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Nederland Ontwaak!: The Nazis' Failure to Win Over the Dutch During The Occupation

Prelude

For Canadian soldiers advancing into the Low Countries, the political situation was simple: they were fighting the Germans and freeing oppressed nations from Nazi tyranny. Despite the essential truth of that perception, reality was more complicated. The enemy sometimes turned out to be a Dutch Nazi and Canadian Army photographers recorded the arrest and humiliation of collaborators in liberated towns. To understand the popular mood of relief, joy, and vengeance at the time of the liberation, one must take account of the experience of the German occupation and the role of Dutch collaborators.

"Netherlands Awake!" was the motto of one Dutch fascist party founded in imitation of the German Nazi movement. This motto, a variant of "Deutschland Erwache!," sums up the propaganda policy of the occupation government after May 1940: to awaken the Dutch to their destiny in the Greater Germanic Reich and to lead them to accept Nazi doctrines and institutions. When the political awakening of most Netherlanders did occur, however, it was a nationalistic, religious and democratic rejection of the conquerors' ideology, provoked by the heavy-handed policies of the Germans.

Retrospective Dutch patriotism and Allied propaganda created a version of history in which the Nazis and their ideology were rejected from the start of the occupation. The opposition of "the valiant and stout-hearted Dutch" to the Germans was a frequent theme in Winston Churchill's speeches. That opposition, in reality, emerged slowly and after a period of confusion and doubt. Nor was Nazi propaganda rejected by everyone. The Germans recruited almost 100,000 active collaborators from the population, and they might have been more successful with different methods and a more diplomatic approach. Diplomacy and moderation, however, were alien to the Nazis. Without excusing the collaborators for facilitating Nazi crimes, one should point out that they were not all opportunists who joined the winning side for personal gain; prewar fascists were animated by an idealism, perverse though it seems to us now, and they deserve to be taken seriously to be understood.

The months of confusion

For nearly a year after the five-day conquest of the Netherlands in May 1940, the population was torn by conflicting emotions. Anger was directed against the Germans for their unprovoked and undeclared war on this neutral kingdom and for the unjustified destruction of Rotterdam; irritation was directed against Queen Wilhelmina and the chief government ministers who had apparently abandoned the population and fled to England to save themselves. "It was an awful moment," recalled Diet Eman, "because it was as if our mother had left us behind with the Germans."[1] Later, people understood that a government-in-exile was still free to guide the Dutch population, unlike Belgium's King Leopold, who endured the Nazi occupation with his people. The queen and administration in London became a rallying point for resisters and a source of pride. In May 1940 the Dutch commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Gen. H.G. Winkelman, was left behind to negotiate the capitulation under the threat of having more historic cities flattened by the invaders.

The mechanized armoured formations of the Germans and their overwhelming air power made the Netherlands' defences appear antiquated and amateurish. Pre-invasion photographs of Dutch soldiers on bicycles and skates, meant to impress people with the nation's military preparedness, contrasted sadly with the tanks and dive-bombers of the Germans. The defenders had underestimated the possibility of airborne attacks on Fortress Holland to seize airfields and river crossings behind the defensive lines.

Those who watched the entry of the conquerors marvelled at the long columns of armoured vehicles and trucks full of soldiers. Theo van Duren wrote "there were lines of lorries (trucks) as far as I could see. ... Each lorry was filled to capacity with fair-haired, red-faced soldiers, singing at the tops of their voices ... I began to understand why they got through Holland so quickly. Who could start anything against that avalanche?"[2] The same thought occured to other observers: how did we imagine that we could repel such a disciplined, well-equipped enemy? To salvage self-respect from the disaster, the Nazi victory was also attributed to underhanded methods, such as dressing infiltrators in Dutch uniforms or in civilian clothing and even, as rumours had it, disguised as priests, monks and nuns.

Faith in the protection of neutrality was another shattered illusion. Hitler's earlier invasion of Denmark and Norway had shown that neutrality was no protection against the Nazis, and yet civilian leaders — including Prime Minister G. J. de Geer — still hoped that Dutch neutrality would again be respected as it had been in the First World War. One could attack France without passing through the Netherlands and the Germans promised to respect the country's neutrality. Looking back, the invasion seemed entirely predictable and unstoppable. Nazi promises had been broken in the past. Further resistance seemed futile. It was easy for exiled leaders, safe in England, to call for non-cooperation with the invaders; they were not living under the Germans.

Awe for the conqueror was one of the many emotions that made people receptive to the Nazis' new order. Foreign conquest is a savage blow to any nation's self-respect. Corrosive self-doubt was already at work before the invasion. The Great Economic Depression of the 1930s sapped faith in the capitalist system. Dutch political life was fractured along religious as well as ideological lines and each group had its own party. No single political party could win a majority and governments were an alliance of special interest parties. The resultant coalition governments did not respond decisively to the economic crisis. The famous historian Johan Huizinga caught the mood of the mid-1930s when he wrote "the cohesiveness of our social order is everywhere in doubt. A vague fear for the future has crept in, a feeling that civilization is in decline and may even collapse. ... We witness forms of government that do not function any more, systems of production that break down."[3] Democratic politics were associated with pettiness and a concern with party above nation. Self-doubt and this cynicism provided an opening for fascism.

Fascism was one of the cures offered for the political and economic ills of the 1930s. Against the familiar shortcomings of Dutch democracy, fascism promised a rapid economic recovery and national solidarity. Local fascists, however, did not present a united front. In a country with some sixty religious denominations, political divisions were to be expected. In addition to Anton Mussert's National Socialist Movement (*Nationaal Socialistische Beweging*), founded in 1931 and inspired by Mussolini's Italilan blackshirts, there were four other fascist parties. The most slavish imitators of the German Nazis, the National Socialist Dutch Worker's Party (NSNAP), split apart when each of the three founders claimed to be the real leader of the party. Clearly, the single-leader principle of Italian and German fascism was not accommodated to Dutch individualism.

