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FRONT LINE IN DENMARK

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*With a Postscript on D-Day and the
"People's Strike," June-July, 1944*

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IN SEARCH OF A VICTORY

IN the history of modern Denmark two days stand out: the 9th April, 1940—the day of the German invasion—and the 29th August, 1943, the date of the final blow which aimed at crushing Danish resistance. The three-and-a-half years between the two dates are marked by a long trail of broken German promises, but also by quiet, steady preparation for the day when Denmark would pronounce the final “No,” and take the consequences. On the 28th August the Danish Government, with the full support of a united people, rejected a series of German demands thereby causing a change of the utmost importance in the political situation. In the early morning of 29th August Denmark was involved in another fight, more hopeless even than the one which took place in the grey April dawn in 1940. In a strictly military sense there could be only one outcome of the battle. The small Danish defence forces, deprived of most of their equipment and surrounded by German forces fifty times their strength, had no chance, but this enhances rather than diminishes the gallantry of their conduct. The resistance of the small army and the simultaneous action of the Danish navy brought to an end a strange period of unreality. From the 29th August onwards Denmark’s fight against the Germans has been carried into the open. People who have escaped from Denmark all agree in describing the elevating sense of relief which seized them all on that August morning when German tanks rumbled through the streets firing their guns at the slightest provocation. The hard reality was, after all, to be preferred to a nightmare which had lasted for more than three years.

The political events leading up to the final clash will be described later, and so will the far-reaching consequences of the Danish No. On Saturday, 28th August, the Germans had presented the Danish Government with an ultimatum which the King, the Government, and the political parties decided to reject. It included such demands as the taking of hostages to ensure the capture of Danish patriots who had attacked a German officer. The whole country was to be placed under martial law, prohibition of strikes was to be introduced, etc. On Saturday afternoon the Danish refusal was handed to the German plenipotentiary, Dr. Best, who had no comment to make.

That week-end a tense feeling beset the capital. German troops poured into Copenhagen, panzers were on the move through the friendly streets. German police soldiers were among the forces disembarked in the harbour in the course of Saturday. The depleted Danish army and the neglected navy were preparing, too. Denmark had been allowed to maintain a small army, but in order to render it harmless the C-in-C of the occupation army, General Hermann von Hanneken, had taken certain measures. He had

ordered all Danish troops away from Jutland—they constituted a potential danger in case of an Allied invasion. He had furthermore confiscated a good deal of the army's supplies and had seen to it that no new supplies reached the Danish units. Similar measures had been taken against the navy. A small number of serviceable torpedo-boats were seized by the Germans in 1941—it must be assumed that Danish naval officers had sworn that another loss of this kind should never be suffered by the navy. All during Saturday, the 28th, the small army was being kept in a state of alertness, preparing to meet the expected attack, which might come at any moment. In the naval yards at Copenhagen feverish preparations were being made. Workers and technicians worked with the same silent, grim determination as the munition workers of Britain after Dunkirk. It was a race against time—and only the Germans knew the zero hour. However, all preparations were completed by 4 p.m. on Saturday, at which hour civilian personnel were removed from the dockyard. The stage was set for a Danish Toulon.

Four o'clock on Sunday morning, 29th August, was zero hour. German forces of overwhelming superiority in men and equipment launched their attack on the remnants of Denmark's defence forces. A few minutes ahead of time the Germans stormed the main entrance to the dockyards. They succeeded in rushing the gates, but the alarm had been raised. On every Danish naval craft in the harbour and every blockhouse and workshop Danes began to destroy everything, while others tried to fight the Germans off to allow their comrades time to carry out these tasks.

It would serve no purpose to attempt to describe in detail the confused fighting in the maze of the naval yards; it was distinguished by many individual acts of high courage and was crowned with success: it ended in the almost total destruction of the naval units. The confusion of the Germans was surpassed only by their brutality. A violent thunderstorm broke out over Copenhagen simultaneously with the attack. Blinding flashes of lightning mingled with the red glow from exploding and burning ships. Thunder—in Norse mythology the sign of the anger of the gods—was roaring overhead as if Wotan disliked the war as waged by his new converts. He definitely sided with the Danes for the thunder greatly added to the confusion in the Nazi ranks.

A German auxiliary cruiser which was lying in another part of the harbour came gallantly to the aid of the German land forces. The cruiser opened fire on one of the buildings where Danish marines had taken up a position. The Germans ashore opened up a devastating fire on their own cruiser, just as it was about to disgorge a landing party. The landing party was driven off by German fire and the ship forced to withdraw to a safer part of the harbour—to the immeasurable joy of the Danes.

The attackers now came under heavy fire from one of the buildings. They first shouted this threat: "For every shot you fire, five Danes will be shot." It had no effect. Then a captured Danish naval officer, with his hands raised and followed by Germans pressing their carbines into his back, was forced to advance towards the building and shout this warning: "If you do not surrender, the building will be blown to bits by artillery within five minutes."

The Danish detachment knew this was no empty threat. They also knew that their fight had served its purpose. As they surrendered a signal was flashed from the mast of the artillery ship, *Peder Skram*, and no sooner had they lined up before the Germans than two explosions shook the air—explosive charges had burst open the armour of the *Peder Skram*, which sank within a few minutes. The nervous Nazis started firing in all directions, killing and wounding Danes who had already surrendered. The flash signal from *Peder Skram* was the sign for all ships to escape or scuttle themselves—in reality only the last course was open to the commanders and it was immediately followed. Into less than one hour was concentrated the almost complete destruction of Denmark's small, but by no means negligible, navy and of most of the naval stores in Copenhagen. One after another the ships were shaken from stem to stern by internal explosions. They capsized and settled on the bottom of the harbour, with the masts or the bridge above water. Some of the ships under steam tried to escape, but very few succeeded as the Germans had blocked the narrow exit from the harbour.

Not all the ships were at the Copenhagen naval base. A few which were on patrol duty in Danish waters received an order in code sent out by the head of the Danish navy, Admiral Vedel, at 4 a.m.: *Scuttle or make your way to Sweden*. Those which had a chance to escape fled to Sweden, others—less fortunately placed—were involved in a series of dramatic incidents. The largest unit of the Danish navy, the 4,000 tons coastal defence ship, *Niels Juel*, Commander C. Westermann, received the order while she was lying in the narrow waters of the Isefjord. She was spotted by German reconnaissance planes at daybreak when she attempted to make her way into open sea, and it was not long before Stukas started diving down upon her. The *Niels Juel* ran aground at a speed of 16 knots, and the commander ordered the systematic destruction of the ship. This was carried out while gun crews drove off German planes, shooting down at least three of them. The grounded ship heeled over with the Danish flag flying.

And here is the report of the strange incidents which took place aboard the coastguard ship, *Hvidbjørnen*, which, since she had failed to receive the "Escape or Scuttle" order, was taken by surprise by German naval forces in the Great Belt. The Germans boarded the ship at sea, disarmed the crew, hoisted the Nazi flag, and set course for Korsør. The Danish crew had quietly gathered aft. The captain looked at his watch and then shouted the order: All overboard. To the surprise of the German marines the Danes tore off their shoes and jackets and started jumping into the water. As the Danish captain jumped, he gave the Germans this obliging advice: "Better get ready—she'll be blowing up in a second." The Germans, panicking, jumped overboard with rifles and full equipment, and a few seconds later a time bomb exploded in the fore part of the ship. As she listed heavily, a young Danish sailor, who had lain hidden in a life boat, emerged, hauled down the Nazi flag and hoisted the red and white Danish ensign. *Hvidbjørnen* went down with flying colours.

The final result of the Danish navy's Toulon was highly satisfactory. Twenty-nine ships were sunk and many more so heavily damaged that they are beyond repair even if salvaged; thirteen small craft fell into

German hands and thirteen units escaped to Sweden, where they were interned. Danish workers and technicians have since stoutly refused to lend a helping hand in the salvage work. If the Germans want to raise the sunken ships they will have to do it themselves.

While the navy was thus fighting it out, the scattered units of the Danish army were attacked by the Germans. Sporadic fighting took place in a number of garrison towns, but in each case the Danes had to give way to superior and well equipped German troops.

The fighting which took place at Sorgenfri Castle, summer residence of the Royal Family, which ended in the King becoming virtually a prisoner in German hands, is a typical example of German fighting methods. Shortly after midnight a policeman outside the castle, which is some ten miles north of Copenhagen, noticed that a car had stopped near the grounds of the castle. He challenged the driver, who, however, was able to produce a Danish police badge. He and his colleague in the car, who was also in Danish uniform, explained that they had been sent out to make investigations. They started up the car and disappeared in the darkness. As soon as they had gone the policeman on duty checked up on the number of the car with the police—only to learn that it had been withdrawn two years ago. The two "policemen" were presumably Danish Nazis, who had been employed to spy on the royal castle. At zero hour, 4 a.m., the Germans attacked the castle and soon the defenders, fifteen in all, were disarmed. Even when greatly superior in numbers, the Germans show their aversion to a clean fight, a point well illustrated by an incident from the guardroom. One of the Danish policemen was caught by the Nazis. A German lieutenant sprang at the captured man, forced his revolver between the policeman's teeth and threatened to shoot if he did not reveal the positions of the other guards. The policeman said he did not know these positions. In a fit of rage the German officer then turned upon a Danish guardsman, who lay mortally wounded on the floor, seized him by the hair, and threatened to shoot him if he refused to give the information. Fate saved the gallant Nazi officer from committing another murder. Fighting was stopped, possibly on orders from the King, who had no wish to squander Danish lives merely to delay the Germans for a few minutes.

This, then, was the stab in the back administered to the Danish defence forces, which the Germans had promised should continue to exist during the occupation. You may ask why the Germans did this? First, because this is the German way of keeping a promise; secondly, because the Germans were in need of a victory; and thirdly, because they wanted to render the Danish military machine harmless before the Allies opened their Second Front. The Germans felt that they could not afford to have even a few thousand armed Danes in their rear—and the hatred which the German attack unleashed suggests that their fears may not have been wholly unfounded.

The remnants of Denmark's military power were crushed overnight, and 3-4,000 officers and men were interned. What the Germans failed to see was that for every Danish soldier they interned, ten, nay a hundred, sprang forward to volunteer in the front line. Only they did not wear uniforms. They wore overalls, and their weapons were bombs. They wore black coats and from their office desks they fought the Germans by

means of administrative sabotage. The underground movement grew in strength and efficiency. The Nazis thought they had rendered 4,000 potential enemies harmless when they smashed the Danish armed forces. They failed to see that they had increased the danger to their rear a thousandfold by transforming a predominantly peace-loving people into a fighting nation. Hitler paid dearly for his only victory in 1943.

II

NO ERSATZ FOR FREEDOM

WHEN future historians survey the vast field of Europe under the Nazis they will ponder over the strange case of Denmark. They will find nothing with which to compare it. Everything went according to rules different from those valid in other occupied countries—even down to the Germans trying to behave as gentlemen, though admittedly feeling uncomfortable in the new part. Here was an occupied country with a Government, a Parliament and a King, all trying to fulfil their normal functions in internal matters. This was the country where the Germans permitted a general election, the main result of which was to show that less than 2 per cent of the electorate sympathised with the Nazis. Here, also, the King visited the synagogue, and a German spokesman for the extermination of nations pursued a policy of appeasement. And here lived a traditionally peaceful people, who in 12 months were transformed into some of the most efficient saboteurs of Europe. Denmark with its four million inhabitants topped the list of sabotage in European countries, despite its Lilliputian size.

It is beyond the scope of this pamphlet to attempt a comprehensive explanation of these facts. It may be regarded as proving that Germans, particularly Nazis, lack the most elementary qualities that make men leaders. For this view there is justification. Or it may be thought that the Danes, who were allowed more liberties, more independence, and more food than any other occupied country had reached the conclusion that there is no *ersatz* for Freedom. This view approaches the kernel of the truth.

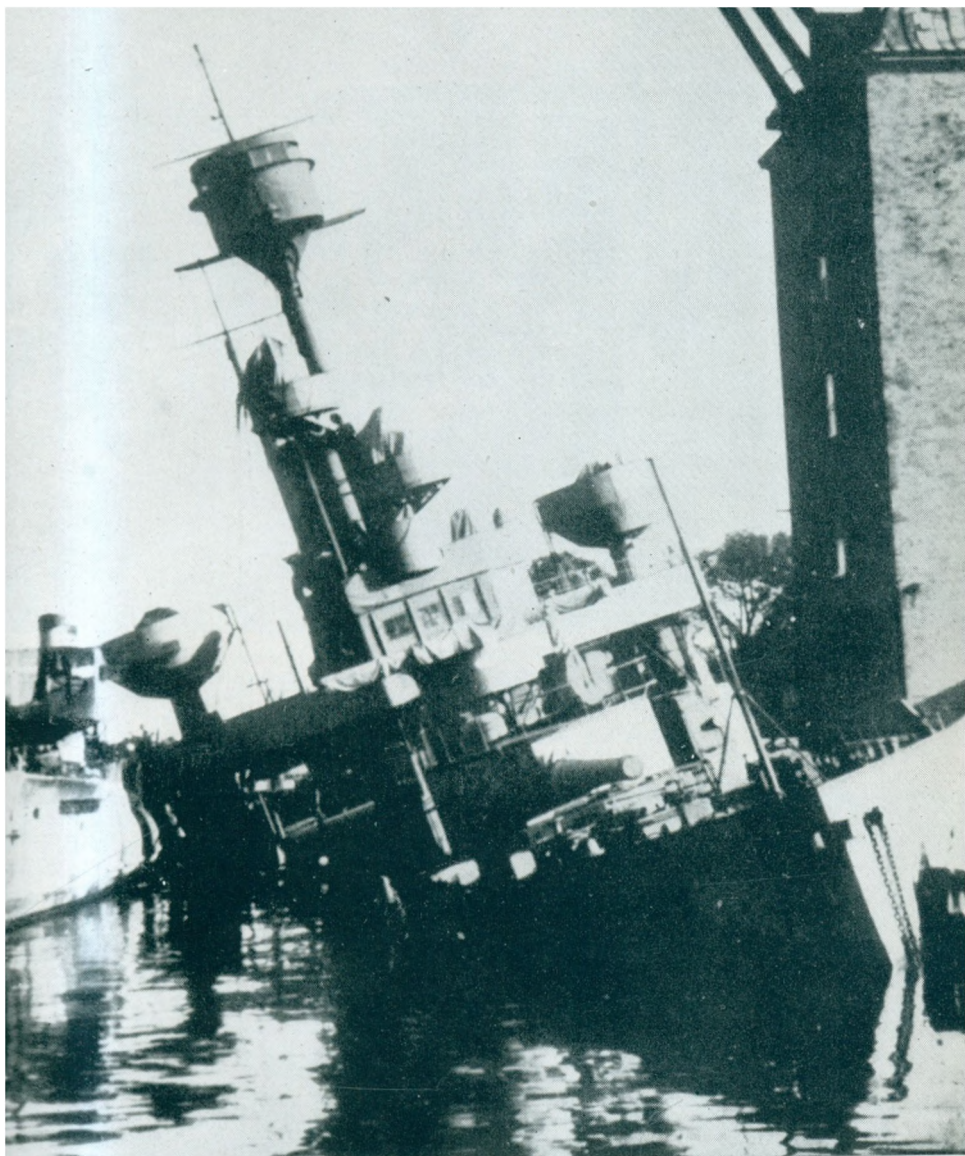
In its European setting the Danish revolt was even more astonishing. It was generally admitted that at the outbreak of the war Denmark was in a hopeless position. The Allies could offer no guarantees; they promised nothing and they demanded nothing. From the first day of the occupation the Danish leaders had made it quite clear that they would not speak or act against the Allies, as, indeed, they never did. They furthermore did their utmost to make the possibilities for German exploitation of their country as small as possible—what more, one might argue, could be demanded of them? In view of the events that had taken place in North Africa, Denmark could have argued her case if she had decided to await the end of the war without lifting a finger, for with all his faults Scavenius was far less compromised than Darlan. Shortly after the Danes

had pronounced their final No they witnessed the change-over when one of the original Axis countries went over to the other side in the middle of the war and saw it attain the semi-glorified state of "co-belligerency." Surely, Denmark would have had a claim to consideration if she had decided to live through the occupation period in a passive way.

Fortunately, people think in far less complicated terms than their leaders—or, at least, democracies do. Such simple terms as right and wrong count for a good deal more in the decisions of the common people than hard-headed observers are inclined to believe. If the strange case of Denmark is to be rightly appraised, then it is necessary to get down to the common man, whose attitude in the end decided that of his leaders. It was the man in the street who himself decided that it would not be *right* that Denmark should regain her freedom (as she undoubtedly would, when the Allies had won) without making a contribution to the fight. Did he feel he was being very brave and noble about it? That thought probably never entered his head. He acted from a compelling, but almost subconscious sense of duty towards his country and the cause of the free nations.

