

Will Rogers once said, 'If you can build a business up big enough, it's respectable.'¹ And after so many stories in the news about companies such as British Petroleum and Enron, and American banks which were deemed 'too big too fail', it is certainly easy to see what he was referring to. There is plenty of evidence of the ways war bolsters the economy, and businesses often flourish under the special kind of situation war creates. However, it's usually done by helping the country in which they're located, or at least headquartered. The Second World War was an exception to this, especially in America. There definitely was a dichotomy in how the United States interacted with Germany during World War II, in which the Third Reich was an official enemy and a back room business partner. This paper seeks to investigate this disparity between official treatment of Nazi Germany and the ties which the United States maintained throughout the war.

Little needs to be said about the United States' official policy regarding the Third Reich. Although initially reluctant to enter the war, once committed, the United States military fought to win back most of western Europe from fascist hands. They did this with the greatest of support from American citizens and the American government back home. Of this, little evidence is needed. However, some time will still be devoted to enumerating these efforts in order to establish a clear picture of the United States' official stance on Nazi Germany for the purposes of comparison later on in this essay. After building this context, the paper will reveal all the ways American businesses remained bedfellows with the Third Reich.

Even before the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour in Hawaii, the United States was having to contend with Germany in a military capacity, and was beginning to lose any patience it might have had for the country. After Germany sank four American ships both merchant and military in the first eight months of 1941 with no warning and in total disregard of international agreements, President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave a speech on 11 September, 1941 to address the problem.² He ordered the navy to start defending all merchant ships, not just american ones, from Nazi ships,

¹ Angel Investor News, 'Thought Provoking Advice'. <http://www.angel-investor-news.com/Articles-Advice-To-Ponder.htm> (Accessed 11 January 2012).

² Roosevelt, Franklin D., 'Roosevelt Orders the U.S. Navy to "Shoot on Sight", 1941' in *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations Volume II: Since 1914*, ed. Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson, (Boston, 2005), p. 125-6.

given order to shoot on sight.³ The speech is also a likely fuel for the fire of distrust and discrimination against German Americans and aliens. In his speech, he called the Germans 'inhuman, unrestrained seekers of world conquest and permanent world domination by the sword' and told the American people that it was 'the Nazi design to abolish the freedom of the seas, and to acquire absolute control and dominion of these seas for themselves.'⁴ This sort of inflammatory language could have easily roused such negative feelings in Americans about their German-descended neighbours and fellow citizens. These suspicious public opinions would then in turn force the hand of the government to act against German citizens and aliens as well as those of Italian and Japanese descent.

A great deal of attention has been paid to the mistreatment of Japanese Americans and Japanese unnaturalised immigrants, but German Americans and unnaturalised immigrants were also mistreated and subject to discrimination. This general abuse began even before the United States entered the war. Many Americans feared that German Americans and aliens remained loyal to their former, European homes, and thus worried that they would take up so-called 5th-column activities and other clandestine means of undermining the United States. This fear was largely unfounded, however, as Hitler was never popular with German Americans, and German aliens only made up three percent of the population in 1940.⁵ However, Americans' concerns were reinforced by German and Italian Americans voting increasingly to keep America out of the war whilst Jewish Americans voted for the United States to step in and intervene.⁶

This growing discomfort amongst the American people would lead to Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration taking some rather mixed actions. For although Roosevelt passed Executive Order 8802, which called for an end to discrimination in hiring which was crippling production potential, he also in May of 1940 authorised the use of wiretaps on anyone suspected of 'subversive activities', and told his Attorney General, Robert H. Jackson, to as much as possible

³ Roosevelt, 'Roosevelt Orders the U.S. Navy to "Shoot on Sight", 1941', p. 127.

⁴ Ibid, p. 126.

⁵ Jeffries, John W., *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* (Chicago, 1996), pp. 121-3.