Europe's fascist states offered a plausible alternative to unemployment and national aimlessness in the 1930s. Resistance leaders' plans for a more united postwar nation were an acknowledgement that even democrats did not want to go back to the divisive politics of the 1930s. In Germany and Italy, public works projects provided employment and improved the country's infrastructure. The conscription of young men for a national labour service to build highways seemed constructive and purposeful. Calls to serve the nation and to subordinate selfish interests to the collective good were communicated in various ways; *Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz* (the common need comes before personal needs) was inscribed on the rim of two and five-mark coins. Class distinctions were to disappear in the new people's community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). The nobility of manual labour was a Nazi theme and the "Strength through Joy" programme of recreational facilities and holidays for industrial labourers, combined with workers' housing projects and development of a cheap people's car — the famous Volkswagen — made the Nazis' claim to be socialists almost believable. For the unemployable poor, "Winter Help" was to provide aid from public donations. If one overlooked the persecution of

political opponents and minorities, the Third Reich had the seductive veneer of a welfare state. It had apparently replaced chaos with order, discipline and national pride. Herman Friedhoff remembers his father saying, with some admiration, that in Nazi Germany "the trains run beautifully on time and massive motorways are built. There's no unemployment and people work diligently. Germany seems to have left the traumas of defeat behind."[4]

There were other features of the national-socialist state that one might admire. The Nazi emphasis on physical fitness would have appealed to the Dutch, who had their own hiking clubs and recreational associations. Nazi glorification of rural life and folk traditions as the authentic expression of a nation's character was similar to the Netherlanders' own pastoral romanticism, even if they were an urban people. One young girl admitted to being attracted by the virile young invaders: "the uniforms, the singing, the rhythmic pounding of the boots, and the handsome faces gripped my heart. To me, love knew no national boundaries."[5] To sum up, there were elements of National Socialism that would attract Netherlanders discouraged by the economic depression and disillusioned with prewar politics. The profound shock of defeat and the departure of political leaders also left the population open to ideological persuasion. The incompatibility of Dutch national, religious and democratic traditions with Nazism was not immediately apparent to most people.

The German administration under Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart wooed the Dutch as a kindred Germanic people (*broedervolk*), the racial equals of the *Deutsche Volk*. German propaganda emphasised the bonds of kinship and culture between the two countries. In his inaugural speech of May 29th, Seyss-Inquart promised to respect the Dutch national character, political freedom, existing laws and the independence of the judiciary. This reassurance was what people wanted to hear. The civil service and police continued to function. The orderliness of the German troops were appreciated, even if they were condescending. Comfort was taken from the fact that the German government was, nominally, a civilian administration under an Austrian lawyer and not a military regime headed by an officer, as in Belgium or northern France. Initially, few people were arrested for political reasons. Unemployed Netherlanders were offered jobs at home and in the Reich. Theo van Duren noted that "some people started working for the Germans, who were offering enormous wages for drivers and labourers on the airfields. Such people were at first detested by everyone, but slowly the temptation became too strong and more and more fell for the higher wages."[6] German rule did not seem so bad, after all. A few expected more efficient government from a Reich Commissioner with the power to rule by decree, without a parliament.

The feeling that the Germans were basically a civilized people, despite recent history, dulled the critical faculties. The Nazis' anti-semitism should have been apparent to everyone. 24,000 German Jews, including the Otto Frank family, had found a refuge in the Netherlands. Nonetheless, Dutch civil servants dutifully filled in an October 1940 questionnaire that enquired about Jewish grandparents. This was the beginning of the process of identifying and isolating the Dutch Jews. The law-abiding instinct of civil servants was stronger than their suspicion of the Germans and they provided the information needed to identify and dismiss Jewish officials and teachers.

The Nazi courtship of Netherlanders as a fellow Germanic people had some success: the Dutch national Socialist Movement grew from 27,000 to 80,000 members and its youth wing, the *Nationale Jeugdstorm* had enrolled 18,000 by 1942. The various fascist parties were compelled to merge with Mussert's NSB, so that the total probably represents almost all the active supporters of Nazism. Corrie ten Boom of Haarlem recalled that "some joined the NSB simply for benefits: more food, more clothing coupons, the best jobs and housing. But others became NSBers out of conviction. Nazism was a disease to which the Dutch too were susceptible, and those with an anti-Semitic bias fell sick of it first."[7] Originally, the NSB was modelled on the Italian fascisti and discrimination against Jews was not a part of its programme; under German rule, the NSB rapidly conformed to discriminatory Nazi racial policies. Dutch Nazis made a great show of their patriotism, using the Netherlands' tricolour and lion along with their own distinctive symbols. Their shouted greeting "Hou Zee!" [hold steady] that accompanied the upraised arm was a sailor's call, drawn from the Netherlands' maritime heritage. These professions of patriotism became hollow as the Dutch national socialists were transformed into pliant

instruments of German rule; they were appointed as mayors or government ministers to replace men who would not carry out Nazi policies.

The appeal of National Socialism was supplemented by fear of communism, especially after the June 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union. The Bolshevik menace to European civilization was a recurrent theme of Nazi propaganda after 1941. 32,000 Netherlanders joined fascist military and armed auxiliary organizations, such as the Waffen-SS and Landwacht. To detach people from the royal family, the fascists played on the Netherlands' republican tradition or, less plausibly, by linking the monarchy with Jews and communism. History was again invoked to revive hostility against the British; their war against the Dutch-speaking Boers of South Africa was within living memory. Seventeenth-century Dutch admirals who had fought against the Royal Navy were honoured on postage stamps and commemorative medals. When Dutch cities were bombed by the Royal Air Force — some by mistake — the destruction was publicized. This was, according to propaganda posters, just one more British crime against Netherlanders in a long list of outrages.

