

HITLERISM

**THE IRON FIST IN
GERMANY**

BY NORDICUS



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TO R. F.

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HITLERISM

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CHAPTER I

GERMANY GONE MAD

THE huge Festhalle in Frankfort-on-Main is filled with a noisy crowd of 20,000. Grimy laborers, politically-confident students, Teutonic Babbitts with protruding beer-bellies and egg-like heads, excited women, still more excited girls, old men who have lived in better days, ex-soldiers who survived the mud and stench of the front, youngsters not yet out of their teens,—all are caught in a tremendous wave of enthusiasm. Stunned by the years of economic misery since the war, these people suddenly discover a political Moses to lead them out of the black wilderness. Germany is to be saved! *Deutschland erwache!* Triumph of the Aryan race! Down with the Jews! A united front once more against the French swine! *Heil Hitler!*

Ebert, Rathenau, Stresemann, the men who worked to save Germany from chaos, are gone and forgotten. They were traitors! Everything will be bettered by the magic of Adolf. The crowd sees a rosy picture. The Treaty of Versailles will be disregarded. Germany

and Austria will unite and the glory of the pure German race will be established. The Jews will be chased out of the country. Usury will be ended. The laborer will get a full dinner-pail and German youth will live in a paradise of athletic fields.

Mussolini saved Italy! Hitler will save us!

“Völkischer Beobachter!” “Der Angriff!” The newspapers with flaming headlines sell like wildfire.

On the speaker's platform a little man shouts and gesticulates excitedly. In short, staccato, biting words he lashes his hearers into a frenzy. A dynamic piece of energy. True revolutionary fervor here. All the eloquence and self-confidence of a Danton, the uncompromising attitude of a Robespierre. Josef Goebbels, doctor of philosophy, the Berliner “Gauler” (section-leader) of the National Socialist German Workers' Party and propaganda chief for the political organization in the entire Reich, is in Frankfurt to keep alive the flame of enthusiasm through which the government in Germany is to pass into the hands of a dictator. The greeting befits royalty.

Goebbels is afflicted with a club-foot and an unconquerable ambition, both of which have had an important part in elevating him to the position he enjoys now. It is this bodily deformity that has urged him on to power. He had to stay back as his comrades went forth to battle, to honor or to death. He studied. Various professions, journalist, writer, without suc-

cess. And then the opportunity for personal power—with Hitler. Sudden success.

Here he stands—the “Mäusegeneral” (mouse-general) and tells his followers what is going to happen when the “November traitors” are thrown out and the Third-Reich comes into power. When heads begin to fall!

Horns and screeching whistles. Shouts of “Heil!” and “Bravo!” The band strikes up a military march and the crowd beats time.

The spirit of 1914 again.

Another scene. A little “Wirtschaft” (café) buried away in the heart of the old town. A dozen young Nazis (National Socialists), each wearing the “Hakenkreuz”—crusading sign of the party—in his coat lapel, are seated at a long table. Discussions. Plans. Inevitable beer-drinking. The party becomes louder and louder. Soon a group of Communists returning from a meeting enters for a glass of beer. The Nazis begin sarcastic observations, which are answered promptly by insults. In a few minutes a free-for-all develops. The frightened café-owner promptly telephones for the police. *Ueberfall kommando!* (riot squad!) The police-wagon, containing Schupos sitting like wooden soldiers, swishes through the streets, whistles shrieking. A few minutes of expert black-jack work and the miniature war is ended. A

Communist is found lifeless on the floor, his skull crushed in by a beer-jug.

The reds swear revenge. A few days later a Nazi is found dead on a lonely side-street, his body covered with knife-wounds. The police are helpless. The skirmishes continue in all parts of Germany. Murders are reported again and again. A veritable civil war, bitter, uncompromising, without quarter.

Another scene. The Social Democrats, the strongest party in the Republic, hold a parade. The thousands of marchers indicate that the party still maintains its superiority in number. There is organization here, enthusiasm. Here, too, are patriots. Bands, marchers, banners, bugle and fife corps. The long files march through the streets. On the sidewalk a crowd of young Nazis, all in their teens, follow the marchers and yell in unison: "Deutschland erwache!" The marchers pay no attention. The Nazis start abusive remarks. A shrill whistle and the Schupos appear. The Nazis scatter, many bearing the marks of police bludgeons.

The Reichstag. The same room where Bismarck, Windhorst, Lasker, Virchow and other great Germans spoke before representatives of a more powerful Germany. A strange scene here now. The members of a new party, commanding 107 votes, do their utmost to make legislation a joke. Communist speakers, greeted with "Pfui"!, answer in a similarly polite manner. National Socialists introduce resolutions

again and again proclaiming no confidence in the government. Their resolutions defeated, they answer with songs and prevent further business. The speaker, attempting to keep order, orders certain particularly loud members to leave the building. The Nazis rise and depart in a body, vowing not to return until they can obtain "fair play" in the Reichstag.

This is the modern Germany. A people overcome by a passion for political experiment. On September 14, 1930, when the results of the Reichstag elections were made public, the world took notice. The National Socialist party, founded but ten years before, was returned as the second strongest party in Germany with six and a half million votes and 107 mandates in the Reichstag. At the last previous elections, on May 20, 1928, the party had but 12 representatives. This unprecedented, totally unexpected success astonished the mass of German people as much as it aroused the fears of the so-called victor nations. Hitler's party with its new "Weltanschauung", its promise to save Germany and reassert the supremacy of the Aryan race, its political program—an unusual hodge-podge, its brown shirts and Mussolini-like salutations and discipline, this party was not taken seriously by the Germans. Now, with its mandate increased nine-fold in a decade, it is an important factor in the future of Germany. The movement is kept in flames by a group of ambitious men, exceptionally wise in

the methods of modern propaganda and hungry for power. There are so many discontented elements in Germany that the sensational promises of these political adventurers cannot fail to allure millions to the banners of the National Socialists. Spurred on by the quick rise of the new party, something new in the political history of Europe, Hitler and his followers expect to organize a new Germany in the shortest possible time.

What is the program of this new political party? What kind of men are directing its destinies? Who is financing it? What is its organization? What is its probable future? Can Germany afford a trial of Hitlerism at a time when the political tension in Europe is so keen that a slight disturbance may eventually lead to war? Does the mass of German people know when to put on the political brakes?

CHAPTER 2
THE LIFE AND WORK OF
ADOLF HITLER

NOVEMBER 8, 1923. The "Bürgerbräukeller" in Munich, filled to the doors. An expectant spirit pervades the atmosphere. For a week everyone has been whispering that the Nazis under Hitler are going to march to Berlin and proclaim the fall of the republic. The crowd, restless, speculates. Suddenly the hall is stormed by "S.A." soldiers, with Hitler at their head. The police are powerless. Doors are slammed. A machine-gun, with its ominous mouth pointing at the amazed crowd, is placed at the main entrance. A near panic ensues. Suddenly Hitler jumps upon a chair on the platform and shouts for attention. The crowd does not seem to take notice of the middle-sized man, with his oval face, brown hair and large deep blue eyes. He draws a revolver quickly and fires towards the ceiling. Then with eyes flashing he yells at the top of his voice: "The national revolution has broken out! The hall is filled with 600 fully armed men! Nobody is allowed to leave! The Bavarian government

and the government at Berlin are deposed! A new government will be formed at once! The barracks of the 'Reichswehr' and the police are occupied, both have rallied to the 'Hakenkreuz' banners!"

The National Socialist party had been founded only four years before. With but three representatives in the Reichstag and little real power, they were already being led into revolution by the fiery Hitler.

All through the night of November 8th a bitter campaign for power followed. Hitler was deserted by his fellow-leaders. One by one they fell away. On the next morning it became clear that the putsch could not be carried through against the now organized opposition of the "Reichswehr" and the police. At the instigation of General Ludendorff, then allied with Hitler, a peaceful march through the city was arranged, in order to uphold the waning prestige of the party. With Hakenkreuz flags and war banners flying, the Nazis marched triumphantly towards the Marienplatz, pushing aside the small detachments of police who attempted to prevent their further march. As the parade approached the "Feldherrnhalle," Hitler yelled to the larger detachment of police to surrender. The answer was a hail of lead. Eighteen of the marchers fell dead, including the servants of Hitler and Ludendorff, both of whom jumped in front of their masters at the critical moment, and scores of others were wounded. The old Ludendorff, like a fearless

Siegfried, marched steadily forward clear through the ranks of the police, with eyes straight ahead. The astonished attackers stopped firing.

So ended the Hitler-putsch. A few months later the leader was tried for treason and sentenced to five years imprisonment. Ludendorff, the war-hero, was freed.

ADOLF HITLER was born on April 20, 1889, in the little Bavarian-Austrian border town, Braunau, as the son of a pensioned customs-officer. He grew up in the country, being educated as a Catholic, and attended the "Realschule" in the upper Austrian city of Linz. When but eleven years of age, he asserted his independence by informing his father that he did not wish to follow in his footsteps and become a customs-officer; instead he pointed to his talent for drawing and insisted that he wished to become a painter or an architect. Two years later his father died. When he was sixteen he lost his mother. Upon the advice of friends he left for Vienna, after having quit school because of a lung-ailment. Here he failed to pass the entrance examination for the Painting Academy. He was advised to follow the career of an architect. It was necessary that he begin with apprentice work. Long hours, incompatibility with fellow-workers,

hunger, all this is described by Hitler in his autobiography, "Mein Kampf":

"I lived five years of misery and woe in this city. Five years, in which I earned my living first as apprentice and then as unknown painter; my truly sparing bread that never sufficed to appease even an ordinary hunger. This hunger was my true comrade, the only one that never left me. Every book that I acquired; every visit to the opera; everything was done at the expense of this hunger. It was a steady battle with my pitiless friends. But indeed I learned more during this period than ever before. Besides my work and visits to the opera, my only joy was in my books. I read a great deal at that time, and always thoroughly. The free time after my work was spent entirely in reading. In a few years I laid the background of all the knowledge I possess to-day. . . ."

Hitler had always had a desire to live in Germany instead of Austria. In 1912 he went to Munich, capital of Bavaria, where he was scarcely able to make a living by drawings and sketches for magazines and newspapers. He described the two years preceding the war as the happiest of his life. Here his first interest in politics was awakened. The old Bavarian town with its treasures of art, sculpture and architecture seemed a paradise to the Austrian youth with a desire to learn more about the world. The fascinating life of the middle-class Bavarian with his inevitable beer-

jug appealed to the young Hitler, who intended to settle to a peaceful career dedicated to art.

Sarajevo! The young man took stock. To return at once to Austria was not necessary. He preferred to fight with the Germans against the traditional enemy, France; Austria with its conglomeration of various races and its Habsburg rulers did not awaken any sense of patriotism. With the Germans! Adventure! Glory! On August 3d he penned a note to the King of Bavaria and asked that he be allowed to enter the ranks of the Bavarian army. The application was accepted immediately and the Austrian Hitler was assigned to the 16th Infantry Regiment, a well-known group of volunteer students. With but a few weeks' training he was sent to the front. On the way the train passed through Bingen-on-Rhine, which is just opposite the German Statue of Liberty, the "Niederwald-denkmal." Hitler describes the thrill of pride he experienced when he first saw this statue, dear to the heart of every German.

Hitler experienced the bloody attack on Lange-marck with his regiment. For four years he remained in the thick of battle, enduring all the vicissitudes of the conflict. Apparently oblivious to the thunder on the fields about him, he ran through the shell-scarred land and delivered dispatches. He was alone, accompanied only by his duty. There were no close friendships among his fellow-soldiers. He argued on

political questions with them, but he did not enter into the spirit of comradeship at the front. On October 7, 1916, he was wounded in the leg and was brought to the hospital at Hermis. In March 1917 he was sent into hostilities again. He took part in the Flanders engagement directed against the English, as well as in the first two great German offensives. In the fall of 1918 he was sent again to the Flanders sector to take part in the offensive again directed against the English. On the 14th of October, acting in his usual capacity of dispatch-bearer, he was gassed so seriously that it was feared his sight could not be saved. In the Pomeranian hospital of Pasewalk he remained in agony for months, his eyes burning like live coals. His condition gradually bettered. On November 10, 1918, he heard the news of the fall of the monarchy and the formation of the German Republic. His reaction was bitter:

“Since the day when I stood beside the grave of my mother, I had not cried. My obstinacy grew when my fate seemed pitiless during the days of my youth. It appeared to me almost a sin to grieve when so many dear comrades and friends were called out of the ranks by death; they died for Germany! And as the creeping gas began to eat into my eyes during the last days of the conflict, and as I began to weaken under the terror of blindness—but for a moment—then the voice of my conscience thundered: Miser-

able fool, you want to weep while thousands are worse off than you; and so I carried my lot silently. Now I could not do anything else but weep. I saw for the first time how personal trouble disappears when misfortune of the fatherland is at hand. . . .

“The more I tried to understand the great events of this hour, the more my brow burned with shame. What did the whole business of pain in my eyes mean against this misery?

“What followed, they were terrible days and even worse nights . . . I knew that everything was lost. To hope for mercy upon the part of the enemy could only be attempted by fools—or liars or criminals. In these nights my hate against the men who had brought about this crime grew and grew. . . .

“I, however, decided to become a politician.”

The curious thing about Hitler's four-year service at the front is that he was not promoted beyond the position of lance-corporal. Thousands of his comrades possessing less ability were appointed officers as soon as death provided vacancies, but the Austrian, who later became the sudden political leader of millions of Germans, received no unusual promotion. True that he was awarded the Iron Cross, first class, just as hundreds of his comrades. His lack of advancement may be attributed to the fact that he remained with the same company throughout the years of hostilities. It was a peculiar fact that German soldiers

transferred from one company to another during the war were able to advance more easily than if they remained with their original group.

After returning from the front Hitler applied for citizenship in the German Reich, which was refused on the ground that he was Austrian born. Gratitude for risking his life for the Germany he loved!

The collapse of the German monarchy and the subsequent founding of the German Republic were taken as a matter of course by the mass of German people. But Hitler—the foreigner—saw a great tragedy being enacted. The “November traitors,” who had signed the degrading peace, had brought about the ruin of his adopted country. Again to battle! This time on the political field, no quarter given, none asked! Returning to Munich he threw himself into political activities. On April 8, 1919, when the Communists got temporary control of the city, the central committee of the Bolshevists sent a patrol of four men to Hitler’s residence to arrest the man who had started to cause so much trouble. According to Hitler he received them with a rifle. Impressed with its business-like muzzle, the four armed reds retreated before the determined man whose method of handling firearms they understood and respected. On May 1st Munich was freed by the white soldiers and Hitler, who had discreetly left the city until conditions were more favorable, returned.

Fanatically interested in politics and determined to accomplish something in his new career, Hitler joined a "staatsbürgerlicher Ausbildungskurs" (citizenship course) given by the government to the 2nd Infantry-Regiment in Munich. So enthusiastic was he for this sort of study that he was appointed as a teacher to pass on what he had learned to smaller groups. He suddenly discovered that he was gifted with a remarkable power of oratory, with a power to sway his hearers and bring them around to his own line of reasoning. The more he talked the more he thirsted for the opportunity to impress thousands of hearers.

During the month of May 1919 a "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" (German Workers' Party), including six members under the leadership of Anton Drexler, had begun to arouse attention in Munich. Hitler was sent by his company to a meeting of the new organization to make a report on the views of the speaker. The speech concerning the breaking of the "Zinsenknechtschaft" (interest-servitude) was delivered by Gottfried Feder.

A new perspective, a new world was opened to the eyes of the aspiring young politician. Here was the national idea by which Germany was to be saved! The germ of a new idea! A new German people, national, no Communists, no Jews, no financial enslavement by the rest of the world!

Hitler became member number 7 of the "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei". In a few months he demanded the chairmanship of the budding party, which until then had been held by his close friend, Anton Drexler, a locksmith. He obtained it. For the first time Hitler tasted power. It pleased him. Dogged, indomitable, stubborn, those are the keynotes for the future! A passionate instinct to rule, to direct others, became the dominant characteristic in his nature. Now forward!

Week after week the little group met in the "Hofbräuhaus" and discussed plans for the future. Whatever money the members could scrape together was spent for flaming red placards inviting the public to meetings. On February 24, 1920, the first open "mass-meeting" of the organization, which had now become the National Socialist German Workers' Party, before 100 enthusiastic spectators. With his magic oratory Hitler sent these 100 hearers forth as inspired missionaries of his cause. He attacked the war profiteers savagely and tried to make clear to his hearers the astounding results of the Treaty of Versailles, which meant the certain ruin of Germany. He claimed to be the first German to protest bitterly against the Versailles proclamation that Germany was solely to blame for the war, a protest that since then has developed into a veritable mountain of indignation.

The meetings continued. Hitler became more and

more abusive. He attacked the French as a "Neger-volk" (negro-nation), as "Blutsäuger" (blood-suckers). No room for weaklings in the new Germany! He found new planks to draw followers—religion, propaganda, army, race—anything to attract! Thousands flocked to his standard—the "Hakenkreuz"—(swastika),¹ the ancient anti-Semitic cross in a color scheme of red-white-black in memory of the colors of the old army.

The *Kapp-putsch* on March 12, 1920, found Hitler and his cohorts at work with their fiery propaganda. In December of the same year the party bought the "Völkischer Beobachter" (National Observer), which became its official organ. On February 3, 1921, Hitler spoke for the first time in the Zirkus Krone in Munich on the theme "Zukunft oder Untergang" (Future or Destruction). More than 5,500 turned out this time to hear Hitler sing the praises of the German race and predict the fall of the present régime. A maze of catchwords and phrases intended to catch the attention of the people flowed from the pens of Hitler and his close followers. "Der Morgen findet entweder in Deutschland eine nationale Regierung oder uns tot!" (Tomorrow will either find a national government in Germany or it will find us dead!) . . . "Arbeiter! Es gibt Grösseres als Marx—dein Volk!" (Workers!

¹A cross of equal arms with rectangular continuations all clockwise. 卐

There is something more important than Marx—your nation!) . . . “Dem Nationalsozialismus gehört die Zukunft!” (The future belongs to the National Socialist movement!) . . . “Freiheit, Brot, Raum!” (Freedom, Bread, Room!) . . . “Wähle deutsche Männer!” (Elect Germans!) . . . “Deutsches Volk erwache!! Und kehre zur Einfachheit zurück!!” (Germans awake!! And return to simplicity!!) . . . Kämpft mit uns für die Ideen Adolf Hitlers!” (Fight with us for the ideas of Adolf Hitler!) . . . “Schlägt die Juden tot!” (Kill the Jews!)

Hitler's new party gradually spread throughout Bavaria. The idea of a greater Germany, including Germany and Austria, found wide appeal in the latter country, where his party soon became stronger and stronger. Money began to flow in from bitter opponents of Bolshevism, from nationalists hating the Social-Democratic régime, from initiation fees and membership dues. When the Communists attempted to break up mass-meetings, the “Sturmabteilung” (storm section) of the party was founded. On November 4, 1921, the first bloody battle between the “S.A.” (then called “Ordnertuppe” (order-troops) in the “Hofbräuhaussaal” in Munich resulted in a victory for the “S.A.” and led to the permanent organization of the political-military shock troops. When the various political-military organizations—the troops of the Communists as well as other formations—protested against

the "Republikschutz-gesetz" (law for the protection of the republic), a column of 600 of Hitler's troops took part in the demonstration on the "Königsplatz." Here Hitler addressed a mass of 35,000 people.

The party gradually grew in numbers. In October 1922 the N.S.D.A.P. was represented in Coburg on "German Day" by 2,000 "S.A." troops. On November 30, 1922, five mass meetings were held in Munich before 14,000 hearers; on December 13th, ten huge meetings attracted 20,000. The first "Reichsparteitag" (national meeting day) of the party was held at Munich on January 28, 1923. This year marked a period of terrible suffering in Germany. The inflation had destroyed the entire financial system; the Ruhr territory was in a chaos; the country was in a crisis.

Meanwhile Hitler had obtained 30,000 followers. Misjudging the situation, believing that his hour was already at hand, he proclaimed the fall of the government in the Bürgerbräukeller in Munich on November 8, 1923, and announced the establishment of a nationalistic government under Hitler, Kahr, Poehner, Ludendorff and Seisser. When Kahr, Lossow and Seisser backed out, the putsch lost its impetus. The next day a protest parade suggested by General Ludendorff ended in the bloody engagement at the Feldherrnhalle, which has already been described.

This premature attempt to bring about the fall of the government almost resulted in a catastrophe for

the Hitler-movement. Hitler was arrested on November 12th, placed in prison and charged with treason. The other leaders of the party escaped to foreign countries and the organization remained without a directing power. The "Völkischer Beobachter" was suppressed and the headquarters of the party were raided, literature seized and the treasury taken. The National Socialist movement had come to an abrupt halt. Various leaders, who had not taken part in the putsch, formed left and right wings of the party. Hitlerism seemed to have breathed its last.

Brought to the prison at Landsberg, Hitler at first began a hunger strike. He broke down completely physically. His friends endeavored strongly to convince him of the foolishness of this procedure, but he continued to refuse all food. Finally, after twelve days of fasting, he listened to the advice of Drexler, who encouraged him for the future, and he began to eat again.

The trial began on February 26, 1924, in the Kriegsschule in Munich. Members of the government were unsuccessful in their efforts to have the trial take place in Leipzig before the Supreme Court. The building was surrounded by barbed-wire entanglements and every member of the audience was searched for hidden weapons. Hitler was once more the center of publicity in Germany, although Ludendorff, Frick, Köhm and others were also to answer charges of

treason. Hitler testified in his own defense that even a thousand nationalists have the right to represent a nation. He took the responsibility for the putsch on his own shoulders and admitted that he was a revolutionary, whose sole purpose was to overthrow the revolution of November 1918. His last words before his accusers were: "I know the verdict that you are going to give. But the eternal court of History will not ask us: have you committed treason or not? Even if you judge us guilty a thousand times, the goddess of the eternal court of History will laugh at the motion of the federal attorney and she will tear up the verdict of this court, for she pronounces us not guilty."

Five years in prison was the verdict, with parole allowed after six months. Hitler was brought to the prison at Landsberg together with other leaders of the thwarted putsch. Here he wrote his memoirs, "Mein Kampf" (My Battle), which has become the bible of the National Socialist movement. Almost eight hundred pages testify to the character of the man to whom millions of Germans are looking hopefully for salvation. These pages betray the man. They give a picture of the life of the writer and include a fanatical defense of the party program. Here—truly—is a patriot. He loves Germany, blindly. But what a lack of intelligence, of insight, of understanding for the realistic problems facing Germany! Here speaks the opportunist, the adventurer, the preacher who feels

the pangs of ambition. And yet scores of intelligent men are swept away by this less than mediocre effort. Professor Adolf Bartels writes in the "Deutsche Schriftum": "Hitler's work is in my opinion the most important political publication since Bismarck's 'Gedanken und Erinnerungen' (Memories and Reflections)."

In December 1924 Hitler was freed. The reception accorded the hero by his followers testified to his immense popularity. But Hitler bided his time. The party was broken, finances were sadly lacking and the various groups had decided to remain split. The organizer got to work and began to weave together the tattered threads of his party. The unfriendly Rosenberg and Esser-Streicher groups were brought together upon his insistence; the prohibition of the party was swept aside; the "Völkischer Beobachter" appeared again; and the publication of his autobiography once more began to attract attention to his person. The reorganization progressed steadily and surely. Again meetings, propaganda, reorganization of the "S.A." In May 1928 the party achieved 12 seats in the Reichstag, representing 809,000 votes. This success was enough to force the Prussian authorities to lift the ban upon Hitler as a speaker on September 28th. On November 16th Hitler addressed a mass-meeting at the "Sportpalast" in Berlin for the first time since his imprisonment.

When acceptance or rejection of the Young Plan was placed directly before the German people, Hitler joined Hugenberg, the Nationalist, and the "Stahlhelm" (The Steel Helmet) organization in fighting against acceptance. This was the first time Hitler had joined any other political organization in an effort to achieve his purpose. The National Socialists worked feverishly to force enough unfavorable votes to the polls to protest against the "Auslieferung der 'Kriegsverbrecher'" (surrender to the war criminals). Acceptance of the Young Plan would have been refused had ten million Germans voted against it. Almost six million votes testified to the fact that Hitler was beginning to obtain more and more political power.

In January 1930 the Hitler-movement received an important boost when the government in Thuringia was entrusted to a coalition between the German Peoples' Party and the National Socialists. Oberamtmann Dr. Frick, one of the accused at the Hitler-putsch trial, was named Minister of the Interior. In Saxony the National Socialists were returned as second strongest party in the Landtag (Diet). In the same year the brown shirt uniform of the Hitlerites was forbidden in Bavaria and Prussia. On July 4, 1930, the party was dealt a severe blow by the separation of the Strasser group after a difference of opinion with Hitler. On September 1st came the crisis in the "S.A." in Berlin, after which Hitler succeeded Pfeffer von

Salomon as the leader of the storm-troops. On September 14th came the surprising Reichstag elections, in which the National Socialists received 6,400,000 votes and 107 representatives in the German parliament.

HITLER is a born orator. His friends speak of him as a shy nervous type, who suddenly loses these characteristics when facing a large audience. Here he is in his element, where he can appeal to the emotions of his hearers. Here logic can be thrown to the winds. The goal is enthusiasm among blind followers for his cause. On the platform he is the go-getter, the impulsive, confident man of will, who can easily sacrifice facts for idealistic illusions. Thoughtless answers to questions by journalists testify to his inability to understand what he really wants. In one sentence he describes the Jews as cheats and rogues, none of whom can be trusted; in another he says "I have nothing against decent Jews!" The French—the eternal enemy of the Germanic race—are a pestilence; but he has nothing against a "Verständigungs-Politik" (*rapprochement*)!