⁶ Jeffries, *Wartime America*, p.125.

limit the use of wiretaps to just aliens.⁷ Later that year, in June, Congress passed the Smith Act, which required all aliens to be registered, fingerprinted, and to list all their organisational affiliations, as well as providing for the deportation of any aliens found to have been members of fascist or communist groups.⁸ In Hartford, Connecticut, despite the Executive Order, defence industries there refused to hire anyone of German ancestry.⁹ In the winter of 1941-1942, some officials in Washington, DC, began to contemplate wholesale relocation and detention of German, Italian, and Japanese aliens nationwide, and early in 1942 those notions were realised when several thousand Germans and Italians were ordered to leave their homes and jobs in coastal security areas in California.¹⁰ National polls in the spring and summer of 1942 showed that German aliens were considered more dangerous than Japanese aliens.¹¹ However, this was hardly a uniform opinion, simply a latent majority opinion.

This disdain for Germany and its people was of course not shared by every American. It became less and less of a majority opinion the further up the socio-economic ladder one went, and its dissipation was evidenced by the business dealings of many of these elite Americans. Profit and expansion would trump nationality, and wartime bans by the government. However, these corporations kept in mind the general public's feelings towards Nazi Germany, and knew that to maintain their good standing in America, their tracks would have to be carefully swept away. And that's exactly what happened.

During the war years, American industry flourished. The previous depression was reversed as suddenly a great deal of materials and production was required. But during the interwar years, many American corporations had built up ties with Germany which they were loath to sever when the United States joined the war. And so these companies kept up clandestine and cleverly disguised façades to continue doing business with the Third Reich after it became an official enemy of the United States.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 126-7.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 131.

It is impossible to discuss these relationships without discussing the behemoth known as I.G. Farben. This organisation, originally a German chemical complex, was the largest chemical manufacturer in the world on the cusp of the Second World War, and as the war progressed, became the gateway to doing business in Germany from America.¹² Alcoa, General Electric, and Standard Oil were just a few of the numerous American firms that counted themselves as members of this multi-national cartel.¹³

As was just mentioned, the Aluminum Company of America was an important addition to the I.G. Farben family of corporations, and was essential to Germany's acquisition of aluminium for its war machine. Firstly, Alcoa had to eliminate the chance of competition stealing away its market. As the last of Alcoa's two patents on making aluminium expired in 1909, to maintain its chokehold on its production, it bought up as much of the raw bauxite supply as it could.¹⁴ The company then signed a cartel agreement with I.G. Farben in the 1920s which limited US aluminium production, which in turn limited production of aircraft as well as shipbuilding.¹⁵ When other companies tried to step up and pick up the slack in production, Alcoa pressured OPM to deny loans to assist these companies in refining aluminium.¹⁶ In addition to aluminium, Alcoa also assisted Germany in acquiring magnesium. There had been eight producers of magnesium in the United States as a result of World War I, but during the interwar years this number dwindled to two. Alcoa owned one of only two magnesium production companies, American Magnesium Co.¹⁷ As with aluminium, a cartel agreement called the Alig Agreement, was written up and signed by AMC and IG Farben. It allowed Farben shareholders to restrict production capacity in the United States to 4,000 tons per year.¹⁸ But of course, it was only the start of a list of American Farben associate companies.

General Electric had subsidiaries in Germany during the interwar years, which received

¹² Sutton, Antony C., *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler: The astonishing true story of the American financiers who bankrolled the Nazis* (Forest Row, UK, 2010), p.33.

¹³ Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p.34.

¹⁴ Hawkins, John and Glen Yeadon, *The Nazi Hydra in America: Suppressed History of a Century* (Joshua Tree, 2008), p. 95.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁶ Smith, George David, *From Monopoly to Competition: The Transformations of Alcoa, 1888-1986* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 216-7.

