

Analyse the extent of ‘intellectual resistance’ to and ‘intellectual collaboration’ with the Nazi regime during the Second World War, using precise examples and with references to at least two nations involved in the conflict (one of which must be France).

The economic and political instability as well as the rise of radical ideologies in contrast to the destruction of the democracy had a lasting effect on the intellectuals and artists of Europe.¹ After Hitler came to power, many intellectuals attempted to “sort out what it meant to be an artist”² and a European in a decadent world. In this sense numerous intellectuals experienced disillusion, alienation and despair but some did also feel a sense of hope, saw increased opportunities and looked forward to a political security within this National Socialistic renewal. As a result some intellectuals decided to compromise and adjust to the dictated framework, whereas others resisted or emigrated.

Nevertheless, according to Burrin, resistance and collaboration of intellectuals and artists “took many forms and went to varying length”³. These different degrees of commitment were reflected in the actions and works of European intellectuals. As a consequence within literature, theatre, film and press but also music and art the various states of mind, either resisting or complying, could be found. This paper attempts to demonstrate the differing degrees of individual resistance or collaboration respectively, of specific French, German and Austrian authors. In analysing their literary works and behaviour during the war, this essay will provide evidence that the line between collaboration and resistance cannot be simply drawn but depends highly on its cultural context.

¹ F. Stadler, ‘The Emigration and Exile of Austrian Intellectuals’ in R. Steininger, G. Bischof and M. Gehler (eds), *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, 2002, p. 122.

² C.T. Ryan, ‘The intellectual Responses to the Dilemma of Political ‘Engagement’ in Interwar France: André Breton & Pierre Drieu La Rochelle’ in *Essays in History*, 1990-1991, Vol. 33, p. 23.

³ P. Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944*, 1996, p. 306.

In Nazi Germany, but also in the occupied countries, literature, exhibitions and films were used to amuse and distract the population as well as to provide an escape from the reality of war and occupation. In France, the Nazis did extensively encourage cultural life. On the one hand, they were eager to make profit from French cultural production. On the other hand, they wanted to mediate the possibility of a French cultural future in the New Europe.⁴ Therefore, especially in a brief period shortly after the defeat, a comprehension for collaboration was experienced in the intellectual circles of France.⁵

According to Pickering, only a small minority of French intellectuals can be dedicated to collaboration. These few gave explicit commitments in doing the Germans favours, holding functions as well as seeking Germans company.⁶ One example for such a clear commitment was the participation of Drieu La Rochelle and Jaque Chardonne on the first and the second Congress of writers of the New Europe in Weimar.⁷ Another example was Paul Morand's publication of his *Chroniques de l'homme maigre*, where he analysed the advantages of the French defeat.⁸ In Germany, collaboration was highly linked with sponsoring. The authors Gottfried Benn and Hans Carossa officially accepted money from the Nazis in return for their smarmy writing.⁹

The prestige linked to such personalities was immediately used for Nazi propaganda.¹⁰ Therefore, it can be argued that the actions and commitments of popular intellectuals have a weightier character because their popularity transmitted a signal of imitation to the population. Yet, as a consequence these intellectuals had

⁴ P. Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944*, 1996, pp. 324-325.

⁵ P. Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944*, 1996, p. 336.

⁶ R. Pickering, 'Writing under Vichy: Ambiguity and literary imagination in the non-occupied zone', in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology*, 1985, pp. 260-264.

⁷ P. Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944*, 1996, p. 350.

⁸ P. Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944*, 1996, p. 346.

⁹ R. Grunberger, *A social History of the Third Reich*, 1971, p. 434.