At times Hitler is the proverbial "good fellow". Those who know the Austrian type, the soft, good-natured person who takes things easy, will be surprised to find these same characteristics in the nature of the fiery leader. But that remains but one side of

his character. The other side is overshadowed by a fanatical ambition, an urge to power sweeping in its intensity, brutal, regardless of opposition. Hitler is unable to see anything from the viewpoint of another person—a quality that causes a continual strain between him and other party leaders. The loss of such men as Kapitan von Mücke, Otto Strasser and Hauptmann Stennes, all of whom resigned after tilts with Hitler, gives an eloquent example of the latter's inability to handle men. In his party headquarters he is uncertain, choleric, tempestuous—the prima donna off-stage, exciting followers by temperamental outbursts, fits of weeping, and periods of gloomy silence. But always the rôle of dictator! When he enters the "Brown House" things start humming, clerks scatter to and fro, guards snap to attention. His whole manner betrays the effect of a sudden soaring flight to power, which has left him a little dizzy and amazed, but determined to carry on the beautiful dream. He forces himself to play the part of an autocrat—a rôle out of keeping with his real nature—but necessary if the show is to be kept going.

The qualities necessary in playing the dictator are lacking here. Like Cæsar, Hitler begins an important demand of his followers with "Ich verfüge!" (I order!) But he lacks the resolution and clear-thinking which must be possessed by a dictator. In critical moments he cannot make up his mind. There are many

National Socialists who claim that their leader exhibited a striking weakness when he refused to engineer a putsch after the extraordinarily successful Reichstag elections in September 1930. Others criticise him for his ill-timed putsch in 1923. When the Berlin "S.A." revolted in the summer of 1930, Hitler flew to Berlin and patiently visited the various city districts, arguing with the leaders, making promises and begging for coöperation. A real dictator would have dismissed the rebels without much further ado; instead Hitler granted financial privileges which indicated that his Berlin followers were more interested in jingling marks than in the remarkable "Weltanschauung" he had arranged for them.

Unlike Mussolini, Hitler is unable to act deliberately. The acclaim of the multitude is pleasing music to the Italian dictator, but he does not need it nor does he care for it. With Hitler it is a matter of life. Applause from the masses means everything to the Nazi chief.

Hitler is unquestionably one of the greatest of German orators. He understands mass psychology and possesses the ability to hammer his ideas into the heads of rabid supporters. This unusual ability has given him a tremendous confidence in his own ability as a leader and at the same time makes him disdainful of the written word. His book, "Mein Kampf," is a classic example of the fact that great speakers seldom

are able to write convincingly. In this same book he goes to great pains to prove to his readers that revolutions are made by orators and not by journalists. He points out that the Russian Revolution was achieved with the following of millions of illiterate peasants by direct appeal to their emotions through the spoken word. "The power brought about by the great historical and political movements was achieved for centuries through the magic of the spoken word." He forgets the important place occupied by printed propaganda in the Reformation, in the period of Humanism, in the Renaissance and in the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848. The coming German Revolution will be achieved through oratory, mainly of the Hitler variety, according to his modest reasoning.

Hitler understands how to attract attention to himself. During the years of the inflation, when he protested vigorously against the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles, he was among the Germans who dared to lift their voices against the might of the victor nations. That made an impression. It steeled his own self-confidence. Since then he has been in the limelight, always in search of ideas by which the attention of the public will be focused on him. A peculiar method he has adopted is the use of the witness stand at important test cases in which National Socialists have been accused of rowdiness or in which members of the "Reichswehr" have been accused of illegal propa-

ganda activities. Here he makes it a policy to explain his own political views. Recently he appeared in the criminal court in Berlin in defense of four Nazi storm-squad members who had been arrested for resorting to violence in handling foes of their party. The courthouse was surrounded by thousands of admirers, who shouted and sang during the trial. The four accused were the least object of attention in the courtroom. What Hitler had to say was of interest. "Our movement is legal, not because legality is close to our hearts or because of our faith in the constitution of the republic, but because I believe any attempt to achieve power unconstitutionally is doomed to failure." He insisted that he was personally opposed to individual terrorism. "All storm-squad members are unarmed, except perhaps for keys and screwdrivers." Certain of them might have overstepped the bounds of self-defense in dealing with the "red murderers", but the entire party must not be condemned for the actions of a few members who do not obey orders higher up, he insisted, "Nobody regrets more than I the fact that Germans continually are fighting one another." As long as he remains chief of the party, power will be fought for along legal grounds. Result—thousands of newspapers throughout Germany feature the new testimony. Hitler's words are discussed in every little beer café in the hinterland.

The object is achieved—Hitler's personality and aims are kept in the limelight.

Hitler has often been compared to former Kaiser William II. His striking similarity of manner has led political opponents to name him "William III". A grandiose imagination, a curious scorn for realities, an overbearing self-confidence, the ability to become the centre of attention, the over-valuation of oratorical ability, all these characteristics were possessed by the former kaiser during the time he controlled the destiny of the German fatherland and are outstanding in the makeup of the Nazi leader. Many of the former kaiser's utterances, such as his insistence upon "smashing any political enemy", might have come from the mouth of Hitler, who shouts in the approved Machiavellian manner: "Will is power, and power is will! If we have the will, we will have the power!" Both men are alike in that they can bear no contradiction, will not be corrected nor advised.

An obvious handicap in the character of the future dictator is his intellectual education. Hitler is sensitive upon this point perhaps more than any other. He knows little or nothing of the real intellectual Germany, the Germany of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Beethoven, Frederick the Great. He is the popular agitator, the adventurer smiled upon by fame and fortune, the contribution of post-war Germany to the hero-albums. A Germanic General Boulanger. As a

child of the masses Hitler despises the cultured classes which have long been the bearers of the German "Kultur", especially the university professors. Yet we find the paradox of a prominent university professor and winner of a Nobel Prize, Dr. Johannes Stark, falling in line with the ever-mounting mass of Hitler-admirers and singing the praises of the new political saviour. Even an enthusiastic comparison with Bismarck! Professor Stark writes: ("Adolf Hitlers Ziele und Persönlichkeit", page 7ff.) "Hitler possesses—like Bismarck—the ability to see reality. But the domain of his experiences and observations is an essentially different one. While Bismarck's eyes predominantly saw the state, namely the monarchs, the ministers, the parliaments and armies, the eyes of Hitler are focused predominantly on the bearers of the state organization, the people themselves. As a child of the people he lived in their midst, stood beside the hand-worker as hand-worker, beside the common soldier as common soldier, observed and collected experiences for many years. In Vienna he observed as a construction laborer the industrial and cultural misery of the lower classes, the influence of the Jews on the workingmen and the press, the success of the Social-Christian Party of Lueger, the battle of nationalities in the Vienna Parliament, the political policy of the Habsburgs; four years a soldier on the west front, he observed the souls of his comrades, the effect of

the enemy propaganda and the propaganda at home; back home wounded, he observed the accomplishments of the Jewish war business organizations and the effect of the Jewish press on the people; during the revolution he observed carefully the conduct of the revolutionary leaders, of the ordinary citizens, of government officials, of the army and defense organizations; in 1923 he came to Munich, where he had the opportunity to know the leading government officials intimately." (No word about the Hitler-putsch!)

"Like Bismarck, Hitler not only understands how to see things as they really are; he is a thinker who recognizes the causes of observed events and the motives of the men causing those events. But Hitler goes still deeper; he is like a great natural scientist, who observes the coherence established by natural laws and who works on until he sees through the last causes. He sees indeed the immediate causes for the growth of the Marxian movement, for the success of destructive propaganda at the front and at home, for the failure of the bourgeoisie, officers and government officials against the rebels and promoters of the revolution. . . . But he inquires still further, for the last root explaining the settling of the German ship of state . . . as well as for the roots of the great achievements of the German people. He finds the latter in the racial peculiarity of the people and in the genius of certain leaders."

And again: "Bismarck's highest aims were: union of the various German states to a political unity in a German Reich, and security of this Reich from domestic and foreign enemies. . . . Hitler's highest aims are: creation of a German community so that all Germans can be conscious of the fact that they possess the same national characteristics; physical and spiritual education of the German people; cultural and industrial development of their talents and powers undisturbed by foreign elements. . . . The next tasks which Bismarck faced in carrying out his highest aims were: separation of the Habsburg Reich from the community of German states, defeat of the enemy on the west which had been working against German unity and German power, followed by establishment of the German Reich; a Triple Alliance policy and a Russian re-insurance policy, suppression of Social Democracy and the Catholic Center in domestic affairs in order to protect the Reich. . . . The next tasks facing Hitler were and are: organization in one party of a large number of German-conscious men prepared for battle, instruction of the masses of German people about their position and their enemies through a comprehensive exciting propaganda, achievement of a decisive majority in the Reichstag, assumption of the government and destruction of Marxism, thus automatically destroying the domestic power of the international Jewish financiers; the breaking of ground towards an

alliance with England and Italy with the purpose of shattering the chains constructed by international Jewish financiers and French militarists to imprison the German people.”

CHAPTER 3

THE MAN WITH THE CLUB-FOOT

A LITTLE man with a crippled foot sits at a magnificent desk and scribbles away. The words come quickly from his pen. The agitator *par excellence!* The exact opposite of Hitler. Patriotism is shoved neatly into the background to make way for burning ambition. But patriotic words flow freely. He is penning ten commandments for National Socialists:

1. "Your fatherland is called Germany, love it above all and more through action than through words!"

2. "Germany's enemies are your enemies; hate them with your whole heart!"

3. "Every national comrade, even the poorest, is a piece of Germany; love him as yourself!"

4. "Demand only duties for yourself; then Germany will obtain justice!"

5. "Be proud of Germany; you ought to be proud of a fatherland for which millions sacrificed their lives!"

6. "He who abuses Germany, abuses you and your dead; strike with your fist against him!"

7. "Strike a rogue more than once! When one takes away your good rights, remember that you can only fight against him physically!"

8. "Don't be an anti-Semitic knave; but be careful of the 'Berliner Tageblatt'!"

9. "Make your actions such that you need not blush when the new Germany is mentioned!"

10. "Believe in the future; only then can you be a victor!"

Dr. Josef Goebbels, the little "Mouse-General" of the Hitler-movement, the leader of the Nazis in Berlin and all North Germany, is the most picturesque figure in the new political party. A tiny, thin, nervous Napoleon, opportunist, organizing genius, excellent speaker. Having been through a few years of poverty, he suddenly makes the long jump to power in one superhuman stride and then demands every luxury for himself. He understands this modern world; he knows the power of publicity and advertising in the machine civilization. From the minute when he joined forces with Hitler he has kept himself in the limelight with his active pen, his astonishingly coarse speeches and his peculiar ability to attract attention wherever he goes.

Goebbels was born on October 29, 1897, in Rheydt, a little town in the Rhineland. Here he attended the "Bürgerschule" (Citizen's School) and the "Gymnasium" (High School). The youth was unable to de-

cide what he wanted to do. A storm and stress period followed, during which he rapidly changed from one university to another, Freiburg, Bonn, Wurzburg, Cologne, Munich and finally Heidelberg. He studied History, Literature and Philosophy without rhyme or reason, depending upon fate to steer a course for him in future life. There was no doubt that the young man was gifted, especially in the field of Literature, but he was incapable of any sustained effort. A restless, turbulent nature in chaotic times. A wanderer, satirical, ambitious, irritable.

Those who had escaped with their lives after the deadly conflicts at the front returned to continue their academic work. This little crippled lad, with a desire for literary work, tried to obtain an influence over his comrades. They glanced at his club-foot and laughed. He was angered. One day they would see!

With the aid of a scholarship provided by the Catholic Church, Goebbels completed his doctorate at Heidelberg. Here he sat at the feet of the famous professor, Friedrich Gundolf, who caused him to look upon the great Goethe and Shakespeare with different eyes. Professor Gundolf, the Jew! A few years later Goebbels is writing his catchwords: "The Jew has destroyed our race! He has rotted our morals, sapped our tradition and broken our power!" And again: "The Jew is unproductive! He does not produce, he

traffics only in products! And everything he handles he has somewhere at some time stolen!"

Goebbels first tried his hand at poetry and drama. In January 1924 he wrote "Der Wanderer" (The Wanderer), which he offered to the Frankfort Schauspielhaus. The theatre refused the play, which was produced three years later by the National Socialist Stage in Berlin. Following the failure of his first dramatic venture, at most a shallow, pathetic effort, Goebbels turned to journalism. But this career was too tame for the excitable young man. He wanted action, some outlet for the nervous energy that disturbed his restless soul. At 27 years of age, Napoleon, his hero, was in Germany at the head of an army. Here he was, writing tame newspaper articles at the same age. No chance to crack the whip at his fellow man. Action! Power!

And then—Hitler!

Here was the opportunity! Something new, the idea was a good one. But ideas be damned, Goebbels comes first! The Nazis would provide the step-ladder by which he could climb to fame.

In 1924 Goebbels first began his National Socialist activities in the Ruhr territory as editor of the "Völkische Freiheit" (Nation's Liberty) in Düsseldorf. Soon he advanced to the position of business manager of the "Rhineland-Hörde Gau" of the N.S.-D.A.P. His pen was restless—two books, "Letters to

Contemporaries" and "The Second Revolution", began to attract attention among leaders of the party. Hitler was especially pleased with the new publications, one of which was "dedicated respectfully to Mr. Hitler". Here was a powerful pen to help the party to its feet again (the organization was undergoing a crisis after the failure of the Hitler-putsch and the subsequent halt in its activities). Hitler needed trusted lieutenants, especially at a time when it was difficult to assert his leadership. Hitler has a weakness for praise. The effect can be imagined as he read the glowing words written by the ambitious Goebbels: "Before the court at Munich you grew before us into the figure of a leader. What you said there is the greatest statement spoken in Germany since Bismarck's death. . . . What you said there is the catechism of a new political belief in the despair of a world crashing together. You were not silent. God gave you the words to describe what is ailing in Germany. . . . You began at the bottom, as every truly great leader. And like every leader you grew greater as your task grew greater; you became a wonder just as your task became a political wonder!"

In 1926 Hitler appointed Goebbels as "Gauleiter" (Section-leader) of the Berlin-Brandenburg organization of the party. As soon as he arrived in Berlin the party there sprang into action. An organization of wealthy backers of the party was formed at Goebbels'

instigation. Battles with the Communists for supremacy of the streets began to take on the bloody form which distinguishes them to-day. The newspapers started to take notice of the little Rhinelander who had come to the big city and without much further ado had begun to lead the blasé Berliners around by the nose. They liked it. Thousands turned out to hear Goebbels speak. His sarcastic utterances and insults hurled at everyone in the Berlin city government, from the police president down, delighted the mass of people in the great city. "Der Kerl ist richtig!" (That fellow is O.K.!), the highest compliment that a Berliner can pay to one of the city's outstanding personalities, was generally applied to the little man with his long nose and glittering eyes, who always wore a trench-coat too big for him.

Mass meetings. Demonstrations. Law suits. Pamphlets. Advertisements. The Berliner got what he wanted, "immer etwas los!" (always something going on!).

A huge auto rolls up to an imposing building on the Hedemannstrasse. The fiery little general steps out, slams the door and hobbles quickly up the path. A guard of six "S.A." soldiers, big strapping fellows who would have made the heart of Frederick the Great beat with delight, salute stiffly. Stupid elephants and the intelligent little mouse! Goebbels proceeds quickly to his office, which is elaborately furnished. Here

visitors to the king of the Berlin Nazis are received in elegant style. Twenty rooms are reserved for the civil and military sections of the party. Hundreds of employees rush excitedly through the halls of the building, stirred to action by the business-like leadership of the chief. They fear him, because they know that unsatisfactory work will be rewarded with a temperamental outburst.

Goebbels delights in drawing historical parallels. In selecting his own office he was careful to take the room where Walter Rathenau had directed the activities of the committee for war supplies. He sits here in his armchair and chatters orders, never forgetting that he—the man who could not be denied power—now dictates from a position of power in the same room where Rathenau—the Jew—once held a position of trust.

But the party leaders in Munich have their doubts. Here they are preaching a magnificent theory of the superiority of pure Germanic blood, and a little man with a club-foot—according to racial experts a certain sign of an intermixture of races—forces his way to the leadership of the Berlin branch of the organization. A particularly painful point. Goebbels himself is sensitive about his bodily affliction. When catchwords are needed, when propaganda is needed to attract followers, he is the first man to step forward with plans and ideas; upon every subject except one

—the Nazi doctrine of pure blood. He knows that it would be an obvious paradox if he stood before his fellow members and preached the maintenance of pure German stock while his hearers looked at his crippled foot. If Goebbels were a member of any other political party, his affliction would not attract notice (one is reminded of the tiny Windhorst, Catholic leader, bellowing storms of abuse at the towering figure of Bismarck); but as a National Socialist he stands under the strongest suspicion that can be held of a member of his party—bad blood.

The doctrine of racial purity preached by the National Socialists, Alfred Rosenberg and Professor Günther, must be considered *cum grano salis*. The naïve confidence with which these men speak of “pure” and “unmixed” and “superior” races is striking.

In May 1928 Goebbels—called by his followers simply “the Doctor”—was elected to the Reichstag, where he soon distinguished himself by a series of insults calculated to keep him in the public eye. He cannot find enough to keep the rays of publicity playing upon him. Since then his propaganda has become wilder and without reason. Now he preaches real agitation—“conquer the streets!” Misery, terror and bloodshed—these are the paths to power!

The young man’s sudden ascent has made him drunk with power. He dedicates the future to Goebbels. On and on! Power is sweet! The same hunger

for might that marks the character of Hitler is evident here. It betrays the entire National Socialist movement, which is based upon the discovery of an idea by which wealth and fame for a few party leaders can be secured in the shortest possible time by means of fanatical sophistry and unrestrained agitation at the expense of an entire nation. The more one studies the history and program of the National Socialists, the more one is convinced of the deplorable fact that astonishing numbers of the German people are being led around by their noses to a promised Utopia by a group of demagogues and political upstarts. The weakness of the German people lies in their sentimentality, in their willingness to believe everything that is told them. A people of extremes. Alongside of a Frederick the Great, a William I and a Bismarck they produce a Hitler and a Goebbels!

Goebbels is unquestionably a skilled speaker. He understands the business of holding the attention of an audience not too insistent upon logical arguments. He delights in playing theatre. When scheduled to address a mass meeting, he purposely arrives late at the scene of festivities, waiting until the patience of the audience has been exhausted and then striding in to the platform amid a fanfare of welcome. He employs rows of adjectives and continually draws elaborate historical parallels about which the average member of his audience knows nothing. High-sound-

ing, pleasing phrases! Give the mob a run for their money! They are idiots, but through them I—Goebbels—obtain my luxurious apartments and speedy automobiles. I am no longer a member of that low mob! Above them! Higher and higher, to more fame and more glory! The cabinet post waits!

Goebbels' writings are distinguished by the same revolutionary tenor. The following excerpt shows his manner of writing—and thinking: "REVOLUTIONARY DEMANDS. . . . We do not go into the parliament in order to carry out our program THROUGH DEMOCRACY. We know very well that THE FATE OF NATIONS IS MASTERED THROUGH PERSONALITIES, never through majorities. The essence of parliamentary democracy is the MAJORITY, the DESTRUCTION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPONSIBILITY and the GLORIFICATION OF THE MASSES, above whom a few dozen rogues and cheats carry on their swindler activities. The essence of ARISTOCRACY is ability, the rule of the more able and the lowering of the less capable under the commanding will of the leaders. EVERY FORM OF GOVERNMENT—whether outwardly democratic or aristocratic—is FORCE. A radical difference is found only in the fact whether the FORCE WORKS AS A BLESSING OR A CURSE for the people as a whole.

"What we demand is NEW, CLEAR-CUT and RADICAL, therefore in the long run REVOLUTIONARY. . . . The upheaval we want is to be achieved first of all IN THE

SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE. . . . We know no IF OR BUT, we know only EITHER . . . OR!

“We demand: the RESTORATION OF GERMAN HONOR. WITHOUT HONOR NO RIGHT TO LIVE. . . . In the LOSS OF OUR HONOR lies the origin of the LOSS OF OUR LIBERTY.

“In place of the SLAVE-COLONY the rebuilding of a German NATIONAL STATE. The STATE is for us nothing in itself, it is only a MEANS TOWARD AN END. The end is NATIONALITY, that is the sum of all living and creative powers in the nation. The picture that calls itself the GERMAN REPUBLIC to-day is no longer the protector of our inherited worth. . . . We want the destruction of the SLAVE-COLONY and a substitution of a NATIONAL FREE STATE.

“For every working man WORK AND BREAD! Every production is to be rewarded on the grounds of ABILITY. More means of LIVELIHOOD for the German worker!

“For the people LIVING QUARTERS AND BREAD, AND AFTERWARDS REPARATIONS! No democrat, no republican has the right to deny these. We want ACTION! . . .

“ . . . FIRST THE MOST VITAL NECESSITIES FOR THE PEOPLE, and then LUXURY AND TRIFLES. WORK for those who want to work! LAND for the farmer! The German foreign political policy, which is ruining us to-day, must be changed so that something can be done about the lack of ROOM in the fatherland.

“Peace among the workingmen! Every person must do his duty and help the general welfare; in return the STATE TAKES OVER THE PROTECTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL and guarantees him the reward due for his work. . . .

“War against profiteers, peace with the workers! Destruction of all capitalistic influences on the political system of the country.

“SOLUTION OF THE JEWISH QUESTION. Rejection of all foreign races from public life of all kinds. Clean distinction between GERMAN AND NON-GERMAN, based upon race and not upon changed nationality or religion.

“AN END TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT! Creation of a PROFESSIONAL PARLIAMENT, that takes care of the fate of PRODUCTION. . . .

“RESTORATION OF TRUTH in industrial life. Make good the injustice by which millions of Germans were robbed during the war, WITHOUT RESERVATION.

“THE RIGHT OF THE PERSONALITY above the mob. THE GERMAN ALWAYS BEFORE THE FOREIGNER AND JEW!

“FIGHT against the withering poison of the international-Jewish spirit! Conscious strengthening of German power and German customs! Extirpation of the foul Semitic immorality and racial destruction.

“DEATH SENTENCE FOR CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLE! THE GALLOWS FOR PROFITEERS AND USURERS!

“A PROGRAM WITHOUT COMPROMISE, backed by MEN, who will carry it out passionately. A watchword without formula, but filled with a living energy.

“WE DEMAND!”

CHAPTER 4

SATELLITES

ALFRED ROSENBERG

A TALL thin man with blond hair and blue eyes speaks quietly. This man is cultivated, intelligent. But behind the outward mask is hidden one of the most fanatical of the National Socialists. He repeats his favorite theme again: "Auf jeder Telegraphenstange von München bis Berlin wird das Haupt eines prominenten Juden aufgespiesst werden" (On every telegraph-pole from Munich to Berlin the head of a prominent Jew will be pierced).

This tall blond man with the suspiciously Jewish name is from the Baltic region. In the party he is known as the "Judenfresser" (Jew-eater), because of the mass of anti-Semitic material he has collected. The extreme sceptic, enemy of socialism, of religion. A philosopher with a sour stomach. The know-all, bathing in reflected sunlight as Hitler's right-hand man and intellectual inspiration. The brains of the National Socialist German Workers' Party here, just as Hitler furnishes the soul. Leader of the Munich

faction of the party, chief of the N.S.D.A.P. press, editor-in-chief of the "Völkischer Beobachter".

Educated as an architect, Rosenberg soon turned his talents to journalism. Having made himself an expert upon all matters pertaining to anti-Semitism, he soon managed to obtain the editorship of a small weekly, the "Völkischer Beobachter", which was dedicated to a bitter campaign against all Jews. This publication appeared regularly many years before the war. During the conflict Rosenberg was probably in Paris, a point upon which he has displayed the utmost sensitiveness. After the revolution of 1918 he succeeded in obtaining German citizenship.

Rosenberg continued his campaign of hate against three forces—Jews, Masons and Catholics, a campaign now carried on by General Ludendorff and his "Tannenberg-Bund". Being an opportunist, like every leader in the Nazi party, Rosenberg reluctantly decided to drop his antagonism to Catholicism and to the "Medicine-man" Pope after it had become apparent to Hitler and other leaders that the Catholic vote in Germany and Austria was too large and influential to be disregarded. The centre of interest soon turned upon the Jews. Pamphlets and books portraying the immorality of the Talmud and giving histories of the Jews appeared from Rosenberg's pen with regularity. When it became evident that the National Socialist movement would adopt opposition to the

Jews as one of the main planks in its platform, Hitler began looking for the right man to direct the campaign of hate. The party bought the "Völkischer Beobachter" in 1920 and changed it from a weekly to a daily, the official party organ. After the crisis in party affairs brought about by the unsuccessful putsch in 1923, Rosenberg was named again in 1925 as editor-in-chief of his former paper.

The young blond man soon obtained a tremendous influence over Hitler. He is now unofficially named Hitler's "Chancellor", and is the director of the party's foreign policy, which is said to be a product of his pen. All official explanations of the party's program are written now by Rosenberg; he is the intelligence behind the few intelligent remarks coming from the not too brilliant Hitler. The Richelieu in Hitler's cast of characters, the man who probably will be entrusted with the chief position of a Fascist Tschecha, or appointed Foreign Minister, should the Hitler Reich become a reality.

Rosenberg was one of Hitler's colleagues during the 1923 putsch which nearly ended in a catastrophe for the budding party. He escaped to Austria, but the police did not seem to be interested in his arrest. Returning to Munich he founded the "Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft" (The Greater German National Community), a split-party to keep the Nazi ideas flourishing until Hitler's release. He kept in close

contact with his imprisoned party leader during the latter's confinement, which was rewarded later by important positions in the party organization.

In 1926 Rosenberg founded the monthly, "Der Weltkampf" (The World War), which preached annihilation of Jewish and Masonic power. In 1927 he organized the "Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur" (The Fighting Alliance for German Civilization). In the Nazi landslide of September 1930 he was returned as a member of the Reichstag. He is a member of the Committee for Foreign Affairs.

Hitler's sudden about-face after the 1930 elections and his insistence that he intends to obtain power legally is attributed by many to Rosenberg's influence. The latter understood clearly enough that the blatant advertising and reckless threats coming in torrents from Hitler's eloquent mouth would have to cease if the press of foreign countries was to be appeased. He convinced Hitler that the time had now come for careful assertions, for diplomatic and ambiguous utterances. The entire campaign was changed, at least outwardly. The interested public is now treated with pictures of the fiery revolutionary Hitler proclaiming to the world from the witness stand at a Nazi trial that he is going to obtain power constitutionally.