¹⁷ Hawkins and Yeadon, *The Nazi Hydra in America*, p. 96.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

money from American banks to build themselves up as the Third Reich came to power. GE's German equivalent received \$35,000 in loans from National City Co., an American bank, between 1925-1928.¹⁹ Later it would repay the favour by passing the money along to the German government, and in 1933, German General Electric contributed 60,000 Reichsmarks to Hitler's campaign fund.²⁰ Several agreements between various Farben companies during the mobilisation of Germany's military ensured that when war broke out, their business would not be interrupted regardless of which side the United States came down on. To give a glaring example of the interconnectedness of American and German businesses, Owen D. Young was president of US General Electric, chairman of the board of General Electric Company in New York City, and a director of German General Electric, and Osram, a German lighting manufacturer, by 1930.²¹ As has now been clearly shown, Germany's only real obstacle to war was raw materials. But those it could get from America through its various business ties to the isolated country. By 1936, General Electric, through its subsidiary Carboloy, had a complete monopoly on the production of tungsten carbide in the US, and thus, in a move that echoed Alcoa's business practices, restricted its use in the US.²² Germany now had the materials it needed to build everything it needed, but it would still need the means to power the vehicles they planned to build. And that's where yet another member of the IG Farben cartel came in.

Another important member of the I.G. Farben Cartel was Standard Oil. Originally founded by John D. Rockefeller, who would contribute more than his company to Germany's war effort, Standard Oil collaborated with I.G. Farben to research methods of making synthetic oil from coal, of which Germany had abundant supplies.²³ Standard Oil of New York provided 'millions' of dollars in assistance to achieve this.²⁴ Rockefeller's company also helped Germany develop iso-octane and tetra-ethyl lead, which are crucial for aviation fuels.²⁵ Additionally, Standard Oil supplied Germany

¹⁹ Ibid., p.53.

²⁰ Ibid., p.55.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., p.62.

²³ Sutton, Antony C., *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p.67.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

with ethyl lead, which is an anti-knocking compound found in fuels for both aircraft and automobiles.²⁶ It did this through the creation of a separate company, the Ethyl Gasoline Corporation, which blatantly ignored a warning from the Army Air Corps not to share its technology with Germany when it signed a joint production agreement with I.G. Farben.²⁷ This complete disregard for the United States was never chastised, and never led to any sort of consequences. Although many were never made to answer for their actions, there were instances where the United States tried to hold corporations accountable for assisting wartime enemies of the nation.

In 1998, historians were employed on both sides of a lawsuit filed against two of the largest American automotive companies, Ford and GM, pressing for admission of their ties to the Third Reich. However, neither company was willing to voluntarily admit to any such collaboration, hence the ensuing litigation. As two companies who established themselves early on as 'the arsenal of democracy', they could not afford the loss of face that would come with telling the general public that they had fought on both sides of the war.²⁸ Imagine the American troops' dismay when, rushing up to meet their German enemies, they found the Nazis using some of the same vehicles, only with different badges on their grilles. This was because two of America's biggest automotive manufacturers really did help keep the Third Reich mobile, too.

Henry Ford was an easy ally for the Nazis. He harboured anti-Semitic views just as severe as those of Hitler himself, and published those opinions in a faltering newspaper he acquired called the *Dearborn Independent*.^{29,30} Hitler picked up on these columns and other writings of Ford's, and latched onto them, claiming that Henry Ford was an inspiration to him, and placed a portrait of the automaker in his office.³¹ In fact, Hitler even awarded Ford the Grand Cross of the German Eagle in

²⁶ Ibid., p. 73.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Dobbs, Michael, 'Ford and GM Scrutinized for Alleged Nazi Collaboration', *Washington Post* (30 Nov 1998), p A01.

²⁹ Black, Edwin, *Nazi Nexus: America's Corporate Connections to Hitler's Holocaust* (New York, 2009), p. 5. Kobo Books Edition.

³⁰ I would like to point out here that due to adjustable font and margin size, Kobo Books' page numbering is very unreliable. I have made every effort to get the page number as correct as possible, but due to the format this was not always possible.

³¹ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, pp. 10-11.