¹⁰ J. Jackson, *France: The dark years 1940-1944*, 2003, pp. 300-301.

also to “stand by in silence”¹¹ and face the Nazi crimes, which itself was often seen as a form of moral commitment. Given this situation many intellectuals kept away from clear statements. Furthermore, it has to be pointed out that most of the intellectual collaborators were not members of the collaborationist parties.¹²

A strategy of intellectuals to avoid compromising themselves was the return to secure values and themes. Oesterle defined the “intellectual traitors” in Germany as “Aryan conservatives characterized by positive thinking”¹³, who “were eager to conform to the new outlook”¹⁴. Consequently, they approved easily to the literary themes of the Nazis and wrote in stereotypical genres about war, race and soil.¹⁵ These tendencies produced backward looking literature, which focused on the traditional myths and heroes as well as on nature and Germany’s military power. The writer Jean Amery points out that literature in Austria and Germany “received public support and approval as long as it busied itself with alpine-Christian yodelling”¹⁶. Hence, authors, such as Beumelburg and Grimm, avoided any reflections on modernity and escaped to traditional regional writing.¹⁷ Pickering identifies this development as “the ‘escapist’ tendencies in writing”¹⁸. In France, the theatre and film experienced a similar trend. French films created a “largely mythical portrait of France and French reality”¹⁹ which should entertain rather than critically reflect. Thus, the effects and events of war tended “to disappear from sight altogether”²⁰.

¹¹ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quarterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 2.

¹² P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, p. 342.

¹³ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quarterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 4.

¹⁴ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quarterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 4.

¹⁵ R. Grunberger, A social History of the Third Reich, 1971, p. 439.

¹⁶ Jean Amery cited in F. Stadler, ‘The Emigration and Exile of Austrian Intellectuals’ in R. Steininger, G. Bischof and M. Gehler (eds), Austria in the Twentieth Century, 2002, p. 121.

¹⁷ R. Grunberger, A social History of the Third Reich, 1971, pp. 431-433.

¹⁸ R. Pickering, ‘Writing under Vichy: Ambiguity and literary imagination in the non-occupied zone’, in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology, 1985, p. 262.

¹⁹ R. Armes, ‘Cinema of Paradox: French Film-Making during the Occupation’ in S. Wilson, G. Hirschfeld a. P. Marsch (eds), Collaboration in France: Politics and Culture during the Nazi Occupation, 1940-1944, 1989, p. 141.

²⁰ R. Pickering, ‘Writing under Vichy: Ambiguity and literary imagination in the non-occupied zone’, in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology, 1985, p. 181.

However, Oesterle emphasizes that this use of traditional themes was also an opportunity for intellectuals to seal their inner life against the aspiration of the regime.²¹ The French films focusing on French values and self-esteem did also recollect the glorious past of the French nation and as such strengthened the French identity. Another example was Bergengruen's novel *Der Großtyrann und das Gericht*, which could easily be read as a "criticism of the dictatorial regime", but due to its general themes and settings it was published and republished in Nazi Germany.²²

Many of the collaborating intellectuals followed the policy to endure and get through this difficult time. Burrin analyses the path of acceptance and compromises in order to continue important scientific work on the example of Frédéric Joliot-Curie. Although, Joliot-Curie was seen as "acting in intelligence with the enemy"²³ his adaptation to the framework of the enemy was mainly due to "material interest and personal compliance"²⁴. Another case was the publishing house of Kafka and Mann, Gallimard. Gallimard started to translate German works, mainly classics such as Goethe and Hoffmann, out of economic necessity, which had resulted from the restrictions of the Otto List.²⁵

It is important to bear in mind that the authors who stayed in their country were effected by "two codes of influence", namely the official censorship but also the "internally on the literary imagination" based "system of self-censorship and correction"²⁶. According to Oesterle, censorship had the purpose to "abandon all experimentation and social criticism" in order to become a perfect single organism

²¹ H.D. Oesterle, 'The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature' in The German Quarterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 5.

²² R. Spiers, 'The German Novel during the Third Reich' in G. Bartram (ed), The Cambridge Companion to the Modern German Novel, 2004, p. 153.

²³ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, p. 313.

²⁴ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, p. 306.

²⁵ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, p. 331.