A deep friendship exists between Hitler and Rosenberg, in spite of the former's expressed opposition to the activity of journalists as politicians. The spoken

word is the ideal on which he hopes to step to a dictatorship, but his inspiration comes from the busy pen of his "good friend, Rosenberg". Another paradox in the paradoxical makeup of the German Mussolini.

Although he does not possess the same ability to play theatre as Hitler and Goebbels, Rosenberg understands something about the value of an assumed temperament. When the party leaders get together in the "Brown House" in Munich things hum. The discipline so earnestly desired in the ranks of the Nazi storm-squads is peculiarly lacking among the group higher up. The constant clashing of opinions does not reach the ears of the general public.

Rosenberg is undoubtedly one of the finest heads in the National Socialist Party. Why so able a man should degrade himself to the level of religious strife remains a problem for psychologists to solve.

WILHELM FRICK

The first National Socialist to obtain a ministerial post in a German state was Dr. Wilhelm Frick. On December 8, 1929, the National Socialists returned six members to the Thuringian Diet, thus passing ahead of the Democrats, the German Nationalists, the Industrial Party, the Peoples' Party and the Communists. On January 23rd Frick was named to the position of Minister of the Interior in Thuringia, a

position once held by the great German poet, Goethe.

Born on March 12, 1877, in Alsenz in the Palatinate, Frick first followed the career of a lawyer. At the age of 40 he came to Munich, where he held a legal post in the city government. From 1917 to 1925 he was leader of the political police in the Bavarian city. Here he came into close contact with Hitler, who converted him to the N.S.D.A.P., which thereafter enjoyed his special favor.

On the night of November 8, 1923, when Hitler engineered his unsuccessful putsch, Frick immediately rallied to the Nazi standard. He was proclaimed Police President of Munich under the benevolent protection of Hitler. At the trial for treason Frick was sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment along with Hitler. He was paroled in 1924, and returned to his duties as if nothing had happened. He has represented the National Socialist Party in the Reichstag since 1924, and possesses a reputation far and wide as one of the most tempestuous of the Nazi leaders. His eloquent pleas for the release of the murderers of Erzberger and Rathenau have given him a measure of prominence in Germany. He insists that the crime of the murders was not so great as the "geschichtliche Verbrechen" (historical crimes) of Erzberger, Rathenau and "other German statesmen".

Frick's appointment to the post in Thuringia, a result of the first Nazi attempt at a political coalition,

resulted in a wave of enthusiasm in party circles. The first National Socialist minister was hailed as a hero. A milestone in the history of the party. Frick himself got to work immediately to attract attention to his party. He began to make Thuringia a hotbed of opposition to the Social Democratic government at Berlin. Accompanied by blatant advertising, he reduced the salaries of all public officials; cleaned the police force of every officer who was suspected of republican sympathies; and introduced a veritable "spoils-system", by which every important position obtainable was given to National Socialists. Nothing to attract attention to the National Socialist government was overlooked. The Nazi youth organization, "Adler und Falke" (Eagle and Falcon), which had been forbidden before Frick's accession, was again allowed to resume its activities.

Frick's greatest triumph was the creation of a new chair for Social Anthropology at the old University of Jena. The National Socialist Professor, Dr. Hans F. R. Günther, was named by Frick for the new post. The creation of a new chair and the appointment of Professor Günther, long known as a fanatical exponent of Germanic racial superiority, aroused loud opposition among the university council, which protested strongly against the high-handed action so unusual in German university history. Frick was able to carry his appointment through. Professor Günther's first

lecture at Jena was magnified into a triumphant celebration for the National Socialists. Hitler and Frick honored the academic assembly by their presence and National Socialists throughout Germany compared the great event to Schiller's first lecture at the same university.

The Dessau Bauhaus, Germany's leading school of architecture, was directed by Professor Grotius, whose modernistic conceptions grated against Frick's nerves. The latter soon replaced the noted architect by a Herr Schultze of Naumburg, a man who was more "völkisch gesinnt" (nationally-minded).

Soon after his appointment Frick served notice that certain prayers were to be introduced into all schools. Among these were the following:

Vater im Himmel!

Ich glaube an deine Allmacht, Gerechtigkeit und Liebe.

Ich glaube an mein liebes deutsches Volk und Vaterland.

Ich weiss, dass Gottlosigkeit und Vaterlandsverrat unser Volk zerriss und Vernichtete.

Ich weiss, dass trotzdem in den Besten die Sehnsucht und die Kraft zur Freiheit wohnt.

Ich glaube, dass diese Freiheit kommen wird, durch die Liebe des Vaters im Himmel, wenn wir an unsere eigene Kraft glauben.

(Father in Heaven!

I believe in thy almightiness, justice and love.

I believe in my beloved German people and fatherland.

I know that godlessness and treason to the fatherland have torn and destroyed our people.

I know that in spite of this the desire and power for liberty dwells in the spirit of the good.

I believe that this liberty will come, through the love of our Father in Heaven, if we believe in our own power.)

Vater im Himmel!

Ich glaube an deine allmächtige Hand,

Ich glaube an Volkstum und Vaterland,

Ich glaube an der Ahnen, Kraft und Ehr,

Ich glaube, du bist uns Waffe und Wehr,

Ich glaube, du strafst unseres Landes Verrat

Und segnest der Heimat befreiende Tat!

Deutschland, erwache zur Freiheit!

(Father in Heaven!

I believe in thy almighty Hand,

I believe in nation and fatherland,

I believe in my ancestors, power and honour,

I believe thou art our weapon and defence,

I believe that thou shalt punish our nation's traitors,

And bless the deed that brings us liberty!

Germany, awake to liberty!)

These prayers, which were to have been pronounced by little children in their classrooms every day, caused a storm of indignation among republican leaders in Berlin, who eventually caused Frick to withdraw his "Verrat und Schande" (treason and shame) prayers. The battle provided columns of controversy in German newspapers and brought the Nazis an astonishing amount of free advertising.

When the Remarque film, "Im Westen Nichts Neues" (All Quiet on the Western Front), reached Germany, it was at first passed by the Berlin film censor. Frick prohibited the showing of the film in Thuringia, protesting loudly against the "shameful" depiction of German soldiers as cowards. A nationalistic wave spread throughout Germany and the film was then prohibited in all German-speaking states. This victory was hailed with delight by Nazis everywhere, who pointed out the "leading" position their party was achieving in important national affairs. The author Remarque was hurriedly placed on the Nazi list of "traitors", which already included Ebert, Erzberger, Rathenau, and the foreigners who have contributed most to Germany's "humiliation", Dawes and Young. The usual thing followed the announcement of a prohibition: thousands of Germans crossed the border at Luxembourg to see the film and a book showing scenes from the production enjoyed a tremendous sale.

Frick's desire to fill the body of the Thuringian police corps with Nazis soon brought him into conflict with the Reichsinnenminister Severing (National Minister of the Interior), who threatened to withdraw financial support from the Thuringian police if this political spoils-system were kept up. Frick answered that in such a case he would discharge the entire police force and create a vigilant body composed solely of Nazi storm-squad soldiers. The affair had its ending in the Leipzig Supreme Court, where Frick won a temporary victory in the decision forcing the government at Berlin to continue financial support.

GOTTFRIED FEDER

The idealist in the party, the man who gave Hitler the germ idea for his new party, is Gottfried Feder. The master was soon outstripped by Hitler—and the master soon became the closest follower of his pupil. Raphael the pupil of Perugino!

Feder was born on January 27, 1883, in Würzburg. In 1905 he passed an examination as engineer and settled in Munich. Here he was engaged in the construction of airplane hangars, when he suddenly turned to the study of political economy. The financial chaos during and after the war led him to organize the "Deutscher Kampfbund zur Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft" (German Fighting Alliance for the Destruc-

tion of Interest-Servitude). With this system he hoped to lead the way towards the abolition of the system by which money is loaned at interest. In this system he saw the economic ruin of Germany.

Hearing Feder speak before a meeting of the "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" (German Workers' Party) in May 1919, Hitler was at once converted to his viewpoint. He describes the effect in his book, "Mein Kampf": "For the first time in my life I perceived the meaning of international capitalism. After I had heard Feder's first lecture, the thought flashed through my head that I had found the essential suppositions for the foundation of a new party. . . . The development of Germany was clear enough to show me that the hardest battles of the future were to be fought not against enemy nations, but against international capital. I felt a powerful prophecy of this coming battle in Feder's lecture."

The party program announced on February 20, 1920, which will be considered at length in another section, was written by Feder. The first commentary on the program was also a product of his pen. This published program forms the first volume of the National Socialist Library, which is edited by Feder. Various leaders have contributed works on the Dawes Plan, Free Masonry, capitalistic department stores, the Jewish press evil, new volumes of German history (featuring the most important (!) event of modern

times—the growth of the N.S.D.A.P. movement), and scores of pamphlets upon political topics. Feder also edits “Die Flamme” (The Flame) in Nürnberg, “Der Streiter” (The Fighter) in Forcheim and the “Hessenhammer” (Hesse Hammer) in Darmstadt in the state of Hessa.

Feder has remained one of Hitler’s most dependable supports. In 1924 he was elected to the Reichstag, where he is known as Hitler’s warmest friend. A capable, well-meaning idealist who becomes lost as soon as he ventures into the economic field. A man who is able to adapt himself to the sizzling propaganda system inaugurated by the German Mussolini. Witness the final paragraphs of his program: “National Socialism is a ‘Weltanschauung’ (world-philosophy) which stands in sharpest opposition to the present world of capitalism and its Marxian and middle-class satellites.

“Fight for our life in the service of this powerful idea, fight for a new Germany, and it would be no decent battle, if we did not have a symbol, a banner in this fight! . . .

“OUR STORM BANNERS WAVE BEFORE OUR RANKS. ALWAYS YOUNG, BEAMING AND BRILLIANT, THE HAKEN-KREUZ, SYMBOL OF LIFE AWAKENING AGAIN, COMES BEFORE OUR EYES.

“Our storm banners, our eagles bear this symbol:

*"We are the army of the Hakenkreuz,
Wave the red banners high,
We shall bring the German workers
To the road of a new liberty!"*

COUNT ERNST REVENTLOW

Count Reventlow, a member of the former German nobility, is one of the newest leaders of the Nazi party. He rallied to the Hitler banner during 1927, after he had taken the precaution of publicly recalling one of his published manuscripts in which he had accused Hitler of dependence on Rome. A politician of the pre-war period and a man of some influence among the old German nobility, Count Reventlow is depended upon to bring many new votes. A convincing leader, able to handle the masses, quiet and resourceful. Member of the Reichstag after the 1930 landslide. One of the leaders of the Nazi foreign policy.

THE STRASSER BROTHERS

The chairman of the organization forces of the party is Gregor Strasser, a jovial Bavarian, rated as one of the best speakers in Hitler's ranks. Born in Lower Bavaria on May 31, 1892, he served during the war, advancing in 1916 to the rank of lieutenant, and was awarded the iron cross, first and second

classes. After the conflict he settled down in Landshut as a druggist. When Hitler led his followers in the unsuccessful 1923 putsch, Gregor Strasser led a group of volunteers from Landshut to Munich, where he arrived too late to be of much use. When Hitler was serving his sentence after the putsch, Gregor Strasser was one of the men who managed to keep the party alive.

Together with his brother, Dr. Otto Strasser, Gregor Strasser founded a series of newspapers intended to further the cause of National Socialism. In the summer of 1930 the theoretical differences between the Strasser brothers and the Hitler-Goebbels group on the question of socialism came to the breaking point. In May 1930 a seven-hour discussion was held by party leaders in Munich concerning party principles. According to points 13 and 14 of the program, the party demands government ownership of all trusts and profit-sharing in all industrial enterprises. Hitler soon saw that financial backing upon the part of capitalists would never come if he insisted upon these points. At the Munich discussion Otto Strasser asked Hitler: "What would you do to-morrow with the Krupp organization in the event that you obtained political leadership in Germany? Would the share-holders and workers be in the same position in respect to property, profits and leadership as to-day, or not?" Hitler answered: "Naturally. Do you believe that I am so

foolish as to disturb industry?" Then from Strasser: "If you want to uphold the capitalistic system, then you have no right to speak about socialism." Hitler countered: "The expression 'socialism' is in itself a bad word. It is important to understand that these trusts *must not* be affected by socialism; the point is that they *can* be changed if they react against the interests of the nation. As long as they don't do this it would be a crime to destroy these industrial enterprises." The cold disregard of one of the main planks in the platform in an effort to attract shining coins from the pockets of capitalists was too much for Otto Strasser. Convinced of the futility of remaining in a party where the "unchangeable" program was so wilfully disregarded, he resigned his membership and founded a radical wing of the National Socialist organization. Since then he has been blessed with the uncompromising enmity of Hitler. His brother Gregor remained by Hitler's side during the controversy. Living down the "treason" of Otto Strasser has been somewhat of a problem for the other Strasser.

CHAPTER 5

RENASCENCE OF THE GOOSE-STEP

THE organization of the National Socialist German Worker's Party is autocratic. At the head of the movement stands Adolf Hitler, who is slated for the post of dictator if the organization comes into power. He—the creator of the party—is endowed with dictatorial authority in all its affairs and is empowered to select and dismiss any of his co-workers. Every member of the party is subject to his will and must follow his orders blindly. According to the statutes of the party, he carries the sole responsibility for the entire movement and cannot be deposed.

Hitler is surrounded by a net of co-workers, all subject to his command. Under him are the "Reichsgeschäftsführer" (national business manager), the "Reichsschatzmeister" (national treasurer), "Organisationschef" (organization chief), "Reichspropagandachef" (national propaganda chief), etc. The two organization leaders are the Reichstag Abgeordnete Gregor Strasser and Oberst a.D. Hierl. The secretarial duties fall upon Stadtrat Karl Fiehler; the propaganda

committee is under the leadership of Dr. Josef Goebbels; the finance committee under Stadtrat Schwarz; the committee for young National Socialists under Major a.D. Walter Buch. Alfred Rosenberg is in charge of the party press, Dr. Hans Frank II is legal adviser, Landtagsabgeordneter Adolf Wagner is responsible for industrial questions and Gottfried Feder for theoretical financial questions. Hitler himself is the leader of the sport and gymnastic committee.

These leaders have thousands of other co-workers under them, who owe them the same obedience which they in turn owe to Hitler. Discipline is the keynote of the entire organization. The democratic principle of the rule of the majority finds no sympathy in the camp of the National Socialists; the party is anti-democratic as well as anti-parliamentary. Hitler looks upon the mob merely as a means by which he can attain personal power. Inwardly he despises the mass of people who are numbered among his followers. What they as a majority desire is of no importance to him; the political will of the leader must be carried out in this revolutionary party. The National Socialists must reason: "Hitler, right or wrong!" Absolute obedience and iron discipline, characteristics of the old Prussian army, have been incorporated into the German Fascist system by which Germany is to be elevated into Utopia.

The organization of the party is divided into 26

“Gau” (districts), which do not in themselves form the various provinces of the German Reich: East Prussia, Greater Berlin, Brandenburg, East March, Pomerania, Silesia, Magdeburg-Anhalt, Halle-Merseburg, Thuringia, Sleswick-Holstein, Weser-Ems, East-Hanover, Hanover-South, Brunswick, Westphalia-North, Westphalia-South, Hessen-Nassau-North, Hessen-Nassau-South, Rhineland, Essen, Düsseldorf, Saxony, Württemberg-Hohenzollern, Baden, Hamburg and Mecklenburg-Lübeck. Danzig and the Saar territory are also included as separate districts. Bavaria, which was the original scene of the Hitler movement before it spread throughout Germany and Austria, has a special organization, which is divided into 9 “Gau”: Greater-Munich, Upper-Bavaria, Lower-Bavaria, Swabia, Upper-Palatinate, Upper-Franconia, Middle-Franconia, Lower Franconia, and the Rhine-Palatinate. Austria is separated into 7 “Gau”: Vienna, Upper-Austria, Lower-Austria, Carinthia, Styria, the Western District (Tirol and Vorarlberg), and Salzburg. Each “Gau” is in turn divided into various sections. The leaders of each district are appointed by Hitler, who may replace them at any time without justifying his action.

THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the organization are in Munich, in the heart of Bavaria. The initiative for the Third

Reich comes from the most particularistic of the German states, the most jealous rival of Prussia. Even until the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the coöperation of the southern states was a doubtful issue. Although Bavaria and the other southern states united with the Prussians in a wave of German enthusiasm and although Ludwig II was the first to prevail upon King William I to accept the title of German Emperor (at Bismarck's instigation), Bavaria always remained a jealous exponent of states rights. Her postal service, railway system and telegraphs, as well as the Bavarian army in peace time, remained independent. There was always a little-concealed envy of the leading position of Prussia in the German Reich. The new National Socialist party endangers the pre-eminent position of Prussia in favor of Bavaria; nevertheless it boasts of strong support in Prussia.

In July 1930 the National Socialists bought the former Barlow palace in Munich, on Brienner Strasse, one of the most aristocratic avenues in the city. The building was bought with funds contributed by each member of the party at the request of Hitler. The condition of the palace was such that it could not be used until extensive renovations had been made. These were supervised in every detail by Hitler himself, whose original ambition was an architect's career. After nearly a million dollars had been spent in the

purchase and alteration of the old palace, it was discovered that it was situated in the Munich "Bannmeile" (banned district), that section of the city in which no open-air demonstrations are allowed to take place. This was a double misfortune for Hitler, who was prevented from dedicating the finished structure and who cannot address crowds of his supporters from the balcony of his headquarters.

A proud moment for Adolf Hitler as he enters his new magnificent quarters and returns the salutes of his supporters! But ten years before he was seated in the cellar of a public house, virtually penniless, discussing plans for the first open meeting of his new party, which attracted 107 listeners. Carry on! He has but a taste of power!

Hitler's closest co-workers, leaders of the upper divisions, have their offices in this building. They direct the activities of some 1500 fellow-workers spread throughout Germany and Austria. The salaries of these workers are very small. They are expected, as enemies of democracy, to subjugate their desire for luxuries to the general welfare of the party. The few men higher up, however, Hitler, Dr. Goebbels and others, live magnificently. Their salaries are not generally known, but it is certain that they are not suffering particularly during the present world-wide depression.

THE "STRASSENZELLE" SYSTEM

Each "Gau" is divided into a number of sections, which correspond roughly to counties in the United States. These sections are then divided into a number of "Strassenzellen" (street cells), little organizations of about four or five men, one of whom is appointed leader by the head of his section. There is no attempt made to ask the opinion of the five members as to whom they prefer for their leader; the appointment comes from above and is final. This "Obmann" (chairman) is responsible for the political activity of his men. He must be certain that his followers know the program of the party and must report any change in views to his superiors.

The orders from above come in the form of military commands and must be passed on in the same form. All members of the party are pledged to strict obedience and must not ask questions in carrying out a command. Thus the entire system smacks of militarism rather than the organization of a political party.

The "Strassenzelle" system was borrowed from the Soviet idea of organization. It is paradoxical that the most-hated enemies of the National Socialists—the Bolsheviks—furnished many organization ideas which were taken over without much hesitation by Hitler.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE STUDENTS

Leaving the halls of a large German university, I am accosted by a young man—evidently a student—who gives me a red slip. The “Hakenkreuz” occupies a prominent position on the paper, which reads:

“A JEW NAMED STOLPER

prominent member of the State Party, called the National Socialist movement a few days ago in an open meeting a

NATIONAL PLAGUE, WHICH HAS DISEASED THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

This Jew has insulted 10,000,000 Germans—but nothing happens to him—for the present!

NOW IS THE TIME TO PUT AN END TO THIS GALICIAN IMPUDENCE!

Every bit of slander, every insult doubles the strength of our march!

STUDENTS! The elections at the universities of Giessen, Greifswald, Karlsruhe, Vienna, etc. brought the National Socialists surprising gains. The last period of the fight for power has begun. —We need every Man!

LET’S GO, FELLOWS!

There is a people to be freed!”

Following this is the advertisement for an open meeting for students, “male and female”. Entrance for

students is but 20-*pfennige* (5 cents), for all others 50-*pfennige* (12 cents).

One must understand the nature of German university life if he wishes to find why the Hitler movement has achieved so tremendous a backing among the students. Unlike the American student, the German university man takes politics seriously. It is at once his favorite sport and his most important extra-curricular activity. German students played an important part in the liberal agitation in the Germanies following the Congress of Vienna in 1815. They formed "Tugendbunde" and "Burschenschaften" and demonstrated strongly against Metternich's cold reactionary policy in central Europe, which he answered by the promulgation of the famous Carlsbad Decrees of the German Federal Diet in 1819. The students were conveniently muzzled. During the revolution of 1848 the German students were among the loudest in demanding a republic. Many of them, including Carl Schurz (who later became a noted American), were forced to leave the country after the collapse of the revolution.

This extraordinary interest in politics has remained a characteristic of student life until the present day. There is scarcely a portion of the German people that has felt Germany's degradation since the war more keenly than the students. They are determined to be the leaders, or at least among the leaders in the

creation of a free Germany. Hitler, with his magic program, has proven an irresistible attraction. The military organization, so reminiscent of the days when Prussia bloomed in a rosy bed of militarism, appeals to them. Especially the fraternities, which—unlike those in America—are devoted first of all to the fostering of patriotism, have flocked to Hitler's banners. These fraternity students with their faces scarred by compulsory duels which have tested their manhood, with their flashing mediæval uniforms, stiff salutes and swaggering manners, have found a new outlet for their energies.

The National Socialist German Students' Alliance is the largest and most important sub-organization of the Hitler-party. It was founded in 1926 at the University of Leipzig by Wilhelm Temple, a student of law, and quickly spread throughout academic Germany. Twenty universities sent representatives to the first meeting of the organization at Leipzig in 1928. In this same year Baldur v. Shirach of Weimar was selected to replace Temple as leader and the seat of the alliance was changed from Leipzig to Munich, an indication of the fact that Hitler stepped in and influenced, or to be more explicit, ordered the transfer. During 1930 the organization enjoyed a remarkable growth, until it now includes around 35,000 votes. This fact is significant when it is realized that these 35,000 votes comprise one-third of the entire student

vote in Germany. It must be considered also that there are 26 other political parties which have been seeking the support of the students. Although women students were first included in the students' alliance, a special organization for them has been formed. Hitler and his followers have emphasized continually that the organization must remain a "man's party" and that the woman's place is in the home. Nevertheless the Workers' Organization of National Socialist Women Students is included in the large group of sub-organizations.

The student alliance has its own newspaper, formerly the "Akademischer Beobachter" (Academic Observer), a monthly, now "Die Bewegung" (The Movement), a weekly. Propaganda has been carried on quietly. Disturbances have taken place at some of the larger universities, particularly at Vienna and Berlin, but in general the astonishing growth of the Hitler Party among the students has been accompanied with but little disorder. Every now and then attempts have been made to attract interest to the party by sensational pamphlets. A regrettable example of this took place at the University of Kiel, where the eminent Professor of Theology, Dr. Baumgartner, was accused by National Socialist students in a pamphlet of "Landesverrat" (treason). The rector of the university promptly ordered all organization privileges withdrawn for the National Socialist group at Kiel.

Rabid followers of the Hitler doctrines avoid attending the lectures of prominent Jewish professors, who do not understand the "Nordic culture".

Hitler has decreed that the student alliances be intrusted to a great extent with the military defense of the party. In other words, they are expected to be active members in the "Sturmabteilungen" (storm-squads), which will be discussed at length in a later section. They are expected to study the theory of modern warfare and attend the practice sessions arranged for week-ends. The student alliance itself voted to demand military instruction as a course for all German universities. At the present time such an innovation seems doubtful, but it will be one of the first measures carried out should Hitler attain power. Summer camps under the guise of "Bildungskursus" (educational courses) were held in 1930 near various university towns, and it is probable that the system will be continued on a larger scale. Here elderly Prussian sergeants, now rabid followers of Hitler, bark out military commands in the old fashion and attempt to ingrain in the young men who just missed the horrors of the war the same snappy thoroughness that distinguished the Prussian soldier.

Since the National Socialist Party is intended to be a permanent proposition, Germans must be watched over "from the cradle to the grave". High school pupils and those of lesser age are organized in a

group—"Hitler-Jugend" (Hitler-Youth). This organization, led by Kurt Gruber, was founded in Plauen, but its headquarters were removed along to Munich together with the university group. The "Hitler-Jugend", like the university organization, is divided into a number of "Gae", which correspond in general to the political organization of the party. Various committees devoted to sport, educational training, press propaganda, etc., watch over the affairs of the young Hitlerites. The National Socialist Pupils Alliance includes high school students. It has been forbidden at many schools, but has—like the other Hitler groups—enjoyed a steady increase in membership. It has, however, not yet been organized with the same thoroughness as the other groups. Teachers have been banded together in the National Socialist Teachers' Alliance. They are expected to preach the corruption and treason of the republican leaders.

Students, youthful and advanced, are taught to regard the "gewaltsame Befreiung Deutschlands" (the freeing of Germany through violence) as the ideal of modern youth. Elderly agitators among them instigate them to revolt against the democratic views of their teachers. An enticing picture of the new Hitler-Reich is painted: sport is the main subject; German, History, Knowledge of Nature (especially race questions and Biology), Mathematics, Latin, English, French, will be taught. And what is also important, no

pupil will suffer the pangs of failure! Everyone passes—those who do not know enough will be given special attention after school hours. At the universities learning will be national, Germanic. Jews will be chased from the academic faculties. How can one love his fatherland when he accepts the instruction of Semitic scientists?