Let us, for a moment, look back upon the beginning of the war. The Germans invaded Denmark on 9th April, 1940, one year after they had asked Denmark to sign a non-aggression pact with the Reich. The Danes had no objection to the pact—they had no intention of attacking Germany, and if it would deter the Germans from launching an attack on Denmark, so much the better. As it turned out, the German signature was worth even less than any other German promise on record. When they did invade Denmark in April, they did not even bother to put up a serious excuse. The best they could think of was that they wished to save Denmark from becoming a theatre of war by forestalling an attack by Britain and France. The Danish defence forces put up a short, hopeless resistance until the King and Government yielded in face of the German threat to obliterate Copenhagen from the air. They gave the order to cease fire. Before nightfall all important places in Denmark were in German hands.

The Germans gave a number of promises which, one by one, they eventually broke. They promised that Denmark would not be used for offensive purposes against England, they promised not to interfere in internal Danish matters, they promised to respect Denmark's independence and sovereignty. In fact, they did not want to regard Denmark as an occupied country. The Danish Government, headed by the Social-Democratic veteran Prime Minister, Hr. Thorvald Stauning, undertook the thankless task of "adjusting the life of the country to meet the changed circumstances." Parliament, civil service, local government, even the Danish army and navy, continued their existence. Legislation in all strictly internal matters was unimpaired, press and radio had to abandon their pro-Allied bias, but they did not noticeably change on the surface. Of course, the Germans were there, but they were far from dominating the picture. There were towns and villages which had not even seen a German until a year or more after the invasion. And, to give the German his due, the soldiers of the occupation army of 1940 on the whole behaved well. The troops were either old timers who wanted to live as peacefully as possible until they could get back to their homes, or they were young, arrogant Nazis, who were so sure of themselves after the Polish campaign



The Coastal Defence ship, *Peder Skram*, resting on the bottom of the Copenhagen harbour. From her main mast was flashed the signal to all Danish naval units in sight: "Escape or Scuttle"



Two pictures from Copenhagen during the early part of August, 1943, when the country seethed with unrest. *Top*: German soldiers, with revolvers, disperse a crowd of Danes. *Below*: An S.S. man orders the arrest of a young girl who wears the prohibited cap in R.A.F. colours



that they could afford to step off the pavement to make way for Danes—just to show their superiority.

This was a situation full of danger to a people which has a reputation for being easygoing. But Danes are also shrewd observers, and they soon began to think there must be a catch in it. Hitler himself gave the clue when after the fall of France two months later he began to talk about the New Order. German officials explicitly pointed to Denmark as an example of the New European Order, a small happy country, they said, which had accepted the leadership of the Third Reich. Denmark was to be a Model Protectorate, an exhibit in Hitler's show window advertising the New Europe, to other European countries as well as to the United States.

That was the first of a long series of mistakes made by the Germans in estimating the Danish national character. The Danes might quietly ignore unsuccessful German attempts to humiliate them, but they would never submit to prostitution, and this fact they lost no time in demonstrating. When the collaborationist Foreign Minister, Erik Scavenius, tried to force through a Danish-German customs and monetary union in August, 1940, the King and all the political parties were unanimous in rejecting it. Those who tended to discuss Denmark in terms of opportunism would do well to remember that the outstretched German hand was thrust aside at a time when Germany's complete victory to many detached observers seemed a foregone conclusion. It speaks highly of Denmark's feelings for Great Britain that the Danes refused to believe in the possibility of a British defeat.

The policy of the various Danish Governments during the years of occupation is fairly simple to explain. There was to begin with no indication from Allied quarters that they wanted Denmark to increase the resistance or bring about a change in the existing conditions. Once the policy of compromise has been adopted it is difficult to reverse the trend. The Government saw it as their duty to preserve the administration in Danish hands, to keep democratic institutions intact, to save the population the worst horrors of war, to preserve as much as possible of the country's strength for the day when Europe could again turn to peaceful work. It should not be imagined, however, that changing Danish Governments had no firmer principles than these. They had, indeed, a number—but they had no chance to express them. The first principle was that they would not enter into any arrangement which would compromise Denmark's position with the Allied Nations. This principle was many times put to the test when the Germans pressed for concessions which would in fact have made Denmark contribute to the war against the Allies. Such demands the Danish Government consistently refused. Secondly, the Danish Government would not agree to any conscription of Danes for war service or for work in German factories. Thirdly, the Government would not tolerate anti-Jewish measures on Danish soil. There were other, well defined terms, which set limits to the concessions the Germans could extort from Denmark. In the course of three-and-a-half years, the Germans did wring a number of concessions from the Government, which had to lend its name to many acts it would have preferred to see undone, but the fundamental principles were maintained. And when the break finally came in August, 1943, it was because the Danish Government refused to compromise on principles which they had promised the Danish people not to violate.

The Danish Government drew its strength from the people, and also obtained moral support of immeasurable value from the King. The changing mood of the Danish people is in itself a study of the greatest interest. Foreign observers who saw the Germans enter Copenhagen in 1940 were gravely disturbed by the absence of any medium through which the people could express their feelings. They stood motionless in the streets and watched the German panzers as they rattled through the capital. How could this people hope to stand up to the stress of a German occupation when they did not even have enough indignation in their hearts to put on a black tie, or do something, no matter what? The truth is that a sense of frustration had seized the Danish people. The Danes would not fight the Germans with their bare fists—such action would make heroes, but it would not make sense, and Danes are sensible by nature, and heroic only if there is no less spectacular way out. They began to search their own minds, to grope in the darkness. Their first gesture was of a very practical nature—they decided to bury all party politics and to form a national government and to concentrate on seeing the country through the dark times. Unity to such an extent became a commandment that it was almost an aim in itself, irrespective of the object implied by the unity. It was tragic, and at the same time reassuring, to see this highly cultured people seek refuge in measures which brought no peace to their minds. They sought consolation in community singing, they tried to forget the present by burying themselves in the glorious past of their country, but it was all of no avail. Breathing the same air as the Germans was the cause of the trouble, and there would be no change until the invaders were driven out.

Soon this somewhat sentimental attitude gave way to one of far more realism. The Germans were no longer just foreign soldiers who happened to behave fairly decently—they were the enemy. It has always been the Danish custom to fight the enemy—after all, only 80 years ago, in 1864, the Danes became the first victims of German imperialist expansion, and 1864 was still remembered. In short, the Danish attitude hardened, and it became clear that sooner or later the day would come when the fight would be carried into the open.

The first to suffer from the new determination of a patriotic people were the Danish Nazis, a miserable party whose influence on political matters was still further restricted by the fact that many of its members were ex-convicts and therefore debarred from voting. The Germans, who had been misled by their own propaganda, grossly overestimated the influence of the Nazi Party and decided to give it a chance. Six months after the invasion, the Nazis, under Dr. Frits Clausen, staged demonstrations all over the country, concluding with a large demonstration in Copenhagen, which was designed to sweep Clausen and his gang into power. Everything, however, turned out quite differently. Wherever the Nazis showed themselves they were beaten up by the public, who took no notice of the veiled support afforded the Nazis by German soldiers. Frits Clausen was dropped as Denmark's Quisling, although the Germans kept him in reserve until he had finally outlived his usefulness and had to volunteer for the Eastern front in 1943, though at the beginning of 1944 he was still pausing in Berlin. His departure served a double purpose. His nuisance

value had come to an end, and his disappearance helped to hush up the financial scandal in which he was involved. The ability to distinguish between mine and thine was not among Clausen's qualities.

The Germans had another good reason for keeping Clausen in the background and eventually dropping him. They wanted Danish daily life to go on as usual; only thus could they hope quietly to exploit Denmark's capacity for producing food and industrial goods. The financing of these transactions never gave the Germans any trouble. They forced the Danes to accept a clearing arrangement, and the Danish National Bank had to pay cash to farmers and industrialists for all their deliveries. The National Bank also had to finance the expenses incurred by the German occupation army and its fortification works in Jutland. By the summer of 1944 the plunder of Denmark had passed the 6,000 million Kroner mark. Compare this with Denmark's total foreign debt before the war, which amounted to 1,400 million Kroner.

It looked as if the decisive crisis might have come in November of 1941, when the Germans forced Denmark to adhere to the Anti-Comintern Pact. The Danish Government refused until it was presented with an ultimatum. When it became known that the Pact had been signed, serious riots broke out in Copenhagen. The Danish people made it quite clear that they had only one feeling for Russia: admiration for her brave fight against the Nazis. The pact in itself was nothing but a feather in Hitler's cap at a time when things were beginning to go badly for him. When the Germans hinted at the ideological implications of the pact, such as anti-Jew measures, etc., the King, Government and people again found each other in complete agreement and determined to stake everything on the rejection of demands which would dishonour Denmark and further compromise her relations with Russia, a country with which, in all her long history, Denmark has never had a quarrel.

As months passed the urge for resistance to the Germans became more pronounced. But there were two schools of thought as to how this resistance should be carried out. The majority wanted to preserve the full strength of democratic Denmark in order to meet the Germans with a united front when it was decided that the day for the battle had come, as come it would. They wanted to keep the strength that lies in unity, until they were all ready together to join in the battle. The minority were the activists, the people of the underground front, the editors of underground papers, the saboteurs, the reckless and anonymous company, whose heroism, tenacity and endurance have since aroused the admiration of the world. They were the partisans who recognised no front line. They fought the enemy where they met him, without waiting for orders or solemn resolutions.

It is important to remember that it was the *means* that differed, not the goal. This was demonstrated at the general elections which, contrary to all expectations, were allowed to be held in Denmark in March, 1943. Over 90 per cent of the electorate went to the polls, an all-time record, to cast their votes for the parties which had confessed their belief in democracy.

The second proof of the unity of the two fronts was given on 29th August, 1943, when the Germans encountered a united nation in open revolt.

PRELUDE TO BATTLE

IN Denmark everything happens gradually, even revolutions. The events of the first years of the occupation leading up to the Danish revolt all pointed to an increase in tension, but the cumulative effect came so slowly to its crisis that casual observers might well have failed to see what was happening. The Germans tried to exploit and break Denmark by following Hitler's own prescription: making one demand after another, but taking care to make no single demand so large as to provoke serious resistance. According to *Mein Kampf* this would take such toll of the continually-retreating people's strength that resort to armed resistance would be made impossible. Like many other Nazi slogans there was enough truth in this one to make it dangerous. It had held good in Europe up to 1939, so why not try it out in Denmark? Strangely enough the Danish Government used similar tactics to counteract Hitler's policy. They refused Hitler's demands whenever possible, but—up to the 29th August, 1943—they took care not to make their refusals so flagrant as to force Hitler to resort to arms in order to save his face. This policy enabled them to stave off the worst German demands, to reduce others, and to muddle up the rest—in few other countries was administrative sabotage so well carried out as in Denmark.

In spite of all that can be said in favour of the system, there could be no doubt that the Danish Government was on the retreat, even though it was a fighting retreat. Where Hitler's calculation went wrong was in the effect it would have upon the Danish people, amongst whom there was no loss of morale. On the contrary, every concession to the Germans was followed by a hardening of the individual Dane's attitude.

General deterioration in Danish-German relations became so marked in the autumn of 1942 that it could no longer be ignored, and the conflict was hastened by incessant intrigues among the German authorities. To what extent the well-known telegram episode is a frame-up is not yet clear, but dark forces may well have been at work. The known facts are as follows: Hitler, who was having difficulties on the Eastern Front, became annoyed with King Christian who had sent a very short reply to the Führer's birthday greetings. He decided to show the King that it was not done to reply to a telegram from Hitler "as if a consignment of goods was being acknowledged." The German Minister was recalled from Copenhagen, the Danish Minister in Berlin had his passport handed to him—the Germans began a war of nerves on the Danish people, culminating in a demand at the beginning of November that Foreign Minister Scavenius should be made Prime Minister. The outcome of the crisis was that a number of Danish ministers, regarded by the Germans as being too "difficult," were pushed aside and replaced in some cases by civil servants who had no political training, though none of whom was pro-German.

The ten months of the Scavenius period, from November, 1942, to August, 1943, were uncanny. Acceptance of Scavenius as Prime Minister

was an act of expediency. The people had no real confidence in him, but lack of confidence did not distress him in the least. There was no choice in the matter for the Danes. It was Scavenius or a *Reichskommissar* and the population was not inclined to accept "Norwegian conditions" until they saw a point in doing so. The best one can say about Scavenius is that he was as rude to the Germans as to his own countrymen, and real insolence is one of the few aspects of human behaviour which make an impression on the Germans. Even so, relations between two nations cannot be based on rudeness, and it was soon evident that the Scavenius arrangement was nothing but a stopgap measure. Active resistance by the Danish people eventually upset the apple cart.

In order to understand the significance of the vast increase in sabotage it is worth while looking at the various ways in which the Germans exploited Denmark. Germany needed three things to carry on the war: food, manpower, and war materials. It is true that the Nazis found a good deal of food when they conquered Denmark in 1940, but the advantage was of a very transient character. The Danish farmer could keep up his production of bacon and butter only if he could import overseas fodder. The British navy saw to it that no fodder reached Denmark from overseas and transport difficulties in Germany meant that no fodder could be brought overland. As a consequence the farmer had to reduce his stock of pigs and horned cattle, which meant a glut of meat while the killing was going on. This naturally accelerated the slump in production, which was the inescapable consequence of the new conditions. Danish food exports have long ceased to have any noticeable influence on the food situation in Germany. A few figures will be sufficient to demonstrate this. In the five years before the war the average yearly export of Danish butter was 150,000 tons, of which 35,000 tons went to Germany. Nowadays Germany is receiving 30,000 tons of butter from Denmark—less than before the war. The Danish Government has been forced to guarantee Germany a meat supply of 100,000 tons a year, but much of this is consumed by German troops on the spot. Compare this with an export of almost twice this quantity of bacon alone before the war—and again Germany is at a loss. It is estimated that one-sixth of Denmark's total food production now goes to Germany—the rest the Danes somehow manage to eat themselves.

Exploitation of Danish manpower shows a similar trend. After the invasion of 1940, unemployment spread like wildfire through the Danish industries and some 35,000 workers had to take work in Germany. Nazi papers gloated over this development and predicted that 200,000 men would soon have to go to Germany and work for the German war machine. Once more events turned out otherwise. The Danish Government was able to finance large scale unemployment relief schemes which absorbed tens of thousands of workers in the winter time; Trade Unions and employers agreed to reduce hours in many industries, and private individuals suddenly discovered that their houses needed repairs, or that fences were in need of replacement, etc. It was regarded as a patriotic duty to consume as many working hours as possible. In addition came a genuine need for more labour, for instance in the peat bogs to produce substitute fuel for the coal which the Germans had promised, but failed, to deliver.

Generally speaking many industries worked with *ersatz* materials of various kinds which required more processing, and therefore more manpower, than real raw materials. The total result of this state of affairs, coupled with a distinct unwillingness on the part of the workers to work for the Germans, was a decline in the number of Danish workers employed in Germany. Why this was tolerated by the Germans at a time when they were doing their best to secure slave labour from France, Belgium, Holland and other occupied countries is just one more riddle in the history of Danish-German relations.

The third object for Germany's exploitation was Denmark's industry. It is a common mistake to regard Denmark as being an almost exclusively agricultural country, with little or no export industry. The fact is that before the war, when Danish food exports were at their highest, industrial exports still accounted for 20 per cent of the total export values. Danish Diesel engines, motorships, freezing plants, dairy machinery, cement furnaces and many other kinds of engineering goods had won a reputation on the world market. When Allied bombs began to drop freely through the glass roof of the *Festung Europa*, it was not unnatural that the Germans should begin to wonder how they could best make use of idle or only partly working factories in Denmark. Naturally, the Germans themselves had to supply the coal, the iron, and the blue-prints, but they saw no reason why, as the occupying power, they should not make use of Denmark's industries.

Here, then, is one of the causes that led to the Danish revolt. A very small minority of Danish factory owners were willing to make profits by forging arms which would be turned against the Powers fighting for the liberation of Denmark, among other countries. The large majority did their best to avoid German orders. Their feelings were shared by their workers and were also supported by an overwhelming majority of the Danish people. Only the Germans had a terrible stranglehold on Danish industries, which depended for all their raw materials on German deliveries. Danish factories, like factories in all occupied countries, had to contribute some part of their production to Germany, but when the Nazis tried to increase this share, the Danes replied with bombs. Saboteurs had taken it upon themselves to reduce the usefulness of Danish industry to the German war effort to a minimum.

Organised sabotage began in earnest in the summer of 1942 and it has never stopped since. The first attempts were of necessity amateurish, consisting as a rule of incendiarism or attacks with home-made bombs; but Danish saboteurs were soon in possession of powerful explosives, distributed by widely spread underground organisations. The German way of dealing with sabotage was typical of their whole attitude in Denmark. They did not start shooting saboteurs, even if they happened to catch one. They only asked the Danes to guard their own factories better, at the back of which idea was the sinister hope that Danish saboteurs and Danish sabotage guards would shoot each other, thereby creating a state of civil war between two categories of Danish subjects and even dividing the Danish people into anti-sabotage and pro-sabotage factions. This time bomb, which eventually failed to explode, was by no means badly planned. Violent methods have never been popular in

Denmark and natural abhorrence of destruction could be reinforced by a number of arguments, such, for instance as : " Why do you want to blow up your own factories—your country will be ruined after the war." Or : " You can damage your own plants, but such acts will never amount to more than pinpricks against the German army." The more cautious would argue that the consequences for the country as a whole were quite out of proportion to the damage sabotage could do to the German war effort. It was again proved that cold reason is not always a decisive factor in the attitude of a people. True, there were many acts of sabotage which could not, in the minds of ordinary people, influence the war one way or another, but some of these sabotage cases were arranged by the Nazis to make real worthwhile sabotage unpopular. Danes (even including shareholders in industrial undertakings) began to understand that sabotage is one of the few weapons left to an occupied country and that it is legitimate for them to use it. And when that for which the Germans had hoped happened for the first time, and a sabotage guard and a saboteur shot each other dead, the people did not fail to demonstrate where their sympathies were. Thirty men followed the sabotage guard to the grave, but a concourse of nearly 10,000 people walked behind the saboteur's coffin, to mark their respect for a man who had staked his life for a cause, the " un-Danish " sabotage.