1938. It was the highest medal Nazi Germany could bestow upon a foreigner.³² It was likely that he was thankful, or realised how crucial Ford's friendship would be; an investigative US Army report written by Henry Schneider found that Ford's Dearborn headquarters had struck a complex barter deal with Germany that gave the Third Reich increased access to certain war-essential raw materials, such as rubber.³³ Additionally, a third of the Reich's trucks would end up being made by Ford, in factories within Germany's territory.³⁴ Ford's Reich-located factories were operated by forced labour kidnapped and transported back from conquered territories.³⁵ According to one account of a girl who worked there, the conditions were deplorable, and comparable to those of a concentration camp; they were not paid, lived in barracks and were barely fed.³⁶

That would not be the end of Ford's services to the Third Reich. Among the many trucks produced for Germany were special trucks that used coal as their fuel, which could take advantage of the one natural resource Germany did have in abundance.³⁷ And in return for his assistance, Ford's company was well compensated: American Ford received post-war dividends from German subsidiaries worth approximately \$60,000 for the period between 1940-43.³⁸ Of course, wherever Ford was, its biggest competitor was nearly always right beside it.

General Motors was somewhat of an exception to this list of corporate conspirators. Its president, Alfred Sloan, detested Roosevelt's running of the country, especially the New Deal, and would do anything to undermine that vision.³⁹ Thus he knew full well that what he was doing through Opel was to help start and continue a war against his own nation, and at every turn did whatever he could to assist Germany and tear down President Roosevelt, even to the point of subversively keeping America dependent upon oil, which kept it from acquiring a huge advantage over the Axis in the form of electric mass transit.⁴⁰ And his efforts were significant.

³² Ibid.

³³ *Dobbs*, 'Ford and GM Scrutinized for Alleged Nazi Collaboration'.

³⁴ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 15.

³⁵ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 15.

³⁶ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 15.

³⁷ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, p. 222.

³⁸ *Dobbs*, 'Ford and GM Scrutinized for Alleged Nazi Collaboration'.

³⁹ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 8-9 of ch. 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

He oversaw the acquisition of Opel, a traditionally German automaker, in 1929 and once the war broke out used this subsidiary to continue doing business in Germany and to continue to have say over operations in German plants.⁴¹ These plants quickly ended up producing 29 percent of their Blitz trucks for the German army, but that is not to say they didn't prosper before the war.⁴² Indeed, Opel, even before the war, produced 40 percent of Germany's vehicles and made up a staggering 65 percent of its exports.⁴³ Whilst Ford contributed what was already being made to the German war effort, GM/Opel designed and manufactured the three-ton Blitz truck specifically for the Reich's war against the world.⁴⁴ However, although these plants bolstered the German economy and virtually eliminated unemployment in the towns in which they were located, they had their bad qualities. For instance, these plants were manned by forced labour kept under guard and behind barbed wire fences.⁴⁵ Also, after the war, GM was awarded \$32 million by the U.S. government for 'damages sustained to its German plants' due to them being bombed during the war.⁴⁶ This clever manipulation of the American government made it one of countless American corporations who not only weathered the storm in Nazi Germany, but made record profits year after year as they did so, all without the slightest inkling on the American people's part. However, these producers of war-essential goods were not the only American corporations unwilling to give up their German markets. Which brings us to Coca-Cola and other less militaristic organisations.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, Coca-Cola had a strong foothold in Germany; one of the few foreign markets it had managed to force its way into.⁴⁷ During World War II, Coca-Cola bolstered the company's image by dedicating itself to providing every soldier with Coca-Cola, with the added benefit of being largely exempt from the sugar rationing in place in the United States.⁴⁸ However, its interests were not solely American. As early as 1929, Ray Rivington Powers

⁴¹ *Dobbs*, 'Ford and GM Scrutinized for Alleged Nazi Collaboration'.

⁴² Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 12 of ch. 4.

⁴³ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 5 of ch. 4.

⁴⁴ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 3 of ch. 4.

⁴⁵ *Dobbs*, 'Ford and GM Scrutinized for Alleged Nazi Collaboration'.