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

When a new political party attains sudden success, crowds of professional men flock to its banners—with one eye conveniently looking in the direction of their careers. Lawyers belonging to the party are unified in the National Socialist German Jurists under the leadership of the party's main counsel, Dr. Hans Frank II (who distinguishes himself in this manner from Dr. Hans Frank (I), a noted Jewish lawyer). The National Socialist Alliance of Physicians is under the direction of Sanitätsrat Dr. Liebel of Ingolstadt and has for its chief aim the education of "future National Socialist physicians". The women of the party are organized as the "Red Hakenkreuz". Their most important duty is connected with the treatment of National Socialists who have been wounded in conflicts with Communists, Social Democrats and the police. Every conceivable kind of organization is

being formed to promote the party, including an automobile corps and motorcycle corps.

Every town has its National Socialist propaganda headquarters, usually a bookshop selling party literature. An amazing conglomeration greets the visitor to one of these shops. The "Hakenkreuz" is seen everywhere—pennants, neck-tie pins, watch-chains, charms, flags, posters, etc. Pictures of Hitler, silhouettes, paintings, book ends, plaques, post-cards, all showing his features, are for sale. Framed pictures of Nazis "who died for liberty", of party leaders—Dr. Goebbels, Dr. Feder and the rest, are mixed with likenesses of other heroes of the fatherland—Frederick the Great, Bismarck and General Ludendorff. On one picture the old Fritz watches in the background as a straight-shouldered Nazi marches on to freedom; on another a Nazi is seen shaking hands with a member of the Social Democrats. "Only in this way can the Reich be saved!" Post-cards bear patriotic sayings of Fichte and other German poets. Scattered throughout the shelves are thousands of pamphlets and books proclaiming the party's program, attacking the Jews, describing the life and works of Hitler. Every book by or about Mussolini is prominently featured. Pamphlets proclaiming the superiority of the Germanic race. Attacks on the Talmud, even on the Pope and the Catholics. History books written by Heinrich von Treitschke, the Prussian historian

and anti-Semite. Scores of newspapers devoted to the cause, weeklies, monthlies, most of them primitive in make-up and style.

THE "S.A."—HITLER'S ARMY

The backbone of the Hitler-movement is the "Sturmabteilung" (storm-squad), known under its abbreviation, the "S.A." This formation is the military support of the Hitler party and is counted upon to aid the party in event of a civil war. Party leaders insist that it is but a harmless "Sportabteilung" (sport-section) of the organization, while others believe that the "S.A." is the forerunner of a military system that will surpass even the old Prussians in effectiveness.

When Hitler first began his speeches against Marxian ideas, attacks were frequently made upon his hearers by Communists. Groups of his followers formed armed groups for "Saalschutz" (hall-protection) duty. These groups included many ex-soldiers, especially Hitler's comrades during the war, who straightway gave a touch of military color by adopting a uniform, at first somewhat primitive. They wore a cap similar to those of the Bavarian mountain troops, a brown Hitler shirt, brown trousers, and the "Hakenkreuz" sign in black on a white and red band worn on the left arm.

After a bloody beer-hall meeting on November 4,

1921, the groups were formally organized into the "S.A." as it exists to-day. At the head of the shock troops stands Hitler, the "OSAF" (oberste SA.-Führer), the chief of the storm-squad. Hauptmann Ferdinand Franz Felix von Pfeffer, a well-known organizer of political-military organizations, was originally entrusted with this office by Hitler in 1926. Just before the Reichstag elections in 1930, the "Sturmabteilung" in Berlin revolted. Hitler immediately dismissed von Pfeffer and took over the position of "Osaf" himself.

The "S.A." is divided into five districts, led by "Inspekteure" (inspectors), each of whom is considered as a sort of "vice-Osaf". The five headquarter centres are located in Berlin, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Hanover and Munich. The "Osaf-Stellvertreter" of the Berlin district, Hauptmann Walter Stennes, recently caused consternation in the party ranks by breaking with Hitler. Each "vice-Osaf", just as the "Osaf", has an Adjutant at his side. The organization is led in a similar manner in Austria under the direction of Hauptmann Reschny in Vienna. During the first few months of 1931 these leaders directed the military education of approximately 100,000 men.

The organization of the "S.A." reminds one of the old Prussian system, which has been copied closely. The smallest unit is the "Gruppe" (group), which includes from 3 to 16 men. A group is selected

from National Socialists who live together in a certain vicinity, so that it may be called together speedily in case of emergency. The leader of the group is expected to know the names and addresses of his men and must be able to get in immediate communication with them at any time. A number of such groups forms a "Trupp" (troup), which comprises a military company. The "Truf" ("Truppführer"), the troup leader distinguished by two stars on the collar, has the same duties as the "Gruf" ("Gruppführer") with one star. From four to five troups form a "Sturm" (storm), led by a "Sturmführer", the "Sturmf", with three stars. This section is roughly equivalent to an army battalion. Four to five storm-sections form a "Standarte" (regiment), led by a "Staf" with four stars, who is assisted by an adjutant, the "Adj-Staf". Each "Standarte" has a band, a bicycle squad and a hospital section under the direction of the "Sta-Arzt" (regiment-physician). All the regiments in a certain national "Gau" form the "Gaustürme", which correspond roughly to the divisions of the old army. A number of the "Gaustürme" together form the "Armeeinspektion" (army-inspection) which is under the leadership of the "vice-Osaf" already referred to. Each officer is distinguished by certain additions to his uniform. Every "Armeeinspektion" has its own ordnance department. A "Generalinspekteur" (general-inspector) is entrusted with visiting the various

districts and seeing that they maintain the high standards required. Headquarters are in the "brown-house" in Munich under the direction of "Stabschef" (chief-of-staff) Hauptmann Dr. h. c. Otto Wagener.

A special group, the "Schutz-staffeln" (S.S.), (protection squad) stands directly under "Osaf" Hitler. This squad is distinguished by a uniform of black caps and shirts, similar to Mussolini's "black-shirts". The "S.S." is composed mostly of war veterans who have given evidence of personal courage and who are well developed physically. They are the crack troops of Hitler's army.

The soldiers of the "S.A." and the "S.S." are expected to purchase their uniforms themselves. The uniform for the "S.A." members consists of a brown Hitler-cap with a chin-strap, a brown shirt and brown neck-tie, brown riding trousers and leather or strap leggings. A "Sam-Browne" belt, bread-pouch, field-flask and knapsack complete the uniform. A red "Hakenkreuz" band with the black cross on a white background is worn on the left arm. Various insignia on the collar show the rank of the wearer, while different colored collars signify the district.

At first the various leaders were required to study theoretical warfare, with close attention paid to instruction in handling machine guns and cannon, tactics, etc. This was withdrawn by Hitler when it was perceived that the party might be prohibited because

of its military character. The training now given, although admittedly of a military nature, is called "sport". On Saturday nights groups of Hitlerites, from the "Gruppe" to the "Stürme", gather in all parts of Germany for the week-end drill exercises. After loud greetings with outstretched arms, the men begin to ride in rows of trucks to the camping place. Organized yelling of Hitler catch-words and singing of Nazi songs inform villagers who are passing through their quiet towns.

Arriving at their quarters the soldiers sleep until seven. Breakfast. Knapsacks packed. "Company attention!" "Right face!" "Squads right!" all the old commands. Prussian thoroughness once again. No guns here. When members of the "S.A." march, the left hand is held in the belt, the right swings along. Uniform inspection. Music corps. Company formations. Drills until 12. Then lunch, followed by more drill and lectures on the science of battle. Then the important event of the day—return and march through the streets with snappy music and flying banners.

Soldiers of the Third Reich—the liberators of Germany!

This soldier-playing is an expensive proposition for Hitler. Many in his army are unemployed, for whom the few pennies paid means at least a movie during the week and free meals on the week-end.

Others are fanatical enthusiasts of the Hitler cause, who are happy to be able to aid the campaign directed against those elements which are bringing Germany's supposed ruin.

There is no question that the "S.A." has been of great value to Hitler. It has conquered the streets for him—at the cost of some hundred dead and more than one thousand seriously and slightly wounded. It has protected the huge propaganda meetings which take place frequently all over the country, has guarded the immense parades, and has fought its way to a "balance-of-power" against the various other political-military organizations—the "Rot Front-kämpferbund" (red-front-fighting alliance) of the Communists; the "Stahlhelm" (steel-helmet) an organization of Nationalist ex-service men and the "Reichsbanner" (Reich-banner), the political organization pledged to the upkeep of the republic. Besides these, the "S.A." is in continual conflict with the police, who aim to prevent it from disturbing the peace by fighting with the other political-military organizations.

"The threatening step of the brown regiments" provides a favorite topic for National Socialist propaganda. The "S.A." is continually on the front page of the German press. A newspaper report, clipped at random, gives evidence of the sort of work it is performing now:

“Löbau. 4. May, 1931: On Saturday evening three sections of National Socialists undertook a night march. According to the police, one section was attacked by 70-80 Communists, who used revolvers, black-jacks and clubs. A free-for-all followed, with 15 to 20 shots coming from the Communist side. The S.A. guard had thirty wounded, of whom a number were transferred to the Löbau hospital.”

Members of the “S.A.” are taught that they must at some future time be ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause. “When it is a matter of exterminating the Jews, we are ready to go over the top!” Hitler places the eventual march on Berlin at a time when at least a million National Socialists have been trained in the ranks of the “S.A.” When he comes into power, membership in his army will be an honor and voluntary. There will be no compulsory service as in the days of Bismarck and Wilhelm II.

Hitler’s intention to include the “S.A.” in his future Reich has been taken seriously by his followers. Many men who have seen military service and who are now taking a part in the military manœuvres are fanatical supporters of his plans because they expect to obtain high positions in the new Hitler army. This explains in part the fact that many adventurers have rallied to his cause. In a time when making a living is not the easiest of tasks and when the political side of the Hitler movement is enjoying suc-

cess after success at the ballot-box, this army offers a ray of hope to many who can find nothing else to do.

The question naturally arises: what part will the "S.A." and the "S.S." and the various reserve organizations play in the event of military necessity? Outwardly, the military units are sadly lacking in arms. Whether there are a series of munition-storehouses throughout the nation is difficult to ascertain.

Although Hitler chants phrases about the legality of the Nazi movement with the same vehemence characterizing Mahatma Gandhi's defense of his non-violence campaign, many observers refuse to place much credence in such assertions when the question of armaments is considered. Marching battalions of "S.A." troops place one hand in their belts—a significant reminder that these hands are reserved for carrying rifles. That the week-end excursions of the storm-squads are devoted to something more than sport is not even a matter of conjecture.

Rumors have been flying throughout the Reich that the Hitlerites possess secret stores of arms, whose trade-marks bear a suspicious resemblance to those of the regular "Reichswehr" equipment. Germans who have had enough of the misery of war are whispering about a German arms manufacturing plant, which is said to be furnishing the Nazis with arms secretly. Others, who believe that the next war will be fought in the air, point to the rumor that 75% of the

commercial pilots of the Luft-Hansa, many of them with previous war experience, are loyal followers of Hitler. Recent world-wide publicity about an independent Nazi air force dedicated to "party propaganda" has proved embarrassing to the "Brown House."

In the event of civil war the Hitlerites would have a tremendous advantage over the Communists if they could turn at once to these rumored secret stores of machine guns, rifles and hand grenades. Just what could be accomplished against an aroused France—armed to the teeth—is an altogether different question.

In the event of a putsch, an effort to take over the reins of government by force, the "S.A."—with its present strength—would need the help of either the "Reichswehr," the army of 100,000 men allowed Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, or the efficiently organized police. If both are brought against the National Socialist army, there is no question but that the latter would collapse at once, If the Reichswehr remained neutral, which is not at all improbable considering the active propaganda in its ranks by the National Socialists, the result would be a battle to the finish between the "S.A." and the police. If the police remain loyal, they would in all probability maintain the upper hand. The German police force is totally out of proportion to the required force in a nation during peace time. The frequent political clashes, with con-

stantly recurring bloodshed, make it imperative that a large, exceptionally well-trained police organization be ready for all emergencies. The German "Schupo" (cop) is a splendid physical specimen, fearless and well able to take care of political rowdies. There is no corruption in the ranks. Realizing the superiority of this force, the National Socialists are attempting to obtain control of the various ministries of the interior in the separate federal states, so that the police force may be "strengthened" by the addition of Hitlerites. If the National Socialists are given a voice in the government, the first office desired is that of the Reich's Defense Minister. Control of the "Reichswehr," with a view toward a future putsch, is the ever-predominant idea among the party leaders.

The "S.A." is not altogether a completely loyal organization. Immediately preceding the September 1930 Reichstag elections, the "S.A." in Berlin, then under the leadership of Hauptmann Stennes, broke out in open rebellion. For a long time this portion of Hitler's army had protested in vain against the lavish and extravagant habits of various political leaders of the party, particularly Dr. Goebbels. The "S.A." members demanded more money for extra duty during the coming elections, pointing with anger and a good measure of jealousy at the luxurious office of the "Mäusegeneral" and his huge Mercedes automobile. The party had enough to allow its leaders to live like

princes, they protested, and at the same time members of the "S.A." were being tried before a jury without adequate legal protection, which should have been provided and financed by the party's treasury. Picking an opportune time to present their demands—August 27th—with but a few days remaining before elections, the Berlin "S.A." refused all further duty until reforms—to take place immediately—should be promised. Goebbels telegraphed for Hitler at once, who arrived by plane. The party leader attempted to placate his disgruntled followers, but he perceived immediately that he had a difficult task on his hands. He had to do something radical to appease the excited Berliners. Accordingly, Hauptmann Pfeffer, "Osaf" of the entire "S.A.", was dismissed and Hitler took the post himself. This fact, since Pfeffer was exceedingly unpopular in the Berlin district, and various financial arrangements, served to placate the rebels. Every National Socialist was taxed an additional 20-pfennige (5 cents), the total of which was thereafter placed in the "S.A." treasury. Initiation fees for members were raised from 1 mark (25c) to 2 marks, half of which was to go to the military organization. Fifty percent of the net profits of the mass meetings held by the party was promised to the "S.A." Obtaining these liberal concessions, the rebels hastened to inform their chief of their undying loyalty. Calls of "Heil Hitler!" and "Deutschland

erwache" once more rang through the congested streets of Berlin and the damnation of Jew money-lenders was preached far and wide. After the elections scores of great plate-glass windows of the Wertheim and other large department stores were crashed in by young rowdies inspired with Germanic fearlessness and imbued with the desire to demonstrate the superiority of pure Nordic blood.

CHAPTER 6

PRIMITIVE PRESS

THE Hitler-movement has progressed entirely too quickly to allow the development of an efficient press apparatus. Party leaders understand only too well that the bombastic methods they have adopted in the effort to catch the votes of the masses do not work as well with the printed word as with the spoken word in the fevered atmosphere of a mass-meeting. "Accursed Jews", "the will to live", "the French negro race", "Nazi steel nerves", "*Pfui* on the *sauwirtschaft* (pig-industry)", "callous fists", all the favorite catch-words have more effect on the types of humanity in the N.S.D.A.P. ranks when yelled from a platform by orators with anger-distorted features.

The number of party newspapers suffers in comparison with that representing other German political parties. The *Ullstein-Verlag*, a newspaper chain admittedly favoring the Social Democrats and the republic, commands a circulation of 4,260,000 in daily newspapers, weeklies and monthlies, whereas the entire National Socialist press scarcely reaches

a total of 700,000. This fact is significant of the less important part played by the press in the Hitler-movement, which having but one-sixth of the press influence of but one Social Democratic chain commands 109 seats in the Reichstag to 143 held by the Social Democrats.

In 1930 the National Socialists were represented by 12 dailies, 34 weeklies, several monthlies and one illustrated magazine. At the same time the Social Democrats commanded more than 150 dailies, while even the Communists were represented by 40 dailies.

The official party paper, the "Völkischer Beobachter" ("National Observer"), appears in Munich under the auspices of Adolf Hitler. Originally an anti-Semitic weekly, the "Münchener Beobachter" (Munich Observer), it was acquired by the Nazi party in 1920 and converted into a daily. After the Hitler-putsch the newspaper was banned. It appeared again in January 1925. To-day it is published in three editions, one for Bavaria, one for Berlin and one for the Reich. The publishers claim a daily circulation of 165,000. Party leaders often refer to the newspaper as the future "Regierungsorgan" (official government newspaper).

If a majority of the intelligent voters among the 6,406,397 who returned 107 mandates in September 1930 for the National Socialists were forced to read the "Völkischer Beobachter" for any length of time,

it is doubtful if they would continue to believe that the future Germany can only be saved through Hitler. Abuse, insults, accusations, scandals, and naïve political reasoning form the background of this newspaper dedicated to "Freiheit und Brot" (liberty and bread). An issue picked at random provides plenty of material for the "fighters of the National Socialist movement for a Greater Germany". Headlines streaming across the front page and underlined in red announce the "Thomas Mann Scandal in Paris". The great German author has actually dared to speak in Paris about the possibility of friendship between France and Germany, an atrocious monstrosity, "geistiger Landesverrat" (spiritual treason)! "Thomas Mann was invited by the Jewish and Masonic circles in Paris and celebrated as a great European and upright republican, just as he deserves." An accusation of embezzlement of millions in the German Foreign Office is made in flaming headlines. The Jewish press is working to save the life of Peter Kürten, the Düsseldorf "Jack-the-Ripper", who has just been sentenced to death.(!) Four complete columns topped by a sensational headline bring forward the Dreyfus case again, which is labelled a victory of the Jewish money powers against French militarism. German Jews are "Dreyfusards" who speak of "morality" but mean "power".

On the same side an astonishing "revelation" for the exclusive benefit of pure-blooded Germans—

America's film favorites are almost without exception (fast ausnahmslos) Jews, who have understood well enough how to hide their Jewish ancestry. "For example, Ricardo Cortez, who appears as a fiery Spanish Don Juan, is really Jacob Krantz of New York; Rod la Roque is a Jew; Norman Kerry is really Norman Kayser; Sue Carol, America's spoiled actress, was formerly Eva Lederer. Nick Stuart was born in Rumania as Nikolaus Prate. Douglas Fairbanks, one of the best-known film-stars, is really Nicolaus Ullman. Other Jews are Al Jolson, Eddie Cantor, Harry Green, Benny Rubin, Mitzi Green, Joseph Schildkraut, Bobby Gordon, etc."

The report of a Jewish mass-meeting in Breslau addressed by Police President Weiss of Berlin on the subject, "National Socialists, Jews and Fatherland," is headlined "2000 Jews are Afraid of National Socialism": A mass-meeting in Berlin addressed by Dr. Goebbels is headed "National Socialism is Modern Prussianism". In fat type: "We stand fast and courageous always and everywhere, in north, south, east and west. **WE ARE THE PRUSSIANS IN GERMANY!** The old Prussian phrase 'Ich dien'!' (I serve) has been changed by the government to-day to 'Ich verdien'!' (I serve myself)."

Other headlines feature attacks on Communist murderers, on court decisions, on any and every opponent. Reports from the provinces are headed: "**WE ARE ACT-**

ING—SOON THE HITLER-BANNERS WAVE OVER ALL THE STREETS—RESTLESSLY FORWARD!!” A sporting section and industrial news broadcast the Nazi sport program and the new industrial order. Eight pages of primitive journalism calculated to catch and hold the attention of Nazi supermen, the cream of all races!

Most of the newspapers representing the Hitler-movement are local newspapers which were so close to ruin that something had to be done in order to continue publication. The up-and-coming Nazi party provided a splendid opportunity to save the faltering editors. Several new newspapers have also been founded, the most important being “Der Angriff” (The Attack), an evening tabloid published in Berlin by Dr. Goebbels “Für die Unterdrückten” (For the Oppressed) and “Gegen die Ausbeuter” (Against the Profiteers). Goebbels is distinguished by the fact that he invariably goes twice as far as any of his comrades. His tabloid is, if anything, twice as sensational as the “Völkischer Beobachter”. At the present writing the newspaper is leading a “Zweimonatsplan!” (two-months-plan), an effort to double the party membership in Berlin within two months. The entire make-up of “Der Angriff” mirrors Goebbels’ personality. Every day new catch-words: “Think of the Wounded S.A. Soldiers!” “Remember the S.A. Prisoners!” “We are Attacking! Our Weapon—the Two-Months-Plan!” “Help To-day, not To-morrow!”

A recent sensation for this particular newspaper was the verdict sentencing Goebbels to jail for two months for libel.

Every district of the party has its own local newspaper, generally named "Beobachter" in connection with the name of the district. Weekly papers carry such names as "Der Streiter" (The Fighter), "Die Flamme" (The Flame), "Der Eisenhammer" (The Iron-Hammer), "Der Adler" (The Eagle), "Der Stürmer" (The Stormer), "Der Freiheitskämpfer" (The Fighter for Liberty) and "Die Diktatur" (The Dictator).

The press plays a secondary rôle in the Hitler-movement, which owes its success to spoken propaganda, iron discipline and efficient organization. Party leaders point to the fact that the Liberals gained power in England in spite of the opposition of a host of Conservative newspapers altogether out of proportion to the few representing the Liberals. The Nazis have made but one organized effort to found a press organization. This attempt, engineered by the Strasser brothers, resulted in failure after the dispute between Otto Strasser and Hitler. Since then National Socialist newspapers have sprung up like mushrooms, without rhyme or reason, all over the Reich.

The "Deutschnationale Volkspartei", the German Nationalists, have always looked with a certain amount of favor upon Hitler and his aspirations. The

Fascist leader is looked upon as the supreme reactionary, whose aims in many cases coincide with those of the Nationalists. For this reason the newspapering Hugenberg has long adopted a favorable attitude to the Hitler-movement. Activities of the Nazis are prominently featured in the Hugenberg chain and editorial comment finds much worthy of praise in Hitler's party. With the Nationalists it is a case of committing slow suicide, since thousands of party members have been influenced by the Hugenberg attitude in stepping further right into the ranks of the Nazis. Without doubt the influence of Hugenberg's newspapers is equal to or surpasses that of Hitler's own primitive publications.

According to the Hitlerites, the German press is poisoned by a press owned or controlled by Jews. The "Berliner Tageblatt" and the "Frankfurter Zeitung", two of the best-known German newspapers, are the particular objects of Nazi hatred because of their Jewish sympathies.

CHAPTER 7

"PROPAGANDA WIE DER AMERIKANER ES MACHT!"

LEADER of the propaganda organization of the party is Dr. Goebbels, the Berlin "Gauleiter" (section-leader), who is depended upon to attract millions of votes through an intensive advertising campaign. This little man with his remarkable energy is responsible for much of the success already obtained by the Nazis. Energetic, quick-witted, convincing, he possesses many qualities necessary for successful leadership. He is able to formulate quickly mottoes calculated to attract attention, and then drill them into the minds of his subordinates. "Mit den Augen der Masse sehen—das ist das ganze Rätsel der erfolgreichen Propaganda!" (See with the eyes of the masses—that is the whole puzzle of successful propaganda!)

Goebbels has organized the Nazi propaganda into four parts: 1. Through the written word; 2. through the spoken word; 3. through parades; 4. through cultural (sic!) arrangements. The written word proclaiming party principles is broadcast through stick-

ers, hand-bills, pamphlets, party newspapers and books, local organization publications, placards, rubber stamps, foreign newspapers, post-cards, paper and flannel pennants, movie slides, etc. Important stress is placed on the stickers, which used often enough remain as a steady reminder to indifferent party members. The favorite symbol on the stickers is the "Hakenkreuz" (swastika), symbol of an anti-Semite crusade. "Every member of the party," says Goebbels, "should carry such stickers with him. One can work with them quickly and without being discovered (!). Continual drops of water will wear through stone." Hand-bills are only of importance if they bear texts other than ones advertising a future meeting, since the latter are invariably thrown away before a complete reading. An effective text used is: "National Socialists buy only in German shops. The middle-class reads its newspaper: 'Völkischer Beobachter'." Local organizations are urged to use the drawings of the caricaturist Mjöltnir, who usually represents the National Socialist as a strong heroic man crushing a tiny Jew distinguished by curly hair and aquiline nose. Hand-bills should be pasted on poles and other convenient places all over a town at the same time. The inscription must be the same, but different colors are advised. The text should be selected from: "Against Marxism and Reaction—the National Socialists!" . . . "For Liberty and Bread—

the National Socialists!" . . . "Your Greeting—Hail Hitler!" . . . "Out from the Old Corpse-Parties—on with the National Socialists!" . . . "Become a National Socialist—Everything else is Dung!" The hand-bills are to be pasted so that they cannot be torn away easily. "It takes a lot of cleverness to get away with such work, besides it is forbidden by the police" is Goebbels' advice.

Pamphlets written by party members should be in a "rough manner" (in *derber Weise*) when meant for distribution in workers' districts. Flaming headlines must be used if attention is to be attracted. Party newspapers are to be sent to all members. It is expected that party members will ask for Nazi newspapers at all cafés, railway stations and news-stands, so that demand will be created. Newspapers already read are to be left "by chance" ("zufällig") in railway-trains, street-cars, cafés, stores where the Nazi trades, in the reception rooms of physicians and dentists, in barber-shops, etc. Pamphlets must be distributed to persons hurrying to catch trains, not to those arriving, since the former will have time to read the text while the latter often throw them away. They must be given to workers before and not after working hours, so that they can be read and discussed during meal hours. Every mail box must contain a Nazi pamphlet on Sunday morning, "so that the citizen can read it at his ease with his coffee".

Placards must be in the same style so that all Nazis will recognize an announcement at once. Party members are advised to carry rubber stamps inscribed with Hitlerisms around with them. They can be used everywhere. Advertisements for newspapers must be short and attractive. For instance: "1. THE ATTACK! 2. WHEN IS THE ATTACK COMING? 3. THE 'ATTACK', THE GERMAN MONDAY NEWSPAPER."

Special Nazi stamps are sold everywhere and used on letters and post-cards. By this means the entire propaganda system is financed. Post-cards showing pictures of party leaders are to be used whenever possible. "Even the republican mail-carrier will be influenced by this method". Huge banners and pennants bearing mottoes are to be used at meetings. Slides at local movie houses are advised. The first Nazi tone-film is now being produced in Berlin.