The rising tide of revulsion

The Germans' gentle seduction ended in 1941 when they repudiated their promise to respect Dutch traditions and imposed Nazi racial policies. Identity cards were issued and Jewish citizens were registered in January 1941; their cards were stamped with a large "J". By law, Jews were forbidden to use public transport or to frequent parks and places of entertainment. Dutch Nazis were permitted to eject Jews from bars and to vandalize Jewish property. One NSBer, Hendrik Koot, was killed by the defenders of Amsterdam's Jewish quarter. In retaliation, the Germans closed off Amsterdam's Jewish district and arrested and deported 400 Jewish men and boys to Mauthausen concentration camp.

This persecution provoked the February 1941 protest strike initiated by Amsterdam's civic workers and joined by industrial labourers and people in other cities. Nazi authorities used threats and shot civilians in the streets to end the strike. The importance of the general strike in February 1941 is that it marked the beginning of forced "Nazification" backed by terror; intimidation superseded persuasion. The first mass execution came in March 1941, when eighteen members of a students' resistance group "De Geuzen" were shot. The Nazis' iron fist had emerged from the velvet glove.

Harassment of Jews was, according to Diet Eman, a bank clerk in The Hague, the breaking point. "Much of what had preceded the Jewish persecution had seemed an annoyance to most of us — no display of the royal colours, prohibitions against listening to the BBC — and for the most part we put up with it for a while. No one liked the restrictive laws, but in many people's eyes these relatively trifling laws were something we could tolerate. But when signs and notices suddenly appeared saying that the Jews had to leave their homes and could not live near us because, as the signs said, they were infectious (the Germans called them lice and rats and all kinds of names), when they were told they had to leave their homes in the Netherlands completely, then we stopped putting up with injustice. ... when it became apparent that the Nazis were really starting to go after Jewish people, we saw our task. Up to that time we had been groping around with a constant question, 'What can we do? What can we do?' ... Our objective became very clear: to find [hiding] places for Jews wherever we could. ... The whole business grew so fast that within two or three weeks we had over sixty people who wanted places out in the country."[8] Diet Eman belonged to a group of young Reformed Christian people motivated by religious and humane principles to help the Jews and to oppose Nazi policies. The ones prepared to take risks of active resistance were usually young and single. They were a small minority in the population; others were increasingly resentful but they obeyed the occupiers out of fear.

By mid-1941 it was no longer possible for the Dutch population to believe that it could wait for liberation and remain unaffected by the conquerors. A curfew was imposed, radio sets and cars were confiscated, the press was censored, professionals were compelled to join Nazi guilds, and random arrests became more frequent. Food rationing cards provided an additional means of social control because they were only issued to registered residents and they were difficult to counterfeit. The population's changed mood was evident in its hostile reaction to a German campaign in the summer of 1941 to recruit men and promote support for the war against the Soviet Union. The campaign was ridiculed

and Nazi posters were defaced. The population had indeed awakened, but not as the conquerors had wished. It is a measure of the conquerors' ineptitude that this revulsion against them occurred when the Third Reich was still winning the war.

The tide of revulsion against the Germans rose with further provocations. The deportation of the Jews was followed in March 1942 by the conscription of men for work in Germany, which forced more people into concealment. By 1943 the selective callup of workers was augmented by the random arrest of men in the streets. The network of shelters for Jews created by resisters expanded to take in the work-evaders known as *onderduikers* [divers]. 16,000 Dutch Jews survived the occupation in hiding. The need to shelter and feed tens of thousands of hidden fugitives drew more Netherlanders into overt acts of resistance. Ration cards and blank identity forms had to be stolen to feed and protect those in hiding. The fugitives' own assets were soon spent and funds also had to be collected to aid them.

One act of passive opposition could lead to active resistance. Those who retained a hidden radio set and listened to BBC newscasts and "Radio Orange" from London, as many did, or held on to leaflets dropped by the RAF were already on the path of opposition. It was a short step from passing on the news verbally to reprinting BBC reports for distribution.

After 1942, when Nazi forces began to retreat in Africa and in Russia, the Germans and their allies desperately attempted to avoid defeat by all means. Restraint was cast aside. Innocent hostages were shot in reprisal for acts of sabotage and for the murder of collaborators or German soldiers. The exploitation of the resources and people of the Netherlands was increasingly brutal: food, trams, railway rolling stock, and bicycles were seized. Arbitrary arrests and property confiscation engendered an atmosphere of insecurity; even the passive were not safe. It was best not to trust anyone since the occupying forces had paid informers. Those who turned away fugitives spoke of the risk to their own family in sheltering those sought by the Nazis. Survivors of the occupation remember the claustrophobic fear of the period, which made so many fellow citizens submissive to the Germans, despite the conquerors' obnoxious conduct. Yet those sheltering fugitives lived in greater fear and the people they concealed in cramped shelters suffered psychological damage. Unable to escape each other's company, the mildly-annoying traits of one's companions became intolerable. The relationship of a Jewish family from Bussum with its Christian hosts was ruined by three years of forced cohabitation: "the relationship was too close, the danger too acute and the period too long; we wound up by getting on each other's nerves to a point of near-hysteria."[9]

Forced "Nazification" offended Dutch national pride. Seyss-Inquart's assurance in 1940 that "We Germans ... do not come here to oppress and destroy the [Dutch] national character and to rob a country of its freedom"[10] was shown to be valueless, like so many other Nazi promises. Even Anton Mussert was shaken by the Nazi plan to incorporate the Netherlands into the Greater German Reich and to submerge the Dutch nation. How, asked one patriotic Dutchman, Dr. Herman B. Wiardi Beckman, could a country that had not existed before 1871 presume to impose its identity on a nation that was three centuries older?[11] Persecution of Jews and Gypsies violated the Netherlands' tradition of tolerance.