Because sabotage was a new departure in Denmark, people actively engaged in it approached the subject with an unbiased mind. New ideas were tried out, and Danish ingenuity reached record heights. The Germans doubled the guard in front of Gestapo headquarters in Copenhagen and searched people coming in and out. The saboteurs climbed the roof from a neighbouring building and lowered their deadly explosives through the chimneys. When the Germans requisitioned the Forum, the largest hall in Scandinavia, in order to use it as barracks, bombs were smuggled into the building with straw that was being brought in for the comfort of the German soldiers. The huge hall was rendered useless by a single explosion which blew the roof to atoms and shattered the walls. Saboteurs often appeared in Danish police uniforms, or—for the sake of the good cause—they would dress themselves in the quisling uniforms of the Danish Schalburg Korps. The result was that Denmark became the country in Europe where sabotage most effectively checked the German war-effort. In November, 1943, alone there were 300 major sabotage cases, of which nearly 200 were directed against factories engaged on German orders.

The German reaction to increased Danish sabotage, when this could no longer be ignored, was interesting. The German Commander-in-Chief General von Hanneken, a typical Prussian officer of mediocre intelligence, immediately said : " Shoot them—that will teach them." The German Plenipotentiary, Dr. Werner Best, who had arrived in Denmark in November, 1942, when Scavenius took over, clearly saw that executions were no solution. Best, a far more intelligent and infinitely more dangerous man than Hanneken, understood that violence on the part of the Germans would be met with violence. He understood that open conflict in Denmark would finally destroy the hope of exploiting that country without the employment of large German police and administrative forces. It would also mean the end of the myth of Denmark as a Model Protectorate.

Dr. Best, the ruthless ex-Gestapoman, who saw no objection to the destruction of a people "provided it was complete," preferred to believe in the myth up till the last second. Best went to Berlin and explained to his friends in the Party that sabotage in Denmark really did not matter, that it was carried out by a small minority of the people, and that the resistance movement had no following among the sensible Danish people. The next week Hanneken arrived in Berlin and told a very different story. All the time the Danes were sitting back, playing one German off against the other.

In the summer months of 1943 they all began to see that the situation was intolerable. Danish feelings had hardened to such an extent that the peaceful, freedom-loving population had been transformed into a determined block. A series of general strikes swept the country, and German Government circles in Berlin began to show themselves restive—events in Denmark were heading for a showdown.

On 4th August, 1943, the final phase of the crisis began. A German official handed the Danish Foreign Ministry a note demanding that all saboteurs should in future be handed over to the Germans, who would try them according to German law. Saboteurs who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment should serve their terms in Hamburg (of all places), and the Government should publish a statement to the effect that it approved the change. Prime Minister Scavenius, who was away on holiday, refused with refreshing rudeness to return to Copenhagen to deal with the German note until he was normally due there, and not until five days later did the Danish Government meet to discuss it. The terms were unacceptable, and the Germans were informed accordingly. A few days later, Dr. Best was received in audience by the King, and on 21st August the Government issued a last appeal asking the people to consider the grave consequences which individual acts might have for the whole country. It was of no avail. The mood of the people manifested itself in a number of strikes throughout the country in August, and when the final German ultimatum was presented on 28th August, even Scavenius, despite his lack of understanding for the mind of the common man, realised that public opinion would not allow him to give in.

As a prelude to the battle, strikes sprang up in a number of Danish towns. They were all provoked by outrageous German behaviour or unacceptable German demands. The strikes served a useful purpose in demonstrating Danish unity and in giving all classes a feeling that in this situation they could depend on one another. A typical case was the general strike in Esbjerg, Jutland's largest west coast port, where a curfew had been declared after some hundred thousand German fish boxes had gone up in flames. In the early morning word went round, and before noon the place was like a city of the dead. All workers went on strike, the telephone went out of use, buses stopped running, police stations and public offices bolted their doors, and the shops were closed; only gas, electricity and hospital services were maintained. The general strike was 100 per cent effective. Similar strikes broke out in Aalborg, Odense, Kolding—almost every large town in Denmark had its general strike to protest against some German outrage.

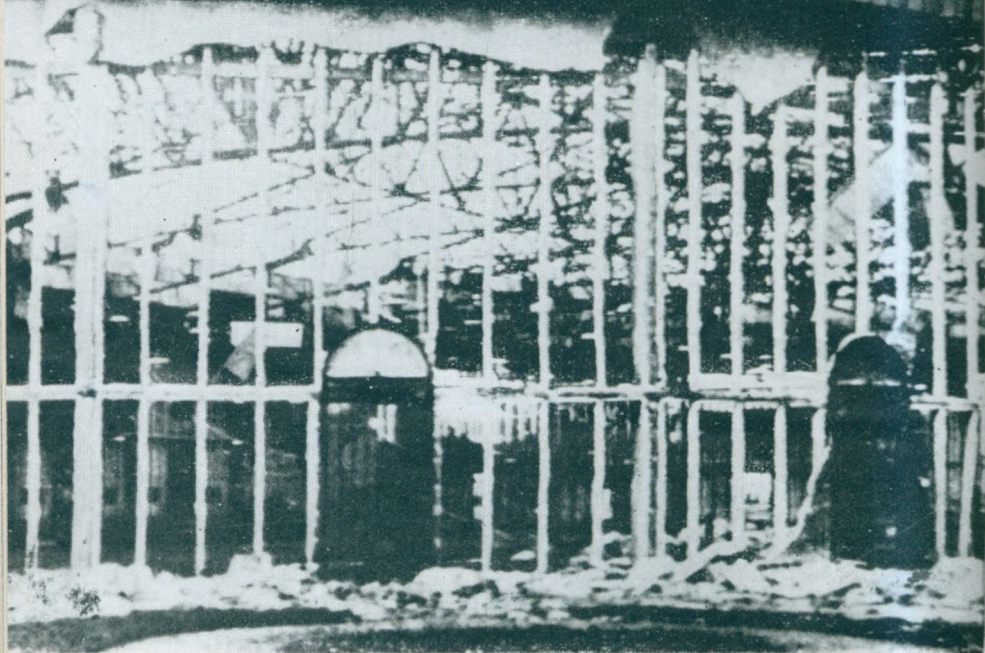
It was no longer possible for any German, even Dr. Best, to pretend



A German soldier lifting his rifle to fire at two Danes peacefully waiting in a doorway

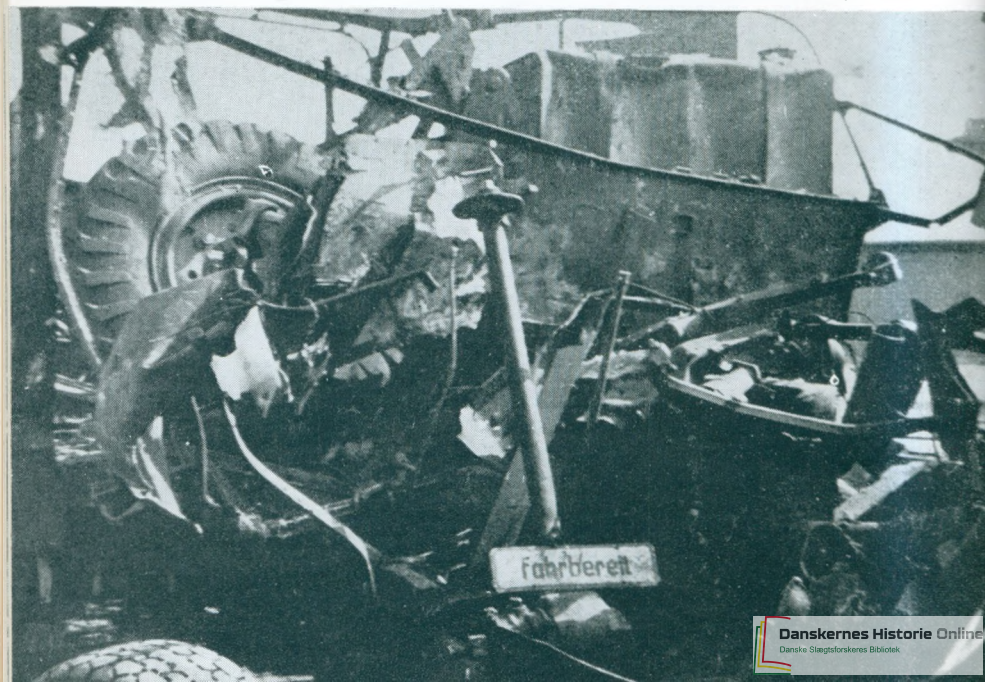
Patriots overturn a Black Maria in order to liberate arrested saboteurs





The Olympia of the North, the Forum Hall in Copenhagen, destroyed by sabotage the day before the Germans were due to take it over

The result of a sabotage attack on the Citroën factory in Copenhagen. The German "Ready for the Road" (*Fahrbereit*) has landed in the remnants of an army lorry



that Denmark was a peaceful, docile country. While serious riots broke out in Copenhagen and General von Hanneken declared a state of emergency in many Danish towns, Dr. Best went to Berlin to receive his final instructions. On Saturday, 28th August, he was back in Copenhagen, telling his friends that he was "a dead man in Berlin" after his failure in Denmark. He then handed the Danish Government two documents, in form and content an ultimatum which required acceptance before 4 o'clock the same afternoon.

The first set of demands represented the introduction of a state of emergency throughout the whole country. Public gatherings of more than five people were prohibited. Strikes and support for strikers were prohibited also and a curfew was to be in force from 8.30 p.m. to 5 a.m. The Danish Government was to bring to an end immediately all victimisation of people who co-operated or associated with the Germans. Finally, Danish summary courts of justice were to be set up immediately and the death penalty introduced as a punishment for sabotage, for attacks on the German army, and for possession of firearms and explosives. The second set of demands dealt with events in the town of Odense, where a German officer had been killed by patriots. Apart from a curfew, fines, etc., the following demand was put forward: "If the guilty persons are not handed over before September 5th, ten citizens of Odense, chosen by the occupying authorities, will be kept under arrest until the culprits are surrendered." In other words, the Danish Government was asked to agree to the imposition of death sentences on patriots and the system of taking hostages.

As many members of Parliament as could reach Copenhagen met, representatives of the Trades Unions met to discuss the matter, which was before the Government and a State Council, headed by the King. The decision was quickly made: the Government unanimously, and with the full approval of the King, decided to reject the German demands. The King, not fully recovered from a long illness, thanked every member of the Government for the unity they had shown and for their courage in making the decision without serious hesitation.

The reply was sent to the German Minister, Dr. Best, late in the afternoon. The Government dispersed, while an ominous silence fell over the town with the night that separated the shattered German illusions of a "Model Protectorate" from the hard realities of a nation in open conflict.

WHO ARE TO BLAME ?

IN the early morning of the 29th August, while the Germans, as already described, launched their attack on the Danish army and navy, other Germans were busy with their assigned jobs. The Gestapo, with German police forces helping them, carried out several hundred arrests. Many members of Parliament were fetched from their homes and temporarily imprisoned in a Copenhagen school. The three deputies who represented Dansk Samling, a particularly outspoken anti-German Party, and a number of Jews were arrested, but otherwise no plan or system was discernible. The editors of some newspapers, the boards of directors of others soon found themselves sharing a classroom with teachers, actors, business men, clergymen, librarians and lawyers. The Social Democratic Party and the Trades Unions were let off lightly, possibly because the Germans wanted to annoy the Trades Unions as little as possible so as not to provoke strikes. Otherwise it was just a cross section of the anti-Nazi Danish community, and the selection—or lack of selection—only proved that they were meant to be hostages.

They were soon transferred to the Horserød Camp, north of Copenhagen, which had hitherto housed interned Communists. When it became known during the night of the 29th August what was happening in Copenhagen, a hundred Communists and their guards made common cause and escaped by boat to Sweden. The Communists thus avoided deportation to Germany—a fate which later overtook some of their comrades who had failed to get away. Their escape made room for prominent hostages and relieved the ever-increasing pressure on prison space. The Communists were not the only people to make good their escape. Policemen who were suspected of having been too patriotic also crossed the treacherous strip of water separating Denmark from Sweden. Political prisoners in many cases escaped from prisons or hospitals and are now also enjoying Swedish hospitality. Hundreds of Danish patriots actively engaged in the fight on the underground front went into hiding and either made their way to Sweden later or stayed behind to do the job they still felt had to be done. This flight to Sweden on the 29th August became a useful dress rehearsal for the large-scale transports which were to take place when, a month later, the Nazis began to hunt the Jews.

In the early morning of the 29th August, German squads, less impressive than the Gestapo, were touring Copenhagen with gluepots and posters declaring martial law in the country. The declaration, signed by von Hanneken, demanded that all officials should continue to function. The use of telephone, telegraph and postal services was prohibited, all traffic was banned from dusk to dawn, all gatherings of more than five people, all strikes and incitement to strike were forbidden. Hanneken promised to deal ruthlessly with any infringement and events were soon destined to prove that this was no idle threat. There was one point of legal interest in the proclamation. Hanneken referred to the Hague Convention relating to land warfare, thereby admitting that he regarded a state of war as

existing between Germany and Denmark. During the next few days Hanneken issued a series of proclamations and warnings each one more bloodthirsty than the last. The Nazis showed themselves in their true colours, and nothing remained of the Germans' attempt to behave like human beings. The prohibition on gatherings of more than five people gave the Germans an especially welcome opportunity which they used to fire at small groups of people waiting at a bus stop or forming queues outside food shops. It was a reign of terror now and the Nazis were burning with anxiety to demonstrate their efficiency. They received willing assistance from a Danish Nazi body called the Schalburg Korps, a kind of Danish S.S., the members of which were trained to act as informers and guides for their German masters and were possibly later on to be used as a police force.

The Germans seemed to enjoy this exhibition of power while it lasted—after all, it was the reward for their only military success of the year. But after a few days the unmistakable signs of hangover appeared. The Germans began to wonder what on earth they were going to do with the country now that they had smashed up the parliamentary government. They could not put the hopeless Danish Nazis in power—their experiences with Quisling in Norway had been more than enough. They could not run the country with German officials because they had not a sufficient number of these with experience in administration. Faced with these difficulties, Hanneken, the bull in the china shop, gradually faded away into the background and Dr. Best, the urbane, "friendly" German Minister, once more held the stage.

The situation was as follows: the Government had resigned and ceased to function, although the King, in order to prevent the formation of a Quisling Government, had refused to accept the resignation. The King himself was virtually a prisoner in his castle. Parliament was in recess, but the Civil Service, the Police and Local Government officials continued to operate. The Germans had themselves to thank for this state of affairs, but they would nevertheless much have preferred to have a central authority with which to deal. Danish Government circles, however, made no move and on the 13th September Dr. Best approached the Permanent Head of the Danish Foreign Ministry, Hr. Svenningsen, and suggested two possible ways out of the difficulty. The first was the formation of a non-political government which should have the right to make laws; Parliament was to be called once or twice a year to pass the budget. The second was the continuation of the interregnum with increasing German control. The political parties did not hesitate to reject the suggestion that a Government should be formed as it would be nothing but a tool in German hands. A week later Dr. Best approached the Committee of Nine, a parliamentary committee with representatives of the Coalition Parties. Again the Danes refused the German offer and this was the last German attempt to establish a government which had the approval of the political parties. German feelers were, however, put out in an effort to secure an unpolitical government, but this stranded on the King's refusal to appoint any government which had not the approval of Parliament. As nobody would call Parliament, the Germans now found themselves in the very situation which for years they had tried to avoid. It was reported that the pro-German barrister

Krenchel approached the King with a suggestion that he, Krenchel, should form a government. The King's reply was typical of the biting wit with which nature has endowed the tall monarch. He pointed to his bandaged leg and said: "Hr. Krenchel, I must remind you that it is my foot which is amiss, not my head." That ended the audience.

Admittedly, the new situation was detrimental to German interests. Active resistance was increasing by leaps and bounds and the whole population stood solidly behind a resistance movement which it had hitherto looked upon with a mixture of admiration and anxiety as to the consequences. Now that the decision had been made the prospects seemed less frightening than before.

In these circumstances the Germans began to look around for a scape-goat. Who were the people responsible for their misfortunes? In the Wilhelmstrasse they looked up their files and discovered that it must be the Jews. There was a precedent for this conclusion. Orders were prepared for the arrest of all pure Jews in Denmark.