Advertising through the written word is closely allied with advertising through the spoken word. Various methods in spoken propaganda are advised by Goebbels: 1. Individual talks; 2. evening discussions; 3. mass-meetings; 4. organized yelling. The individual talks have always remained the best method of obtaining votes because of the "inner contact". During the evening discussion, members of the party are expected to further their own knowledge of party aims. Each local organization is expected to arrange at least two a month. Party members who

show especial ability in speaking at these evening discussions are to be used in larger meetings when necessary. Meetings must be carried out without regard to the number of visitors in the audience; the prestige of the party is never to be sacrificed by cancellation of a scheduled meeting.

The mass-meeting is the most important of all Nazi propaganda. Themes to be discussed must be such as to attract the masses; "sensational current events, Jewish or Marxian scandals,—mainly political scandals which will attract the masses through anger in hopes of hearing a sensation or learning something that might be of use in bettering their financial positions". Contact with the masses must not be lost by too intelligent political themes. The Nazi storm-squads must always appear at all mass-meetings to "protect" the speakers. A number of individual "S.A." men are to be placed among the audience in order to locate any Communist disturbance at once. The chairman of the meeting must not speak longer than 3 to 5 minutes at the beginning and the end of the meeting. Every member of the party is expected to attend a scheduled mass-meeting. The mass-meeting must be closed with a cheer for National Socialism and Adolf Hitler.

Organized yelling squads are expected to inform the public of the presence of Nazi followers. Short sentences such as "Deutschland erwache!" and "Heil

Hitler!" yelled in unison and accompanied by auto-horns or other noise-making devices are preferred to strike terror into enemy hearts. The yelling squads must be composed of courageous youths, "die gegebenenfalls nicht in unangenehme Lagen kommen" (who can be trusted to take care of themselves).

Propaganda through parades is left to the discretion of the local party organizations. Iron discipline in the true Prussian sense is the keynote here.

Propaganda through cultural arrangements is imitative of the Russian ideas. The Nazis expect to produce films such as the Russian "Potemkin". The Germanic heroes will be prominently featured in the new films. National Socialist theatres have been organized in various larger cities with the purpose of spreading the pure Germanic "Kultur" (civilization).

ALTHOUGH Goebbels has been in charge of party propaganda for the last few years, the real instigator of the system is Hitler himself. Now that he is occupied with ideas, program and leadership, it is necessary to place the responsibility for advertising upon someone else's shoulders. Hitler's view of the importance of propaganda in his political system has remained one of the backgrounds of the movement. The propaganda methods he has adopted are something new in German political history. The Germans are a

sentimental, impressionable folk. Thus the highly organized advertising system has struck a responsive chord among the masses. Hitler preaches that propaganda must be popular and must be made to suit the intelligence of the persons to whom it is directed. The end must be held in view without regard to the means. In order to attract the vote of the stupidest of his hearers, the Nazi speaker is expected to hammer stupidities and platitudes into his head. The level of intelligence is to be measured at the lowest point. The masses are important in that they hold the key to power. For every intelligent head there are ten stupid ones whose votes banded together suffice to attain the desired end. Intelligent reasoning, according to Hitler, has no place among the modern masses. Hence it follows that a majority can only be secured through arousing the masses through enthusiasm and wild impulsive suggestion. The working man must be given no time to think; his emotions must be kept excited through rosy pictures of the future and through fanatical opposition to the present government. He must be blindfolded and coaxed along, led by his nose into the Hitler fold. How else can a political adventurer obtain power?

After the victory on September 14, 1930, Hitler, radiantly happy and grandiloquently formulating new phrases, announced to the party that 70,000 meetings in all parts of Germany were to be arranged

immediately. Although a bit exaggerated, it is certain that the campaign which followed exceeded anything of its kind ever attempted in the Reich before. The battle of the streets which came soon won control for the Nazis. The party continues its advertising methods to-day and is fast approaching the forefront among all German political parties.

The propaganda system is intended to keep alive the spirit of revolution among the Nazis. Anyone can wait, is the principle. In order to obtain demands an unbroken march forward is a vital necessity. Awaken passion, wrath, anger, organize hate and despair, through "so-called" legal methods. "The revolutionary must know everything! He must do everything! He must never let the masses remain quiet until he has obtained power." According to Hitler it is not even necessary to allow truth to be the basis of propaganda. He admits frankly that the truth might be on the side of the opponent and as such cannot serve his own aims. Propaganda must place emphasis upon all that will in the long run prove valuable to the party spreading the propaganda. Sensations, scandals, promises, give the public what it wants and the public will give us what we want! The saviours of Germany at work!

CHAPTER 8

AND THE MONEY?

ONE of the first necessities of a political organization is money. Without it a political idea remains an interesting subject of conversation, which, if it gets to the masses at all, will take decades of snail-like propaganda efforts. Hitler—like all political adventurers in a hurry—has struck upon a combination that has worked wonders in loosening the purse-strings of all kinds of people, from the modest laborer who counts every spare pfennig to the capitalists who can afford to give millions. His loud and uncompromising opposition to internationalism, pacifism, parliamentarism and the Jewish “plague” is enough to attract rabid supporters everywhere.

The National Socialist party machine requires a steady stream of funds to cover the enormous expense of maintaining its huge propaganda system as well as its military organization, the “Sturmabteilung”. Financial contributions must increase with the constant extension of the network of local organizations throughout Germany and Austria. The flow of gold

has not been disappointing to Hitler and his cohorts, who now command more ready funds than any other political party in Germany, not excepting the Social Democrats. It is difficult to ascertain the individuals backing Hitler—most of them prefer to remain in the dark—but the general sources are obvious.

During the inflation of the mark in 1923 Bavarian industrialists were in a panic. It seemed for a while that a Communist revolution would transform Bavaria into a new Bolshevist state. When Hitler and his newly-formed party came to the fore as the most emphatic protector of Germany against the Bolshevist menace, the capitalists began to open their pocket-books with devout gratitude and showered the National Socialists with money. This in spite of Hitler's pronounced opposition to capitalism! The industrialists figured that Hitler's program points aimed at their own system were nothing more than bait for the masses. At any rate they looked upon Bolshevism as the deeper danger of the two. As a natural result the Hitler movement thrived. All during the inflation period, when other political parties had all they could do to keep their heads above water, the Hitlerites abounded in funds. While other political leaders were trying to figure their losses in millions of marks, Hitler—the guardian angel of Bavaria against the reds—remained in Munich and collected funds contributed in dollars by German-Americans, in francs

from supporters in Switzerland, in gulden from Holland, etc.

Then came the crash through the premature November putsch. With the reorganization in 1925 funds began to flow in again. The party program with its magnificent hash of so-called evils proved irresistible. Contributions showered and are still coming in. Capitalists frightened by the spectre of Bolshevism; nationalists who see in Hitler the dictator of a new, powerful Germany; fanatical anti-Semites from all parts of the world who believe in this new religious crusade; workingmen looking for something better (just as laborers have been looking for better conditions for centuries and centuries); former officers who want to revel once again in the glory of a militaristic Germany; the middle-class merchants oppressed by taxes until they despair of any improvement under the present government; all are digging down cheerfully into their pockets.

Hitler preaches that his movement is altogether national. Germany for the Germans! The other nations of the world are only of interest in so far as they can help the German fatherland. It is significant that all money offered from foreign countries is promptly accepted with thanks. An interesting question is whether the Fascist Hitler has received or receives any financial aid from Italy.

A CERTAIN source of income—the various fees charged members of the party. Each new member must pay 2 marks (50c) as a registration fee and dues of “at least” 1 mark (25c) a month. Members who can afford more are expected to pay more than the minimum allowed. Besides this each new member is pledged to pay “einen einmaligen freiwilligen Werbebeitrag” (a single voluntary enlistment contribution), as well as 30-*pfennige* (7c) each month for the insurance fund of the “S.A.” When funds for special purposes are needed, such as for the purchase or construction of party headquarters, a “special tax” is placed upon each member at the will of Hitler. Since blind obedience is one of the most important principles of the party, it is not expected that objections be offered to such arbitrary orders.

The “S.A.”, the military organization of the party, is its most expensive proposition. The members are expected to buy their uniforms themselves, but always from the Nazi quartermaster. The weekly “sporting exercises”, for which the men are paid small amounts, act as a financial drain. If unable to obtain food from villagers along the way, the local organization must furnish the men with meals. It is obvious that these weekly exercises requiring automobiles, camping equipment and food could not be arranged without adequate financial backing. After the revolt of the Berlin “S.A.” in the summer of 1930, Hitler awarded

the military organization 50% of all future registration-fees and profits of the ordnance-department, where all uniforms, literature and party insignia are sold. Besides this, he ordered a special tax of 30-pfennige on each member for the insurance fund of the "S.A." Hundreds of "S.A." men are injured yearly in battles with the Communists, some even fatally. When unable to work, the injured "S.A." members receive a pension from the party organization. The treasury is also forced to take care of the legal defense and court costs of all "S.A." members accused of disturbing the peace, manslaughter or murder. On election days the Hitler-soldiers must be paid for their services in "keeping order".

In the future Third Reich "Zinsknechtschaft" (interest servitude) is to be broken. The economic principle of interest paid for the use of money is to be calmly brushed aside. Yet when the treasury of the party is low Hitler authorizes a "Zwangsanleihe" (forced loan) upon the part of every member, the loan to be returned with $\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest at the end of one year. This policy has proven a very favorable one for the party, which would have to pay anywhere from 6 to 15% for private loans. It is interesting to note how quickly Hitler sweeps aside all program demands when they conflict with financial interests.

Another source of income—the profits returned from the thousands of mass-meetings held in the larger

cities. When the better-known leaders—Hitler, Goebbels, Frick, Count Reventlow, Gregor Strasser—speak, thousands turn out to witness the oratorical fireworks. Every Nazi is expected to attend these mass-meetings. The price of admittance ranges anywhere from 50-*pfennige* (12c) to 2-marks (50c). The “*Erwerbslose*” (unemployed) are graciously furnished tickets at a cheaper rate. Because of the sensational propaganda tactics of the party, thousands of curious persons flock to these mass-meetings. The central treasury at Munich usually benefits by these meetings, which provide large profits.

The campaign for money is well organized. Hitler and other party leaders travel throughout the Reich meeting small groups of capitalists and declaring National Socialist principles and aims. The political situation is portrayed as a battle to the end against the terror on the left. The capitalists are reminded that they had better give while there is a chance, if they would save their own necks.

There has been much speculation as to whether Hitler receives any backing from American individuals or industrial enterprises having branches in the Reich. It has been said that a prominent American automobile manufacturer, long known for his anti-Semitic feeling, for years has been giving large sums to encourage the Hitler cause. In this connection it is peculiar to observe that a surprisingly large number

of this manufacturer's German agents are active in the Nazi movement. An exclusive New York social organization, composed chiefly of a group of old German-Americans, is said to have contributed secretly, as well as several wealthy German-American families in the Mid-West, whose wealth was accumulated before Prohibition. American business concerns in Germany, branches of world-wide organizations, are said to have given to the Hitler cause in the hope that they might not be disturbed under a Hitler régime.

Funds from Germans in Mexico, Brazil, Argentine, Paraguay and other countries flow in to the Hitler coffers, it is reported. A former huge German industrial enterprise still has remnants all over the world; these individual organizations are said to have helped Hitler financially. All these organizations naturally prefer secrecy in their dealings with the "Brown House."

CHAPTER 9

HAKENKREUZ AND CATHOLICISM

NATIONAL SOCIALIST leaders believe that "the power of Rome is digging itself into the German flesh, slowly and painlessly, but with dismal certainty". Alfred Rosenberg especially has exhibited a fanatical hatred against the Catholic Church in his book "Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts" (The Myth of the 20th Century). But Rosenberg's arguments fell upon deaf ears among other leaders, who although personally agreeing with his views, saw too much of a danger in combating so powerful a force. He was promptly squelched.

The nationalist doctrine preaches that all "überstaatliche Mächte" (powers above the state) are considered as inimical to eventual German liberty. Rosenberg insisted that Catholicism as another power above the state must be considered in the same hostile light as the Jews and Free Masons, that Catholicism as a political power in Germany must be destroyed. But here he struck the iron, dictatorial will of Hitler.

Hitler, himself raised in the Catholic faith, does not

wish a quarrel with Rome for other reasons. He understands that Germany, although strictly speaking a Protestant nation, has felt the influence of Rome throughout its history. All attempts to stamp out Catholicism as a political power have ended in miserable failure. Hitler is willing to sacrifice his national principles. His own power is more important as an end than the mere maintenance of his principles. He realizes the impossibility of obtaining the desired power if he inaugurates a crusade against Catholicism as well as against the Jews. Little can be accomplished if he alienates the sympathies of millions of Catholics in Germany and Austria who are willing to back him as long as he keeps his terroristic activities away from the direction of Rome. The real Hitler here. It is better to wave an olive-branch and entice the Catholic vote. The wisdom of his policy is evident when Ludendorff's "Tannenbergbund" is considered. After deserting the National Socialist ranks, Ludendorff founded his own organization, which is attempting to convince Germany of the Jewish, Masonic and Catholic peril through "moral persuasion" rather than through an organized political party. If anything, Ludendorff's particular aim is directed against Rome, which he sees as the greatest enemy of all. With but 30,000 members, Ludendorff's organization has been out-distanced by Hitler's party. Bitter opposition to Catholicism in Germany will not pay in the long run.

As usual Hitler remains conveniently on the fence. He does not wish to alienate either the Catholic or the anti-Catholic. "There are indeed many priests," he says, "who use their holy office as a means to further their political ambitions, those who in a more than objectionable manner forget in political battles that they are the protectors of a higher truth and not representatives of falsehood and slander; but for every such unworthy one there are more than thousands of honorable priests, savers of souls, true to their mission, who stand out in the false and depraved swamps of the present like tiny inspiring islands." He does not want to mix in religious affairs. "The political leader must never touch the religious doctrines and traditions of his people (!); when he does he places himself in the category of a reformer rather than a politician!" The worst enemy of the German people is international Communism; the duty of National Socialism is to stamp out this evil. He does not wish to be drawn into a battle against Catholicism. "It is in the interest of the Jews that the German people be bled in a religious battle (against Catholicism). . . . It will always be a most important duty of leaders of the National Socialist movement to prevent the party being drawn into such a fight, to provide the sharpest front against these efforts and to dismiss immediately from the party all those guilty of spreading such propaganda."

Hitler's overtures towards Catholicism have received no particular recognition from the Centre Party, the organized political Catholicism, with 4,126,983 votes and 68 seats in the Reichstag. For years the Centre Party has been taking a part in the government in coalition with the Social Democrats. Catholic political leaders have openly named Hitler and his movement as enemies of religion and church.

The Catholic power in Germany is too strong since the foundation of the Centre Party. During the war of 1870 the Vatican Council decreed the doctrine of papal infallibility, which Bismarck interpreted as an attempt upon the part of the Pope to mingle in the internal affairs of Germany. The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in the summer of 1870 forced the issue into the background. Returning from the brilliant victory over the French, Bismarck found himself face to face with a new party—the Centre—recruited mainly from the south German states, and standing in more or less open opposition to Bismarck's desire to maintain a strong centralized government. These German Catholics were bitter because Bismarck had not aided to reestablish the temporal rule of the Pope in Italy, while Bismarck accused the new party of attempting to stir up trouble with Italy. Soon the differences approached a serious point. In 1872 Bismarck started his "Kulturkampf" (struggle for civilization) by expelling the Jesuits from Germany. Two

years later the "May Laws" were enacted in Prussia, under which no one other than a German could hold office in the Catholic Church and all ecclesiastical seminaries were abolished. A sharp conflict ensued with Bismarck on one side and the German bishops and the Pope on the other. Anti-clerical legislation resulted in the imprisonment of bishops and the closing of more than a thousand parishes.

For seven years Bismarck carried on his campaign. The repressive measures resulted in a wave of indignation among Catholics throughout Germany. They banded together in 1874 and returned the Centre Party with 1,443,000 votes. Towards the end of the seventies Bismarck noted that Socialism was spreading throughout his reactionary Reich. Considering it a greater danger than the Catholic evil, he suddenly backed out of his war against Rome and abandoned the anti-clerical legislation. The Chancellor knew well enough when he was defeated. Although never abandoning his own opposition to Catholicism—in later life he often mentioned the fact that his views were unchanged—he considered it a political expedient to recognize its power. Sledge-hammer blows directed at Rome were of no avail, a lesson which even the great Bismarck was forced to learn.

The "Kulturkampf" and the subsequent Catholic victory, as well as the permanently solidified Centre Party, remain portions of German history which are

understood by Hitler and his fellow leaders. It is futile to hope for power if the program contains a positive anti-Catholic plank when German political history shows that so effective a government as that created by Bismarck came out second-best in a struggle with Rome.

CHAPTER 10

TREASON?

THE "Reichswehr" is a military force of 100,000 men allowed Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. The most effective modern weapons of warfare—tanks, planes and heavy artillery—are prohibited in the peace dictated by the victor nations. In spite of this handicap, Germany has taken full advantage of the proportionally tiny army at her command. The "Reichswehr" consists of 100,000 model soldiers, every one of whom might be an officer in the army of other nations where compulsory military service brings in hundreds of thousands of misfits.

From the moment of its creation this military body has been under the influence of an undisguised national spirit. The political parties dedicated to the maintenance of the republic, the Social Democrats, the Catholic Centre and the Democrats, have always looked with suspicion upon the national guard which is supposed to be a strictly neutral body. They reasoned that in the midst of the political struggles taking place in Germany, the officers and men of the

“Reichswehr” must be the neutral support of the government. This lack of confidence was furthered when the “Reichswehr” General von Lüttwitz and other officers from the old military organization took a leading part in the unsuccessful Kapp-putsch. It soon became evident that the “Reichswehr” sympathized with the various political-military bodies organized after the war, particularly with the “Stahlhelm” (Steel-helmets) and the “Deutsche Offiziersbund” (German Officers’ Alliance). Supporters of the republic even professed to see in the “Reichswehr” a body favorable to the restoration of the Hohenzollern.

If Hitler is to obtain control of the government by force it is necessary that he obtain the moral and actual support of the “Reichswehr”. His sad experience during the 1923 beer-hall putsch in Munich has been a bitter lesson. Although thousands of cadets in training had then flocked to his banners, the desertion of the Reichswehr Divisionskommandeur General von Lossow made a farce of his contemplated march on Berlin and ended in bloodshed. He is taking no more chances. If a revolution takes place he wants to be sure of his men this time. They must be such zealous followers of his cause that his orders will be followed if necessary. The lessons of the French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848-49 in France and the Germanies testify eloquently to the importance of a national guard to a revolutionary movement.

The attempts of the Reichswehrminister General Groener, head of the army, to stamp out National Socialist propaganda in the ranks and among the officers were at first without success, although every effort was made to discover those who were responsible for the propaganda work. Finally it was discovered that three young officers in the 5th Artillery Regiment at Ulm, Oberleutnant Wendt and Leutenants Scheringer and Ludin, had attempted to get in touch with the party headquarters of the National Socialists in Munich with a view towards spreading Nazi propaganda among the ranks of the "Reichswehr". Although they protested that their efforts were directed purely by personal initiative and without the knowledge of party leaders, the three young officers were arrested in their barracks and ordered to stand trial.

The lower courts found the defendants guilty, but there was no doubt that the case would reach the "Reichsgericht" (Supreme Court) in Leipzig. All Germany soon became divided into two hostile camps. One side insisted passionately that the officers were loyal supporters of the fatherland, interested only in the freedom of the German people, while the other side argued just as vehemently that their actions could only be interpreted as treason to the existing government. Flaming headlines in newspapers in every German city kept interest at a fever heat.

The case reached the highest court just after the

sensational victory of the Hitlerites at the September 1930 elections. The officers were defended by Hans Frank II, chief counsel of the National Socialist party and a man gifted with brilliant oratorical powers. Wendt, Scheringer and Ludin admitted their nationalistic feelings and asserted that any loyal officer would act as they did if he really had the welfare of the nation at heart. A series of witnesses indicated that the accused were guilty of the charges placed against them—that of agitating among the “Reichswehr” for the National Socialists. Frank’s defense was based upon the assumption that it would be a shame to convict three officers of such sterling qualities who desired nothing more than to help the fatherland.

When it was decided to call Hauptmann von Pfeffer, leader of the “Sturmabteilung”, and Hitler to the witness stand, the scene developed into a drama reminiscent of the Dreyfus trials in Paris. The public, composed mostly of National Socialist sympathizers, greeted the young officers and the party leaders with bravo-calls. Von Pfeffer informed the court in a matter-of-fact way that the National Socialist Party and the “Reichswehr” both had one end in view—the defense of the German people. According to his logic there was no reason why they could not work together.

The case reached a dramatic climax when Hitler was called as a witness. Fresh from the political triumph that had brought him into the spotlight, he

stepped jauntily to the stand and attempted to make a joke of his inquisitors. In a loud tone he informed the court that he was not so foolish as to attempt to destroy the value of the "Reichswehr"; on the contrary he expected to transform it into a national army as soon as he came into power. He pointed out that commands had been given to his own semi-military organization, the "S.A." to avoid carrying of weapons, that the military exercises of this body were carried out without guns and that any member guilty of carrying a concealed weapon was immediately expelled from the party. The chief justice of the Supreme Court then asked Hitler if he intended to come into power through a revolution or through legal methods. Flushed by his victory at the polls and confident of the future, Hitler answered that it would not be necessary to obtain the reins of government by force; in a few years 35,000,000 out of 40,000,000 German voters will have flocked to his party. With this absolute majority he expected to rule Germany. One cannot label this treason. He was then asked if he could explain a statement he had once made in a speech that "one day the heads of the 'November-traitors' will roll". The witness answered that this prophecy will undoubtedly be realized; after the victory of his party heads are certainly going to roll, but only after the legal death verdicts of a new Supreme Court.

The three officers were sentenced to imprisonment

for a year and a half. It would have been impossible for a self-respecting state to acquit the accused. "Deutschland über alles!" and Nazi songs and shouts rang in the ears of the young officers as they were led away.

The trial marked an important milestone in the Hitler movement. The leader declared under oath that he intended to obtain power legally. The original intention of his party—the march on Berlin and the violent overthrow of the government in imitation of Mussolini's march on Rome—has been laid aside gently now that he realizes that apparently the same end can be obtained through the ballot. The astonishing success of his party at the polls, the indisputable fact that his movement will soon be the strongest political party in Germany have convinced Hitler that it might perhaps be better to bide his time. The setting of the "Reichswehr" trial provided an admirable background for informing the world that he will attempt no more beer-hall fiascos.

CHAPTER II

"WE DEMAND..."

THE program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, composed by Adolf Hitler and Gottfried Feder, was first read at a mass-meeting in the "Hofbräuhaus-Festsaal" in Munich on February 25, 1920, for the benefit of party followers. On the preceding day, February 24th, it had been adopted unanimously by party leaders. Following is a translation of the program with an introduction signifying its unalterable character:

"The program of the German Workers Party is dedicated to the present. The party leaders refuse to establish new aims with the sole purpose of allowing the development of the party through artificially aroused discontent of the masses after the aims of this program have been achieved.

"1. We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany according to the right of self-determination.

"2. We demand for the German people equality with all other nations, abolition of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

“3. We demand land and ground (colonies) for the sustenance of our people and settlements for our overpopulation.

“4. A citizen (Staatsbürger) can be only one suited to the state (Volksgenosse). The latter can be only one who has German blood, without regard to confession. No Jew therefore can be a person suited to the state.

“5. Anyone not a citizen can live in Germany only as a guest and must remain under legislation for foreigners.

“6. Only the citizen has the right to determine the guidance and legislation of the state. Therefore we demand that every public office, no matter what kind, whether in the Reich, state or county, be filled only by citizens.

“We oppose the corrupt parliamentary system of filling office according to party points of view without regard to character and ability.

“7. We demand that the state be obliged first of all to give the citizen a chance to earn his livelihood. If it is not possible to sustain the entire population of the country, citizens of foreign nations (Nicht-Staatsbürger) are to be deported.

“8. Further immigration of non-Germans is to be prohibited. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since August 2, 1914, be forced to leave the Reich immediately.

"9. Every citizens must be accorded equal rights and duties.

"10. The first duty of a citizen is to work with hands or head. The activity of the individual must not offend the interests of the whole but must on the contrary benefit all.

"11. Therefore we demand the abolition of incomes received without work, the **BREAKING OF INTEREST-SERVITUDE** (Zinsknechtschaft).

"12. In consequence of the huge sacrifice of property and blood, which every war demands of a people, all wealth achieved through the war must be regarded as criminal. We demand therefore complete confiscation of all war profits.

"13. We demand government ownership (Verstaatlichung) of all trusts (Vergesellschafteten Betriebe).

"14. We demand profit-sharing (Gewinnbeteiligung) in all large industrial enterprises.

"15. We demand a comprehensive development of the old-age pension system.

"16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle-class, immediate placing on a coöperative basis (Kommunalisierung) of the large department stores and their lease to small tradesmen at inexpensive rents, maximum consideration for the smaller tradesmen in the purchase of supplies by the government, states and counties.

"17. We demand a ground-reform (Bodenreform)

suiting to our national needs, the passing of legislation allowing the expropriation of land without compensation to be used for the common welfare of the people. Abolition of land-interest (Bodenzinsen) and prevention of speculation in land (Bodenspekulation).

“18. We demand a battle to the end against those who injure the interests of the community through their activities. Common thieves, usurers, profiteers are to be punished by death, without regard to confession or race.

“19. We demand the substitution of a German common law for the materialistic Roman law dedicated to world-rule (Weltordnung).

“20. In order to make possible for every capable and diligent German the achieving of higher education and the chance of becoming a successful leader, the government is pledged to improve thoroughly our entire system of public education. The teaching methods of every educational institution must take into account the demands of practice as well as theory. The comprehension of citizenship must be taught in the lower grades. We demand the education of particularly promising children of poor parents through scholarships given by the state without regard to class or vocation of the parents.

“21. The state is responsible for improvement in health conditions among the people, especially through protection of mother and child, through prevention of

child-labor, through compulsory physical education, and through greatest support of all organizations devoted to health improvement among the youth.

