/United States Holocaust Memorial Museum #50897*).

View from the nose of a Heinkel He 111 P bomber (*Bundesarchiv Bild 183-S52911*).

Frieda and Josef Rimpl's wedding (*Jehovas Zeugen in Deutschland*).

Ernst Guicking in France (*estate of Irene and Ernst Guicking, reproduced courtesy of Bernhi Breithaupt*).

Practising air raid defence in Berlin, 1939 (*Bildagentur der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 30013762*).

Liselotte Purper with her Rolleiflex (*Bildagentur der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 20014683*).

Jews crossing from one part of the Łódź ghetto to another (*Deutsches Historisches Museum, Orgel Köhne 4762/12*).

Ethnic Germans from Romania boarding a Danube steamer (*Bildagentur der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 30017520*).

Café in Cracow (*National Digital Archives Warsaw, sign. 2-4291*).

Café in Paris (*Deutsches Historisches Museum, GG 334/20*).



German soldiers visit a synagogue converted into a brothel in Brest, France (*Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-MW-1019-07*).

---

A German woman and her Polish lover tied to a pillory in Eisenach, 15 November 1940 (*Stadtarchiv Eisenach*).

Fritz Probst, Christmas 1939 (*Museum für Kommunikation, Berlin*).

Kurt Orgel, January 1945 (*estate of Liselotte Orgel-Purper*).

Female Red Army prisoners, August 1941 (*Bundesarchiv Bild 183-L19872*).

Red Army prisoners at Mauthausen, 1941 (*Bundesarchiv Bild 192-051*).

Red Army prisoners at Mauthausen 1944 (*Bundesarchiv Bild 192-208*).

Destroyed bridge over the Dniepr at Kiev, 1941 (*Museum für Kommunikation, Berlin*).

Rebuilt Dniepr bridge, 1941 (*Museum für Kommunikation, Berlin*).

Germans promenade through the ruins of Kiev, 1942 (*Deutsches Historisches Museum, Orgel-Köhler 6183/2*).

Soldiers witnessing execution at Orel, winter 1941–2 (*Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-287-0872-28A*).

Winter retreat, 1941–2: dead Soviet soldiers and horse (*estate of Irene and Ernst Guicking reproduced courtesy of Bernhild Breithaupt*).

Summer advance, 1942 (*estate of Wilhelm Moldenhauer, reproduced courtesy of Heide Moldenhauer*).

Deportation of Jews from Kitzingen, 24 March 1942 (*Staatsarchiv Würzburg*).

Marianne Strauss' wartime postal pass (*University of Southampton, Special Collections*).

Germans bid for Jewish property at auction in Hanau (*Medienzentrum Hanau, sign. MZHU0110\_C3*).

Liselotte Purper setting up her photo shoot at Lwów airbase (*estate of Liselotte Orgel-Purper*).

A medical orderly made up as a wounded soldier being unloaded from a Ju-52 (*Bildagentur dpa-Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 30028369*).

Queuing for cinema tickets, Berlin (*Bildagentur der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 30021415*).

---

Off-duty anti-aircraft personnel playing duets in the bunker of the Anhalter Bahnhof, Berlin (*Deutsches Historisches Museum, Orgel-Köhne 4055/1*).

Zarah Leander in *The Great Love*, 1942 (*Deutsche Kinemathek*).

Wedding of Liselotte Purper and Kurt Orgel, September 1943 (*estate of Liselotte Orgel-Purper*).

Rescuing possessions from destroyed house in Cologne, 1943 (*NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln, Bilddatei Bp7607*).

Hamburg firestorm: in the Reeperbahn bunker, July 1943 (*Staatsarchiv Hamburg*).

Hamburg firestorm: concentration camp prisoner gathering up remains, August 1943 (*Bildagentur der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 30011911*).

Bidding farewell at Hagen railway station, July 1943 (*courtesy of Gerhard Sollbach*).

Girls from Hagen on the Baltic coast (*courtesy of Gerhard Sollbach*).

Female anti-aircraft personnel repairing a search light (*Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-674-7798-04*).

Commemorating the dead of the Hamburg firestorm (*Staatsarchiv Hamburg*).

Flight from East Prussia across the Frische Nehrung, January/February 1945 (*Bildagentur der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 00012112*).

Dead concentration camp prisoners on a train, April 1945 (*United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 06531*).

Teenage soldiers surrender at Veckerhagen (*Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1971-053-21*).

Eva and Victor Klemperer outside their home in Dölzschen in Saxony, c.1940 (*DDP Images*).

Red Army Lieutenant Vladimir Gelfand and Berlin girlfriend (*courtesy of Vitaly Gelfand*).