It should be clearly understood that there is no Jewish question in Denmark, or for that matter, in any Scandinavian country. The question arose for the first time in Denmark during the occupation, when Danes were suddenly forced to think of the Jews as a section of the population who would probably be the first to be victimised. The Jews themselves knew this and they felt that any "crime" a Jew committed against the occupation Power would bring unending misery to thousands of his race. It was only natural that the Jews in Denmark should lie low, hoping for the day of liberation. The rest of the Danes understood their attitude and made no attempt to draw them into active resistance. It will therefore be seen as a complete distortion of the facts that the Germans blamed the Jewish community for the resistance and sabotage. Later events gave the lie to this German accusation, for there has never been more sabotage than has occurred since the flight of many Jews to Sweden and the internment of most of the rest.

The pogrom was timed for the 1st October, the Jewish New Year. The news had leaked out a couple of days in advance and for two nights no Jews slept in their own homes. Whole families worked their way to the coast in the darkness and somehow made the crossing to Sweden. Men of the highly organised underground resistance movement turned their attention away from bombs and illegal papers for a few nights to help rescue some thousands of their countrymen from the horror of German ghettos. Their efforts met with almost complete success. Some six thousand Jews, rich and poor, were landed on the friendly shores of Sweden. How it was done cannot be told yet—careless talk has already sent a number of the Scarlet Pimpernels of Denmark into prison. A few hundred Jews were less fortunate; some ran into German patrols while trying to escape, others were taken out of hospitals or from the Jewish Home for the Aged. Men of the Schalburg Korps rendered their German masters excellent service during these nights as guides and informers—that is one thing which will certainly be remembered when their German protectors have gone. Of a total of six to seven thousand Jews, the Germans seized only a few hundred and a number of these have been sent to a concentration camp in Theresienstadt in Bohemia. All the rest are safe in Sweden

and among these are scientists of great repute and leading men in all walks of life.

The German crime raised an outcry in Denmark. Students and secondary school pupils struck in protest. The teaching staff of both universities raised its voice in anger; from the pulpits, clergy condemned the outrage. The Trades Unions, Employers' Association and societies of every kind added their protests, couched in the strongest possible language. No one took the trouble to hide his feelings. On the 2nd October the Germans published a hypocritical statement worded as follows: "Since the Jews, who by their anti-German provocation and their material and moral support of terrorism and sabotage, which has greatly contributed to the acute situation in Denmark, have now been removed from public life . . . the release of interned Danish soldiers will begin in the immediate future. . . ."

In other words, the Danes were to be bribed to accept the pogrom in exchange for the release of Danish soldiers and sailors. This insulting German statement received a dignified reply from the heads of the two disarmed services, General Goertz and Admiral Vedel, who informed Dr. Best in almost identical terms that they would regard it as damaging to the honour of Danish officers if they were to receive their freedom at the expense of another section of the Danish community. The temporary masters of Denmark put up with the insults and protests with a good grace. Hanneken, Best and Gestapo chief Kannstein offered the excuse that they were personally against the persecution which had been ordered by Hitler himself. This may well be true, since otherwise it would be difficult to account for the escape of so many thousands of Jews to Sweden; and if it is true, it tells a story of lack of discipline and loyalty to Hitler, of which it is probably but one example among many.

The Swedish Government, for its part, launched a strong protest in Berlin and told the Germans that they would open the Swedish frontiers to *all* Danish Jews. The note was never answered officially, but the German Press told the Swedes to mind their own business, to which the Swedes replied in kind. Sweden did more than protest. She started a tremendous welfare organisation to care for more than ten thousand Danes who had sought refuge with her. Reception centres were established overnight, camps were provided for those who wished to volunteer for forestry work and, according to Swedish newspaper reports, camps have even been established where young Danes can receive training for police duties along the same lines as those arranged for Norwegians.

Sweden's protest and her reception and treatment of Danish refugees and, incidentally, of almost double this number of Norwegian refugees, is one of the many signs which augur well for full understanding between the Scandinavian countries after the war.

THE REIGN OF TERROR

BY their brutal, though muddled, persecution of the Danish Jews the Germans cut themselves off from the last possibility of making a working arrangement with responsible Danes. No political agreement could now be effective, for any Dane who suggested such a thing would be signing his own death warrant as a public figure. The Danes might tolerate economic exploitation and they might possess the spiritual superiority to ignore German insolence, but their sense of justice and decency vetoed any dealings with a power which used force to eradicate a section of the Danish community.

The Danes are slow to anger, but when roused the feeling lasts. The ordinary Dane was in a way more inclined to pity the German, who was possessed by the idea that God had chosen him to rule the world—unfortunately without endowing him with the necessary qualities. Gradually Danish feelings hardened into contempt, and on the 29th of August to anger. A new and stronger feeling swept into many Danish hearts when the Germans began their man hunt. Witnesses of this scene, which took place in Copenhagen in December, were roused to fury. A few lorries drove up to the goods station in Copenhagen and out of the vans were pushed fifty-two Jewish children, the eldest fourteen and the youngest one year old. For more than two months they had been living huddled together in prison cells, under the supervision of a German nurse. No wonder they looked thin and grimy as they were shifted to the cattle trucks which were to take them to their parents in the concentration camp. The next day Danes saw a German soldier jump out of the marching column and bayonet a boy of twelve, because he happened to smile as the Germans went by. A naturally contented and kindly people learnt to hate. The attitude of the Danes in meeting the German terror can only be fully understood if one can appreciate the primitive meaning of a word which has a place in the vocabulary, but seldom in the hearts of Anglo-Saxon people.

Now, at last, the Germans are in a position for which there is a precedent. Their copybook tells them that hatred must be stamped out—or at least subdued or neutralised—by terror. The recipe from Poland, Norway, etc., was to be used in Denmark as well—needless to say it had the same negative result. The Germans chose to make sabotage their pretext for the introduction of terror in their former "Model Protectorate." When the Germans introduced martial law they made it clear that they intended to apply the death penalty for sabotage, but they hesitated to make good this threat as long as they still hoped to establish a working arrangement. There had been sporadic executions earlier, but there had been no determined German attempt to try and stamp out resistance by means of death sentences. Danish law, incidentally, has abolished the death sentence and no executions had taken place in Denmark during this century until the Germans began them again. The first to face German firing squads were two workers, in the Nazi terminology Communists, who were accused of having incited German soldiers to mutiny. Immediately before the Danish revolt the Germans executed a patriot who was caught while transporting

a lorry load of sabotage explosives to Aalborg, one of the main centres of German activity in Jutland.

It was not until November, 1943, that saboteurs had unfailingly to reckon with a death sentence if they were caught by the Nazis. It speaks highly for the courage of the patriots that the risk did not deter them. There were, in November, as already mentioned, more than three hundred major sabotage cases, of which two hundred were directed against firms working on German orders. The increased risk called for better organisation, and soon organised saboteurs began to work in squads of up to fifty armed men. Against a sabotage group of this size the ordinary anti-sabotage guard stood no chance. As a rule the guards gave up without a struggle, often also because they had fallen for one of the many tricks invented by the ingenious saboteurs. Most sabotage is now carried out in accordance with a standard pattern: the sabotage guards are overpowered and taken to a safe place, together with any workers who happen to be on the premises. Very often air raid shelters serve as a safe zone for sabotage guards, while the factory is destroyed over their heads. Sometimes the saboteurs smuggle their bombs into the factory and then warn workers by telephone that the place is due to blow up in a few minutes' time. As a rule this happens, but now and then it is a false alarm, raised by a practical joker, who at least succeeds in spreading confusion and delay in a factory working for the Germans. Even the Gestapo were forced one day in December to evacuate their headquarters in Dagmarhus, on the Town Hall Square in Copenhagen, when they had been warned anonymously by telephone that the place was mined and would blow up at any minute. Nothing happened, except that somebody had a good laugh—the Gestapo should have known better. Nobody would have warned *them*, if the house was really to be blown to bits!

A special chapter should be devoted to railway sabotage, which in months to come may acquire great significance. When the Swedish Government, in August, 1943, stopped the so-called "leave traffic" through Sweden of German soldiers going to or from Norway, the railways of Jutland became vitally important to the Wehrmacht. They also became fair game for saboteurs and every now and then the main railway lines of Jutland are blown up in as many as fifty places. One particular wave of sabotage, which destroyed the main signal box at Aarhus and several railway bridges, threw rail transport into chaos for a fortnight. Five Danish patriots paid with their lives for this action.

The Germans have made but one reply to Danish opposition: executions, deportation and terror. They had another pretext for trying quickly to suppress the Danish revolt; they pretended to fear that the Allies might invade Jutland, and possibly Norway at the same time. Now, von Hanneken had got the Danish army and navy out of the way, but the hostile civilian population was still a danger to the German occupation. The Nazis know from their Russian campaign how saboteurs and partisans can hamper and demoralise front-line troops. Hanneken wanted once and for all to paralyse the Danish people by striking terror into their hearts.

We know, from confessions by both Hanneken and Best, that this is the German policy. Hanneken, being the more clumsy of the two, was the first to make the admission. He went to the Danish Foreign Ministry a

few days after the introduction of martial law and the curfew in August, when the Germans were still shooting at sight innocent people who happened to be in their way. "This will teach them," said Hanneken brusquely to a Danish official, "we have put a stop to your saboteurs." He had hardly finished speaking when the building was shaken by a heavy explosion. The Prussian general went to the window and saw a ship, laden with iron ore for Germany, slowly heeling over and settling with its heavy cargo on the bottom of the harbour. A huge hole had been torn in the bows of the vessel. The saboteur had got his ship, but three months later Hanneken got his man. While Copenhagen was quietly preparing for its fourth Christmas under the occupation, this patriot faced a firing squad in the sombre yard of the German barracks.

Two months later Hanneken expounded his terror thesis when he received a deputation from the town of Randers, where two young people had been sentenced to death for sabotage. The general confessed that he would never get the trained saboteurs, but he would stop sabotage acts inspired by misled idealism. He added "by these death sentences we shall strike terror into the population and they will therefore not be in vain." Dr. Best, in a statement to the press at the beginning of December, declared that the Germans would fight sabotage with ruthless terror until order was restored. Off the record he told the journalists that scores of heads were still destined to fall in Denmark. He blamed not only saboteurs but those who, by their general attitude, encouraged sabotage and anti-German feelings.

Next on the list of terror measures came deportations to concentration camps in Germany. The names of those who are carried off to an uncertain fate are published by way of a warning—thirty-two in one case, sixty in another, all of them ordinary Danish men and women who have resisted the Germans in one way or another.

For the most sinister aspects of this German terror campaign it is necessary to search the prisons in Denmark, the concentration camps in Germany, or the secret records of the Gestapo. The publicly announced terror campaign has been accompanied by torture and atrocities against Danes who have fallen into German hands. It is a new departure in Denmark and the subject is hardly fit for public discussion with the victims still within reach of the Gestapo. This, however, can wait until the German criminals can be brought to account for their misdeeds. It will suffice now to state the fact that the Gestapo is using torture in Denmark as in all other occupied countries. A few victims who have escaped to Sweden will live to tell the courts a tale of horror, and their stories will be substantiated by the evidence of broken limbs, and burnt and withered muscles. Others were not spared to see the future day of vengeance. A number of Danes have been shot while trying to escape. Others have "died in prison"—as to their death, Danish doctors can but certify that they have never seen bodies so badly maltreated.

The senseless German terror led to a painful loss for spiritual life in Denmark when the preacher and playwright Kaj Munk, the greatest dramatist of the North since Ibsen, was brutally murdered by four men. One night in January he was dragged away from his peaceful vicarage in West Jutland by four men who pretended they had come to arrest him

on German orders. The following morning he was found shot in a wood near Silkeborg, the seat of von Hanneken's headquarters. Was this assassination the beginning of a murder-campaign designed to destroy or reduce to silence Danish intellectuals? Time will give the answer. The Germans showed their respect for the great Kaj Munk by prohibiting obituaries in Danish papers and by insisting that the press must not give more space to Munk than to an unknown fishmonger, a Nazi informer, who had been liquidated by patriots the same day. To Danish minds the Germans have never given a better proof of their complete disregard for the cultural values which are an integral part of Danish democracy.

This does not make pleasant reading, but it is a necessary detail in order to place active Danish resistance in its true setting. German brutality has been countered by harsh measures on the part of the patriots. In Copenhagen, where murder used to be a rare sensation, informers and traitors are liquidated at regular intervals, and nobody stops to take notice of it. One night, two traitors living in different parts of Copenhagen were killed within a period of five minutes. A policeman who had fired on saboteurs was shot on his doorstep the following night. Next to the gallant work of a saboteur, the distasteful job of an informer has become the most dangerous profession in Denmark.

In their fight against "lawlessness," the Germans constantly complain that they get very little help from the Danish police. The policemen are in a position which nobody would envy them—they are, as a rule without reason, looked upon with suspicion by their countrymen and are openly distrusted by the Germans. If the Nazis had the men to replace them they would do this without hesitation. They cannot spare enough reliable policemen to keep four million Danes in order when they need all available men to keep down twenty times the number of Germans. In Denmark the Germans have tried to produce a substitute, the Schalburg Korps, formed of the remnants of the disbanded Friekorps Danmark, and the shady gangs that used to assemble around the discarded Danish Nazi Party. The Germans hope to collect a force of six thousand men, which they think will be sufficient to keep the population in order, particularly in case of an invasion. They may also have plans to put Schalburg men in charge and they will be particularly well fitted for the kind of "police duties" the Germans have in mind as most of them are ex-convicts. They know the tricks of the trade from the other end. Up to now, the Schalburg men have made their appearance only during the rounding up of the Jews. Individually, or in small gangs, they have committed a series of armed holdups and similar crimes. They have made no impression on the Danes, and most of them are believed to have joined the corps partly because of the good pay, and partly because they want to have a revolver at hand when the day of reckoning comes.

In their fight against the German terror, the Danes draw their strength from the knowledge that they are fighting for a just cause and that the end is in sight. They have, too, a secret weapon against which there is no defence, the Danish sense of humour. What exactly that covers cannot be explained within the framework of this pamphlet. It is one thing amongst the stolid farmers of Jutland and quite another among the light-hearted, thoroughly urbanised people of Copenhagen, where the errand-boy

population alone is famous for its native wit. Danish humour is perhaps best described as something which the Germans do not possess. If they had this, they might have a slightly better chance as conquerors of other nations.

After nearly four years of German occupation, there is only one instance on record of a German showing a psychologically correct approach to a situation. He was trying to get on to the last tram, which as usual was filled to capacity with Danes going home. He pleaded with the civilians to give way. No one moved. Lifting his hands in despair he almost cried in broken Danish: "*Not traitor, nicht Schalburg Mann.*" He had touched a weak spot in the Danish armour. He was admitted to the tram.

VI

THE SURVIVAL OF DANISH DEMOCRACY

HOW has nearly four years of German occupation affected Danish democracy and the people's outlook on life? Corresponding questions will be put in all occupied countries, and it is no exaggeration to say that on the reply depends a good deal of Europe's future. To what extent has the mind, even the unconscious mind, been influenced by years of enforced contact with Nazism, the worst deliberate enemy of human civilisation? In this respect Denmark was subjected to greater dangers than possibly any other occupied country, except where the Germans attempted to stamp out national culture by destroying the intellectuals of the nation. The danger in Denmark was not so much German violence as the threat in subtle disguise. The Germans would pose as noble protectors against the dangers of Communism, or they would make out that their occupation of Denmark had preserved the country from being turned into a battlefield. They would allow the Danes a large amount of individual, and particularly economic, freedom, in order to prove that Nazism was better than its reputation. Nazism, they argued, was not for export but they would, nevertheless, do their best clandestinely to instil Nazism into Danish minds. They tried hard to undermine the faith of the Danish people in democracy, and they attempted to spread distrust among the political parties. In short, by a mixture of threats and persuasion the Germans tried gradually to bring the Danes to think along Nazi lines. When they had finally to write off the attempt as unsuccessful they took refuge in terror methods, which were to fail in Denmark as they had failed in all other occupied countries.

The final proof of the survival of Danish democracy was given by the Danish underground organisation which, towards the end of 1943, produced a plan for the future reconstruction of the country and for a just settlement with the past. Patriots, working in daily danger of their lives, demonstrated

in this plan that they had fully preserved their belief in democracy and that three-and-a-half years under German rule had failed to distort their outlook on fundamental questions. The plan, which is rightly regarded as one of the most interesting reconstruction and retribution plans to be smuggled out of occupied Europe, is given in full as an Appendix to this pamphlet.

It must be admitted that the Germans had taken a good deal on themselves when they tried to lure Denmark away from her democratic conception, for there is hardly a nation in Europe where democracy has so truly become an integral part of daily life. It is possible that the ideas of English democracy, with their almost classic simplicity, have a wider span, but as a small nation's democracy Denmark holds a place which more than repays intensive study. The outer signs of Danish democracy are fairly well known—high social standards, equality of opportunity, easy access to education, the Folk High Schools—all of which tend to further high standards in agriculture, industry and economic life as a whole. The effect of the Danish democratic system on the mind of the individual in very different, less peaceful circumstances, was, however, an unknown factor. Danish democracy stood up to the test.