²⁶ R. Pickering, 'Writing under Vichy: Ambiguity and literary imagination in the non-occupied zone', in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology, 1985, p. 261.

with “voices of dissent silence”²⁷. To enact these censorship the Nazis initiated diverse punishment. Apart from the *Schreibverbot* or *Malverbot*²⁸, extensive cuts of literary works before publication were used. Albert Camus, for example, had to cut off a whole chapter devoted to Kafka in *L'Étranger* in order to get it published.²⁹ Some literary works were not published at all. Aragon's *Les Voyageurs de l'impériale* was rejected because of the authors past.³⁰

Given these examples, many decisions to collaborate had understandable causes, linked to specific circumstances and were very vague. The official publication of writers during the occupation was almost not possible without compromises. Publishing in a ‘controlled press’, a periodical for example, was linked to the “press’s director, the political line taken by the journal and the association of particular writers”³¹ and could easily sent out compromising signals.

Some initial collaborators also changed their mind over the course of time. Judt states that a considerable amount of intellectuals firstly sympathized with Vichy and later joined the resistance.³² Marc Bloch affirmed to the elimination of his name, so that the periodical *Les annales d'histoire économique et social* could reappear in Paris.³³ Bloch's personal martyrdom³⁴ and engagement in the resistance put this affirmation later in the right light. Another example is Francois Mauriac, who accepted enthusiastically the offer to contribute to the NRF only to withdraw after the first issue. Furthermore, in hope to get his new novel published, he called at the German institute. Yet, after various setbacks he finally joined the active resistance.³⁵

²⁷ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quaterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 1.

²⁸ official prohibition to publish or paint

²⁹ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, p. 338.

³⁰ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, pp. 339-340.

³¹ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, p. 334.

³² T. Judt, “‘We Have Discovered History’: Defeat Resistance and the Intellectuals in France’ in M. Geyer and J.W. Boyer (eds), Resistance against the Third Reich 1933-1990, 1994, p. 224.

³³ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, pp. 306-323.

³⁴ Marc Bloch was arrested, tortured and shot in 1942.

³⁵ P. Burrin, Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944, 1996, p. 337.

After focusing on the different extents of French and German intellectual collaboration it is also essential to assess the concept of *inner emigration*. In the Third Reich, “all forms of opposition” had to be acknowledged even “if this was a matter of isolated attempt to maintain ones ‘decency’”³⁶. The *inner emigration*, a “legitimate form of protest against the regime”³⁷, was an important manifestation of writing in between resistance and collaboration. Within these literary texts the disapproval of the authors was not always easy to distinguish and had to be read in between the lines.

Although, Oesterle states that, “the contributions of Inner Emigrants are often overrated”³⁸ historical studies about the resistance in the Third Reich emphasize their strong moral commitment and importance.³⁹ Ernst Jünger’s novel *Auf den Marmorklippen* can be regarded as an example for an indirect attack. For Spiers, the novel offers a “model of resistance to tyranny” and fear.⁴⁰ A further example is Jünger’s *Total Mobilization*, where he clearly attacks dictatorship but his work was again “classified as ‘hermetic literature’”⁴¹. According to Spiers, the publications were mainly possible because Jünger had friends in high positions.⁴² On the other hand, Reinold Schneider and Ernst Wiechert brought their writing in an open conflict with the regime.⁴³ Wiechert, for example, was sent to the concentration camp because his novel *Die Majorin* did not positively reflect on the war experiences.⁴⁴ Thus, it can be

³⁶ E. Weinzierl, ‘Resistance, Persecution, Forced Labour’ in R. Steininger, G. Bischof and M. Gehler (eds), *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, 2002, p. 137.

³⁷ F. Stadler, ‘The Emigration and Exile of Austrian Intellectuals’ in R. Steininger, G. Bischof and M. Gehler (eds), *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, 2002, p. 135.

³⁸ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in *The German Quarterly*, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 5.

³⁹ E. Weinzierl, ‘Resistance, Persecution, Forced Labour’ in R. Steininger, G. Bischof and M. Gehler (eds), *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, 2002, pp. 137-160.

⁴⁰ R. Spiers, ‘The German Novel during the Third Reich’ in G. Bartram (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Modern German Novel*, 2004, p. 159.