⁴⁶ *Dobbs*, 'Ford and GM Scrutinized for Alleged Nazi Collaboration'.

⁴⁷ Pendergrast, Mark, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola: The History of the World's Most Popular Soft Drink* (London, 2000), p. 195. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁸ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, pp. 195-7.

was bottling German Coca-Cola.⁴⁹ Powers had increased Coca-Cola's sales to over 100,000 by the time Hitler came to power. The same year, Max Keith joined the ranks of the 'Coca-Cola men', and would later take over from Powers.⁵⁰ It was through this man's tireless efforts that Coca-Cola continued to keep its fingers in the pie of Nazi Germany during the war. The German Coca-Cola split into two companies, Coca-Cola GmbH and Deutsch Vertriebs GmbH, the latter more commonly referred to as Deverna, though it would later be dissolved, leaving only Coca-Cola GmbH with Keith at its helm as Germany began its war.⁵¹

Without the cola syrup, which was prevented from being imported by the war, Coca-Cola's German subsidiary couldn't produce the highly demanded drink.⁵² In 1941 Keith asked chemists to come up with an alternative to Coca-Cola.⁵³ They obliged, and combined orange flavouring and all the German-made Coke ingredients to create Fanta orange soda in a desperate attempt to keep the company alive in the likely scenario of the two imported Coca-Cola ingredients being prohibited.⁵⁴ When the American troops reached Germany, Coca-Cola's 'technical observers' came and reclaimed Coca-Cola GmbH.⁵⁵ And so, another American corporation helped to keep Germany going during the war, this time through bolstering the economy with domestic goods. Goods alone, though, are not enough to maintain a wartime country.

The Rockefeller Foundation of New York played a large part in providing the one essential component of any great political or social machine: money. They started in 1920 when they began funding the research of racial hygienist Agnes Bluhm, who was studying alcoholism and heredity.⁵⁶ After a tour of Europe, the Rockefeller Foundation began supporting other eugenicists and racial hygienists, such as Hermann Poll, Alfred Grotjahn, and Hans Nachtshiem.⁵⁷ By 1926, German researchers had received \$410,000 (in modern day terms, approximately \$4 million) from the

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 213.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 214, 218, 221.

⁵² Roush, Chris, 'And in third place...it's Fanta', *The Atlanta Journal and The Atlanta Constitution* (26 July, 1996), p. B1.

⁵³ Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*, pp. 221-2.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 222.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 223-4.

⁵⁶ Kühl, *The Nazi Connection*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Rockefeller Foundation.⁵⁸ They also helped establish several of Germany's largest centers for conducting eugenics research and experiments, including establishing and supporting the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Psychiatry and the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Eugenics, and Human Heredity.⁵⁹ Later, when the latter was going under during the depression, the Rockefeller Foundation would pump money into the Institute to keep it afloat. In 1928 they built a new building for the Department of Genealogy and Demography, which carried a price tag of \$325,000.⁶⁰ Even after the Nazi rise to power and the start of the Third Reich, Rockefeller remained supportive of Germany's institutions and practices.

The Rockefeller Foundation was not the Third Reich's only philanthropic friend, however. The Harriman family brought their railroad money to the table, and helped to fund the Eugenics Record Office, which later would serve as a model for Germany to follow.⁶¹ The Carnegie Institution of Washington kept close-knit ties with Germany's fascist eugenicists, and the two worked closely, sharing work and results.⁶² One of the Carnegie-backed studies was the 'Preliminary Report of the Committee of the Eugenic Section of the American Breeder's Association to Study and to Report on the Best Practical Means for Cutting Off the Defective Germ-Plasm in the Human Population'.⁶³ They also produced the formulas for calculating if someone was a full Jew, a half-Jew, or a quarter-Jew.⁶⁴ California eugenicists worked to produce propaganda pamphlets for the Nazis, and helped to distribute them. In return, America would get the German documentary *Erbkrank*, or *The Hereditary Defective*, which would be shown in public schools across the country.⁶⁵ There were other organisations that contributed to Germany's Holocaust, however, and in far more direct ways.