Shortly after the invasion in 1940, when the Germans found out that Danish Nazis had the same effect on the public as a red rag on a bull, they looked to big business for a solution. Strange as it may seem, they succeeded in finding a few who were willing to water down the parliamentary constitution by forming a government which did not enjoy a majority in Parliament. The King and all responsible politicians flatly rejected such proposals. In a statement to Parliament in November, 1940, M. Stauning, then Prime Minister, declared that no member of the Government, nor the King, would ever in their acts bypass the legally elected Parliament.

All through the period of occupation it was demonstrated that democracy could work, even under the most unfortunate conditions. A state of confidence was maintained between Parliament and people, and largely between Government and people, although the Government sometimes gave in to demands which the people, without knowing the threats behind them, would have been inclined to reject. On the whole the democratic front held firm and when the break finally came, in August, 1943, the whole people was solidly behind the decision.

The Germans imprisoned the King and put the Government and Parliament out of action, but were met in return with the will of a united people. There was no Quisling administration sandwiched between the Danes and the Germans; the Germans had to bear the burden of hate alone. If the parliamentary system in Denmark were to be pushed aside, it could hardly have done a better job than to bring unity of purpose to the people who were being deprived of their elected spokesmen.

A long time before this happened, democratic forces had been gathering secretly in underground groups. Some were engaged in direct resistance to the Germans, others were filling the gaps which the occupation had made in the democratic system. The clandestine press, for instance, was one such measure designed to keep democratic traditions alive when the Danish daily press had come under German-controlled censorship. As the censors tightened their grip on the papers, the underground press grew in

importance as a conveyor of information necessary to the working of a democratic community.

It was from the organisations engaged in active resistance and the illegal information service that "Denmark's Council of Freedom" sprang up. Who the members are cannot be told as long as the Germans are in the country. Some of them are already on the German proscribed lists; this at least must apply to the Communists, who are represented on the Council, but others may still be living a double existence as "respectable" citizens by day and courageous patriots at night. While, therefore, no names can be given, we can rest assured that the Freedom Council really represents the active resistance movement. Proof of this lies in the fact that it has the support of all well-known underground papers, from extreme Left to Die-hard Right.

The Council took first things first. While Denmark was still in the throes of crisis it was imperative that everybody should pull his weight, and in the right direction. Everyone wanted maximum resistance to the Germans, but amongst the various groups there was a diversity of ideas as to the most effective forms of resistance. This was in the nature of things. There were groups who had engaged for years in well-planned and well-executed sabotage. There were people who knew how to get hold of explosives and how to use them. There were others equally enthusiastic but less experienced who wanted to do their share but did not know how to set about it; the result was acts of resistance which involved risks for the whole community that were out of proportion to the effect they had on the German war machine. The Freedom Council made the position clear in a statement issued to the underground front on the 29th of October, 1943. It outlined the lawlessness which had been introduced by the Germans, including political murders committed by Danish Nazis. The Council fully understood that Danes might be tempted to reply in kind, but it pointed out that this would lead to arbitrary reprisals on behalf of the Germans. The Council also assured the Danes that Nazis, Danish as well as German, would be dealt with later. The Council concluded:

"Resistance against the Germans should follow two lines:

"(1) Every single Dane must deliberately and untiringly obstruct German interference and exploitation by refusing to accept, or by delaying or confusing every order from the army of occupation. He must sabotage every task which is forced upon Danes in the way of administration, police and guard duties and within the framework of economic and professional life. He must do everything in his power to frustrate German man hunts.

"(2) Those who have the courage and the means at their disposal must direct their attacks at points of vital importance to the enemy, such as war production plants and means of communication. Repressive measures which the Germans may take after acts of this kind will be borne with understanding and pride by the Danish people."

In this way the Freedom Council skilfully tackled a problem which in other occupied countries has caused anxiety in high Allied quarters: the waste of courage and patriotic effort on tasks which did not fit in with Allied strategy and were therefore far less effective than if they had been properly directed and wisely timed. As in all revolutions, the time had come for the leaders to hold back, rather than to incite. It speaks highly for the

discipline of the Danish patriots that they could agree to follow the advice given by the Freedom Council. Many of the less useful acts of sabotage were stopped, but the sabotage weapon was wielded with all the more force against industrial plants and lines of communication, where the effect was most directly felt by the Germans. The Council was right in its conclusion: the reprisals that followed were borne with understanding and pride by the Danish people. The pride was on the part of the patriots, who, refusing to have their eyes bandaged, faced the firing squad in the artillery barracks in Copenhagen. Understanding was shown by the rest of the people, who suffered the heavy burden of growing German oppression.

As already mentioned, Denmark's Freedom Council has found time to look ahead and make its contribution to post-war planning. In November, 1943, when German terror was setting in at full force, the Freedom Council published a plan for the post-war period. This was marked by moderation and by a firm belief that it was possible to meet the situation without violating democratic principles. At a time when one or two Danish politicians were thinking of the future from a narrow, party point of view, the Freedom Council produced a comprehensive plan based on national principles and resting on a democratic foundation. Naturally there are details in the plan which cannot be accepted without comment, but the post-war plan that satisfies everybody has yet to be produced. The decisive thing is that, in its belief in democracy, the Council proves the strength of democratic ideas under adverse conditions and thereby makes heartening reading for all.

Members of the Freedom Council agreed on the plan, of which the most significant detail is probably that the Council as such has no place in the post-war scheme. Denmark's constitutional bodies are regarded as being quite capable of solving the post-war problems. Indeed, the text of the plan begins with the words: "The new Government which in accordance with the constitution is appointed by the King immediately the occupation has been brought to an end has the following tasks, etc. . . ." The next step, then, is an election and the formation of a new Government in accordance with the election result. The new Parliament will decide on a long term plan and make provision for the placing of responsibilities of a political nature.

The plan is not a kid glove affair, but there are no lynch law tendencies in it. What, for instance, will happen to the Danish Nazis?

Danish Nazis will immediately be arrested. The Danish Nazi volunteer corps will be disarmed and its members imprisoned. The Freedom Council gives excellent justification for this measure. It is found desirable to prevent the Danish people from taking justice into their own hands and exterminating the Nazis, and thus to avenge the crimes which have been committed by gangsters who, during the occupation found a certain amount of protection behind a German uniform. They will all be tried in due course by special tribunals. Some may be found to be war criminals in the internationally defined sense of the word—they will be dealt with in accordance with the principles established at the Moscow Conference and other Allied guidance which may be issued before the War Crime Courts begin to function. The small fry actually present the greatest difficulty, but the Freedom Council undertakes to bring them to book.

This will not cause insurmountable difficulty, since there exists a carefully kept record of the doings of all Danish traitors. The fact that a Dane has been a Nazi will not in itself be regarded as a punishable offence, and it is not intended in future to outlaw the Nazi Party. That, says the Freedom Council, would be a breach of democratic principles. One might also add that it would be entirely superfluous.

One of the first tasks of the Danish Government will be to release all political prisoners and victims of the Nazis and to suspend all decrees and regulations introduced under German pressure. Government officials who have favoured the Germans will be suspended. Not later than six months after the end of the occupation a general parliamentary election will be held.

The tasks which the Freedom Council recommends the new Parliament to tackle are those which will cause most searching of hearts. There were so many pros and cons in the Danish situation during the first part of the occupation that it would be easy to be unjust to individuals. Some who openly advocated a certain amount of collaboration with the Germans secretly did all they could to counteract collaboration. Others who supported the resistance movement did so out of profits they had made on German orders. It is, in fact, realised that many cases cannot be settled on a strictly juridical basis because they are inextricably entwined with the whole question of Denmark's official policy during the occupation. This the Council clearly realises. It therefore advocates that a parliamentary committee should investigate the question as to whether members of the Government or of Parliament have acted with criminal negligence or otherwise betrayed the interests of the country during the occupation or immediately before it took place. If a *prima facie* case can be established against anyone, he will be committed for State trial in accordance with the constitution.

Another difficulty is presented in the consideration of the case of collaborators connected with the press, wireless, education, etc., whose behaviour has given the Nazis moral support. In peace time they would hardly have caused any trouble for the people would have known how to deal with them; but during the occupation they were under German protection, while censorship, and other forms of restriction on the expression of public opinion gave them an unfair advantage. To a very large extent their efforts were ineffective against the commonsense of the Danish population. Their acts have condemned them and it will hardly be necessary to proceed further against them. Public servants in this category, however, cannot be entrusted with a task under the rebuilding of Denmark after the war, and will therefore have to be suspended and possibly dismissed in the same way as other officials who failed in their duty or unduly collaborated with the Germans.

Every question concerned with guilt and retribution and with reconstruction which has at one time or another confronted the Danish public is dealt with in the plan. Denmark's Freedom Council, by its sober thinking and belief in democracy, has made a great contribution to the assessment of the true position in Denmark under the occupation.

FREE DENMARK AND THE FUTURE

DENMARK'S international position is still as unprecedented and undefined as her internal conditions were until clarified by the events of the 29th August. Denmark is not formally at war with Germany, although a large section of the Danish community, both inside and outside the Danish frontier, is actively fighting the Germans. Germany pretends not to regard Denmark as occupied territory, though it is hard to find another description for a state of affairs in which the Danes are being oppressed by 80,000-100,000 German soldiers. "Protected" would suit the German book better, but it is difficult to maintain even that pretence after the long-drawn-out fight has emerged into the open. When the German C-in-C. wants to justify his acts of repression he points to The Hague Convention referring to Land Warfare, whereby, without further explanation, he assumes that Denmark is an enemy-occupied country.

There can be no doubt that Denmark is actively engaged in the fight against Germany, if for no other reason than because Denmark's future as a free nation depends on a German defeat. But on the other hand, Denmark is not officially to be found among the United Nations or the Allies. "Allies in all but name" is an often-heard description but not one which students of international relations will regard as comprehensive, for in their minds formalities count for a good deal. The undefined position of Denmark may, in the long run, prove to be detrimental to Danish and Allied interests alike. Danes will naturally feel that the struggle which they decided to enter into entitles them to a certain amount of recognition from the Allied Powers and United Nations. Can the Danes be expected to maintain their fighting power at highest pitch if their efforts do not seem to meet with response from the outside world? Even if Denmark is only a small detail in European strategy it may prove worth while to outline the situation, its difficulties and its possibilities.

When Denmark was occupied by the German army in April, 1940, the Danish army fought the invaders until the Danish Government bowed to the German threat of bombing Denmark into submission. With no hope of assistance from outside, there was no other course open, for the Allies had indicated that no help could be given by them in the event of a German attack. The Germans then gave a number of promises, amongst others that they would restore Denmark's sovereignty and integrity and that Danish soil would not be used as a base for attacks against the Allies. The Danish Government bowed to this enforced arrangement under protest, but naturally the Government never entered into any agreement with the Nazis. The occupation of Denmark rests on violence alone.

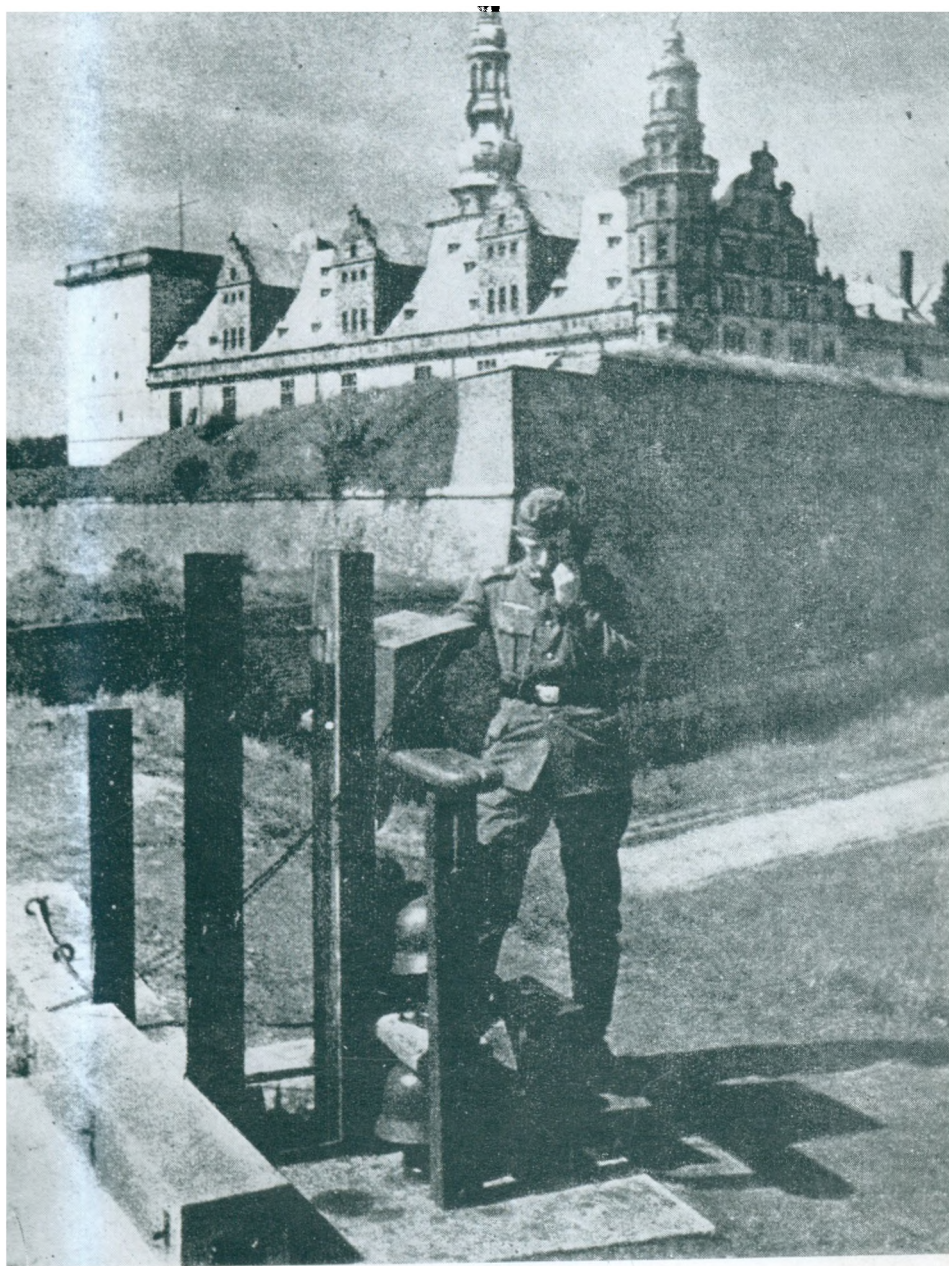
The King, the Government and Parliament continued to deal with all internal affairs up to the 29th of August, 1943. After that date the King became virtually a prisoner in German hands. His Government is suspended or dissolved. Parliament, having been elected in March, 1943, for four years, is still a legal Parliament, although it cannot meet.

In reality a state of war exists between Germany and Denmark, though the war is undeclared, and must remain so for many reasons. The Germans have no interest in declaring war on a country which they have already occupied and Denmark is prevented from doing so by circumstances. According to the Danish constitution war can be declared only by the King and Parliament in unison—for obvious reasons a decision of this kind cannot be taken.

Denmark has no government outside the Danish frontiers and, for a variety of reasons, the formation of a government in exile is hardly a practical possibility. Just as there is nobody in Denmark who can declare war on Germany, so there is nobody outside the country who is in a position to make a binding agreement with the Allied Powers. Fate and the constitution have joined hands to make this situation one of bitter irony, for the Danes in their homeland are fighting the Germans as determinedly as the Danes in the free world are supporting the Allied war.

Danes who were able to make their choice did not hesitate in reaching a decision. The formation of a Free Danish Movement in Britain was but one of many expressions of Danish determination to support the Allied war effort. Denmark's diplomatic representatives in almost every free country are to-day recognised by the various Governments as representing Denmark and the country's true interests, even if the Danish Government at home has been forced to repudiate them. While the sympathy of the Danes has never been open to question, the burning problem was how Danes in the democratic world could best support the Allied war effort. Considering the size of the country and the number of Danes who were free to act in accordance with their convictions, the contribution of Free Denmark to the Allied cause is by no means negligible. Some of the main features are mentioned below.

When Denmark was invaded there were some 800,000 tons of shipping on the high seas. The Germans immediately instructed Danish ships to return to Danish ports if they could make them, or otherwise go to a neutral port. The 5,000 Danish seamen manning these vessels realised what was at stake. They set course for harbours where the British flag was flying, or they made for Allied or United States ports. The result in either case was the same, and soon the Danes could proudly proclaim that 60 per cent of their merchant navy, 5,000 Danish seamen and 800,000 tons of shipping was sailing for the Allied cause. This contribution by Danish seamen and shipping has been one of the greatest importance. What it has meant in the effort to keep Britain supplied can best be judged, until more concrete evidence is available, by the high praise awarded to Danish seamanship and to the proud and free traditions of a seafaring nation. Time and again Cabinet Ministers have paid tribute to the Danish seamen. As a special mark of recognition Danish ships on the British register were allowed as from Christmas Day, 1943, to fly the Danish flag in place of the Red Ensign. Lord Leathers, the Minister of War Transport, used the occasion to thank Danish seamen for their contribution to the Allied cause. For all Danes it was an occasion of great happiness to see their red and white banner flying amidst the colours of other free nations. It was regarded as an honour for the seamen and indirectly as an encouragement to the Danes engaged in a grim struggle on the home front. Danish



"... before not too long you may again see an English company acting *Hamlet* at Elsinore"—Mr. Eden, 12th January, 1944. A picture that makes Danish hearts ache: a German sentry in front of *Hamlet's* castle, Kronborg



This photograph of a German soldier on his way back to Germany is a devastating caricature of the Nazi protection. Overloaded with booty he is a wandering symbol of German plunder. This picture has greatly contributed to reduce what might be left of respect for the Wehrmacht

patriots never forget that some seven-hundred years ago their flag, floating down from Heaven to a hard-pressed Danish army, turned the tide of battle and gave the Danes strength to fight through to victory.