⁴¹ R. Grunberger, *A social History of the Third Reich*, 1971, p. 449.

⁴² R. Spiers, ‘The German Novel during the Third Reich’ in G. Bartram (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Modern German Novel*, 2004, p. 160.

⁴³ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in *The German Quarterly*, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 6.

⁴⁴ R. Grunberger, *A social History of the Third Reich*, 1971, p. 448.

argued that the authors who stayed in Germany and Austria “combined elements of mock-freedom with rigid coercion”⁴⁵, which then highly depended on the circumstances of the author and the public reception to be dedicated either to collaborating or resisting literature.

Therefore, going abroad was for many intellectuals “the surest way to avoid compromising oneself”⁴⁶. The censorship, which started in Germany and Austria from 1935 onwards, was partly responsible for the vast emigration waves of intellectuals during the 1930s. Yet, it was often interpreted as a desertion of the homeland. However, many intellectuals did not have a choice because of their Jewish origin, their experimental work or liberal worldviews. The major dada and surrealist artists, such as Salvador Dali, Duchamp or André Breton escaped to New York.⁴⁷ The French writers Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, André Maurois and André Breton and the Austrian authors Robert Musil, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, were amongst the persons who sought refuge in another country.⁴⁸

Yet, also in exile the line to collaboration was easily crossed. Saint-Exupéry’s *Pilote de guerre* is an example, which was looked at from two different angles. On the one hand, the text provides themes of humanism and pictures a positive future with a possible chance of renewal or even victory. On the other hand, the decadence of France, its military weakness and themes of inevitable defeat reflect Pétainist values.⁴⁹ According to John, the book was judged and interpreted “in the light of what was known or rumoured of Saint-Exupéry’s personal and political affiliations in wartime”⁵⁰. Thus, although the majority of the US saw the book as a celebration of

⁴⁵ R. Grunberger, *A social History of the Third Reich*, 1971, p. 451.

⁴⁶ J. Jackson, *France: The dark years 1940-1944*, 2003, pp. 300-301

⁴⁷ S. Wilson, ‘Collaboration in the Fine Arts, 1940.1944’, in G. Hirschfeld a. P. Marsch (eds), *Collaboration in France: Politics and Culture during the Nazi Occupation, 1940-1944*, 1989, pp. 103.

⁴⁸ M.H. Brown, ‘Exilliteratur 1933-1945’ in *South Central Review*, 1991, Vol. 8, p. 110.

⁴⁹ P. Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France under the German Occupation 1940-1944*, 1996, p. 339.

⁵⁰ S.B. John, ‘Saint-Exupéry’s *Pilote de Guerre*: Testimony, Art and Ideology’ in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology*, 1985, p. 94.

French war-time pilots heroism with a realistic record of the sufferings and problems of the civilian population, the Gaullist circles in New York read it as inspired by Pétain and fascism. John outlines a similar ambiguity to this book in France. An edition of it appeared in 1942 and was first favourably received by the Vichy press. In Feb. 1943, the book was banned by the German Propaganda Abteilung.⁵¹ Consequently, the resistance took the book up and republished a clandestine edition of it in December 1943.⁵² Saint-Exupéry had created a fictional character that brought “art into direct relationship with historical reality”⁵³. Therefore the texts attitudes were difficult to allocate. The reception of the text emphasizes the thin line between collaboration and resistance and highlights the importance of the cultural context.

However, having considered the difficulties to specify the extent of collaboration in particular French and German works it is now important to examine the resistance movement in a similar way. According to Hadsel’s article of 1946, the most important resisting paper were *Les étoiles* of Louis Aragon and *Les lettres francaises* of the National Committee of Writers.⁵⁴ The historian Tolansky, on the other hand, focuses on the publishing house *Les Éditions de Minuit* and points out that its publications contributed highly to the fight against Nazi occupation.⁵⁵ *Les Éditions de Minuit* published poetry, short stories and essays, which were intended to strengthen the moral resistance of the French population. *Le Silence de la Mer*, published in 1941, can be seen as one of its most important clandestine publications during the occupation. The book was printed in a luxurious edition in a period, which saw a severe lack of resources, such as paper. This itself was an achievement for

⁵¹ S.B. John, ‘Saint-Exupéry’s Pilote de Guerre: Testimony, Art and Ideology’ in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology*, 1985, pp. 91-105.