The most famous of these, of course, is International Business Machines, better known as

⁵⁸ Black, Edwin, *Nazi Nexus: America's Corporate Connections to Hitler's Holocaust* (New York, 2009), p. 33. Kobo Books Edition.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 20.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 66.

⁶² Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 13 of ch. 2.

⁶³ Black, *Nazi Nexus*, p. 6 of ch. 2.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 23 of ch. 2.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 48-9.

IBM. As with most of these corporations, they had a subsidiary company with a respectable German name which veiled the connections between it and its New York based parent company. In IBM's case, that company was Deutsche Hollerith Maschinen Gesellschaft, better known as Dehomag.⁶⁶ This company was responsible for providing the punchcard and database system the Nazis used to identify, organise and systematically exterminate the Jews as well as other enemies of the Reich. These cards gave the Nazis everything they needed to know: nationality, birthdate, family information, which category of 'unfit' people they belonged to, and their fate once they reached the camps.⁶⁷ They also designed systems to track Luftwaffe inventory, railroad schedules and other aspects of life in the Third Reich, meaning that their collaboration was far more extensive than most detailed in this essay.⁶⁸

The Reich's employment of IBM through Dehomag began with Hitler's decree of 12 April, 1933 that a census would immediately take place.⁶⁹ The first state to be catalogued was Prussia, the largest within Germany's territory. But the Prussian government was not up to the task of conducting such a massive overhaul. That's when Karl Koch, an attorney for Dehomag, stepped in, offering to do the job on a contract.⁷⁰ Their successful handling of the project started IBM's prosperous relationship with Nazi Germany, despite the gathering war clouds. In anticipation of this, Thomas Watson, the company's president, took actions to ensure that Dehomag could usurp the clients and factories of any IBM companies within other European countries, so that when Germany's borders expanded, no profit would be lost.⁷¹ In Austria IBM systems also logged all Jewish possessions for records of assets acquired by the Reich.⁷²

Their relationship grew even more entangled in 1941, when an agreement was made to sell some shares of Dehomag to the Nazi government in exchange for a secure monopoly and the right

⁶⁶ Black, Edwin, *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance Between Nazi Germany and America's Most Powerful Corporation* (New York, 2008), p. 9.

⁶⁷ Black, *IBM and the Holocaust*, p. 21

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

to pay royalties to IBM in New York.⁷³ As the war progressed, nearly every camp the Nazis established came to have its own IBM outpost for cataloguing its victims.⁷⁴ Each camp had its own code, and these outposts were responsible for giving each inmate their assigned number.⁷⁵ Under this system, each camp could potentially register 999,999 people.⁷⁶ Without IBM's new means of handling great swaths of data, the Third Reich would never have successfully implemented the Holocaust to the extent that they did. And while Dehomag was inextricably tied to Hitler's regime, throughout the war IBM NY maintained awareness of its subsidiary's actions and directed it via companies in neutral countries, so that IBM appeared to cut ties in Germany once the United States entered the war.⁷⁷ Then, after the war, IBM lodged claims for compensation for war damage to their machines in each of the countries affected by the war, including Bulgaria, France, Poland and Romania.⁷⁸ IBM had by far the largest wartime market of any corporation in place in World War II. So why did no one notice?

Most of these corporations' fascist ties were not found out until years later, and then usually only by remote instances of historians stumbling upon a paper trail that leads them to one archive or another. But what happened when these historians published their research? Surely the tarnished reputations of their wartime activities led these companies to financial ruin?

The truth is, they are all still operating in America in some form; many of them are some of the largest corporations in America. So unfortunately, the lesson here seems to be that associating with enemies of your nation, or governments and corporations that assist in the murder of millions of people, for the purpose of extra profit has no consequences. Hopefully as more of these stories come to light, and the complacency of these corporations becomes known, they will prevent such reckless pursuits of personal gain in the future.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 271-2.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 351.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 352.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 354.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 376.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 384-91.

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