The Nazis' godlessness and their brutal treatment of Jews also offended devout Christians. Some Christians, at first, were inclined to submit to the foreign occupation since God had permitted the conquest and it was wrong to resist His will. Active opposition posed another dilemma: in combatting this evil force, one would have to compromise one's own morals by lying and stealing. Corrie ten Boom and her family felt duty-bound to tell the truth under Nazi interrogation, even when their lives were in danger for hiding fugitives. Members of the resistance *Knokploegen* [strong-arm squads] who raided government offices for ration cards and blank identity papers prayed that God would ensure their success so that they would not have to use the weapons they carried. The same Christian principles that led people to oppose Nazi policies put limits on what they would do to frustrate those hateful policies. This religious context gave the Dutch resistance a distinctive character.

Shades of resistance

Resistance had three levels of intensity: symbolic defiance, frustration of Nazi policies, and violent opposition. In the first years of the occupation, defiant

gestures were popular, especially among the young. The conspicuous display of symbols associated with the exiled royal family, such the colour orange, and playing the national anthem, the *Wilhelmus*, were banned. Support for the royal family was then shown by wearing a white carnation on Prince Bernhard's birthday and other oblique statements of loyalty. Sympathy for the Allies was manifested by tapping out the Morse Code "V" for Allied victory with a pencil. Some Netherlanders, on principle, refused to speak German, although most knew that language. Patriots shunned collaborators. When Seyss-Inquart permitted a non-fascist, conservative party called "The Netherlands Union" [*De Nederlandse Unie*] to be established, 800,000 people — ten times the NSB's membership — joined it to show their disdain for the Dutch Nazis. After the NU refused to support the war against Russia, it was dissolved like the other non-fascist parties. Louis de Jong called these gestures "acts of moral resistance," but symbolic acts of defiance are best understood as measures to rebuild self-esteem after the conquest; they were not going to defeat the Nazis or liberate the Netherlands.

The second level of opposition, which counteracted Nazi programmes and propaganda, was highly developed by the Dutch resistance. The concealment of Jews and fugitives has been mentioned. Incitement to popular opposition came from the underground press which publicized Nazi crimes, identified traitors, ridiculed the NSB, counselled non-compliance with Nazi measures, talked about the postwar future, and distributed uncensored news. Although the first issue of *Vrij Nederland* appeared in August 1940, the underground press got off to a slow start, in part because of problems with printing in secret, paper supplies, and safe distribution. The need for a free press was not appreciated at first. Until 1942 BBC reports, alas, were not so different from German victory bulletins. Herman Friedhoff, who was involved with *Het Parool*, recalled how difficult it was to get support for this underground newspaper. "In those early months [of 1941], ... I discovered that few people were ready to back sympathetic words with hard cash."[12] The first issue of one thousand mimeographed copies appeared during the February 1941 strike, and by 1942 50,000 copies were being distributed. Financial contributions increased in proportion to Nazi repression and German military reverses. The Netherlands, ancestral home of a free press, had in time 1,200 illegal newspapers with an estimated readership of four million. The underground press performed a valuable role in contradicting Nazi propaganda, in letting readers know that others shared their anger, and in sustaining hope of liberation.

The development of an uncensored press, the rescue of Jews, the sheltering of work-draft evaders, and the provision of stolen or false papers to fugitives were achieved by people within the occupied Netherlands, relying on their own initiative and resources. These activities were successful. The underground press of the Netherlands was more extensive than the illegal media in occupied France. When we come to the third and highest level of resistance, such as spying, sabotage, and armed attacks against the enemy, the militants were not as numerous in the Netherlands as they were in France, Italy or Yugoslavia.

To explain the low level of armed resistance, it is customary to note the unsuitability of the kingdom's large cities and open flatlands for operations by guerilla bands, who need forests and remote areas for concealment.[13] In the Netherlands barns were an obvious hiding place and the Germans knew it. The attempt of Britain's Special Operations Executive to set up an intelligence and sabotage network in the Netherlands was a catastrophic failure; the network was penetrated and controlled by the Gestapo until 1944. There was, despite this, anti-Nazi violence. Contrary to Queen Wilhelmina's wishes, collaborators and German servicemen were murdered with increasing frequency from 1943 onward: fifty NSB members were shot in that year. The shooting of S.S. chief Hanns Albin Rauter in an ambush in 1945 was really a mistake; the ambushers were hoping to hijack a meat truck.[14] Assassinations brought swift reprisals: usually, the shooting of several Dutch hostages for each murder. The value of material destruction was nearly as questionable. Blowing up rail lines and German vehicles did more damage to the occupiers' morale than to their war effort. Violent acts widened the gulf between the Nazis and the civilian population and they led to an escalation of terrorism by both sides.

Politically-motivated resisters, especially communists, were more likely to undertake armed attacks and assassinations. The Dutch resistance was dominated by constitutional monarchists and

democrats and the principal impulse for active opposition came from Christian and humane values. Moral resisters rejected violence and murder. Said Diet Eman: "each member of our group was a Reformed Christian. The motive that prompted us to do Resistance work was not merely one of adventure. ... We felt that some of the activities that precipitated ... reprisals were not called for."[15] Christian principles and the Queen's warning against murder would have restricted many to acts of clandestine opposition.