⁵² S.B. John, ‘Saint-Exupéry’s Pilote de Guerre: Testimony, Art and Ideology’ in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology*, 1985, pp. 94-95.

⁵³ T.A. Kamla, ‘The German Exile Novel during the Third Reich: The Problem of Art and Politics’ in *German Studies Review*, 1980, Vol. 3, Nr. 3, p. 396.

⁵⁴ F.L. Hadsel, ‘Some Sources on the Resistance Movement in France during the Nazi Occupation’ in *The Journal of Modern History*, 1946, Vol. 18, p. 337.

⁵⁵ E. Tolansky, ‘Les Cahiers du Silence’, in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), *Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology*, 1985, pp. 222-231.

the resistance movement. The text mediated the understanding not to “comply in any way with the enemy”⁵⁶ and expressed the difficulties of the French population to revolt. The monologues on French culture and civilisation of the German officer, one of the text’s characters, influenced its readership and emphasized that even silence is a weapon and counts as a form of resistance. Yet, some critics judged the German officer as too sympathetically and nice.

However, another important intellectual achievement was the publication of resistance newspapers and journals. *Combat* for example linked the people and the different resisting movements together and indicated with its increased circulation⁵⁷ an increase of the opposition tendencies in France.⁵⁸ In Germany, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tagesblatt* continued to employ non-Nazi staff and consequently remained liberal to some extent.⁵⁹ Although the resisting messages were hidden and transmitted in using a specific code, the circulation had increased over the time and as such the papers added to the conservative intellectual opposition.⁶⁰

Furthermore, the exile newspapers, published by emigrants had a “considerable propaganda effect”⁶¹. Oesterle notes, that more than 200 emigrant journals and papers were founded and published by emigrants.⁶² In Niederacher’s view the “journalistic campaign fought by intellectuals against National Socialism”⁶³ supported the resistance in the home country but did also put Austria in a favourable

⁵⁶ E. Tolansky, ‘Les Cahiers du Silence’, in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology, 1985, p. 223.

⁵⁷ According to J. Jackson on pp. 438-439: in 1941, *Combat* issued a few hundred printings, in 1942 about 10.000 papers circulated.

⁵⁸ J. Jackson, France: The dark years 1940-1944, 2003, pp. 438-439.

⁵⁹ R. Grunberger, A social History of the Third Reich, 1971, p. 496.

⁶⁰ R. Grunberger, A social History of the Third Reich, 1971, p. 496-497.

⁶¹ E. Weinzierl, ‘Resistance, Persecution, Forced Labour’ in R. Steininger, G. Bischof and M. Gehler (eds), Austria in the Twentieth Century, 2002, p. 154.

⁶² H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quaterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 8.

⁶³ S. Niederacher, ‘The Myth of Austria as Nazi Victim, the Emigrants and the Discipline of Exile Studies’ in Austrian Studies, 2003, Vol. 11, Nr. 1, p. 15.

position for the negotiations after the war. The *Arbeiterzeitung*, published in Switzerland, for example, appealed on their readership to support the resistance in Austria and strengthened occurring opposing ideologies within the population.⁶⁴ Apart from newspapers and journals also institutions, such as the Bibliothèque National or the Archives National, contributed to the resistance movements. They were used to hide clandestine publications and provided a perfect place for circulation.⁶⁵

However, in Germany, the White Rose Group is seen as the most important intellectual resistance movement during the war. Their main resistance action was the publication of a series of six leaflets printed in 1942-1943 and their distribution in Munich.⁶⁶ The leaflets dealt with Nazis' elimination policies against the Jews and Poles or indicated ways of passive resistance.⁶⁷ In general, they justified the resistance as a consequence of the "illegitimacy of the violent Nazi state"⁶⁸. Scholars interpreted the leaflets as an attempt to arouse the students of Munich against the regime.⁶⁹ Yet, such attempts were very few and limited to specific areas.