"22. We demand the abolition of the mercenary troops (Söldnertruppe) and the formation of a national army (Volksheer).

"23. We demand a legislative battle against conscious political falsehoods and their diffusion through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand that

"a) All editors and co-workers of newspapers appearing in the German language must be persons suited to the state (Volksgenosse);

"b) Non-German newspapers must have the permission of the government in order to appear. They must not be published in the German language;

"c) Legislation must prohibit the financial participation of non-Germans in German newspapers; if this be disregarded the guilty newspaper will be banned and the non-Germans immediately deported.

"Newspapers that disturb the tranquillity of the community are to be forbidden. We demand a legislative battle against all artistic and literary tendencies which have a destructive influence upon the national life, and the closing of all institutions encouraging such tendencies.

"24. We demand freedom for all religious con-

fessions in the state, in so far as these confessions do not offend the morality of the German race.

“The party as such represents the point of view of a positive Christianity, without binding itself to any particular confession. It opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit in and around us and is convinced that the lasting convalescence (*Genesung*) of our people can only follow on the principle: common welfare before self-interest (*Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz*).

“25. In order to accomplish these we demand: the creation of a strong central power in the Reich. Positive authority of the political central parliament over the whole Reich and its general organization.

“The formation of special class and professional legislative bodies (*Stände-und Berufskammern*) in the individual federal states to carry out the laws decreed by the Reich.

“The leaders of the party promise to stand up for the above points, if need be at the risk of their lives.”

According to Gottfried Feder the aim of the National Socialist German Workers Party is the regeneration of Germany to a “German freedom” in a “German spirit”. A number of principles underlie this extensive program. The first—a political principle—is that the German Reich is the home of the Germans. A national state comprising all of German stock is to be founded and this state is to be represented “vigorously” in foreign countries. All Jews

and non-Germans are to be denied the right of holding responsible public offices, the immigration of Jews from the east is to be prohibited and Jews and other foreigners who become burdensome are to be deported. Only the German who understands the German "Kultur" and the German destiny has the right to citizenship. Non-Germans can only live in the German Reich as guests and must remain under laws passed especially for foreigners. The rights of a German are always to be placed before those accorded foreigners.

The second principle is based upon the political economic theory that a high yield for capital loaned should be abolished as unsound. Nevertheless, it is made clear that National Socialism recognizes the right of holding private property, which is placed under the protection of the state. The welfare of the people demands that no one person in the state be allowed to amass a huge fortune. The German people together comprise a production community pledged to aid the general welfare and civilization of Germany. Every German will have an opportunity to work and to spend his earnings as he wishes. In industrial life, the small, middle-sized and large undertakings must be mixed "healthily", especially in agricultural enterprises. All trusts are to be placed under national supervision. Death sentences will be meted out for usury and profiteering. Every German will be pledged to

work for a certain number of years, the age limits to be ascertained later.

The third principle turns to the field of finance. Money is a servant of the state, and the state will not allow those controlling large sums of money to found a "state within the state". The "interest-servitude" will be broken through: freeing the state and the people from slavery under the powers controlling huge sums for loan at high interest; government ownership of the Reichsbank; monetary appropriations for all great public works (utilization of water power, construction of roads, etc.) without resorting to loans, the state issuing without interest "coupons" backed by national funds; introduction of a standard of value fully covered by the state; foundation of a special building and industrial bank empowered to give loans without asking interest; and a complete reform of the tax system, by which the consumer will be freed from indirect taxes.

The next principle is concerned with sociological conditions. The first law in the new Reich is to be "das allgemeine Wohl" (the general welfare). An old-age pension system is to be created by which every German can be assured of a pension as soon as he is unable to work. All working men are to take part in creative work in positions based upon age and ability. All profits made during the war and the German revolution are to be confiscated and used for

the general welfare. Community settlements are to be built to take care of the serious housing shortage.

The fifth principle, the cultural aim, promises the "blooming" of all sciences and arts in a politically free, and industrially healthy state. This will be achieved through the education of the young into physically healthy and spiritually free people by the application of the great inheritances of German culture. There will be complete religious freedom, but especial protection will be given Christians. Religious doctrines which run against German morality and the German national feeling are to be suppressed. All pernicious influences in literature, the press, stage, art and moving pictures are to be suppressed. Complete freedom for all university teachers is promised.

Militarism is the subject of the sixth principle. The right of military service will be allowed every free German, so that the country will be able to protect itself. The present military force will be abolished and a national army under the leadership of professional soldiers will be created.

Miscellaneous improvements include: 1. Press reform—suppression of all newspapers which do not do justice to the German people (i.e., under Jewish leadership); punishment for the spread of false news; 2. ballot reform—change in the methods of election; abolition of immunity for representatives of the people; 3. creation of a professional parliament; 4. re-

form of real estate laws and civil law (recognition of land ownership; no land to be sold to Jews or foreigners if the state wishes to buy it first; confiscation of land if it is being used for profiteering); 5. public law reforms—the new state will be ruled by a leader (whether a monarch, president or dictator will be decided by the people themselves); states' rights will not be violated in the new Reich; representation of the Reich in foreign countries, consular and tariff affairs, army and navy are matters under the control of the state.

Three great enemies stand in the way of the accomplishment of this program, according to the Nazi view—Marxism, Parliamentarism and—most important—Capitalism. The teaching of “the Jew, Karl Marx” with his battle of the classes, his denial of the right of private property and his economic, materialistic view of history, is to be fought with tooth and nail. Bolshevism, especially, is to be kept out of Germany. The anti-parliamentary battle is directed against immune representatives of the people, who are never responsible for the results of their decisions. The parliamentary system as it exists to-day, insists the Nazi, is corrupt and unfit to help run the government. The third enemy—the world-wide power of money—is chiefly in the hands of the Jews. The Jew as usurer must be stamped out. “National Socialism sees—just as anti-Semitism sees—that the most im-

portant root of the plague lies in the Jewish-materialistic spirit."

As soon as the three enemies are defeated, the National Socialist party has fulfilled its aim. According to Feder, the movement is not in the strict sense of the word a party. "It is an organized, confident portion of the German people, gathered about the spiritually strong leader, Hitler, in order to rescue Germany from the shame and weakness imposed on her by the victor nations and from the lacerations and demoralization caused by domestic differences."

The Nazis believe in nationalism as the first creed, because in it they see the only possibility of a future strong fatherland. In socialism they see the only possibility to maintain and further the workingman's stand. The laborer—"the mightiest force in the fatherland"—will show the way to political freedom and to the re-birth of the German state. Every man must work. Without work no bread. Without bread no life. The great enemy—the Jew—has caused all the misery of German slavery. He has "divided Germany into two halves and therefore is the real cause of the loss of the World War."

"Every party has a program," says Goebbels. "But no party has yet carried out its program. It never will be able to carry out its program in the future, because all cannot be carried out. Our program says, short and clear, **FREEDOM FOR THE GERMAN WORKERS.**

The road is clear and simple: PUT THE WORKERS BACK INTO THE PICTURE. We shall use every means to obtain our end. WE ARE NOT AFRAID OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION, WHEN THE FREEDOM OF THE NATION IS AT STAKE. WE ARE NOT AFRAID TO BREAK AWAY THE CHAINS BINDING THE GERMAN NATION. We promise the German working-man only this: we are going to fight with him to the last breath for his rights of existence, no matter how bitter this fight is going to be. We offer him the highest that can be offered to a repressed nation: THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND BREAD!"

So much for the program and the Nazi view of it. The reader sees at once an unusual conglomeration of doctrines—idealistic, patriotic, fanatical—calculated to appeal to the wide masses upon which Hitler hopes to be shoved to the head of the state. He sees that any man—intelligent or otherwise—can find something in the magnificent hodge-podge to satisfy his own curiosity. The patriot is offered a new and powerful Germany bristling with militarism, as in the good old days. The laborer is enticed away from Communism with interesting socialistic bait. Those in the middle-class dissatisfied with the weight of their pocketbooks are offered a brand new system of finances (by which the rest of the world is coldly disregarded) and the opportunity of a new existence. Anti-Semites are delighted with the picture of the Jew

—the classic goat of the centuries—held up to ridicule. "Anti-Semitism is in a certain sense the foundation-stone of our movement." Amazed Germans—still wondering how it came about that Germany lost the war—suddenly are given a new solution: the Jews did it!

The most astonishing thing about this program is the fact that Hitler and his cohorts are thoroughly convinced that most of it will be carried out eventually. With a grand disregard for the opinions of other nations, the Treaty of Versailles will simply be announced as inapplicable to Germany! The Germans in Germany, Austria and Poland will be united without having to ask the permission of any other people. A new standard of currency, backed by the German national wealth only and without regard to economic forces behind international relations, will testify to Germany's complete independence from the rest of the world! Hitler with remarkable naïveté believes that France will stand idly and watch him tear up the peace treaties by creating a new German military machine. The lessons of history will be forgotten long enough to obliterate the "national pest"—the Jews—from the fatherland. The two million Jews in Germany will no longer inspire fear in the hearts of sixty million Germans (!). The Jewish rats will be exterminated. (Thousands of Jewish volunteers died in the German trenches during the war.)

In the schools the coming Hitler youth will be "educated in character" and will never have to endure the ignominy of a failure. The new Third Reich will be a paradise for the full-blooded (!) Aryan working-man and his offspring.

Hitler's entire program breathes defiance of France—the traditional enemy of Germany for a thousand years. Germans have nothing in common with this "negro nation", this arch-enemy. Yet when a French journalist visits the would-be dictator, the party program is conveniently forgotten and flattering phrases fall from Hitler's smiling lips. "I believe that I may assure you, there is no one in Germany who would welcome more than I every honorable attempt to better Franco-German relations." The same man who is going to tear up the Treaty of Versailles!

CHAPTER 12

TRIPLE ALLIANCE MADE TO ORDER

THE foreign policy of the Hitlerites is expressed in the first three points of the party program.

Point number 1: "We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany according to the right of self-determination" is based upon the principle that a people having the same blood, the same language and the same cultural traditions must band together in the same state. A classic example of the futility of any other sort of state, according to the Nazi viewpoint, is the Austria-Hungary of 1914 with its impossible conglomeration of nationalities. The new Germany must include only the Germans in Germany, Austria, and sections of Poland where Germans are in a majority.

For this principle the Hitler-movement is prepared to battle to the end. The great differences of history—Christianity and Paganism, Catholicism and Protestantism, Monarchy and Republicanism—have been replaced by the split between Nationalism and Internationalism. This is the basis of the National So-

cialist program. After the war Germany was robbed of its right of self-determination by a dictated peace. In spite of this "unscrupulous treatment", Germany and Austria must unite politically and defy the victor nations. "And if a war with neighboring nations should come about, then both (Germany and Austria) will at least know that they are fighting for their national necessities (völkische Notwendigkeiten) and not in the interest of an international idea, be it either democratic or communistic-international."

One notices in this first demand a sublime ignoring of the rest of the world. The League of Nations is looked upon as a nonentity with its "pacifism destroying all vestiges of national feeling" (völkischerstörender Pazifismus). The mere announcement of a customs-union between Germany and Austria aroused a storm of opposition in France and was the occasion of a bitter dispute before the League. Whether France will stand idly by and watch a political unification of Germany and Austria is not even a matter of conjecture. Hitler's grandiose imagination and hallucination of Siegfried greatness allows him to stand and shout defiance at the rest of the world. He insists that in order to attain a position as a political factor in the world again, Germany must first obtain the territories lost as a result of the war. How he wishes to realize this dream will be explained in a later section.

Point number 2: "We demand for the German peo-

ple equality with all other nations, abolition of the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain." There is not much to say here. The fulfillment of this point, as well as points 1 and 3—the entire foreign policy of the Hitlerites—depends on whether Germany can rise to a position of political power where it will be able to disregard the dictated "advice" of the victor nations. The ardent Nazi does not believe that the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain will be revised (revidiert); they simply will be announced nonexistent (gekündigt). Point number 3 is based on the same principle: "We demand land and ground (colonies) for the sustenance of our people and settlements for our overpopulation." The wrong done Germany in the "theft" of her colonies will be righted by an imperialistic policy contemplated to add glory to the coming Third Reich. According to Hitler the present government has adopted the wrong attitude in attempting to promote international understanding and foreign aid for Germany in her pressing condition. Understanding with foreign nations always will be crippled by lack of agreement with France, he claims. Moreover, a thousand years of German-French relations have shown definitely that understanding between the traditional enemies is altogether an idealistic conception. The Bruening régime is struggling against terrific, insurmountable odds, according to Hitler's reasoning. Away with idealistic fancies, with naïve

dreams of understanding; inform France that the peace treaties imposed upon a deceived foe exist no more—and then see what she will do.

Hitler's conception of inherited enmity between France and Germany is not altogether an original one. There have been German historians who claim that the general trend has been towards understanding between the two nations, notably Johannes Haller, who in his "Tausend Jahre deutschfranzösische Beziehungen" even insists quite unreasonably that Bismarck's aim in the 80's was the establishment of lasting friendly relations with France; but considered as a whole the German intellectual world has been and is sceptical of ever reaching that sublime state. Hitler's attitude is a positive one—the only way to deal with the French is to show one's teeth. Anything else will not be understood. Enmity between the two people is just as natural as the traditional enmity between cats and dogs. As long as Germany adopts a meek compromising attitude, she will come out second best in her political and economic relations with France.

According to the Hitler viewpoint, Germany is being encircled again by her greedy neighbor. Armed to the teeth and supported by her satellites, Czechoslovakia and Poland, both armed all out of proportion to their populations, France is again squeezing the life out of Germany. When you squeeze a man's throat, his tongue comes out. Therefore, Hitler reasons, put a

sudden end to the conferences, flying visits of ministers and foolish talks about understanding and assert the political equality of Germany.

To support his contention Hitler has made good use of the precarious international situation and has created a new Triple Alliance, by which he hopes to maintain the balance of power in Europe and to destroy the eternal nagging of a powerful, but still unsatisfied France. Italy and England are to be the two other corners to this triangle of powers calculated to check the power of France, a country "whose blood is gradually being ruined by the negro element, a lurking danger for the white races of Europe."

Since the formation of the Nazi party, Hitler has tried again and again to get into close touch with his model, Mussolini. The first efforts were considered coldly, but the ever-mounting differences between Italy and France and the feeling that Germany and Italy face a mutual enemy have eased the negotiations considerably. But Hitler has had to make a real political sacrifice in order to obtain the desired Italian friendship. Here again the program is thrown overboard. Hitler wants the foundation of a closed German state, including ALL of German stock. At first he claimed that he would not renounce one German in South Germany, in South Tyrol, in Poland and in the "League of Nations colony", Austria. Mussolini has made it clear that he does not intend to give up South

Tyrol, given to Italy after the World War. Whereupon Hitler has given up his claims to South Tyrol, a "Verzicht" that has aroused complete consternation in the ranks of the Nazis who happen to live in South Tyrol. Germans are asked to forget that they are Germans in this particular portion of Central Europe; they must sacrifice their nationality for "understanding" with Mussolini. Hitler, as a disciple of Machiavelli, believes that the end justifies the means. Germans should be concerned more with obtaining territory lost to Poland, Belgium, Denmark and Lithuania, because the latter countries obtained portions of German territory, whereas South Tyrol was formerly *Austrian* and not *German* land. That is a question for the Austrians to settle, not for Germans. It would be a dangerous mistake, Hitler answered his critics, if a small matter of 250,000 Germans in South Tyrol were allowed to disrupt a natural friendship between Germany and Italy, both of whom number France as their most formidable enemy. Give up South Tyrol now and later a greater portion of German soil will be obtained from the most important of all enemies, France. The first question to settle is the abolition of the Polish Corridor. Unless this be done, Hitler warns, East Prussia, separated from the heart of Germany, in all probability will be lost to Poland.

The South Tyrolese claim that Hitler is a traitor to the fatherland if he leaves them at the mercy of the

Italians. The German minority, now estimated at 250,000, has been complaining loudly of tyrannical methods adopted by the Italians. It is claimed that the minority laws have been coldly disregarded and that Germans are being oppressed everywhere. Tyrolese Germans point out that Polish minorities in Germany, Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia and others have never endured hardships forced upon them by the Italians.

Hitler claims that the sacrifice of the German minority in South Tyrol is a political necessity. Other Nazi leaders label it a stroke of genius and draw a number of historical parallels—was not Bismarck forced to exclude the German-speaking Austrians in his struggle for German unity? And did not Cavour sacrifice Nice and Savoy to France in order to complete Italian unity?

Meanwhile German schools are being closed in South Tyrol, German business men are forced out by unfair competition, the German press muzzled and German citizens exiled. All a price for Mussolini's friendship and for the second leg of Hitler's new Triple Alliance.

Hitler has adopted England as his other ally. Germany's ignominious defeat and her continued weakness brought about by the uncompromising attitude of France have left England in a worse position than before the war. Hitler reasons that pre-war Germany

as an industrial and colonial power was not as much a threat to England as the France of to-day, armed to the teeth, pursuing a vigorous colonial policy and controlling Europe in financial affairs. The British Empire is gradually falling apart, the dominions are clamoring for independence, India is causing no end of trouble and financial supremacy has shifted from London to New York and Paris. England, getting weaker day by day, must have allies. Hitler offers himself, as a great foe of France and of Bolshevism. Just how he can arrange a formal secret treaty of alliance with England is not clear, since such an agreement must be acted upon by Parliament before it can be ratified. In other words, secrecy would be impossible.

Hitler has made valiant efforts to obtain English friendship. Immediately after the favorable elections in September 1930 Lord Rothermere, the English newspaper king, visited Munich, where he received a royal welcome from Hitler. The great visitor was lauded to the skies as the type of man necessary for English-Nazi friendship. There was joy unabated in the "Brown House." And then came the crushing joke of the year. Lord Rothermere was a Jew! General Ludendorff, arch-enemy of Jews, Catholics and Masons, discovered the damning fact and broadcast it to an unbelieving world of pure-blooded Aryans. And here is the unfortunate element in Hitler's rosy

picture of a new Triple Alliance. There are still thousands of financially powerful Jews in both England and Italy who do not especially care to see friendship of their countries with so pronounced an anti-Semite.

Hitler is not so much concerned with the foreign policy of his party as with domestic problems. The bulk of work in arranging for this new alignment of European powers falls on the shoulders of Rosenberg. He has found time to include a new plan of conquest in the Nazi program—the winning of Ukrania, his native soil, now in the possession of Russia. Soviet Russia will be told by powerful Fascist Germany that she (Germany) is overpopulated and intends to transfer her excess population to Ukrania. The course of history will be changed completely and dramatically in order to allow German blood to invade the east, a sort of invasion comparable to the “Völkerwanderung” at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Rosenberg believes that a bit of intimidation will bring Russia to her knees, that the great Slavic nation will shrink before the Nazi sword.

CHAPTER 13

SMOTHERING THE JEW

ENTERING a Nazi book-shop in one of the larger German cities, I enter into conversation with the owner. One of his hands is covered with bandages, the result of a free-for-all between a group of Nazis and Reds. I soon discover that this man of forty has the intelligence of a fourteen-year old. He speaks with bitterness about the war, talks endlessly about the cowardice of the French and of his own bravery during the invasion of the Ruhr, and assures me that he and the rest of his friends will not forget "the dirty trick your President, Wilson, played us." When he talks about the Communists he becomes more and more excited, finally rushing behind the counter and returning with a huge revolver, which he waves frantically. "They won't bother me, the dogs, not as long as I can handle this!"

Obtaining his confidence, I ask him: "What is the backbone, the underlying principle, of the National Socialist Party?" Without answering he goes off and returns a minute later with two little pamphlets, "Die

verfluchten Hakenkreuzler, Etwas Zum Nachdenken” (The Accursed Hitlerite, Something to Think About), by Goebbels and the caricaturist, Mjöltnir, and “Gesammelte Denksprüche Berühmter Männer Über die Juden” (Collected Mottoes of Famous Men Concerning the Jews), by Rolf Berger. The latter pamphlet included some interesting statements, such as the following:

“Trust no fox on the green heath,
Trust no Jew on his very oath.”

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

“The Jew has never stopped monopolizing money; indeed he has even gone so far as to choke a country in a moment of danger by opening or closing his money-bag.”

FRANZ LISZT (“Die Zigeuner
und ihre Musik”, 1861).

“The fatherland of the Jews is composed of the rest of the Jews; no community on earth holds together so strongly as these. Therefore, it is evidently absurd to give them a share in a government or in the administration of a state.”

SCHOPENHAUER.

“Through practically all the countries of Europe there is spread a mighty, hostile state, which is always

at war with other states and which presses terribly hard upon the citizens; it is Judaism.”

FICHTE.

“The (so-called) chosen people have been here for centuries; indeed since their creation they have been a parasitic plant on the stems of other nations.”

HERDER.

“The Jew is the plastic demon of the decline of mankind.”

RICHARD WAGNER.

“The Jews are nothing but an ignorant and barbaric people, who have for a long time united the dirtiest avarice with the most abominable superstitions and with the most inextinguishable hate against all nations, by whom they are tolerated and on whom they enrich themselves.”

VOLTAIRE.

“The aversion of the German people towards the Semites is not based on differences of religion and dogma, but on differences of blood, race, descent, national customs and national disposition.”

JOSEF VIKTOR VON SCHEFFEL.

“The Jews are closely allied, in spite of the fact that they are split up. Through unknown superiors they are led straight towards common objectives. They

refuse all efforts to nationalize them; they are a state within the state and are in Poland a deep and even to-day a permanent scar on this land."

MOLTKE.

"I will give the Jews every right, except that of holding a high office in a Christian state."

BISMARCK.

"One doesn't hear so many complaints about the Protestants or about the Catholics as about the Jews. Why? Because all the trouble this people causes lies not in the individual but is rooted in the constitution of the people. The Jews are like worms and locusts, which lay a land bare."

NAPOLEON.

"Even in the circles of best-educated men, who would ordinarily spurn every thought of religious intolerance with abhorrence, echoes to-day as if from one mouth, 'The Jews are our calamity!'"

PROF. HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE.

"The Jews are the abomination of the race of man (*tædium generis humani*). They hate everything that to us is holy; they are allowed to do things which seem outrageous to us. They are the lowest of all people (*detertima gens*)."

TACITUS.

"We command, that the Jews in the smaller towns, especially in those which lie in the country, and which can be harmed most by the Jews, be sent away."

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

And so on, and so on! That is the verse to the new German hymn of hate, seeping through the masses of a civilized people, being discussed in the cafés and at all Nazi gatherings, being taught to young children before they are able to think for themselves. And the chorus (from "Die verfluchten Hakenkreuzler", Goebbels-Mjöltnir):

"WHY are we enemies of the Jews?

"We are enemies of the Jews because we are warriors for the freedom of the German people. THE JEW IS THE CAUSE AND THE BENEFICIARY OF OUR SLAVERY. He has used the social troubles of our broad masses in order to widen the split between right and left among our people, he has made TWO HALVES OF GERMANY. Here is the real reason for the loss of the World War on one side and for the betrayal of the revolution on the other side. . . .

"The Jew has no interest in the solution of the question of German fate. He CAN'T have it, since he lives because it remains unsolved. . . . He has a better trump in his hand, when a nation lives in slavery than when it is free, busy, self-conscious and self-contained. THE

JEW HAS CAUSED OUR MISERY, AND TO-DAY HE LIVES ON OUR TROUBLES.

“That is the reason why AS NATIONALISTS AND AS SOCIALISTS we are enemies of the Jew. He has RUINED OUR RACE, ROTTED OUR MORALS, CORRUPTED OUR TRADITIONS AND BROKEN OUR POWER. We can thank him for being the goats of the world to-day. As long as we were Germans, he was a leper among us. Since we have forgotten our Germanic character, he has triumphed over us and our future.

“The Jew is the plastic demon of the decline of mankind. (Compare this original statement with that of Wagner given above.) Where he scents rubbish and putrefaction, there he appears and begins a criminal game of chess with the people. He takes on the mask of those whom he wants to deceive, pretends to be the friend of his victim, and before the unfortunate one knows it, he has his neck broken.

“The Jew is uncreative. He does not produce anything, HE DEALS ONLY WITH PRODUCTS. With junk, clothes, pictures, precious stones, grain, stocks and bonds, shares, people and states. And he has STOLEN somewhere everything he uses in his trading. As long as there is a storm raging in a state he is a REVOLUTIONARY, as soon as he is in possession of POWER, he preaches peace and quiet, in order to chew his booty in comfort.

“What has ANTI-SEMITISM to do with SOCIALISM?

I ask it the other way round: what has the Jew to do with SOCIALISM? SOCIALISM is the gospel of WORK. Who ever saw a Jew work and not plunder, steal, sponge (schmarotzen) and live from the sweat of the other man's brow? AS SOCIALISTS we are all JEW-HATERS, because we see in the Hebrew the incarnation of capitalism. . . .

“What has ANTI-SEMITISM to do with NATIONALISM? I ask it the other way around: what has the JEW to do with NATIONALISM? NATIONALISM is the gospel of BLOOD, of RACE. The Jew is the enemy and the destroyer of unity of blood, the conscious destroyer of our race. We are AS NATIONALISTS JEW-HATERS, because in the HEBREW we see the eternal enemy of our national honor and our national freedom.

“The Jew is indeed ALSO A HUMAN BEING. Certainly, and none of us has ever doubted it. We only doubt that he is a DECENT person. He doesn't belong to us. He lives according to other inner and outer laws. Because he is a human being is no reason why we should allow him to oppress us in the most inhuman manner. He is indeed a human being—BUT WHAT KIND? If someone beat your mother in the face with a whip, would you then say: ‘Thank you, sir! HE IS ALSO A HUMAN BEING! That is no human (Mensch), that is a savage (Unmensch)! How much worse has the Jew done to OUR MOTHER GERMANY and how much worse does he still do to-day?

“... ANTI-SEMITISM is unChristian. That is to say then that the Christian means to look on as the Jew cuts our skins into strips. . . . In order to be Christian: YOU MUST LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR AS YOURSELF! MY NEIGHBOR IS MY COMRADE IN BLOOD AND NATIONALITY. IF I LOVE HIM, THEN I MUST HATE HIS ENEMIES. HE WHO THINKS AS A GERMAN, MUST DESPISE THE JEW. One statement depends on the other.