In yet another field, closely connected with the security of Britain's supply routes, Denmark has rendered a contribution. Both the Faroes and Greenland to-day form important bases in the fight against the U-boats. The Faroes were occupied by British forces shortly after the Germans had occupied Denmark, although Danes hardly think of the presence of British troops on these Atlantic islands as an occupation in the usual sense of the word. The United States bases established in Greenland are the result of negotiations between the Danish Minister in Washington, Mr. Kauffmann, and the State Department. When German reconnaissance aircraft were seen near the coast of this huge Danish colony the United States obtained by an agreement of April, 1941, the right to construct air and naval bases in Greenland, and in return the United States guaranteed Danish sovereignty over the colony. No general occupation of Greenland has taken place and its entire administration, technically and in fact, remains in Danish hands. Mr. Kauffmann, furthermore, set aside all obstacles in the way of putting Danish ships in American ports to sea, thereby releasing a large amount of Danish tonnage which was thrown into the battle.

Danes on active service are to be found on all the battlefields of the earth. Young Danes in Great Britain volunteered for service in the British forces as soon as an opportunity was given to them; the Buffs, whose Colonel-in-Chief is King Christian of Denmark, was the first regiment to open its ranks to Danish volunteers. The R.A.F. had a special attraction for young Danes and many Danish pilots have fought with distinction in the Air Force. There was whole-hearted response when, under the auspices of the Danish Council, a Spitfire fund was started in 1941 for the purpose of supplying Danish pilots with Danish-bought fighters. When the fund was handed over to Mr. Churchill by Mr. Anker-Petersen, the then Chairman of the Danish Council, in April, 1942, on the second anniversary of the German invasion, the Prime Minister expressed the conviction that "the day will come, perhaps sooner than it would be prudent or sensible to hope, when Denmark will be free from the grip in which she has been held and when she will resume her independent, honoured, and ancient place among the free peoples and states of Europe."

Finally, in 1943, the Admiralty agreed to the formation of Danish units in the British Navy. A number of volunteers immediately came forward, anxious to share in the proud traditions of the Navy.

Not all Danes are able to render an active contribution to the fight, but all unite in the desire to work for the liberation of Denmark and to serve the cause of freedom, each according to his own capacity. The Danes in Britain formed in 1940 the "Association of Free Danes in Great Britain and Northern Ireland," whose declared aim was "to support actively the British Commonwealth and its Allies in the conviction that the liberation of Denmark depends entirely upon the victory of the Allies in their fight for the freedom of nations." This Free Danish organisation, which is matched by a number of similar bodies in other parts of the world, has grown steadily in strength and importance. The leader of the movement in Britain is

Mr. Christmas Møller, whom the Germans forced out of the Danish Cabinet in order to neutralise this stout-hearted antagonist of Nazism. After a dramatic escape from Denmark in May, 1942, he became the natural leader of the Free Danes in this country where he occupies the position as Chairman of the Danish Council. He was prominent in the underground movement while in Denmark—he was incidentally one of the editors of the first illegal papers to be started. Since his arrival in Britain Mr. Christmas Møller has been able to maintain contact with the Danish resistance movement through regular broadcasts on the B.B.C. It is yet too early to assess the full importance of the contact which Mr. Christmas Møller established between the Free World and resisting Denmark, but it is a fact that activist Danes recognize him as the representative of Fighting Denmark. The Danish Minister in London, Count Reventlow, whom the Danish Government was forced to “dismiss,” continues to be recognised by the British Government as Danish Minister and he is simultaneously the Honorary President of the Association of Free Danes. One of the original founders of the movement, Mr. Krøyer-Kielberg, still maintains a much-respected position as President of the Association. As to the Danish Council, this is the representative body of the Association of Free Danes, elected on a democratic basis, and enjoying the recognition of the British Government.

The Free Danes, including diplomats and others who outside Denmark have maintained their freedom of action, are making a very positive contribution to the war effort. Free Denmark is regarded as wholeheartedly on the side of the Allies, but there is no Danish Government outside Denmark and no National Committee with government functions on which the title of Ally can be bestowed.

The immediate disappointment which this state of affairs was bound to create in many Danish hearts has been largely ameliorated by the fact that Denmark is being increasingly regarded and treated as an Ally. The general attitude towards Denmark was well expressed by Mr. C. R. Attlee, then Lord Privy Seal, who in a foreword to a publication by this author wrote the following lines: “Circumstances have hitherto prevented us from extending the honoured name of an Ally to Denmark, but Allies they are in all but name. Like all my countrymen, I look forward to the day when not only the Association of Free Danes in Great Britain, but all Danes, both at home and abroad, unite as they assuredly will, to bear the full share of active resistance of oppressed Europe and to throw out the invader whose presence soils their lovely land.”

Three years later, on the 12th of January, 1944, Mr. Eden, speaking at an Anglo-Danish gathering, gave expression to the same feelings towards Denmark, now characterised by a note of admiration for the work done by the active front inside Denmark. The Foreign Secretary said:

“In August last year, the whole Danish people were united behind the King in determination not to compromise with the Germans, but to face the consequences whatever they might be. Since then not a few of your countrymen have distinguished themselves greatly in action against the Germans on Danish soil. Acts of skilful and well-organised sabotage have followed each other in quick succession. They are shrewd and valued blows on behalf of the United Nations. We should here like to pay tribute to the leaders who organise those blows and to the gallant men who carry

them out. . . . We salute as comrades in the struggle all those brave Danes who contribute with colleagues in occupied lands to weaken the Nazi hold. They are fighters in the ranks of the United Nations."

"The leaders of your community," said Mr. Eden in his address to the large Danish gathering, "have shown a rare courage at a critical time—not one of you has hesitated to follow their lead, and it falls to my lot to-day on behalf of His Majesty's Government to tell you that we have never for one moment doubted your entire devotion to the Allied cause. We know well what a valued service the Danish community in this country has rendered to every branch of the Allied war effort . . . Danish ships and Danish seamen took a gallant part and they have shared with the Merchant Navies of the Allies all the perils of the war at sea. They have given exemplary service, they have shown courage and endurance second to none, and so it is fitting that Danish ships in our service should now be flying the Dannebrog, and so the Dannebrog rightly takes its place alongside the flags of the United Nations."

"The friendship between Great Britain and Denmark," concluded Mr. Eden, "is of long duration and was never more loyal and more true than it is to-day. We pledge ourselves to work together to overthrow the common enemy, and we pledge ourselves afterwards to work together to ensure that the world may enjoy a peace that will endure."

The term "Ally in all but name" now covers an increasing reality. In May, 1944, it was authoritatively stated in London that the Allied Supreme Command in liberating Denmark would treat that country as an Ally.

Denmark, to a larger extent than ever before, is taking part in the work which is being carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. Thus, the Danish Minister in Washington was present at the important Hot Springs and U.N.R.R.A. conferences, where the foundation for the vital work of relief was laid. Whenever similar questions are being discussed in London, Denmark's voice is being heard too.

In June, 1941, when the Germans began their attack on Russia, the Danish Government was forced to break off diplomatic relations with Russia and later on the Danish Foreign Minister, acting under appalling German pressure, signed the Anti-Comintern Pact. These two acts, though carried out under duress, caused much pain to the Danes. To the overwhelming majority of Danes these two acts, which might be construed as unfriendly towards the Soviet Union, seemed highly regrettable. Denmark had never quarrelled with the Soviet Union, or indeed with Imperial Russia, and the Russian people's heroic fight against an enemy who was also Denmark's made these forced acts of state appear catastrophic in view of Denmark's clearly expressed will to maintain friendly relations with all the Allies, including Russia. The close collaboration between the outlawed Danish Communists and other Danish patriots was in itself clear proof that the Danish people were not behind the enforced declarations. The Government was naturally prevented from making amends, but the Freedom Council regarded it as one of its political duties to restore proper relations with Russia. Negotiations between the Freedom Council and the Soviet Government were started; and in June, 1944, M. Thomas Døssing, who was chosen to represent Fighting Denmark in Russia, succeeded in escaping from Denmark. On 10th July, a joint communiqué was issued

by the Soviet Union and Denmark's Council of Freedom. The communiqué disclosed that the Freedom Council, on 18th April, approached the Soviet Government with the suggestion that relations should be established between the Soviet Union and Fighting Denmark, and requested the Soviet Government to receive in Moscow a representative of Fighting Denmark. On 23rd April, the Soviet Government agreed to the establishment of relations immediately and to receive in Moscow a representative of Fighting Denmark, "in the same way as there is already a representative of Fighting Denmark in London." After his escape from Denmark, M. Døssing, formerly the Director of Public Libraries, made his way to Moscow where he was given full diplomatic status.

The appointment of M. Døssing, which met with approval far beyond the narrow circles of the Freedom Council, was received with an outburst of German rage. It is generally felt in Denmark that M. Døssing's appointment is a step in the right direction of establishing proper contact with Soviet Russia—a contact which would never have been broken had not the Germans forced the Danish Government to act.

This new development in Russo-Danish relations was made the subject of a question in the House of Commons on 12th July. Mr. Eden, in his reply, said: "I am glad to note that Free Denmark is now represented in the Soviet Union as well as in this country and in the United States. . . . It is clear that the people of Denmark as a whole are inspired by the ideals of the United Nations, many Danes are actively engaged in the ranks of the United Nations for the liberation of their country, and inside Denmark ever increasing active resistance is contributing to the common struggle against the Axis."

"Last autumn representatives of various resistance bodies in Denmark formed a Committee with the name of Council of Freedom, which, pending the restoration of liberty and constitutional government to Denmark, plays a conspicuous part in the life of occupied Denmark as a focus of resistance to the Germans. The valuable contribution which is being made to the defeat of Germany by the work of the Danish Council of Freedom and by all who contribute to resistance in Denmark is, like that of the Free Danes abroad, warmly acknowledged by His Majesty's Government."

On the same day, Mr. Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, paid tribute to Fighting Denmark at a Press Conference in Washington, following the same line of thought as Mr. Eden.

Denmark has learnt from the war and from the occupation that no country is strong enough to stand alone and that no country is small enough to escape the attention of the aggressor. Already Danes are drawing the conclusion that neutrality in the old sense of the word is no longer a political reality. The right to live as a free nation carries with it obligations which no country can escape if it wants to survive as a free nation.

This is clearly realised by those Danes who are actively engaged in the fight to regain the freedom of their country. It is a new spirit which is bound to have a profound effect on the shape of things to come. It will bring a new note of idealism into the public life of the Danes and it will serve as guide for the Danish statesmen whose task it will be to restore to Denmark her old and respected place among the free nations, ready to claim her rights and fulfil her obligations.

POSTSCRIPT

D-DAY AND THE "PEOPLE'S STRIKE"

THE 6th of June, 1944, brought the news for which Denmark, and all other occupied countries, had been waiting, the news that the Allies had landed in France. The first reports were that the Danes received the news in quiet confidence, but that they were bent on a policy not to be drawn into premature acts by German provocation. The broadcasts from S.H.A.E.F. clearly conveyed that every single occupied country would be called upon to play a part in the liberation of Europe, and that premature action must be avoided. Only the editors of the underground newspapers re-doubled their efforts and supplied the Danish population with a flow of news from the invasion front. In fact, some of the most beautifully produced underground papers that have come to light in Europe were published by the Danish underground organisations immediately after 6th June.

There was no general uprising, but work which had presumably already been planned was carried out to schedule. Thus on D-Day itself Denmark witnessed a record case of sabotage when 50 saboteurs blew up the Globus factory near Copenhagen which produced tail fins and steering gear for Germans. The big factory building was totally destroyed and the damage was estimated at 2½ million Kroner, the largest damage ever caused by one single act of sabotage. A few days later, saboteurs penetrated into Svendborg shipyards, and blew up four German minesweepers virtually under the nose of the German guards, who fled in panic when the first explosion was heard. The following days were marked by large-scale sabotage acts against targets of military importance for the Germans.

On 22nd June, the Danish saboteurs crowned their post-D-Day efforts by an extremely successful attack on the country's only big armaments factory, Rekyllriffelsyndikatet, previously known as producers of the Madsen automatic gun, and now producing light automatic weapons and small anti-tank guns under German supervision. The attack must be regarded as one of the boldest ever carried out. The factory, which had previously been hampered by two serious cases of sabotage, was guarded by heavily armed sabotage guards. Some 70-80 saboteurs arrived in lorries, dressed as workers. They succeeded in disarming the guards, whereupon they guided the 250 workers to the shelters and placed 15 bombs in the most vulnerable spots in the factory. The bombs exploded according to plan and laid the main buildings in ruins, while the fire spread to the whole factory and the office premises. Unless this becomes an extremely long war, the Germans will have received their last machine-guns or anti-tank guns from this factory. When the saboteurs withdrew they incidentally took with them three automatic guns and 100 automatic pistols, together with big quantities of ammunition. It all comes in handy at a time when lack of weapons and ammunition is one of the biggest worries of the fighting underground movement.

Nobody would expect the Germans to take this with good grace, and their counter-measure was not long in coming. The day after the attack

on the armaments factory, the Germans announced the execution of eight Danish patriots whom the Germans had arrested in connection with other activities. This was to be the German tactics in the future. Every time bombs reduced a factory to ruins, the Germans would announce the execution of a number of Danish patriots who were being treated as hostages, though in most cases they had connection with some activity regarded as illegal by the Germans. In spite of the increase in sabotage and the harshness of the German counter-measures, the Danish population maintained a disciplined attitude, faithfully listening to and carrying out the S.H.A.E.F. instructions which they received by radio from London. Thus the vast fishing fleet from Esbjerg, on the west coast of Jutland, scrupulously followed S.H.A.E.F.'s advice not to put to sea in spite of the German Commander's threat of fearful reprisals. The Germans, however, continued their reprisals and provocations until in the end the feelings of the population of Copenhagen could no longer be restrained. It resulted in one of the most startling episodes known in German-occupied Europe—an almost total people's strike, which ended in a clear victory for the Danes.

On 23rd June, the Germans were getting increasingly jumpy and introduced martial law for Copenhagen and the rest of Zealand in order to "expedite the trial of crimes of the Copenhagen underworld," in other words, to crush the increasing resistance. As from 26th June the Germans announced the curfew in Copenhagen for the hours between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. This curfew regulation, coupled with the increasing terrorism of the Schalburg Corps and members of the Gestapo, led to swift and violent replies by the Copenhagen population. Gradually one factory after another closed down, shops and offices were closed and Copenhagen went dead as a spontaneous expression of the anger of a people who had decided to fight German oppression, irrespective of the cost. There was no master plan behind the strike, and it was all the more significant that it should become 100 per cent effective. It was still more surprising that it should lead to a complete victory for the Danes. The day-by-day developments of the strike are worth setting out in detail, as they are without parallel in the history of occupied Europe.

Monday, 26th June, the workers at Denmark's largest shipbuilding concern, Burmeister & Wain, employing some 10,000 workers, cease work at noon as protest against the curfew and the increasing German violence. In a letter to the German Plenipotentiary, Dr. Best, they point out that "it is more important for them to get the vegetables out of their allotments than to produce material for the German war machine."

Tuesday, 27th June, the strike movement is spreading to other large industrial concerns and the shops begin to close at noon. The Germans issue an official warning against disregarding the curfew, adding that several people were killed when doing so the previous night.

Wednesday, 28th June, the strike gradually spreads and very little work is done in Copenhagen during the afternoon.

Thursday, 29th June, the Germans announce the execution of eight patriots. Workers issue a proclamation for total strike and the call is met with the approval of all circles. By now, 100,000 working hours have been lost and the Germans give their first concession by changing the curfew hour from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

Friday, 30th June, all telephone exchanges close down ; all banks and shops are closed and from 11 a.m. the strike is 100 per cent effective. The Germans contact labour leaders, asking them to get the workers back to work, but no understanding is reached. The Germans declare that they have other means at their disposal ; at 9 p.m. they occupy the gas, water and electricity works and cut off these vital supplies.

Saturday, 1st July, General Richter, the German Commander of the German troops in Zealand, takes the situation in hand and blocks the roads leading into Copenhagen to prevent supplies of food from reaching the capital. Copenhagen is to be starved into submission. There is still no sign of wavering on the Danish front. By now the Freedom Council has come into the picture ; it declares that, though it was not behind the strike, it now feels it as its duty to take control and lead it to a successful conclusion. The Freedom Council asks the population to continue the strike until the Germans have fulfilled the following demands : (a) the Schalburg Corps must be expelled from the country ; (b) curfew and martial law to be abolished ; (c) traffic to and from Copenhagen to be re-opened and the supply of gas, water and electricity to be resumed ; (d) no reprisals for the strike.