Hence, there is considerable evidence that the main intellectual resistance of Germans and Austrians took place in exile. Although Niederacher acknowledges that the "gathering together of information on notable exiled academic and intellectuals"⁷⁰ still continues, the portrayal of intellectual resistance in emigration is already extensive. The authors in exile saw themselves as the "moral and social

⁶⁴ E. Weinzierl, 'Resistance, Persecution, Forced Labour' in R. Steininger, G. Bischof and M. Gehler (eds), *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, 2002, p. 154.

⁶⁵ F.L. Hadsel, 'Some Sources on the Resistance Movement in France during the Nazi Occupation' in *The Journal of Modern History*, 1946, Vol. 18, p. 335.

⁶⁶ G. Layton, *Germany: The Third Reich 1933-45*, 2000, pp. 142-143.

⁶⁷ C. Moll, 'Acts of Resistance: The White Rose in the Light of New Archival Evidence' in M. Geyer a. J.W. Boyer (eds), *Resistance against the Third Reich: 1933-1990*, 1994, p. 178.

⁶⁸ C. Moll, 'Acts of Resistance: The White Rose in the Light of New Archival Evidence' in M. Geyer a. J.W. Boyer (eds), *Resistance against the Third Reich: 1933-1990*, 1994, p. 178.

⁶⁹ C. Moll, 'Acts of Resistance: The White Rose in the Light of New Archival Evidence' in M. Geyer a. J.W. Boyer (eds), *Resistance against the Third Reich: 1933-1990*, 1994, p. 175.

⁷⁰ S. Niederacher, 'The Myth of Austria as Nazi Victim, the Emigrants and the Discipline of Exile Studies' in *Austrian Studies*, 2003, Vol. 11, Nr. 1, p. 27.

conscience”⁷¹ with an aim “to defend humanity against its despisers, and to offer some vision of hope, however precarious, to set against the fear on which tyranny depends”⁷². They wanted to preserve the Austrian and German “culture in exile”⁷³. According to Oesterle more than 1500 authors emigrated during the 1930’s, among them approximately 200 novelists, dramatists and poets.⁷⁴ The main destinations for them were Switzerland, Sweden and foremost the USA.⁷⁵

Heinrich Mann can be seen as a significant representative of resisting emigrants and was “passionately committed to the struggle against fascism”⁷⁶. He developed from a “conservative nationalist” during World War I into a democratic socialist and true liberalist during World War II.⁷⁷ Apart from his writing, he regularly “addressed the Germans over the radio in an attempt to support their inner opposition”⁷⁸. Another important resister in emigration was Bertold Brecht, who showed the struggles and conflicts of scientists with authorities in a new light in his *Leben des Galilei*. Furthermore, Brecht’s satirical and political poetry is regarded as evidence for his opposition to National Socialism. The Austrian authors Robert Musil and Hermann Broch did also contribute to this critical exile literature. *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* searches for the origins of war and criticises modern civilisation. Additionally, Thomas Mann needs to be counted to the major exile authors. He produced some of his major works in emigration. *Joseph und seine Brüder*, as an

⁷¹ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quaterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 7.

⁷² R. Spiers, ‘The German Novel during the Third Reich’ in G. Bartram (ed), The Cambridge Companion to the Modern German Novel, 2004, p. 165.

⁷³ S. Niederacher, ‘The Myth of Austria as Nazi Victim, the Emigrants and the Discipline of Exile Studies’ in Austrian Studies, 2003, Vol. 11, Nr. 1, p. 15.

⁷⁴ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quaterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 2.

⁷⁵ M.R.D. Foot, Resistance: An Analysis of European Resistance to Nazism 1940-1945, 1976, p. 33.

⁷⁶ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quaterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 8.

⁷⁷ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quaterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 8.

⁷⁸ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quaterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 7.

example, attempts to analyse the historical relationship between Jews and Christians.