“Even Christ saw once that one doesn't find love sufficient in all situations. When he came across the thieves in the temple, he didn't say: 'Children, love each other!'; instead HE TOOK a whip and drove the pack away.

“WE ARE JEW-HATERS BECAUSE WE ADMIT THAT WE ARE GERMANS. THE JEW IS OUR GREATEST CALAMITY. (Compare with assertion by Prof. Heinrich von Treitschke above.)

“It isn't true that we eat a Jew with every breakfast.

“But it is true that HE IS EATING US UP SLOWLY BUT SURELY, TOGETHER WITH ALL OUR POSSESSIONS.

“THAT IS GOING TO CHANGE, AS SURE AS WE ARE GERMANS.”

This philosophic contribution to the ever-mounting list of anti-Semitic literature in Germany was not written by the inmate of a lunatic asylum; it is from Goebbels' pen and it is deadly earnest. It shows clearly

just how low a man imbued with uncontrollable ambition can go in the search for a cause. Anti-Semitism is nothing new in the history of the world. It has existed for a long time and probably will continue to exist for many centuries to come, but seldom has it reached the high level, or better—the disgustingly low level exhibited by the Hitlerites. The concentrated hate of 6,406,397 registered German voters is placed upon the Jew. Every conceivable misfortune—economic, social or political—has been attributed to the Jew. The first practical results of this campaign of hate came recently in Berlin, when a score of Nazi youths boasting unmixed Aryan blood attacked Jews in a synagogue.

According to Gottfried Feder, the man behind the Nazi program, anti-Semitism is “to a certain extent the underlying principle of the National Socialist movement.” A careful analysis of the program shows that six points of the twenty-five are aimed directly at the Jew:

Point number 4: “A citizen can be only one suited to the state. The latter can be only one who has German blood, without regard to confession. No Jew therefore can be a person suited to the state.” Here the rights and duties of citizenship are denied the Jew. Under a Hitler régime he must live as a non-citizen.

Point number 5: “Anyone not a citizen can live in Germany only as a guest and must remain under legis-

lation for foreigners." In other words, Jews can be deported at the will of the government, since they do not enjoy the privileges of citizenship and are classed as foreigners.

Point number 6: "Only the citizen has the right to determine the guidance of the state. Therefore we demand that every public office, no matter what kind, whether in the Reich, state or county, be filled only by citizens." Thus the Jew is summarily shoved back into the Middle Ages and refused the right to vote and to hold office. The rights granted him by the German Constitution are to be changed—in some manner.

Point number 7: "We demand that the state be obliged first of all to give the citizen a chance to earn his livelihood. If it is not possible to sustain the entire population of the country, citizens of foreign nations (Nicht-Staatsbürger) are to be deported." No *German* must be unemployed in the Hitler-Reich. In order to elevate the jobless into economic paradise, all Jews having jobs or earning a livelihood must make way when Germans blessed with pure Aryan blood live on the dole. Jewish business men, doctors, lawyers, professors, all may be deported if there be any unemployment whatsoever. Where this army of Jews will be sent is not made clear.

Point number 8: "Further immigration of non-Germans is to be prohibited. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since

August 2, 1914, be forced to leave the Reich immediately."

Point number 23: "We demand a legislative battle against conscious political falsehoods and their diffusion through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand that

"(a) All editors and co-workers of newspapers appearing in the German language must be persons suited to the state (Volksgenosse);

"(b) Non-German newspapers must have the permission of the government in order to appear. They must not be published in the German language;

"(c) Legislation must prohibit the financial participation of non-Germans in German newspapers; if this be disregarded the guilty newspaper will be banned and the non-Germans immediately deported."

Thus according to the program the press, regarded as an important factor in the political control of Germany, must be cleansed of all Jewish influence. Every newspaper criticising Hitler's anti-Semitic policy will be muzzled if the least bit of Jewish backing be found.

Point number 24: "We demand freedom for all religious confessions in the state, in so far as these confessions do not offend the morality of the German race." There will be freedom of religion in the Hitler Reich, that is, for all except Jews.

Points 4 to 8 (concerning rights and duties of citi-

zenship), point 23 (concerning the press), and point 24 (concerning religion), are aimed directly at the Jews. In the rest of the program: points 1 to 3, foreign policy; points 11-13, administration of justice; points 14 to 19, industrial program; points 20 to 22, education and administration of youth; and point 25, administration of the state, the problem of anti-Semitism remains as a fundamental principle.

Hitler has gone so far as to claim that the German race is degenerating through two factors, both of which he attributes to the Jews. First, the great spread of syphilis in Germany is due to prostitution, which Hitler asserts is controlled by Jews; second, the Jewish idea of "marrying for money" has corrupted the German marriage system, in that Aryans are imitating the Jews and losing their best stock in the process! ("Mein Kampf", Volume 1, Page 270.) The naïve reasoning here is typical for the most part of the entire program.

If one can muster up enough patience to read the pages and pages of anti-Semitic tirades in Hitler's autobiography, he can obtain a splendid picture of the mental capacity of Germany's Mussolini. In prison after the unsuccessful putsch in Munich, Hitler passed the time by writing a 700-page book about himself, into which he pours all the passion of his hatred for Jews. As a youth he had never heard the word "Jew". There were but few Jews in Linz and his father

avoided any mention of the "chosen people". Coming to Vienna, he was asked by friends to read the anti-Semitic newspapers, but he refused, describing such publications as "unworthy of the cultural mission of a great people". At first he even admired their seeming objectivity and fairness, but he was soon alienated by the fact that they dared to attack William II of Germany, whom he always loved more than the Austrian Emperor, and that they sometimes showed friendship for France. That was too much for him. He started to read the "Deutsches Volksblatt", an anti-Semitic publication. Then came the great moment of decision. He saw a black-haired Jew on the street, gazed at him intently and asked himself: "Could this be a German?" There followed a soul-tearing battle between "feeling and reason". He made up his mind after suddenly seeing that the Jew was a "spiritual pestilence in art, literature and the theatre". "The fact," he writes, "that $\frac{9}{10}$ of all dirty literature, of artistic buncombe and theatrical foolishness is traceable to this people, who number scarcely $\frac{1}{100}$ % of all the inhabitants in the country, cannot be denied very easily." Now he looked upon the Jewish press with different eyes. The liberal attitude, the dignity, the impartiality, everything was but a cloak for ulterior motives. He began to see that Jews were being favored behind subtle statements. The Social-Democratic press was being led altogether by Jews (lauter

Juden). At first he tried to reform the Jews he happened to know personally, but it was an impossible task. "I gradually began to hate them. I became a fanatical anti-Semite." He studied Marx to find out something about this doctrine of Socialism which the Jews were preaching, but he was altogether unimpressed. He saw that "if the Jew wins over the world with the help of the Marxian doctrines, then his crown will be the wreath of death for mankind. . . . So I believe in the spirit of the almighty Creator. I shall defend myself against the Jew, I shall fight for the work of the Lord!"

At various points in his autobiography Hitler lashes himself into a frenzy, his sensitive heart bleeding with shame when he thinks of how the Jews have caused every conceivable bit of trouble in his beloved country. Charming descriptive words fall easily from his pen—"rats", "dirty", "naked egoism", "falsity", "parasites", "liars", "blood-suckers", "tyrants", all the approved phrases of political demagogues for centuries. The Jew has no culture of his own, what he does possess is merely composed of scraps from the culture of other, purer, races. To the "two queens of art—architecture and music", the Jews have never had an outstanding contributor. What has been done by Jews has been nothing more than "spiritual theft". Only on the stage, where tricks and deceit are necessary, have the Jews done any worthwhile work. Jewish

philanthropists scattering their money are compared to farmers distributing fertilizer, since both expect to reap fortunes later! Then he goes on at length describing how the Jew creeps into community life like an octopus, grasping everything in his tentacles and squeezing the life out of all rivals. The final result of this eternal squeezing will be Bolshevism. Hitler points to himself as the saviour of the white races in this age-old struggle against the Jew.

It is difficult to believe that a sane man could be responsible for some of the pages of Hitler's book: "The black-haired Jewish youth waits for hours, with satanic joy in his eyes, for the innocent German girl, whom he overpowers and attacks." The Jew has an especial grudge against the "white races". He was responsible for the negro troops brought to the Rhine to contaminate the pure German stock there! The gravest mistake made in 1914 was that the German people failed to recognize the domestic enemy—the Jew! "Thus the Jew is the greatest force working towards the complete destruction of Germany. Wherever we hear of attacks against Germany in any place in the world, there are the Jews lurking in the background, just as in peace and war Jewish finance and the Marxian press carry on a planned campaign of hate against Germany."

THE Hitlerites claim that the anti-Semitic principle of their party goes back to the Christian-Socialistic movement during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This party was founded by Adolf Stoecker (1835-1909) in 1878, Protestant theologian and politician, member of the Prussian Landtag since 1879 and of the German Reichstag from 1881 to 1908, and chaplain to the royal court from 1874 to 1890. During the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, he attracted the attention of Kaiser William I by an eloquent sermon on the battlefield. He was called to Berlin shortly after. A man of positive temperament and fixed ideas, he soon began to mix his theological duties with politics. He felt himself to be a leader of the people and began to fight actively for his liberal ideas. For a while he enjoyed the favor of the Crown Prince William, who before his accession to the throne had been working in company with Waldersee and others to better conditions for the workingman. As Kaiser, William II dropped all connections with Stoecker.

As an "intellectual anti-Semite", Stoecker began to use his powerful position in a bitter battle against the Jew. He founded the Christian-Socialist party in 1878 with the purpose of winning back the Social Democrats to the idea of "nationalism". At first his party was moderately successful. Elected to the Prussian Landtag, he found enough time outside of his

ecclesiastical duties to start a driving propaganda against efforts to make the German press Jewish (*Verjudung der Presse*). When an anti-Semitic petition containing 250,000 signatures was sent to Bismarck, on April 13, 1881, Stoecker's name occupied a prominent place. In the Prussian Landtag he delivered strongly anti-Semitic speeches. He played a prominent part at the first International anti-Semitic Congress from September 10-12, 1882.

Stoecker's Christian-Socialist party gradually declined in influence and the leader lost his court position. Seemingly incessant squabbles, first with Bismarck and then with Kaiser William II after 1888, made his connections at court unbearable. But his ideas remained. The sort of anti-Semitism advocated by Stoecker and his party differs from that now practiced by the Hitlerites, in that the former were interested in obtaining the support more of the middle classes and the aristocracy than of the worker, whereas the Hitlerites are anxious to stir up discontent among the masses by a comprehensive propaganda stopping at nothing.

The anti-Semitic petition of 1881 was left unanswered by Bismarck. The Chancellor had only contempt for the efforts of a court chaplain to be a political power, a fact emphasized by slighting references to Stoecker in Bismarck's memoirs, "*Gedanken und Erinnerungen*". Moreover, Bismarck was never an

enemy of the Jews, although Hitlerites are fond of pointing to him as an example of a great anti-Semite. He numbered among his friends and acquaintances the brilliant Lasalle, the physician Dr. Cohen, the banker Bleichröder, the political leader Simson and the great English Jew Disraeli. As a Junker he did possess a certain amount of reactionary prejudice against the Jew, but later in life the great statesman dropped any outward trace of anti-Semitism. Although he once spoke against admitting Jews to positions in the state service, twenty years after—as Chancellor—he carried through a law for the emancipation of the Jews. He advocated inter-marriage, believing that the mingling of Jewish blood with German stock produces a better race, and often referred to the intelligence and ability of the Jews as a people. According to the Hitlerite standpoint such views are “treasonable”.

ADOLF STOECKER was the foremost anti-Semite of his time. He always insisted that it was altogether impossible for the Jew to understand the high Christian “Weltanschauung” or the deep spirit of Germanic ideas. In his opinion Judaism was a great danger for German national life. “Modern Judaism,” he said, “is a foreign drop of blood in our national body; it is a destructive power. . . . We must nurse again the pecu-

liarities of our national genius—German spirit, industriousness and piety, our heritages.” As long as Judaism played “an important rôle in Germany,” it would be impossible to have a Christian, national state. The Germans would be fools to let the Jews cripple their national life.

Stoecker believed that Israel had *de facto* retained a national character all its own. He insisted that no people on earth retained its racial peculiarities so tenaciously as the Jews and he spoke again and again about the “foreign” race, religion and nationality of the Jews. “The Jews are a nation within the nation,” he said, “a state within the state, a race in the midst of another race. All immigrants are finally assimilated in the nation where they live, but not the Jews. Their unbroken Semitism and their rigid ritual system and enmity to Christians stand in direct contrast to the Germanic spirit.” And again: “The Jews are to-day a nation for themselves, and we ought not to look upon this people as other than foreigners simply because they speak German among us. They speak Hebrew, too, and they have another method of tabulating time; they cannot show more clearly that they want to retain their national consciousness.”

Stoecker was opposed to the emancipation of the Jews, which would be an error from the national viewpoint. He conceded that individual Jews achieved excellent results in various fields, but a flood of the

spirit of Judaism in the sciences would not aid the national development of Germany. That Jews provided work for laborers was an insult to German national pride. He often quoted Professor Treitschke, "that man moved by the national spirit and above any suspicion of religious fanaticism", who had once said: "The Jews are our misfortune!" When in February 1888, a statue of Heine, the great German poet, was to be erected, Stoecker worked feverishly against the proposition. "It alienates the healthy patriotism of the people," he said. "It ought to be made of mud . . . Heine—the Jew—was a rascal (Lump)!" He asked his followers not to accept the conception that Lessing was a friend of the Jews. "Lessing's 'Nathan the Wise' is an exaggerated picture and it is going to disappear behind the figure of Shylock." He rebuked Lessing for writing that "Weltbürgertum" (citizenship-of-the-world) was the only true spirit and that nationalism was a weakness. This statement, Stoecker said, exhibited one of the many weaknesses of the great Lessing. "In the century that separates us from him we have progressed a little."

At mass-meetings Stoecker adopted sensational methods in convincing his audiences of the anti-nationalistic spirit of Semitism. A typical example of his method is this extract from an attack on the Jews: "Ladies and Gentlemen: Recently a body was found in the vicinity. It was examined: present were the Jew-

ish town-physician, a Jewish doctor, a Jewish coroner, a Jewish lawyer—only the body was German! . . . We don't want this to be the fate of Berlin and the fate of all great cities; we want to keep our people alive with the real powers of life (Lebenskräfte). You can be assured of it; the people are behind us!"

Stoecker felt that anti-Semitism was not only a national question, but an international one of the highest importance. "But no people," he said, "suffers so much under the burden of Judaism as the Germans. . . . Our national honor, however, is not sensitive enough to fight against this evil." . . . "It is not enough to speak German in order to be a German. One can indeed say—an Evangelical or a Catholic Frenchman, Englishman or German, but not a Jewish Frenchman, Englishman or German, but a French, English or German Jew. . . . The national life of nations is threatened by this international force." He linked Social Democracy, seemingly his pet aversion, with Judaism as typified by the names Karl Marx and Lasalle.

According to Stoecker the Jewish problem could be settled only if the Jews suddenly obtained a complete enthusiasm for the Christian belief. He prevailed upon the Jews to be "more tolerant, more modest and to get in their places". It is a veritable racial war, because "Judaism wants to rule, to attack our best possessions, our Christian religion, our Kultur and our German spirit."

It is easy to see that the anti-Semitism which Stoecker advocated has been inherited quite naturally by the Hitlerites in present-day Germany. Most of the stock-phrases and examples of Stoecker's anti-Semitism, a few of which have just been given, are familiar to German Fascists. Hitler has, very obviously, made a study of his predecessor in the art of Jew-baiting. Besides his anti-Semitic policy, he owes much of his program to the militant churchman. The motto on the front of the "Brown House" in Munich: "Deutschland Erwache!" (Germany Awake!) was first used by Stoecker.

Hitler found much indeed in Stoecker's character which coincided with his own. Stoecker was an excellent orator and a man of strong will-power. Ambitious, impulsive, commanding, he was by nature and by spirit one of those positive personalities of the Prussian élite which made so great an impression upon the masses during the Wilhelm-Bismarck era, a type which Hitler feels to be altogether German and "Nordic". Stoecker, like Hitler, was burdened by a naïve, almost fanatical belief in his mission. His life was a continual battle against opposing forces. He was being heckled constantly at mass-meetings, which would give him opportunities for withering rebuttals; he often denounced his foes in the courtroom and was in turn denounced by them; he was always accusing newspapers of cowardly attacks, and invited investigations

of his own financial affairs time and time again. When he addressed the Reichstag, the members either applauded vigorously or cheered or hissed him down. Revered by a passionate group of followers and just as profoundly hated on all sides, always keyed for battle, he was the type of fighter who would appeal tremendously to the Nazi chieftain, were he living to-day.

Unlike Hitler, Stoecker never tasted real success in his movement. Thrust as a young minister into the circles of Berlin aristocracy, he attempted somewhat unsuccessfully to apply religious emotionalism to politics and to prove that belief in God went hand in hand with a nationalistic spirit and hatred of internationalism. To members of the court he appeared as a hated Socialist and to the workingman as a suspicious highbrow. That was the tragedy of his position. Always concerned with holding his office as court-chaplain, he sometimes found it difficult to go as far as he would have liked in his political work.

At that time Germany was not ready for Stoecker's rabid anti-Semitism. The country was enjoying a period of comparative prosperity after Bismarck's series of sledge-hammer blows delivered at Denmark, Austria and France. There was really no chance to accuse the Jews of causing any trouble in Germany for the simple reason that Germany was at the height of her power, unquestionably the strongest power on

the continent. Nationalism had brought her to a place in the sun. There was no point in persecuting the classic scape-goat of the centuries at a time when the German people seemed happy and prosperous. Moreover, Jews had fought in the front-line trenches during the war of 1870-1; many had lost their lives for the Fatherland. Stoecker's attempts to incite the masses were not successful, since the people did not feel the danger of Judaism to be as great as Stoecker maintained. The same sort of campaign instigated by Hitler at a time when Germany is "biting the dust under the heel of France", when the world-wide depression has left the German nation tottering and attempting to maintain its head above water, this campaign met with a different sort of response. According to the psychologist, Dr. A. A. Brill, the Jews have performed a worthy function in history in that they have provided for centuries the "scape-goat force" upon which mankind can vent its normal supply of sadistic impulses. Post-war Germany bears out the theory. Hitler happened along with his anti-Semitic campaign at precisely the right moment, when the German nation, bled, bruised and trampled by a pitiless war, sought for something upon which it could vent its feelings. This helps to explain Hitler's astonishing success and Stoecker's comparative failure.

As a proponent of the extreme nationalistic doctrine, Hitler insists that it is impossible that a Jew be a German. The Nazi leader preaches the supremacy of the German race. It is pure; it is unmixed! On the other hand eminent scientists have shown that no such thing as a "pure" race exists, at least not among civilized nations. Hitler's attempts to remove the "Jewish stain" from the "pure Aryan German" race is doomed to failure for the simple reason that no such thing as an unmixed race exists. Obviously no man—even Hitler—can arrest the natural development of mankind at a certain point and proclaim that from now on the race is going to remain clear and pure. It is a fact that Jewish blood has constituted a part of the Germanic race for centuries and probably will always do so. The Jew in Germany has adopted the distinguishing marks of German nationality—the language, the cherishing of common historical traditions and the belief that the Germans compose a distinct, cultural society.

In attacking the Jews Hitler claims that they constitute a nationality. In his admirable "Essays on Nationality", Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia has pointed out rightly that the Jews are not a nationality; they are adherents of a religion, which is an altogether different thing. Under the mask of nationalism Hitler is endeavoring to renew the age-old feeling of religious intolerance. Fanatical hatred

against the Jew because of his supposed lack of all decent virtues is expected to raise the tidal wave on which Hitler hopes to ride to power.

It is difficult to believe that so enlightened a people as the Germans could be influenced strongly by this anti-Semitic campaign. But in the last few decades the mass of the German people has been called upon so often to believe the most absurd things that by now there seems to be a real revolution against common sense. In promising to make Germany a new El Dorado, where the happy Fascists will breed a race of fair-haired supermen, Hitler has painted a picture which clear-thinking would tend to destroy. Consequently among the Hitlerites there is no clear-thinking. The mass of bigoted Hitlerites swallow such propaganda as is given them, a fair example of which has been given at the beginning of this chapter. The average Nazi gloats over his bible—Hitler's autobiography; he looks forward with confidence to the day "when things are going to happen to the Jews," when "heads begin to fall" and when the "chosen people" will be chased out of sacred German territory. He suddenly attributes all his misery—economic and political—to the Jew; he even looks back and sees or imagines that he sees all his past miseries caused by the Jew.

Especially receptive to the anti-Semitic propaganda are the younger Nazis, the younger generation born

just before, during and just after the World War. They are taught that it is absurd to expect them to pay for the debts of their elders. The shame and misery of the German defeat are due to the shady influence of the Jew! Hate him, work against him, take up arms against him! All the rowdyism, the breaking of windows of Berlin department stores, the entering of synagogues during worship, all this miniature reign of terror can be attributed to the younger Nazis, their minds inflamed against "the greatest criminal of all"—the Jew. The youths are taught that the cultural mission of the German race has been made difficult because of a lack of national feeling. This national feeling will be developed in an extreme form by the Hitlerites. "Fate has placed the German people", teaches Dr. Johannes Stark, "in opposition to other peoples; to the French nation, which wants to enlarge its territory, and wants the hegemony of Europe; to the English nation, which wanted and wants to control the sea and world-trade; to the Slavic nations, which possess an irrepressible urge towards expansion; and to the Jewish nation, which wants to plunder and control the working classes. . . . Fate has placed the German people under the influence of foreign nations, between the Mediterranean spirit of the Roman Empire and the oriental spirit of the Jewish nation."

This constant hammering on anti-Semitic ideas through mass-meetings and the press has begun to

show alarming results. The average American, living in a country where anti-Semitism is not so strongly rooted, does not realize the progress made in a few short years by this campaign of hate. The German Jew, a little bewildered by the ever-mounting list of sins of which he is accused, does not know how to protect himself. Usually little concerned with politics, he finds every political sin attributed to him. A spirit of panic is developing among the Jews in the Reich.

CHAPTER 14

THE HITLER REICH

It is obvious that Hitler intends to become dictator in his new Reich, following in the footsteps of a Sulla, a Napoleon, a Primo de Rivera or a Mussolini. He points out that he, as leader of the extreme right in Germany, is in the approved position occupied by all great dictators of history. Germany can be saved only by the leadership he can give it; he is the man picked by fate to control the destinies of the new Germany. The entire organization of the Nazi party is based upon this principle. Blind obedience of the old Prussian kind is the keynote of the organization. What Hitler orders must be carried out without question.

Yet it is a strange paradox that a party agreed upon the selection of Hitler as dictator within its ranks and as dictator of a future Reich has without rhyme or reason carefully avoided mention of the future form of government. One searches in vain through the 25 points of the program for any mention of the word "dictator", or for any hint of a dictatorship policy. At the mass-meetings and in the press a

“dictatorship” is spoken of as the only means by which Germany can be saved from the “terrible parliamentary conditions”.

Although left out of the program, the dictator-idea is never otherwise avoided. With grandiose eloquence Hitler hammers it into the heads of a people anxious to try anything to better conditions. “All the development and all the culture of mankind,” says Hitler, “are not born from the majority, instead they are based completely on the genius and power of personality.” And again: “The best form of government and the best constitution are those in which the best heads of a community are brought to play leading roles.” Responsibility in the future Reich is to be placed upon one head (that is, Hitler’s). There are to be no decisions by majority. There will be advisers to be sure, but decisions will be left for one man only.

Hitler is faced with a continual dilemma. Should he attempt to seize power now and risk a possible failure, knowing that one more unsuccessful putsch would close his career, or should he wait and attempt to gain ground legally? A conflicting mass of advice has left him in a quandary. He does not know what to do. He knows that every day passing by leaves his chances less favorable. The German people—especially the German workmen—are of higher intelligence than the Italian or Spanish workmen. These latter masses can be led around by their noses much better

than Germans. Whether Germans will consent to be led around like the Russian or Italian hordes is a matter of conjecture. Hitler knows that if the glories of a dictatorship are to be his that he must act quickly. Hence the feverish activity in the "Brown House," the restless propaganda, the constant criticism of the present government and the unceasing battles with the Communists.

Why Hitler will be shoved into the rôle of dictator is explained by Goebbels: "It is an old lesson of history that when a young party sure of its aim wrecks the rule of a corrupt and inwardly foul system, when it takes into its own hands the power of the state, it gives the responsibility to a DICTATOR, who must conquer the state with new ideas and put them through. That is what we are going to do. When we have once conquered the state, then THIS STATE IS OUR STATE. Then we shall be—and we alone—the responsible men in this state. To-day we are a PARTY in a battle against a rotten system—naturally not a parliamentary party—; the moment this rotten system falls, THEN WE SHALL BE THE STATE. Then we shall construct the state according to our own principles."

And what will be the nature of this new state?

Instead of parliaments in which are representatives of the various parties, the Hitler-government intends to create on the one hand an "industrial parliament" (Wirtschaftsparlament). This parliament will be

elected by all working (schaffenden) Germans on the principle of general equal suffrage. But at these elections the people will not vote under the auspices of parliamentary-democratic parties; instead various professions and workingmen will elect representatives from their own groups. This "professional parliament" will have nothing to do with politics, except in so far as politics concerns industry. The "Wirtschaftsparlament" is a concession to the people. "We don't want to keep the people out of the government altogether," says Goebbels apologetically.

Then comes a new House of Lords, the Senate. This is to be composed of about 200 personalities (Persönlichkeiten), who will be called from all ranks and professions of the people. "Called" is a mild word to use; they will be appointed by the "Dictator". These 200 men selected by Hitler will compose the élite of the entire people. They will always stand by the government with advice. They will be appointed for life; upon the death of any one member, the Senate will vote for a successor.