Berliners swimming near the remains of the Zoo bunker, 1945 (*Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1982-028-14*).

Black market in Berlin (*Deutsches Historisches Museum, GG 72/20*).

Missing children poster (*Bildagentur der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 30008096*).

---

Cellar dwelling in Hamburg, July 1947 (*reproduced from Victor Gollancz, In Darkest Germany, 1947*).

Rehabilitation of a war amputee (*Deutsches Historisches Museum, Orgel-Köhne 11269/4*).

---

## Preface

This book completes a period of just over twenty years in which I have tried to understand the experience of those who lived in Germany and under German occupation during the Second World War. It is also a book I did not originally intend to write. In 2005, I promised myself and anyone else who would listen that having just completed *Witnesses of War: Children's Lives under the Nazis*, I would not be writing anything more on children, the Holocaust or Nazi Germany. This book began as a short essay about what Germans were fighting for, as something that I felt needed to be said before I could move on, and started to take shape as something far bigger during a sabbatical year spent at the Free University in Berlin in 2006–7.

There are some clear continuities between the two books, most obviously my interest in exploring the subjective dimensions of social history, using the contemporary record to work out how people judged and understood events while they were unfolding around them and before they knew the eventual outcome. There are also some clear differences. In *Witnesses of War*, I wanted above all to treat children as social actors in their own right; I also set out to juxtapose the irreconcilable perspectives of children divided by war and racist persecution into victors and vanquished. *The German War* presents a different problem: how to uncover the fears and hopes of the society from which the victors and perpetrators came in order to understand how Germans justified this war to themselves. To focus on this question I have tried to develop both a sense of breadth and of depth: breadth by using 'macro' snapshots of opinion, drawing on what eavesdropping reporters for the regime picked up from public conversations or military censors from sampling the mail bags; depth by following a select cast of individuals, drawn from a wide range of backgrounds, over a considerable period of time, exploring how their personal hopes and plans were entwined with their changing experience of the war. Doing this has made the voices of the victims less prominent than in *Witnesses of War* but they are never absent: without their contrasting perspective, we would not know how differently – and often solipsistically – Germans framed their understanding of the war.

One of the key ingredients of this book are the collections of letters between lovers, close friends, parents and children, and married couples. Many historians have used these kinds of sources, but often to different effect. For example, the Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte in Stuttgart has a famous collection of some 25,000 letters assembled by Reinhold Sterz. Unfortunately, the letters were catalogued by time and not by author, so that they provide a snap-shot of subjective opinions at particular moments of the war, without it being possible to test how firmly the letter writers held these opinions over any length of time. What guided my selection was the opposite principle: I wanted to read collections of letters in which both sides of the correspondence are preserved and which continued for several years, at least, so that it would be possible to see how the personal relationships between the correspondents – their principal purpose in writing at all – developed and altered over the course of the war. This allows us to reconstruct more carefully the private prisms through which individuals viewed major

events. It is the kind of research which historians of the First World War have been developing since the 1990s and I have learned a great deal from Christa Hämmerle about how to do this.

I was particularly fortunate in having access to the private archive assembled by Walter Kempowski while he was still alive, and well remember the generous welcome which Walter and Hildegard Kempowski gave me to their home in Natum: the archive itself is now held at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin. At the Deutsches Tagebucharchiv in Emmendingen, Gerhard Seitz was very helpful, as was Irina Renz at the Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte in Stuttgart. In Berlin, Andrea Michaelis at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Veit Didczuneit and Thomas Jander at the Feldpostarchiv of the Museum für Kommunikation and the Bundesarchiv all provided invaluable source materials, as did Christiane Botzet at the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg. Klaus Bauer and Konrad Schulz from the archive of the Jehovas Zeugen in Deutschland at Selters-Taunus provided copies of the last letters which Jehovah's Witnesses wrote before their execution for refusing to perform military service, and Alexander von Plato at the Institut für Geschichte und Biographie. Lüdenscheid introduced me to the large collection from the early 1950s of schoolchildren's recollections of the war in the Wilhelm Roessler-Archiv. I am grateful too to Li Gerhalter and Günter Müller for material from the Dokumentation lebensgeschichtliche Aufzeichnungen and the Sammlung Frauennachlässe, both at the University of Vienna. I owe a special debt to Jacques Schuhmacher for his indefatigable willingness to help in every way he could at many stages of this research. It was supported financially by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the Leverhulme Trust and I am grateful to both.