An underground army-in-waiting [*De Nederlandse Binnenlandse Strijdkrachten*] was created but it was not effectively used in fighting by the Allied forces. The Allies' failure to coordinate the 1944 Arnhem Raid with this underground army was a blunder. Individual members provided guides, messengers and interpreters for the liberators, who remained wary of these irregular fighters. Canadian officers were more concerned with restraining the Dutch insurgents in 1945 so they would not delay the Germans' surrender or provoke retribution by attacking the occupiers. The population was already suffering from collective retribution. The September 1944 strike by railway workers led the Germans to cut off food and fuel supplies to the western Netherlands, causing a winter of starvation in which 22,000 died; more were near death that spring.

Epilogue

When Canadian troops entered the western Netherlands in May 1945 they encountered a highly-polarized society, in which the Dutch Nazis were pariahs. Because German servicemen were protected by the articles of surrender; local collaborators became targets for the pent-up frustration of a population that had endured years of deprivation, terror and humiliation. Canadian Army photographers were witnesses to a conflict that they scarcely understood. The German occupiers had achieved a remarkable tour de force in affronting Dutch national pride and the values of this democratic and deeply-Christian society. The brutality of the conquerors and their collaborators, as well as the hardships of the last winter under Nazi rule, confirmed the widespread revulsion against Hitler's new order. This revulsion inspired a minority of Dutch citizens to become active resisters. The patriotic opposition was effective in frustrating deportations, in stealing and distributing ration cards with false identity papers, in destroying government records useful to the enemy, in countering Nazi propaganda, and in passing on downed Allied pilots and military intelligence. The government-in-exile encouraged these activities, which did not depend on external help. The fact that organized resistance against the Germans developed spontaneously within the Netherlands reveals the fundamental antipathy between Dutch tradition and the Third Reich's ideology.

NOTES

[1] Diet Eman with James Schaap, *Things We Couldn't Say* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1994), p. 28.

[2] Theo van Duren, *Orange Above* (London: Staples Press, 1956), p. 17.

[3] Johan Huizinga, *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*, quoted in Herman Friedhoff, *Requiem for the Resistance: The Civilian Struggle against Nazism in Holland and Germany* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1988), p. 11.

[4] Friedhoff, *Requiem*, p. 14.

[5] Albert van der Mey, ed., *When a Neighbor Came Calling: Personal Accounts of the Nazi Occupation of the Netherlands 1940-1945* (Jordan Station: Paideia Press, 1985), p. 38. The informant admits to "cavorting" [consorting?] with German soldiers. The later garrison troops stationed in the Netherlands were increasingly made up of middle-aged and sickly soldiers unfit for combat.

[6] Van Duren, *Orange Above*, p. 36.

[7] Corrie ten Boom, *The Hiding Place* (Toronto & New York: Bantam Books, 1983), p. 67.

[8] Eman, *Things We Couldn't Say*, pp. 87, 93.

[9] Sara Veffer as told to Ray Sonin, *Hidden for a Thousand Days* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1960), p. 124.

[10] Quoted in J.J. Boolen & Dr. J. C. van der Does, *Five Years of Occupation* (n.p.: The Secret Press of D.A.V.I.D., c1945), p. 13.

[11] Friedhoff, *Requiem*, p. 40.

[12] Friedhoff, *Requiem*, p. 111.

[13] See, for example. M.R.D. Foot, *Resistance: European Resistance to Nazism, 1940-45* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1976), p. 261.

[14] Karel Margry, "The Ambushing of SS-General Hanns Rauter," *After the Battle*, No. 56 (1987), pp. 1-17.

[15] Eman, *Things We Couldn't Say*, p. 151.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Ill. 1, pg. 50. 1942 poster of the reich commissioner's office: "The Socialism that Clears the Way [for worker-management cooperation is]: National Socialism!" — Author's collection.

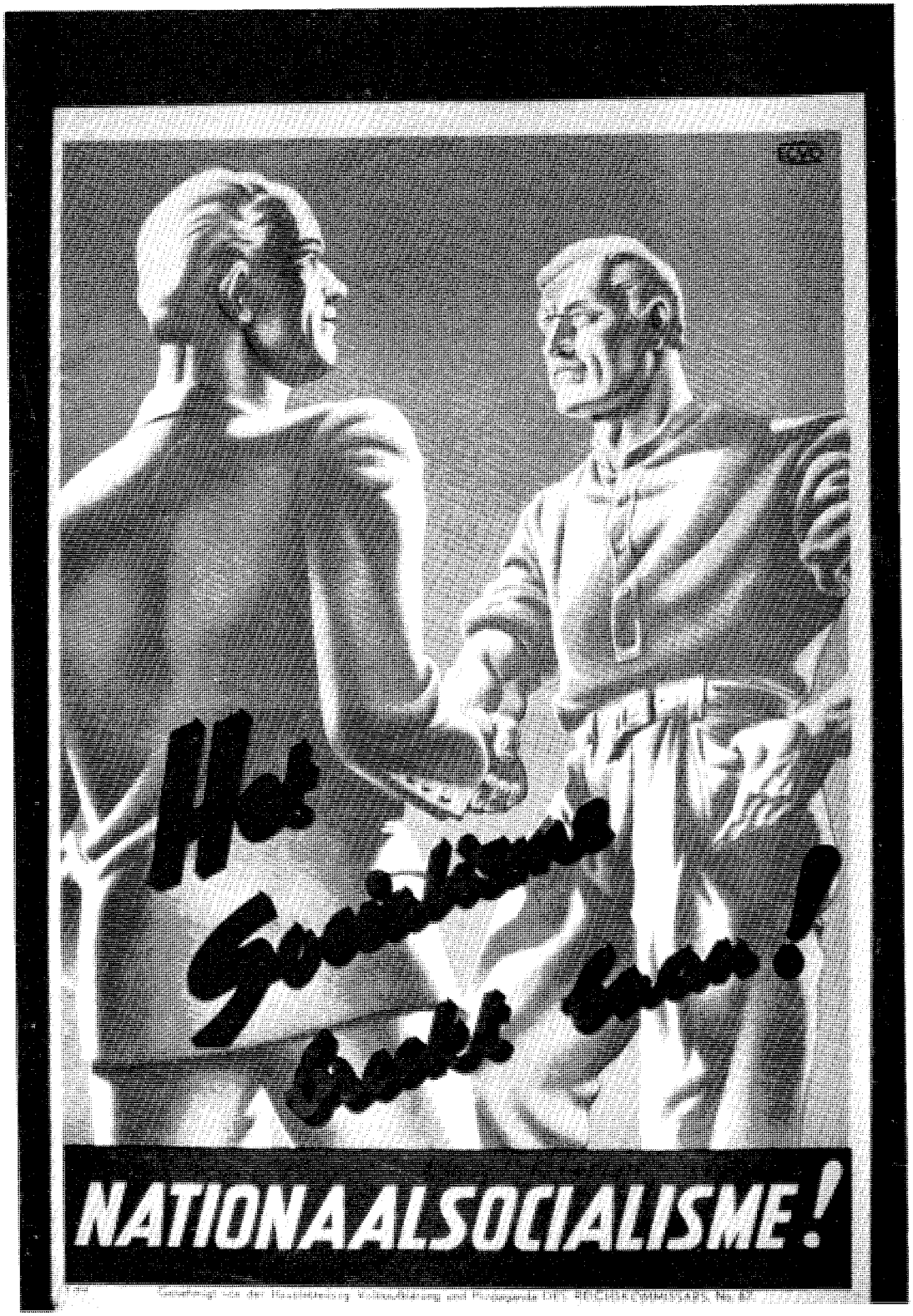
Ill. 2, pg. 51. 1944 N.S.B. poster: "The Netherlands still has an account to settle with England" followed by a list of historical outrages against the Dutch people, including the strafing of trains and citizens in 1944. — Author's collection.