Sunday, 2nd July, there are signs that the Germans are beginning to doubt the wisdom of their course. They re-open the broadcasting station, which has been closed for 48 hours, in order to broadcast an appeal by a number of Danish officials, that the workers should return in order to spare Copenhagen the consequences of German ruthlessness. The supply of gas, water and electricity is restored during the night. The Freedom Council issued a new proclamation, urging the people to continue the strike until all the demands are fulfilled. The Freedom Council's call, and not that of the Danish officials, is being followed.

Monday, 3rd July, the strike continues in Copenhagen and spreads to at least 20 provincial towns including Aarhus, Denmark's second largest city, and certain political circles are now drawn into the discussion. It becomes clear that Dr. Best, who wanted to quench the strike in blood, is being over-ruled by Government circles in Berlin, who do not want another crisis on their hands. Simultaneously a split occurs in the German camp in Denmark and Dr. Best, now the spokesman of ruthless Gestapo methods, is being over-ruled by the Generals and Germany's economic interests. The Germans acknowledge defeat and the Freedom Council issues a proclamation, asking the people to return to work by July 5th, as the Germans have conceded the major Danish demands, namely that the Schalburg Corps shall be removed from the streets of Copenhagen ; that there will be no indiscriminate shooting in the streets ; that there will be no reprisals ; and that the curfew will be lifted in the near future.

Tuesday, 4th July, work is being gradually resumed and by July 5th life is again normal in Copenhagen.

This terse and schematic report on the strike gives only a vague idea of the enthusiasm which inspired the population of Copenhagen while the fight was on. The strike disclosed complete unity of purpose among all circles of the population. Food and water were distributed free of charge during the days when Copenhagen was beginning to feel the pinch of the German counter-measures. There was no distinction between classes and

professions—all were bent on one aim, which was to bring the Danish demands through to victory. When the victory was finally achieved, a new self-assurance and a strong feeling of solidarity beset the Copenhageners. They felt that, after more than four years of occupation, they had at last landed the Germans with a defeat which could not be explained away.

The "people's strike" in Copenhagen must demonstrate to people in other occupied countries what surprising results can be obtained by a united people under the leadership of a determined group. The Danes themselves are proud of the result which has met with admiration in the free world. When Mr. Eden was asked in the House of Commons about the strike, he gave all available information and added: "The strikes were maintained until the Germans had given way on all points. There can be no doubt that the strikes were an overwhelming success. We have therefore seen the heartening spectacle of the civilian population in an enemy-occupied city enforcing their demands on the German military authorities."

The Danes scored a victory, though not without paying a price for it. According to underground reports 102 Danish patriots gave their lives to obtain this success, which once and for all confirmed that the Danish population is ready to fight, irrespective of the risks, when the call for action comes.



Danish illegal newspapers. Centre: The special Invasion Number of "De Frie Danske" was published only a few days after D-Day. The text across the front page which was printed in four colours says: "De Frie Danske (The Free Danes) bid our Allied Friends Welcome"



From the total People's Strike in Copenhagen, June-July, 1944. In one of the main streets of the capital patriots have mounted the Danish flag on a tramcar which has been overturned to hamper the armoured German patrols

APPENDIX



The "head" of one of the Danish illegal papers in which the Post-War Plan of the underground "Council of Freedom" is described

WHEN DENMARK IS FREE —

A Post-War Plan issued by "Denmark's Council of Freedom" in November, 1943

THE new Government, which will be appointed by the King in accordance with the Constitution immediately after the occupation has ceased, will perform the following tasks:

1. Immediate imprisonment of all National Socialist elements.
2. Prohibition of the Free Corps; disarming and imprisonment of its members.
3. Suspension of civil servants and other officials who have favoured the enemy.
4. Abrogation of all emergency legislation and regulations which have been introduced by German orders or in German interests.
5. Release of all political and other prisoners who have been sentenced under the emergency legislation for activities in the national interest.
6. Cancellation of dismissals of civil servants or officials made by German orders or in German interest.
7. Immediate nominations for free parliamentary elections, to be held not later than six months after the occupation has ceased.

The Parliament then elected, and the Government formed by that Parliament, shall, in addition to other national problems, including labour problems, deal with the following:

1. The appointment of a parliamentary commission to investigate whether individuals within the Government and Administration have

been guilty of criminal negligence or have withheld information necessary for the defence of the country during the period about April 9th, 1940.

2. The appointment of a parliamentary commission to examine whether individual members of the Government or Parliament during the occupation have disregarded Danish interests in favour of Germany to a criminal extent.
3. The introduction of legislation applicable to civil servants and officials who, because of their Nazi sympathies, compliance or weakness, have proved themselves unsuitable to take part in the administration of a democratic community.
4. Promulgation of rules of compensation for persons who, as a result of their patriotic activities, have suffered economic losses during the occupation, through prosecution, dismissal or imprisonment.
5. Promulgation of rules by which excessive war profits can be confiscated for the benefit of the Danish community.
6. The introduction of special legislation applicable to National Socialists and anti-democratic acts committed during the occupation.
7. The establishment of special courts to deal with cases mentioned in paragraph 6.

INTRODUCTION

All Danish people are now, seriously and with keen interest, discussing what will happen in Denmark when Germany is defeated and the occupation ceases. This problem, so vitally important for our country's future, cannot be openly discussed under existing conditions, but it is imperative that we should make preparations for the day when we are to manage our own affairs.

Representatives of the Danish resistance groups met some months ago and founded "Denmark's Council of Freedom." In addition to their present work, the members opened a debate on procedure applicable to the post-war period, because they realise the importance of having all available material ready for future use. The Council considers itself in duty bound to publish the result of these debates, because no other authoritative organ can at present openly express an opinion. The Council also feels entitled to do so because it represents that great majority of the population which is actively resisting the Occupying Power and Nazism and making a genuine contribution for Denmark's liberation.

All right-thinking Danes will agree that the measures necessary for the re-establishment of our independent government should fulfil three main purposes :

1. Democracy to be reintroduced, instantly and absolutely, and secured for the future.
2. Those who have been guilty of, or accessory to, the violation of our independent government and our principles of justice during the occupation, and those who have derived personal gain from the country's bondage, must be made responsible for their actions.
3. All punishment imposed should be in conformity with the established principles of justice and must be carried out in a lawful manner in order to prevent self-administration of justice.

1. It is hardly necessary to enlarge further upon the first of these points. Only a very small proportion of the population has joined the Nazis, thereby taking up an attitude which is contrary to the desire for the re-establishment and development of democracy expressed by the majority of the people.

The Government to be appointed immediately after the occupation will have the task of restoring democratic rights to the Danish people. This subject is treated in detail in the next chapter. One necessary step to be taken in this connection will be to provide for parliamentary elections. The Parliament elected on March 23rd, 1943, does not fulfil the requirements of democratic parliamentary representation. It was not created through free elections, because all persons who held divergent views on the country's affairs were debarred or restrained from expressing such views, and because one of the Parties was banned. Finally, the problems which that Parliament, on the authority of the electors, had to solve, were of a quite different character from those which will arise at the end of the war.

The first appointed Government will attend to matters requiring immediate action, while other, and less urgent, problems will be postponed until after the democratic elections.

2. "War criminals," *i.e.*, persons who have infringed international rules of warfare and conduct in occupied countries (The Hague Convention, etc.), are excluded when the subject of the responsibility for or the compliance in the violation of Denmark's free government and principles of justice is dealt with. The United Nations have decided that such persons will be tried by special tribunals in their respective countries.

The Danish people are, however, firmly and unshakably determined that the nation itself shall deal with those compatriots who have assisted the Germans in breaking down our normal social life in the political, judicial and economic spheres. It would be contrary to our sense of justice, and consequently a danger to a sound future, were they not made responsible for their actions.

At the same time there is no clear distinction between responsibility and complicity, and no definition of the punishment to be imposed. The Council considers that the following groups may be involved :

- I. Members of the Government and elected bodies (particularly Parliament), who by their attitude before and during the occupation have tried to bring the country under German domination.

- II. Civil servants and officials who by their un-national attitude, weakness or compliance have favoured the enemy.
- III. Persons engaged in the press, the arts, education, broadcasting or other spheres of public life, who have given cultural support to the enemy.
- IV. Business men who have exploited the country's emergency for personal financial gain.
- V. National Socialists and their followers, who have entered active service with an enemy State, have collaborated with the Germans before and after April 9th, 1940, have received monetary payments from German sources for anti-democratic activities, have acted as informers, or have participated in acts of violence and threats, or have deprived Danish citizens of their liberty.

3. While there is no danger that at the end of the war the Danish people will resort to self-administered justice against persons mentioned under the first four groups, a series of incidents which occurred during the summer of 1943 indicates that they may take the law into their own hands against persons under group V.

However understandable such spontaneous reaction may be, it is, nevertheless, so opposed to Danish sense of justice that all right-thinking citizens must join in preventing such a situation.

This can only happen if the people are assured in advance that such persons will be prosecuted, and that every effort will be made to prevent them from committing such acts of terrorism as may be inspired by their Nazi training, and which the enlisted corps are quite openly preparing.

In order to avoid disturbances in the country involving bloodshed, and also to secure the fulfilment of the two other main objects, it will be necessary to create a governing body on a constitutional basis immediately after the war. This governing body shall carry out the people's desire for normal conditions in the country by an energetic introduction of the necessary measures.

The Council will later deal with the tasks likely to arise immediately after the occupation, and indicate its proposals for their treatment. Distinction will be made between measures which, in the interests of national security, must be taken immediately, and others, less urgent, which can be subjected to regular democratic treatment by the newly-elected Parliament.

MEASURES FOR THE REINTRODUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY

Between 9th April, 1940, and 28th August, 1943, certain legislation, contrary to Danish principles of justice and to the Constitution, has been introduced under German pressure, but on the instruction of our Governments and with the approval of Parliament. At the same time, a number of similar rules and regulations were issued, partly under cover of Parliament's authority to the Cabinet.

Such emergency laws, decrees, etc., must instantly be revoked by Royal decree.

This applies particularly to the following laws with their relative amendments:

- Law 219, 1.5.1940, concerning stricter punishment for certain breaches of the penal law.
- Law 388, 22.7.1940; Law 536, 22.12.1941; Law 206, 9.5.1942; and Law 14, 18.1.1941; all providing stricter application of the penal code of 1930, and amendments to same.
- Law 562, 31.10.1940, concerning police regulations for military matters.

Law 349, 22.8.1941, on the prohibition of Communist associations and activities as well as the decree concerning Denmark's adhesion to the Anti-Comintern Pact.

Law 452, 11.11.1942, conferring authority for the maintenance of peace, order and security.

Law 362, 19.7.1943, on the surrender of firearms and motor vehicles to the police.

In addition, various by-laws have been introduced on German orders, particularly the "voluntary" press censorship. These must immediately be cancelled.

During the occupation numerous Danish citizens have been punished in pursuance of this emergency legislation, which first and foremost serves German interests. All, who at the end of the war still serve sentences imposed under these laws should immediately be released. Steps must also be taken to fully compensate those who have suffered loss through

arrest, prosecution or punishment imposed under this emergency legislation. As these laws were put into effect by lawful Danish authorities, the State will have to meet all claims for compensation, according to rules to be determined by the new Parliament. Every Dane who, since August 29th, 1940, has been arrested or punished by a German Court for national activities, has a moral right to compensation, which may have to be paid to his dependents. Such compensation must be met by the State. Similar measures should also be applied in respect of persons who have suffered loss of life or limb in the performance of anti-German activities in the country, for example by acts of sabotage.

The new Parliament will deal with claims for compensation, but the first Government may grant temporary help when necessary.

All dismissals due to German pressure or national activities must be annulled, and the dismissed person reinstated in his former post, if so desired. Laws can, of course, only be made in respect of public employees, but the procedure will doubtless have a moral influence on the heads of private concerns, and will encourage them to try to remedy the injustice suffered by righteous and honest Danes.

When justified claims for compensation in respect of such dismissals cannot be met in any other way, the State must step in.

The release of political prisoners, grants of compensation and annulment of dismissals are ordinary acts of justice due to persons who have suffered under pressure from their own or from a foreign

power. Retribution is part of the reintroduction of democracy.

Turning next to the subject of the consolidation of democracy, the question of the prohibition of Nazi organisations and organs arises. It seems likely that penal laws, to be mentioned later, will apply to most of the members and collaborators, but the Council considers it a questionable procedure to ban any form of political organisation, as this is in conflict with the Constitution. Different, however, is the position of the members of the National Socialist corps, some of whom have been trained for the definite purpose of home service, and others who may be expected to return from military service abroad. The possibility exists that they may commit individual acts of terrorism and by armed force try to oppose the reintroduction of democratic and ordered conditions when the occupation ceases. These corps constitute such a danger to the safety of the State that it will be necessary not only to ban them, but also to disarm and render them harmless immediately the Germans have left the country. Their punishment will then be decided upon, and will include punishment for accepting military service with an enemy power, which will be treated in the following chapter.

Finally, the new Government's first task will be to hold parliamentary elections, which will ensure that the further development of democracy is determined by the people. Public and free election campaigns will give the Parties an opportunity to state their views on the tasks to be performed by the new Parliament, and on other urgent matters, including labour problems.

MEASURES AGAINST CULPRITS AND ACCOMPLICES

The Council attaches great importance to a settlement on account of crimes committed against the country and its citizens during the unfree conditions of the occupation. This is not due to a vindictive desire for reprisals, but to the firm conviction that the elimination from our community of elements who have failed, or directly attacked, our democracy and our principles of justice, is of decisive importance for Denmark's future.

As indicated in the introduction, five groups are involved, each of which will now be treated separately:

I. *Members of the Government and elected bodies (particularly Parliament), who by their attitude before*

and during the occupation have tried to bring the country under German domination.

The Council does not consider the present moment appropriate for opening a discussion on the responsibility for Denmark's capitulation without serious resistance on April 9th, 1940. The conditions which produced the decision not to resist were based on our long-established defence policy. This policy was followed with the approval of the population, and it is therefore not just to bring a general charge against the Government in office at the time of the capitulation. It may, however, be appropriate to prosecute individuals in

the Ministry who omitted to inform other Ministers and Parliament that an attack was imminent, thus preventing a clear, preconceived decision as to whether Denmark should defend herself or not.

It will be the new Parliament's task to appoint a Parliamentary Commission, in accordance with paragraph 45 of the Constitution. This Commission will investigate the question of culpability on the above point, and it will then be decided if a charge should be brought before the Supreme Court.

From the beginning of the occupation and up to August 28th, 1943, three Danish Governments and two Parliaments handled the collaboration with the Germans. During that period, the rules of the Danish Courts were consistently violated by the promulgation of laws, decrees and regulations, as indicated in the preceding chapter. The Germans were, at the same time, granted a number of economic concessions which weakened the country's financial position. The population was debarred from stating its views on this policy of collaboration and concession because any form of public criticism was regarded as detrimental to German interests, and consequently forbidden, and also because the voters at the election in March, 1943, were definitely informed that they should, or could, not influence the policy of the Government. "The Council of Freedom" will not here enlarge further upon its view of the attitude of the authorities, but will briefly put on record that, in the view of the Council, the collaboration period has been very harmful to our country because it was Danes who broke down our system of justice and undermined our economy, and because Danes have helped to fight the active resistance against the occupying Power. Denmark became, officially, a voluntary helper on Germany's side, while other occupied countries openly resisted. The fact, that they acted under German duress, does not absolve the authorities from responsibility; the Government and the Administration, as well as their individual members, could have refused the German demands and taken the consequences.

"The Council of Freedom" considers that the Danish people must themselves decide whether the policy followed was defensible or even justified, and whether, in view of future problems, they will have confidence in persons who, with a reference to "the lesser evil," abandoned our democratic privileges during the occupa-

tion. The settlement which must take place between the politicians of that period and the population, is therefore not of a juridical, but of a political character. The changed conditions which resulted when the Germans took power cannot erase the feeling that the collaborators bear a certain responsibility, and it is absolutely necessary for the consolidation and development of democracy in Denmark that a clear view be formed of their actions. This can be effected through the elections to the new Government, which will follow preliminary public debates on the policy pursued during the occupation.

The new Parliament will decide if a parliamentary commission should be formed to investigate whether individuals within the Governments or Parliament, to a criminal extent and to the advantage of the enemy, have failed in their duties as representatives of Danish interests. Should the commission find that, in certain instances, this has been the case they may instigate a State trial.

II. *Civil servants and officials who, by their un-national attitude, weakness or compliance, have favoured the enemy.*

A great number of public employees have adopted a strong national attitude during the occupation, by administering German-inspired laws, etc., to the advantage of their countrymen. But a few civil servants and officials in the central administration, as well as among the police, judges and other authorities, have, either through excess of zeal or direct Nazi sympathy, ruthlessly exploited the existing possibilities at the cost of Danish interests and individuals. Such action is opposed to ordinary national principles of morality and justice, and it would be dangerous to allow such people, who have already clearly disclosed their anti-democratic sentiments, to retain their official posts when the country is re-established. The fact that they acted according to the emergency legislation or on German pressure, does not absolve them from responsibility, because all individuals had equal opportunities to ignore the enforced regulations or to refuse to obey orders.