The intellectual debts I have accumulated over such a long period are too large and numerous to do justice to. During the year 2006–7 in Berlin, Jürgen Kocka was a wonderful host and many other people made my time in Germany memorable and fruitful. Many friends and colleagues have encouraged me along the way, shared their ideas and findings, giving me a very vivid sense of history as a collective endeavour. Among my wonderful colleagues in Oxford at the History Faculty and Magdalen College, I am particularly grateful to Paul Betts, Laurence Brockliss, Jane Caplan, Martin Conway, Robert Gildea, Ruth Harris, Matt Houlbrook, Jane Humphries, John Nightingale, Sian Poole and Chris Wickham.

At the Bodley Head I have been privileged to work with Jörg Hensgen, Will Sulkin and, following Will's retirement, Stuart Williams. With her extraordinary energy and acuity, Lara Heimert brought me into the world of Basic Books. Their commitment to publishing books they believe in is incredibly affirming and, time and again, has provided just the kind of assurance I needed. Lara and Jörg acted as twin editors, without ever stepping on each other's toes or mine, with Jörg's taking on the painstaking task of editing page by page. They have been wonderful to work with and I am deeply grateful to all four of them. Clare Alexander and Sally Riley at Aitken-Alexander have remained a pair of faithful godmothers sharing their wisdom and encouraging me throughout. I have been very fortunate.

Without the great intellectual generosity and support of many friends, there probably would have been no book at all. Paul Betts, Tom Brodie, Stefan Ludwig Hoffmann, Ian Kershaw, Mark Roseman, Jacques Schuhmacher, Jon Waterlow and Bernd Weisbrod all interrupted their own work to read the whole manuscript for me. I am grateful to each of them for making invaluable suggestions, sharing their own research and saving me from making, at least some, historical howlers. Ruth Harris and Lyndal Roper read the whole thing twice and so have both left an indelible imprint on it. At every stage of this project, Lyndal has discussed the key ideas as I was trying to formulate them. I cannot thank her enough.



---

## Dramatis Personae

(in order of appearance)

**Ernst Guicking**, farmer's son from Hesse, professional soldier, infantryman; and **Irene Reitz**, florist from Lauterbach, Hesse; they marry during the war.

**Wilm Hosenfeld**, Catholic, First World War veteran and village schoolteacher in Thalau in Hesse; serves in the German garrison in Warsaw; and his wife **Annemie**, a trained singer and Protestant convert to Catholicism; they have five children.

**Jochen Klepper**, a writer from Nikolassee, Berlin; married to Johanna, a Jewish convert to Protestantism, with two step-daughters.

**Liselotte Purper**, photo-journalist from Berlin; and **Kurt Orgel**, jurist from Hamburg, artillery officer; they marry during the war.

**Victor Klemperer**, Jewish convert to Protestantism, First World War veteran and academic; and his wife **Eva**, a former concert pianist.

**August Töpperwien**, First World War veteran and Gymnasium teacher from Solingen, officer in charge of prisoners of war; and his wife **Margarete**.

**Fritz Probst**, a carpenter from Thuringia, building battalion; and his wife **Hildegard**; they have three young children.

**Helmut Paulus**, doctor's son from Pforzheim and eldest of four teenage children, infantryman.

**Hans Albring** and **Eugen Altrogge**, from Gelsenkirchen-Buer near Münster, friends and members of Catholic youth movement, signals and infantryman.

**Wilhelm Moldenhauer**, shopkeeper from Nordstemmen near Hanover, radio operator.

**Marianne Strauss**, Jewish kindergarten teacher from Essen.

**Ursula von Kardorff**, journalist from Berlin.

---

**Peter Stölten** from Zehlendorf in Berlin, despatch rider and tank commander.

**Lisa de Boor**, journalist from Marburg; married to Wolf, with three grown-up children: Monika, Anton and Hans.

**Willy Reese**, trainee bank clerk from Duisburg, infantryman.

**Maria Kundera**, railway worker at Michelbeuern near Vienna; and **Hans H.**, railwayman's son, paratrooper.



- [read Environmental Management Accounting for Cleaner Production \(Eco-Efficiency in Industry and Science\) pdf](#)
- [read online \*\*Econometric Methods \(4th Edition\)\*\*](#)
- [download online Just Listen book](#)
- [Blood on the Streets: The A-Z of Glasgow Crime for free](#)
  
- <http://damianfoster.com/books/Environmental-Management-Accounting-for-Cleaner-Production--Eco-Efficiency-in-Industry-and-Science-.pdf>
- <http://monkeybubblemedia.com/lib/Brunch--A-History.pdf>
- <http://cambridgebrass.com/?freebooks/Just-Listen.pdf>
- <http://damianfoster.com/books/Blood-on-the-Streets--The-A-Z-of-Glasgow-Crime.pdf>