Ill. 3, pg. 52. Nazi Department for Popular Enlightenment and Arts poster: "Bolshevism is Murder!" — Author's collection.

Ill. 4, pg. 53. Crudely-printed resistance flyers at the beginning of the German occupation: "freedom through democracy" on a V, "Orange is winning," and a cryptic question mark. — RIOD [State Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam].

Ill. 5, pg. 54. July 1941 — Defaced posters proclaiming German victory on all fronts and seeking recruits for the Dutch volunteers' Legion to fight on the Eastern Front. The graffiti writers have added "do not let yourself be recruited" and "we are not slaves." — RIOD.

Ill. 6. pg. 55. A Dutch fascist's store in Amsterdam marked as being the property of an N.S.B. member. — RIOD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van het Nederlandsche Volk
voor Engeland
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1665-'67 Tweede Engelsche oorlog
1672-'74 Derde Engelsche oorlog
1780-'84 Vierde Engelsche oorlog
Roof van Ceylon
Diefstal van de Kaap
1899 Overweldiging van Transvaal
1942-'44 Bombardementen op Nederlandsche woonwijken
1944 Beschieting van burgers en treinen
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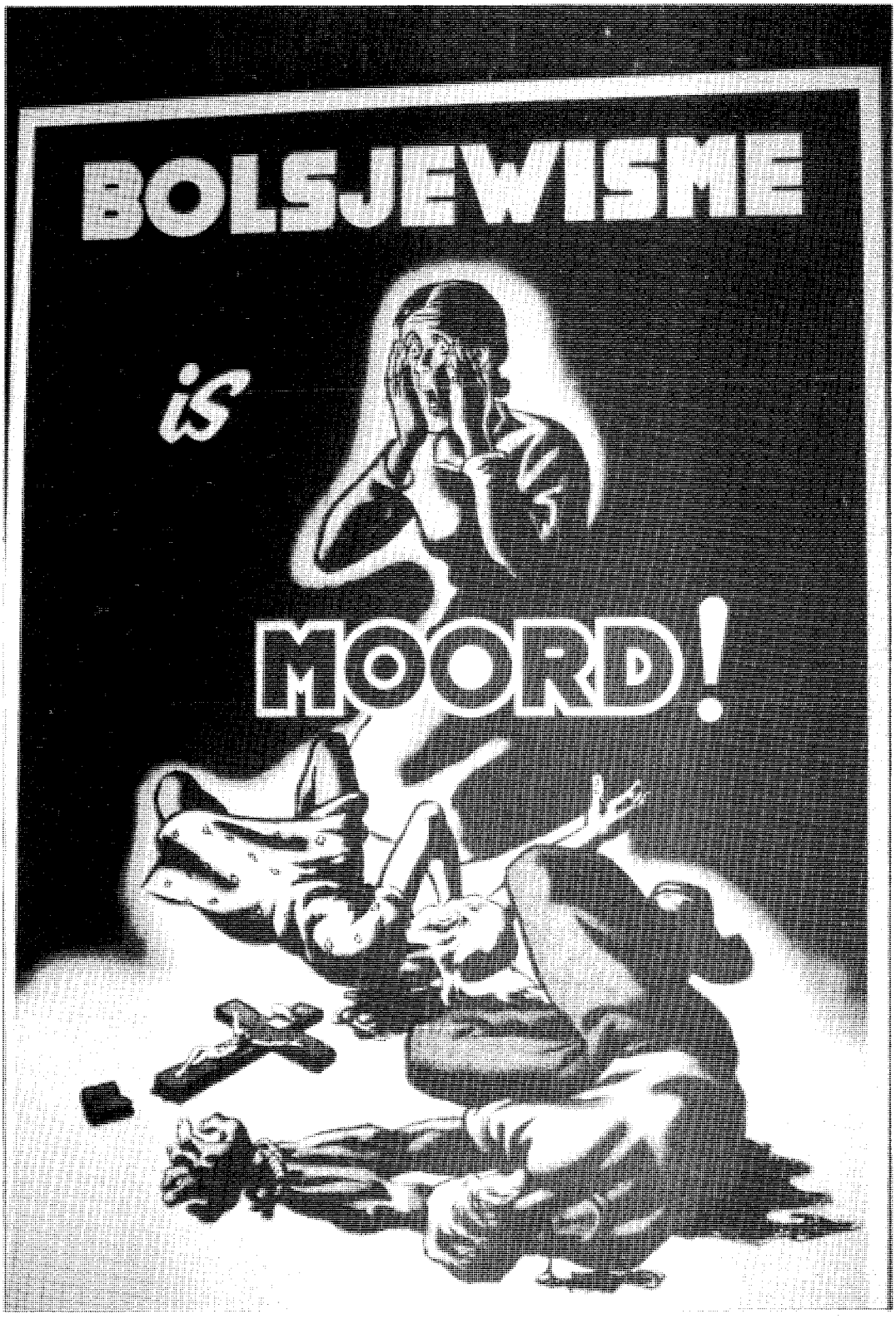
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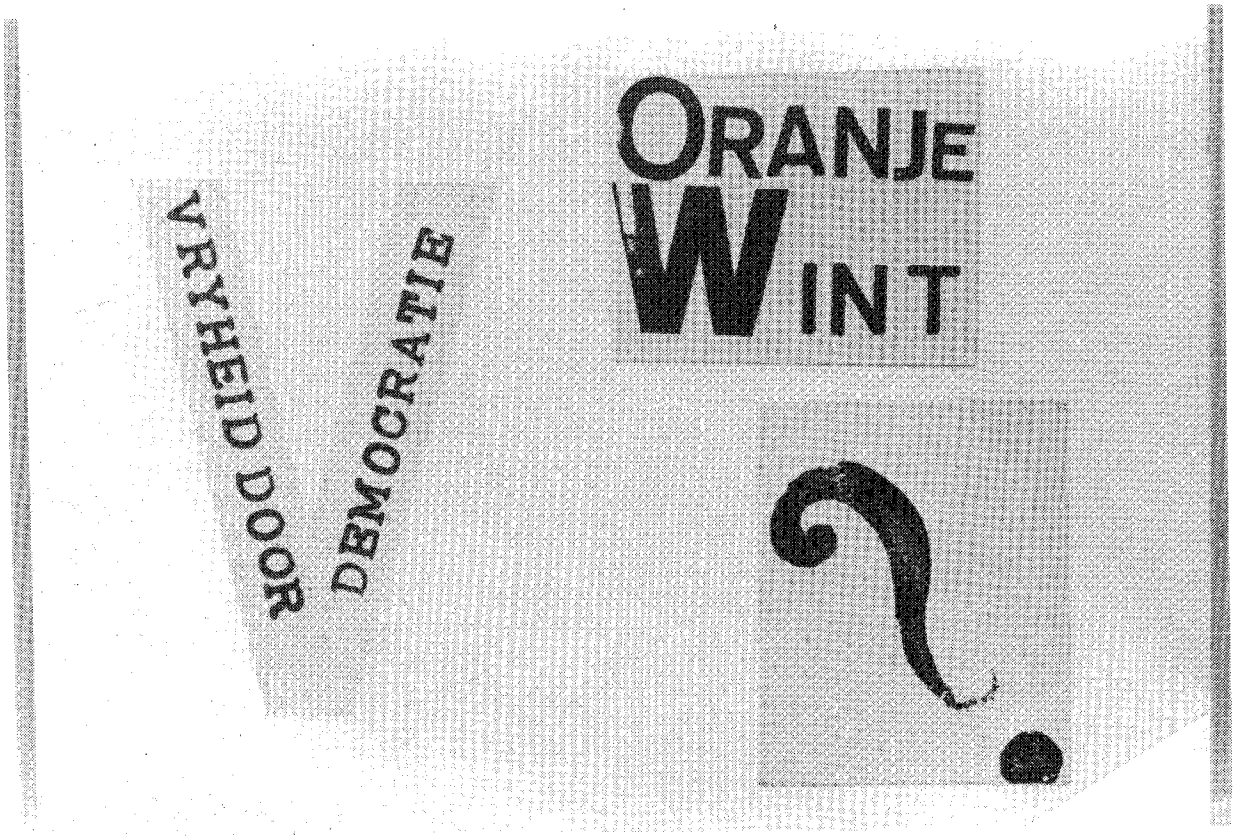
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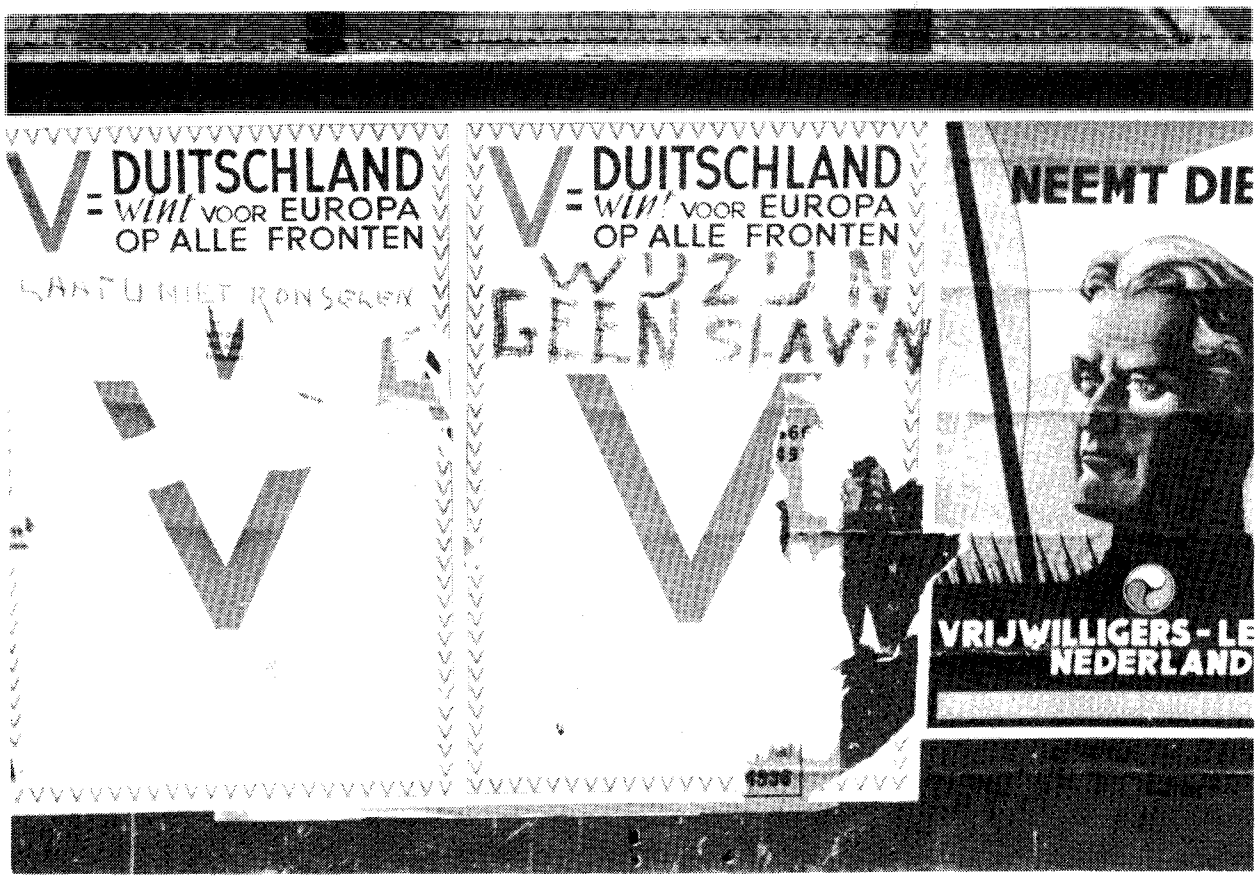
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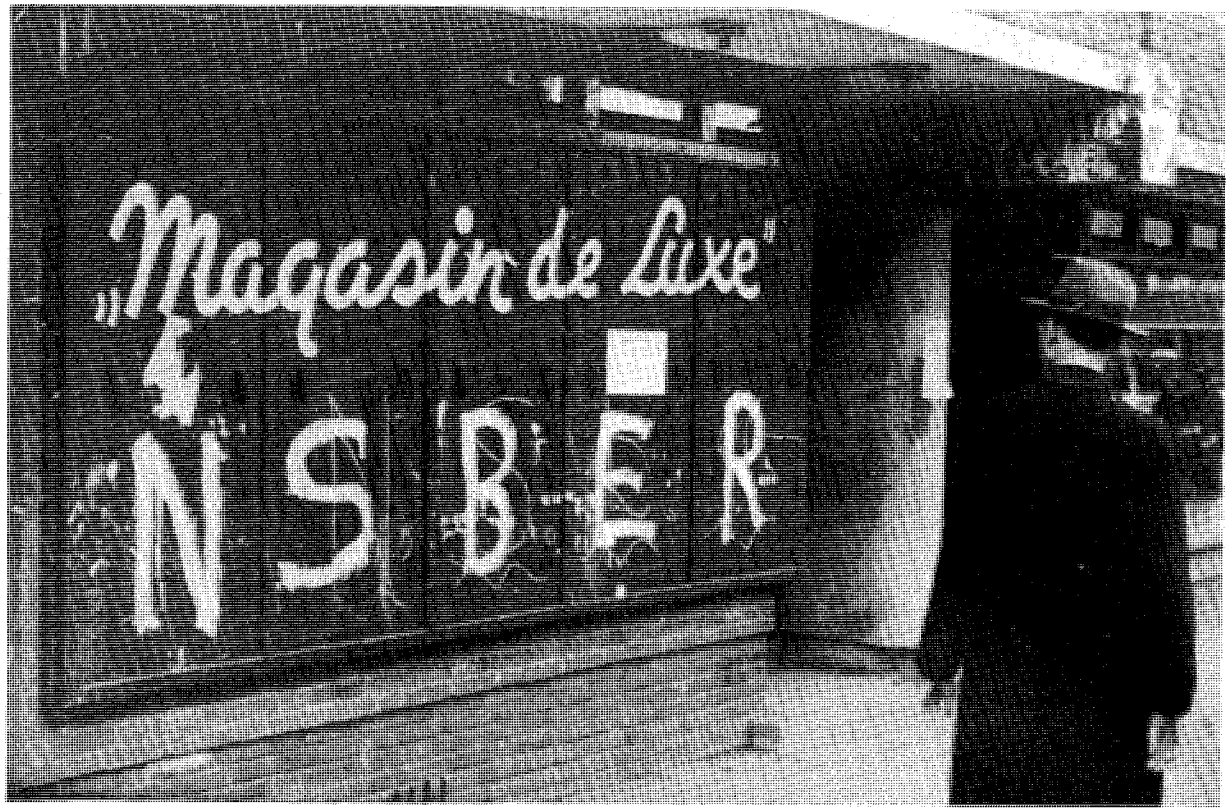
„Magasin de Luxe"
NSBER