The new Government's first task will be to suspend such officials, whether they are declared National Socialists or simply irresponsible opportunists. Their cases will then be further examined, if so decided by the new Parliament. It will

not be possible to prosecute them under the existing law applicable to public employees, because the circumstances produced by the invasion on April 9th, 1940, could not be foreseen when the law was passed. New legislation to meet the changed conditions must therefore be promulgated. The question of punishment with retrospective effect will be dealt with at a later stage.

III. *Persons engaged in the press, in education, broadcasting or other spheres of public life, who have given cultural support to the enemy*

Under cover of the one-sided freedom of speech during the occupation, several people have tried to influence the public in a pro-Nazi and pro-German direction. This influence could not be counteracted in the normal manner, because criticism was prohibited. Their propaganda was intended to undermine the national spirit of resistance and democratic feeling, but it rebounded on the sound instincts and judgment of the Danes. It may be expected that many of those people who most eloquently championed their temporary masters, will later follow their renegade nature and seek to return to the ranks of democracy, but it is unlikely that they will be able to wipe out the stigma they have acquired, and general condemnation of their acts and contempt for their vacillations will debar them from future public influence. Direct punishment will not, therefore, be necessary except in the case of public servants; their case is covered by the argument that they cannot safely be allowed to take part in the reconstruction and administration of a democratic country, and treatment similar to that applied to public servants and officials, mentioned under group II, would seem justified.

IV. *Business men who have exploited the country's emergency for personal financial gain.*

During this war, certain industries have prospered greatly through deliveries to Germany and her allies, while the rest of the country became impoverished. This applies particularly to certain industrialists, limited companies, contractors, business men, etc., who have exploited the existing conditions to enrich themselves at the cost of the general public. Profits earned during this war are not, as during the war of 1914-1918, derived from payments made by the countries receiving

the goods, but from payments which the Danish National Bank pays on the country's behalf for goods delivered on German account, and for which Germany still owes us.

It should be emphasised that, up to August 29th, 1943, there was no actual obligation on industrialists, contractors and wholesalers to produce or deliver goods to Germany, while retailers were only obliged to supply the personal needs of members of the German Wehrmacht, and then on the usual conditions of sale. Many have tried to make out that such compulsion did, in fact, exist, but it must be stressed that this is untrue, and that the excuse emanates from a bad conscience. Neither does the fact that the deliveries were made after negotiations with the Danish authorities, absolve them from responsibility; it only throws part of the responsibility on the authorities. A firm national attitude could be maintained, as has been proved by a number of industrialists who have managed to avoid deliveries to the Germans.

The argument that deliveries were made in the interests of labour, must also be refuted. The amounts we have used for foreign credits have not only "maintained employment" but also impoverished the country, because supplies of goods and materials have been withdrawn from the home market and exported without payment.

The money paid by the National Bank for deliveries to Germany has profited only a small part of the population, and as nobody expects a defeated Germany to pay her debts, the Danish community will ultimately have to bear the burden of the profits made by individuals. The State has introduced special tax legislation to reduce war profits, but, owing to the pressure of the occupation, the taxation has never attained the character of confiscation which seems justified in view of the fact that such profits are gained at the cost of the general public.

Therefore, in conformity with democratic principles of justice, and without regard for individual interests, such war profits must be confiscated and used to reduce Germany's debt to the National Bank, thus diminishing the loss sustained by the Danish community. The procedure to be followed in this respect should be discussed during the election campaign, after which the new Parliament will make the measures effective.

Such confiscation, which constitutes judgment and punishment, will naturally

not be applied to the general increase of income resulting from higher prices of goods, from which the individual trader has consequently benefited. It is, however, intended to reach those people who, to obtain personal gain, have not hesitated to place their manpower and industrial premises at the disposal of our enemies. A more comprehensive post-war tax legislation is required to adjust the economic position of the various classes of the community, due to the unfair distribution of income during the war. This, however, is a matter which falls outside the scope of this plan.

V. *National Socialists and their followers, who have entered active service with an enemy state, have collaborated with the Germans before and after April 9th, 1940, have received monetary payments from German sources for anti-democratic activities, have acted as informers, or have taken part in acts of violence and threats,*

LEGISLATION AND TRIBUNALS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The Council's deliberations on this subject entail further treatment by legislation and tribunals during the transition period.

Our plan is intended to impress upon the governing administration its responsibility for the maintenance of ordered conditions in the country, and at the same time to show the population the most suitable form of settlement.

The first step will be to render harmless all National Socialist members of the military corps and others who are known to have committed crimes. The next step will be to prosecute them under laws specially applicable to such crimes.

It will be absolutely necessary to promulgate new laws in respect of certain crimes, and to provide more rigorous punishment in the existing laws, and with retrospective effect. This is not in conflict with the Constitution, because all constitutional laws since 1849 have purposely been so framed that they contain nothing which prevents the introduction of laws with retrospective effect. This was done with a view to abnormal conditions. A law which normally is not retrospective in effect is so framed in order to protect the individual person from the possibility

and who have deprived Danish citizens of their liberty.

It will be necessary to take immediate measures against such persons, partly to prevent them from causing disturbances, partly to satisfy the people's natural demand for just punishment of traitors.

The Council's decision to deal with post-war problems has been greatly influenced by the knowledge that it can make a positive contribution to the problem of the punishment of traitors, and also indicate the means to be adopted to avoid Denmark being thrown into a period of individual terror and personal reprisals when the occupation ends. The Council has, through its members, a very close knowledge of the sentiments and opinions held—regardless of political views—by the active section of the population, and it is our firm conviction that many of our countrymen would anticipate settlement with the traitors unless they are immediately brought to account before the lawful authorities of the country.

that later laws may render him liable to punishment for an act which was not criminal at the time it was committed. This consideration should not, however, be invoked for the benefit of those who have betrayed their country in her hour of need.

All legislation is based on a sense of justice, but the penal code as it stood on April 9th, 1940, could not clearly indicate the limits of culpability in circumstances which could not be foreseen. The presence of the occupying Power prevented the legal authorities from altering the penal code of 1930 to include treacherous and anti-democratic actions. These crimes are a result of the occupation and conflict strongly with the recognised sense of justice. It would be more damaging to our sense of justice if such generally condemned actions were ignored than if a new legislation with retrospective effect were to be provided.

It must be predetermined that any punishment imposed must conform to the existing penal code, with life-imprisonment as the highest punishment. It must also be laid down that every case should be treated in conformity with the criminal law, with a public prosecution and with the usual facilities for defence.

Cases which the Constitution and the law class as jury cases, must be settled by a jury court. In the opinion of the Council, such cases cannot be dealt with by the existing courts, because the courts agreed to introduce punishment ordered by the Germans, and because it is likely that judges and other legal officials may be prosecuted. It would therefore be suitable if such cases were dealt with by special tribunals, composed of legal authorities which fulfil the requirements of the law, but that the members should not necessarily be selected from permanent judges.

It would be a convenient measure if the above-mentioned laws were immediately adopted by the new Parliament. Persons liable to prosecution could then be arrested on the grounds of an offence against the existing law (for example, paragraph 261 of the penal code, on depriving a person of his liberty) and preliminary investigations could then be instituted while the new legislation is in course of preparation. This procedure ensures that nobody would have to endure an unnecessarily long detention, while awaiting the decisions of the legal authorities on the extent of the punishment.

"The Council of Freedom" considers that the following alterations and additions to the penal code will be necessary:

The provisions regarding crimes against the independence and safety of the State, as set out in Chapter 12 of the penal code, must be revised and amended so that imprisonment for not less than four years becomes the minimum sentence. Germany is to be regarded as a hostile power for the entire period of the occupation.

The provisions contained in Chapter 25, regarding crimes against life and person, and in Chapter 26, on crimes against the personal liberty of a person, must be revised and amended so that imprisonment for not less than four years becomes the minimum sentence.

The provisions in Chapter 27, on violation of a person's honour and safety, are to be revised and amended to provide punishment for the violation of private life (paragraph 226) and religious and racial persecution (paragraph 266) which have occurred. Imprisonment for four years should be the minimum punishment.

Paragraph 218 of Chapter 14, on enlistment for foreign military service, should be amended to provide that not only recruitment for service, but also enlistment in foreign (enemy) military service should be punishable, the minimum

punishment being four years' imprisonment.

Law 149, 2.8.1914, relating to prohibition against aiding a foreign belligerent power from Danish territory, must be amended to provide imprisonment for not less than four years in respect of German war service, and punishment must be imposed regardless of the fact that the Government was unable to prohibit such service.

Finally, punishment for denouncers must be provided. The Council proposes the following text:

"Persons who, by rendering information or otherwise have been instrumental in bringing a person into the hands of the German police or the German Wehrmacht, or have caused their arrest or punishment under the emergency regulations, will be punished with a term of from four years' imprisonment to imprisonment for life. If such acts have caused bodily injury or loss of life, the punishment should be not less than if the injury were caused with intent."

It is the firm conviction of the Council that the immediate arrest, prosecution and sentence of all National Socialist elements, as indicated above, fully represents the people's sense of justice, and that energetic application of these measures, indeed even the prospect thereof, will prevent unbridled reprisals and bloodshed without law or sentence.

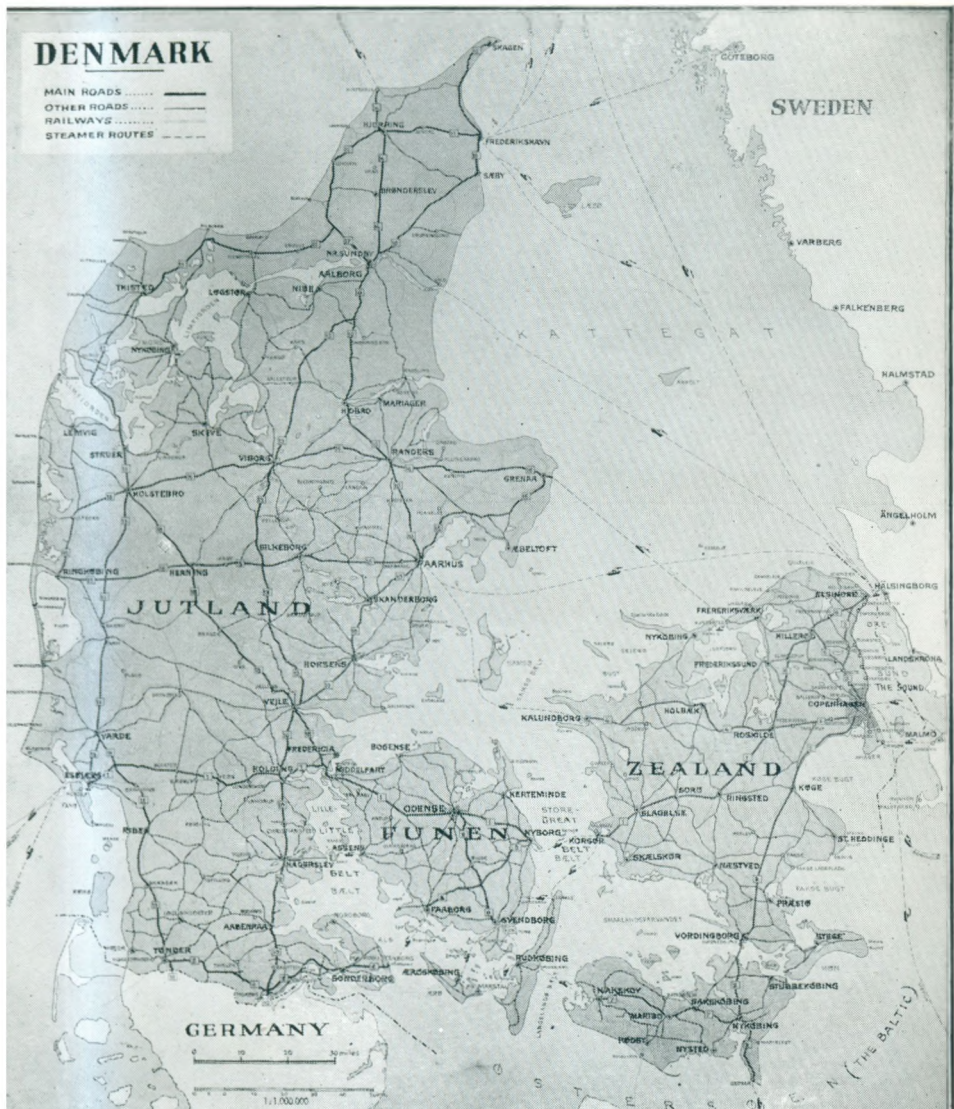
The Council considers that the selection of members of the first Government should be based on one primary condition: they must possess the people's full confidence, so that they may perform the above tasks with full authority.

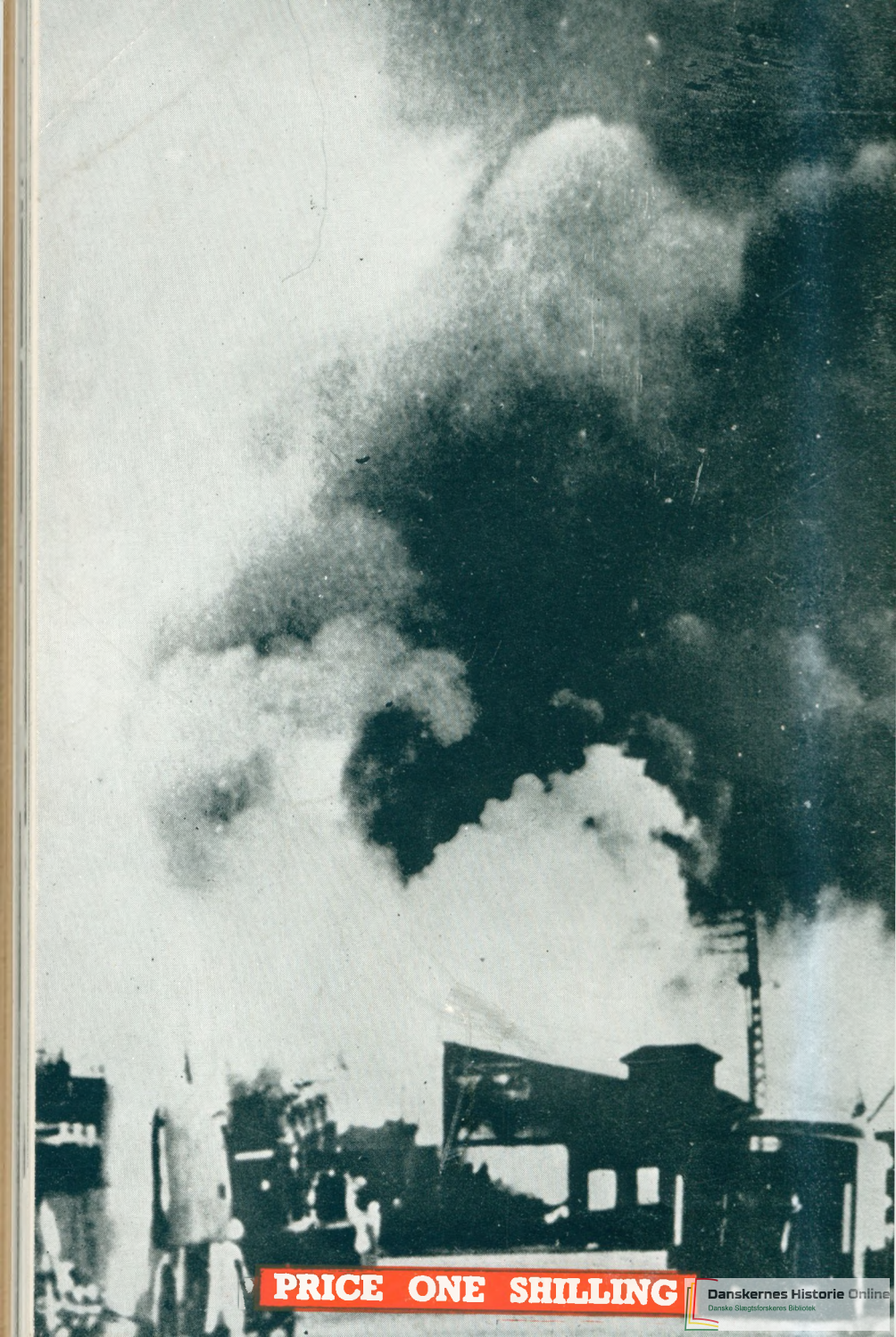
"The Council of Freedom," and the entire freedom movement, consider the solution of these problems—not the persons engaged therein—to be the chief consideration. We cannot at this stage point out the persons who will possess the people's confidence, and who will have the strength and ability to lead the country back to normal conditions after the war. We can, however, emphasise now that they may not have compromised themselves in any way by their attitude during the occupation.

The first Government's term of office will be short, as it presumably will be dissolved after the parliamentary elections, but its activities will be highly responsible because they will be carried out during the unsettled and dangerous transition period.

DENMARK

- MAIN ROADS
- OTHER ROADS
- RAILWAYS
- STEAMER ROUTES





PRICE ONE SHILLING