The literature produced in exile has specific characteristics, which distinguish these texts from other literary works. Many characters within the emigration literature are “isolated revolutionaries without a collective following”⁷⁹ and distance themselves from a “Weltanschauung rooted in collective reality”⁸⁰. On the one hand, the texts of emigrants critically reflect on the situations in their home country. On the other hand, emigrants deal in their literature with the difficult circumstances in exile. They had lost their friends and family as well as their property, but also their language and faced alienation, lack of identity and despair.⁸¹ Kamla defines these problems of uprootedness as a clear result of the rise of the Third Reich and stresses that resisting in writing was the only method for many intellectuals to come to term with these experiences.⁸² As a consequence, the exile literature deals with the reaffirmation of pride, cultural and social inheritance and as such opposes the collaboration themes, which focus on traditional values with an aim to establish a sense of corporate identity.⁸³ Yet, it has to be pointed out that the exile authors did not face the same difficulties, restrictions and dangers as the resisting intellectuals in their home countries.

In conclusion, despite of deportations, executions and concentration camps the art produced during World War II suggests a flourishing cultural life in Europe.⁸⁴ Yet, the texts written in this period cannot easily be dedicated to either collaborating

⁷⁹ T.A. Kamla, ‘The German Exile Novel during the Third Reich: The Problem of Art and Politics’ in German Studies Review, 1980, Vol. 3, Nr. 3, p. 396.

⁸⁰ T.A. Kamla, ‘The German Exile Novel during the Third Reich: The Problem of Art and Politics’ in German Studies Review, 1980, Vol. 3, Nr. 3, p. 397.

⁸¹ T.A. Kamla, ‘The German Exile Novel during the Third Reich: The Problem of Art and Politics’ in German Studies Review, 1980, Vol. 3, Nr. 3, p. 401.

⁸² T.A. Kamla, ‘The German Exile Novel during the Third Reich: The Problem of Art and Politics’ in German Studies Review, 1980, Vol. 3, Nr. 3, p. 395.

⁸³ R. Pickering, ‘Writing under Vichy: Ambiguity and literary imagination in the non-occupied zone’, in R. Kedward a. R. Austin (eds), Vichy France and the Resistance: Culture & Ideology, 1985, p. 262.

⁸⁴ H.D. Oesterle, ‘The Other Germany: Resistance to the Third Reich in German Literature’ in The German Quarterly, 1968, Vol. 41, Nr. 1, p. 5.

or resisting literature but have to be looked at in taking each specific context into consideration. Intellectual collaboration took place due to economic reasons and therefore the commitments were vague and rather necessary compromises. Apart from few collaborating intellectuals, the majority moved within a grey area. They returned to secure themes, produced backward looking art and often sealed their true inner life. An expression of this is the concept of *inner emigration*. Although it is a form of protest the disapproval of the authors was often difficult to distinguish because of their use of coded messages disguised in mock-freedom. Furthermore, as in Jünger's example publication was highly dependent on the author's connection to the censorship or the regime.

Nevertheless, some intellectuals did also openly oppose the regime and published important clandestine texts, such as *Le Silence de la Mer*. The publication of this text was itself a major resisting achievement. It mediated moral resistance, and recollects the past strength of the French Nation. Other intellectuals worked secretly for resisting journals and papers, such as *Combat*. These newspapers played a considerable role for the opposing movements. They provided a link between the different resisting organisations, appealed for support and strengthened the opposition within the population. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that a major part of the resistance took place in exile. Heinrich Mann and Bertold Brecht belong to the most important exile authors. Although, their writing dealt with the reaffirmation of pride as well as cultural and social inheritance, the danger to be accused of collaborating was even present in exile. The example of Saint-Exupéry's *Pilote de guerre* has demonstrated the high importance of each specific context and the ambiguity of public reception. In this sense, the author's personal actions and his past, the content and the reception of the text as well as the connections to the regime, defined the extent of collaboration or resistance of individual intellectual. In

interpreting and weighting these factors differently the dedication of intellectuals to either collaboration or resistance is always ambiguous.

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History essay

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