The Chancellor of the Hitler Reich will be elected by the Senate from among its own members. He will carry the responsibility for the entire political policy of the Reich—both for domestic affairs and foreign policy. "He will be ready to offer his life for the political policies of the Reich if need be." The Chancellor will select his own ministers and co-workers,

whom he can depose or replace at will, and he must carry the responsibility for all their actions. "The Chancellor's decisions will be final, and we shall know how to make certain of his being a regular fellow" (Der Kanzler ist ausschlaggebend, und dass er ein Kerl ist, dafür werden wir schon zu sorgen wissen—Goebbels, *Der Nazi-Sozi*, Page 25.) The election of Hitler—"the regular fellow"—by the Senate is, according to the Nazi viewpoint, a foregone conclusion. Just to whom he will be responsible is not mentioned. Perhaps to the 200 Senators, whom he appoints himself!

But is this new Hitler-Reich to be a monarchy or a republic?

Hitler does not know yet. At least he has not made any efforts to be clear about it. There are too many republicans and too many monarchists in the Nazi ranks to risk alienating one or the other. The first purpose is to obtain as much backing as possible among all classes of the people. In so fundamental a thing it is best to remain on the fence! Goebbels is just as reticent: "We are neither republicans nor monarchists. For: 1) we believe that the question of the future form of government is a side issue. A nation which is going to destruction under the Versailles Treaty has other tasks than breaking heads over the question of monarchy or republic; 2) this question will be settled definitely when the nation is at last free. But we do

say fundamentally: a good republic is better than a bad monarchy, and a good monarchy is better than a bad republic. Both forms of government have their advantages and their disadvantages. To select one or the other is the business of a nation that is free.” (“Der Nazi-Sozi”, Page 13.)

Just as the word “dictator” is purposely avoided in the program supposed to make clear all Hitlerite aims, so is any mention of the future form of government, whether monarchist or republican, discreetly omitted. Gottfried Feder is the one Nazi leader with a definite viewpoint. The selection of a form of government will be left to a later referendum! It is difficult to believe that in a state where everything else is going to be carried out without consulting the people—deporting the Jews, hanging the profiteers, serving notice that the Treaty of Versailles does not exist any longer, etc.,—that the matter of whether the government shall be a monarchy or a republic will be left generously to the people themselves.

Because August William, former member of the imperial German family, is a member of the Nazi party, many observers have taken it for granted that there is a conspiracy between Hitler and the former royal family for a restoration of the fallen dynasty. This is improbable. Hitler is too certain of supreme power for himself to risk playing second rôle in the new Reich, which is to be completely his. Moreover

the idea of a restoration is unpleasant to the mass of German people. Before the war the royal family enjoyed great popularity among the German masses. Although William II had shown a liberal tendency during his days as Crown Prince (a fact that irked the great Bismarck until his death), he seemed to have forgotten the workingman after his accession to the throne. Nevertheless he continued to be popular. The Kaiser loved to draw comparisons between himself and Frederick the Great; he adopted his distinguished predecessor's method of writing satirical marginal notes on the reports of his ministers and he left nothing undone to convince his subjects that he was a worthy successor to the remarkable Fritz.

With grandiose speeches, clanking of swords, constant stressing of Prussian militarism as it was in the old days, William II was indeed able to impress his people with his own importance. He brought back the old Louis XIV idea of "L'état c'est moi!" and his subjects liked it. The period of prosperity following the unification of Germany, climaxed in the victorious war against France in 1870-71, brought a general wave of satisfaction over the Reich. Industry boomed, German scientific work became authoritative all over the earth, the German worker had a full dinner pail. The Kaiser was considered the benefactor who had blessed Germany with good times and his name was mentioned reverently everywhere. His birthday was

always the signal for great rejoicing; schools were closed and the children allowed to parade around in a frenzy of freedom, shouting thanks to the great Kaiser. The births of each of his five sons were hailed with rejoicing. Here was the great Hohenzollern stock that had presented the fatherland with a Frederick the Great and a William the Great (William I, his grandfather, in contrast to William II one of the most admirable characters in history, a dignified, conscientious, lovable sovereign).

Then came the great conflagration. Unquestionably one of the ablest of the Hohenzollern, William II fell down miserably when the supreme test came. Endeavoring to be his own prime minister, and scorning the advice of more experienced diplomatic minds, he adopted a political policy that was criminal—not because it was evil—but because it was stupid. William II has been accused by historians still affected by war hysteria of wanting and deliberately causing the World War. This is untrue. He was almost a fanatical pacifist. But the methods he adopted of keeping his country out of war were about as close to the height of stupidity as a ruler could adopt. His ideas of “Nibelungen-Treue” to Austria, giving the Danube monarchy a blank check to fill out in his promise to back her in any case, his alienation of foreign countries by tactless speeches and his personal timidity at critical moments, all these proved pro-

found shocks to people who had placed so much trust and confidence in him.

William II's five sons all outlived the war *, which was a fortunate thing for the Hohenzollern family, but which irked the thousands and thousands of German mothers who had lost sons. Patriotic Germans pointed out that sons of political leaders among the allies had fought at the Front; MacDonald had lost a son in France. When conditions came to the breaking point, William II, whose grandfather had ventured so near the front at Königgratz in 1866 that Bismarck feared for his safety, took his belongings and hastened somewhat ignominiously across the border-line to Holland. This was the greatest shock of all. A real Hohenzollern would have died at the front of his troops. Astonished Germans pointed out that the old Fritz had once seized a standard from a dying soldier and with this admirable display of courage turned one of his retreating armies back to victory. Yet this Kaiser who had spoken so long and loudly about bravery had fled at the first sign of personal danger.

Retired to a palatial estate at Doorn, the ex-Kaiser chops wood, writes books defending his own actions and praising the blood of his ancestors. For the mass of the German people he is "erledigt". Still rated as the richest German living, while a majority of wealthy Germans lost almost everything in the inflation, and

* The sixth, Joachim, committed suicide.

married again, another fact that alienated sympathy, the ex-Kaiser remains in seclusion, almost forgotten by the men who once drank so lustily to his health.

It is difficult to say whether the ex-Kaiser has any connections with Hitler. Representing as he does the extreme nationalist element in the Reich, it would appear that Hitler might be interested in a restoration of the Hohenzollern. However, that is one of his own secrets. Hitler's unwillingness to speak accurately about the form of government in the new Reich, whether monarchy or republic, is probably nothing more than political strategy. He does not want to lose the sympathy of Hugenberg, leader of the German Nationalists, and especially of Hugenberg's efficient press apparatus. The Nationalist group, with its 2,457,680 registered votes and 41 seats in the Reichstag, is the political party in Germany most closely allied to the Hitlerites, at least the best potential ally; the other 25 parties have little in their programs resembling the Hitlerite or Nationalist demands. Hitler remains on the fence because he does not want to lose the reactionary vote. He knows that if he came out categorically for a republic he would lose thousands of votes among monarchists. There are still plenty of them, members of the old nobility still trying to keep up appearances and grasping at Fascism as a last straw, and middle-class citizens too engrained in

Prussian militarism to get it out of their systems easily.

Yet Hitler must be careful of these monarchists. On November 8, 1923, the night of his unforgettable putsch, the men who deserted him at the critical moment were monarchists. But an opportunist must flirt with anyone, as long as he can enhance his own chances. Monarchy or republic makes no difference now! Obtain the whip-hand and then settle the question!

CHAPTER 15

ECONOMIC PARADISE

THE most astonishing part of Hitler's magic program comprises those points dealing with the economic system in the new Reich. Seldom has any political party gathered so extraordinary a conglomeration of fantastic economic theories in order to draw new members to its standard. Hitler's method is simple: he advocates a most unusual collection of fundamental changes in the financial system of Germany, changes so fundamental that every last citizen has a chance to begin all over again. And what man in Germany would not welcome the opportunity? General profit-sharing is promised here; profits made during the inflation are to be divided there; all interest is to be abolished as well as all mortgages; huge department stores are to be destroyed and divided up among small tradesmen; taxes are to be reduced. What a glorious picture is offered the pure-blooded German!

"There is going to be a re-birth of TRUTH AND BELIEF in our economic life!" shouts Goebbels. "Right the unlimited injustice of robbing millions of German

people! . . . The German always before the foreigner and the Jew! . . . Fight the decomposing poison of the international-Jewish mentality!"

Hitler preaches that the economic program of a party must take second place to its political aspirations. Industry is only a secondary feature in his Reich. "The industry of a people can only bloom," writes Professor Johannes Stark, "when the domestic and foreign policies are directed in a fundamentally sound manner. . . . According to this principle, Hitler, in the interests of industry, sees his most important task in the conquest of political power. When this important end is reached, then the German industries can be guided in such a manner that all children of the nation can get work and bread."

"The man who makes the program," says Hitler, "has the job of setting a goal, the politician must reach that goal. The former is influenced by eternal truths, the latter more by practical realities." He admits that he knows little about the economic demands of the man behind his program, Gottfried Feder. He first heard Feder lecture in 1919. His reaction: "For the first time in my life I heard an exposé of the principles of exchange and loan capitalism. After I heard the first speech of Feder, the thought ran immediately through my head, now I had found the first proposition for the founding of a new party!" And later in the same autobiography: "The fight

against international finance and loan capitalism has become the most important point in the program of the fight of the German nation for its independence and freedom.”

Hitler left this important point to Feder, who with his demand of “*Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft*” (breaking of interest-servitude) has created the so-called “steel-axle” of National Socialism. Let us have Feder explain the system in his own words; any interpretation of the shadowy theory is almost impossible: “‘Breaking of interest-servitude’ is our cry on the field of battle. . . . I know that this principle has not been rightly understood in its unheard of and fundamental importance, even in our own ranks. One sees for example how seldom our speakers dare to come to this root problem. Indeed most of them feel it to be a fundamental question; in the treasury of words of our comrades is the motto: ‘Fight against exchange and loan capitalism.’ But just what ‘breaking of interest-servitude’ means, how it works in the practical life of the individual and the nation, what technically financial occurrences make the nation ‘slaves of interest’, or what practical steps are necessary to carry out the breaking of interest-servitude, and what the results will be for the entire population when this interest-servitude is broken—these all are vague. . . .”

“What does one understand by ‘interest-servitude?’

“The condition of people who live under the money

rule or the interest rule of the almighty Jewish high finance.

“In interest-servitude is the farmer, who, in order to finance his farm, must take ‘credit’, at so high a rate of interest, that the interest almost eats up the profits of his work, or who has made or must make debts and must drag the mortgage debts with him as an eternal ball of lead.

“In interest-servitude is the workingman, who labors in the factories and workshops for insufficient wages, while the stockholder collects interest and dividends—without worry or work.

“In interest-servitude is the entire bourgeoisie, which to-day must work practically speaking to pay for the interest on bank loans.

“In interest-servitude are all who must earn their bread through bodily or mental work, while standing opposite them a class—without care and without work—obtains huge incomes through interest on loaned money, through profits on the markets and in the banks, and through financial transactions.—We do not speak of the small independent men or the men with savings-accounts, even though they collect small profits through a fundamentally unsound system, but throughout their lives a hundred times the amount of their small savings are taken away from them in some manner, through taxes, pensions, etc.,

so that in old age they may be given a part of what has been taken away from them before. . . .

“In interest-servitude is the industrialist, who has built up his business through the hardest of work, then, according to the principle of keeping up with the times, has changed his business into a corporation; he is now no longer his own boss, but he must satisfy the insatiable greed for profits of the ‘members of the board and the stockholders’—if he doesn’t want to be fired from his own business.

“In interest-servitude is every nation that covers its need for money through ‘loans’.

“In interest-servitude every nation is destroyed, every nation that gives its most important domestic sovereign rights to the money-power—the bankers, its financial interests, its railroads, and the control of the most important taxes and tariffs, as Germany has done through acceptance of the Dawes Plan.

“In interest-servitude are all nations and all governments that bend before the power of loan-capital.

“In interest-servitude is all creative work, that has lost its place to gold, . . . so that to-day . . . money has become the most brutal tyrant over work.

“Interest-servitude is the correct term for the contrasts ‘capital vs. work’, ‘blood vs. money’, ‘power of creation vs. profiteering’.

“... The demand for ‘breaking of interest-servitude’ is of such gigantic proportions, of such funda-

mental importance for our nation, for our race, that the re-birth of our nation out of the depths of slavery and shame is dependent upon the solution of the problem, indeed the happiness, . . . prosperity and civilisation of the world is dependent upon it.

“BREAKING OF INTEREST-SERVITUDE IS THE STEEL-AXLE ABOUT WHICH EVERYTHING TURNS. IT IS MUCH MORE THAN A FINANCIAL, POLITICAL DEMAND; . . . IT GOES INTO THE PERSONAL LIFE OF EVERYONE, IT DEMANDS THE DECISION FROM EVERYONE: SERVICE FOR THE PEOPLE OR LIMITLESS PRIVATE WEALTH—. IT MEANS ‘THE SOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION’.”

Feder sees the very existence of money as something Jewish. If this system of international loan and financial capitalism is destroyed, the basic demand of the Fascist economic system, then “the Jewish question and the social question will be solved with one stroke.” And then a most unusual admission: even after the Jews have been driven out, “a bastard portion” of the German race will probably try to adopt the same ideas, and it is probable that many an anti-Semite of to-day will take the place of the Jewish capitalist. Herr Feder does not say what he wants to do with this “bastard portion”.

Then the demands: “Money as such remains the servant of the state, those possessing money power should not form a state within the state; . . . hence . . . freedom of the state and the people from their interest

debts owed to loan capitalism. Government control of the Reichsbank-A.G. . . . Money for all public works (development of water power interests, roads, etc.) to be obtained through the issue of government coupons (Staatskassengutscheine) which bear no interest . . . Creation of a building association and industrial bank that grants loans without interest." In this Utopia every German who wants to own his home can get funds to build it without paying any interest on the loaned capital.

In the Hitler Reich a distinction will be made between creative-capital (schaffende Kapital) and snatching-capital (raffende Kapital). Just what the difference is has not been made altogether clear. If a bank loans Herr Schmidt 25,000 marks to use in his business, is the bank giving an example of "snatching-capital" or "creative-capital"? If the money is to be used to bolster a productive business, is the fact that the bank receives a certain amount of interest for its loan enough to warrant the practice as "snatching-capital"? Even if it is, is not the capital being used for production, as "creative-capital"? Who is empowered with wisdom enough to set the difference between the two?

What is going to happen after the principle of interest on loans is abolished? Feder has given a fantastic answer. When the state wishes to start some public improvement, a canal, a railroad or a new

road, the government issues coupons without interest for the sums needed. With these magic coupons materials are bought, wages for labor paid and the entire construction work finished. When the canal, or railroad, or road has paid for itself, then the coupons, which meanwhile have been passing through various hands as money, will be withdrawn from circulation. Feder declares in all seriousness that "money is what the government declares as money". The idea of basing paper money on a gold or silver standard simply will be abolished.

What will the rest of the world have to say about this fantastic economic theory? Will other nations accept Feder's coupons for the millions owed them, or for future deliveries of raw materials and products? Will all the rest of the world suddenly realize that "breaking of interest-servitude" would be an excellent international scheme? Is Germany's position so sound that she can afford to ignore the rest of the world?

Concerning the latter question, a few figures can give us an eloquent answer. Germany cannot produce enough food nor enough raw material to support her own population. The annual imports of Germany include:

Potatoes and vegetables, 170,000,000 marks.

Eggs, 228,000,000 marks.

Wheat, 240,000,000 marks.

- Fish, 139,000,000 marks.
- Meats, 133,000,000 marks.
- Copper, 251,000,000 marks.
- Tobacco, 259,000,000 marks.
- Iron ore, 266,000,000 marks.
- Coffee, 297,000,000 marks.
- Tea, 21,000,000 marks.
- Cocoa, 72,000,000 marks.
- Fruits, 458,000,000 marks.
- Wool, 459,000,000 marks.
- Cotton, 581,000,000 marks.

These statistics for the year 1930 show clearly how Germany depends upon the rest of the world for its existence. A Nazi government offering to pay for its imports with Feder's coupons would become the laughing-stock of the world. In the present civilization no nation can afford to shut itself away from the rest of the earth.

Let us consider each point of Feder's economic demands and attempt to bring some light to the confused picture. Point number 12: "In consequence of the huge sacrifice of property and blood, which every war demands of a people, all wealth achieved through the war must be regarded as criminal. We demand therefore complete confiscation of all war profits." Alfred Rosenberg gives a word of explanation: "It was but natural that National Socialism immediately after its rise began to investigate war-profiteering

and to demand complete confiscation of all war profits. But at that time it was politically powerless. But those, who thanks to the 'proletarian' revolution came into power, have not up to the present time moved a finger to bring about a thorough and just investigation. After ten years the capital has gone through many hands, conditions have changed, many enterprises have failed through the criminal inflation of the year 1923, new ones have been organized. But *one thing* will be determined by the national government: where the new millionaires and billionaires got their fortunes, whether they have left or now head productive enterprises or whether they got their money through speculation, through profiteering or through carrying-trade."

Even though this plea be justified, it is difficult to see just how these fortunes can be collected. Many of the war profiteers lost their profits through the inflation; others have simply spent theirs. It will be an almost impossible task to ascertain whether a certain millionaire obtained his money during the war or since the war. It is an easy thing to talk about violating the sanctity of private property. Whether German citizens will stand for the principle is another matter.

Point number 13: "We demand government ownership (Verstaatlichung) of all trusts (vergesellschafteten Betriebe)." This point is supposed to convince all Nazis that the party is *de facto* socialistic in its

enterprises. It wishes to have nothing to do with capitalism, unless it be state capitalism. "Syndicates and trusts", says Feder, "have the idea of organizing similar enterprises in a certain field of business in order to dictate prices. Effort to give the best and cheapest products is not so predominant as the wish to dictate quality, quantity and price. . . . New enterprises in the same field are bought up or put out of business, very often by huge bribes. . . . New methods and inventions are observed suspiciously and preferably suppressed, if they denote a danger for the 'profits' of the old business. . . Such organizations . . . serve only the greed for profit on the part of capital." These world trusts, Rosenberg goes on to say, control the political policies of most nations. These organizations must be abolished. Private monopoly without competition must be broken.

On this point National Socialism shows a peculiar similarity to its most deadly enemy—Bolshevism. But, Goebbels insists, it is the only way to solve the social problem. Seventeen million proletarians are at the mercy of capitalism, which holds all means of production in its claws. The people are forced to sell their own capital—their working power—at cheap prices. These proletarians are shut out of the picture completely. "Production, in so far as human power, talent, invention, enterprise and genius demand, shall remain in the hands of the individual. The state will

guarantee that everyone who takes a creative part in production, whether with fist or brain, will share in ownership and profit.

This brings us to point number 14: "We demand profit-sharing (*Gewinnbeteiligung*) in all large industrial enterprises." The arrangements as to who receives a profit from the industries are left until the Nazi victory shall be complete. Any man who does "creative work" in an organization is entitled to a share of the profits. "Big business" will not be avoided, Rosenberg admits graciously; it is an essential part of modern civilisation, but the system of running business will be changed altogether. Advancement will depend upon ability alone. There will be no parliamentary body ruling each business enterprise. That is left for the Soviet with its Marxian doctrines. There will be "leading personalities" in business, just as in the government. Each large business organization will have a miniature Hitler at its head, a dictator to whom allegiance and absolute obedience are due. A business Reich of little Hitlers!

In point number 15 a comprehensive development of the old-age pension system is demanded. Every German citizen will be given a pension when he reaches a certain age or when he is unable to work through illness or accident. This social insurance system is not new. It is being practiced at present in Germany and its practice leaves much to be desired.

But it is popular with the masses and anything popular with the people is included in the Hitler program. "A state that solves the problem of old-age pensions," says Rosenberg, "will take its place at the forefront of the coming European resurrection".

In point number 16 it is demanded that the large department stores be placed on a coöperative basis and leased to small tradesmen at inexpensive rents. Greatest consideration is promised for the smaller tradesmen in the purchase of supplies by the government, states and counties. This plank is aimed at Germany's huge department store corporations, Tietz, Wertheim, Karstadt and others, "lauter Juden", says Feder. "Suggestion, . . . bluff, awakening interest for wholly useless 'necessities', for 'luxuries', are their methods. . . . Huge palaces of unheard of dimensions, outfitted with all conceivable refinement, seduce customers to buy mostly useless articles, at apparently cheap prices and easy payments. . . . 'Refreshment rooms' make it easier to spend time in these department stores. . . . No one ought to deceive himself into believing that he gets anything free. Really wealthy people do not go to the department stores to make their purchases; they know what most of the poor people do not know: 'he who buys cheaply, buys dearly'. . . . The visitor at the department store does not know that he himself pays for the elevators, rest-rooms and the fantastic lighting effects."

So is the poor man taught to sharpen his hate against big business. The merchant is being driven out of business by the department store: hence death to the department store! The Hitlerites forget conveniently that we live in a machine-age, that labor is being forced out by machinery, the ditch-digger by ditch-digging machines, the cement-mixer by cement-mixing machines; that the centralization and incorporation of business enterprises are but a part of the same economic evolution. These simple truths are carefully avoided by Nazi agitators. They are willing to promise anything. Department stores, especially those run by Jews, provide good material for inflaming the masses. Hence smashing the department stores is included as a demand in the Fascist platform.

Most Nazis know little about the astonishing economic demands in the Hitler program. The herd-instinct has led them to believe that something remarkable is going to happen when Hitler comes to power. Their empty pocket-books are going to be filled miraculously. Fascist speakers paint brilliant pictures of the future Reich with its new money, its mortgages without interest, its industries dividing profits and its business freed from all Jewish competition. But they do not attempt to explain the novel theories. Most of them do not understand the theories themselves; they are merely something for which one must agitate.

CHAPTER 16

CATCHING THE FARM-VOTE

How to catch the German farm vote has been a problem that has caused Hitler no end of trouble. In the program point number 17 proclaims to the world: "We demand a land-reform (Boden-reform) suited to our national needs, the passing of legislation allowing the expropriation of land without compensation, to be used for the common welfare of the people."

Obviously an excellent arrangement, but what about the farmers? Was it possible that farmers in every region of the Reich, many of whom had inherited their few acres from their fathers and grandfathers, would simply give up their land? Was Hitler denying the sanctity of private property? A loud chorus of protest came from farmers as soon as the Nazi party began to spread throughout the rural districts. They were satisfied with most points in the Hitler program; they hated the French and the Jews, they wanted Hitler for a leader—but not at the expense of losing their bits of ground.

On January 25, 1930, an organization of farmers in Brandenburg held a meeting, at which a series of questions concerning Hitler's attitude towards property, right of inheritance, credit, tariff policy and profit-sharing were adopted and sent to Nazi headquarters. A number of embarrassing questions were included:

"Is the N.S.D.A.P. ready to guarantee that rural property will remain untouched?

"What is the attitude of National Socialism to inherited property and inheritance taxes?

"What is the policy of the National Socialist party towards interest on savings or inherited capital?

"What is the tax and tariff policy of the National Socialist policy?

"How is the party going to obtain money for the old-age pensions?"

Here was serious business. As long as the party sought strength in the larger cities, Hitler and his satellites were not concerned with the farm vote. But now, how could this enormous farm vote be lured to the right wing and how could it be held?

At the beginning of March, 1930, the party leaders gathered at the Brown House in Munich to discuss the vital problem. On March 6 a "Parteiamtliche Kundgebung über die Stellung der N.S.D.A.P. zum Landvolk und zur Landwirtschaft" (Official Party Announcement Concerning the Attitude of the N.S.D.A.P. to the

Farmers and to Agriculture) was issued. So important was this announcement considered that it has been included as a foreword in the recent editions of the party program.

What a beautiful picture has been painted here for the upright German farmer (of Aryan blood)! Hitler makes his promises recklessly, with the generosity of a man giving away something that does not belong to him. Better, ideal homes; higher wages in the form of profit-sharing; ten-hour working day; credit from the government without interest; through protective tariffs and abolition of certain imported articles food prices will be forced to a high level; cheap fertilizer. Hitler's Third-Reich will be a Utopia for farmers!

The first section of this grandiloquent announcement states that the necessities of life have to be imported at present from foreign countries and are paid for by money borrowed from international bankers. Thus Germany is digging herself deeper and deeper into slavery. "Freedom from this condition of slavery is only possible if the German nation can sustain itself through its own agriculture. This has become . . . a question of life for the German people." Then a few words of glorification: ". . . We see in the farmers the chief bearers of our national inherited health, the fountain of youth of the nation and the backbone of its defence. . . . The maintenance of a strong class of

farmers...is a fundamental idea of the National Socialist policy....”

In the present German state, proclaims the announcement in section 2, the industrial importance of the farmers has been overlooked. Agriculture in Germany has reached a low level because farm work does not pay any more. This is due to a number of causes: a policy of crippling taxation; lack of protective tariffs; huge profits of the middleman (especially the Jew) between producer and consumer; usurious prices paid by poor farmers for fertilizer and electricity to huge (particularly Jewish) firms.

As long as the present parliamentary-democratic government controlled by international “money-princes” remains at the helm, insists section 3, then the condition of the farmer will not be changed. This can only happen in the Hitler-Reich. The party demands:

“1. The land owned and defended by the German people serves for the residence and maintenance of the entire nation. It must be administered therefore by the individual owners in this sense.

“2. Only Germans can be owners of German land.

“3. Lawfully inherited ownership of land by Germans will be recognized as inherited property. This right of ownership is bound together with the duty of using the land for the well-being of the entire nation. The superintendence of this duty will be placed in

the hands of professional courts, composed of representatives of all the various groups of farmers and a representative of the government.

“4. German land must not be an object of financial speculation and must not serve to give its owner an income if he does not work for it. A person can only inherit land in the future if he will cultivate it himself. At every sale of land and property the state has the privilege of buying first. Mortgaging land and property to private persons will be forbidden. Necessary credits for keeping up production will be received by agricultural interests through associations recognized by the state or by the state on favorable conditions. (!?)

“5. In return for the use of German land the owner must give a certain portion of his production to the state, this certain portion being based upon the extent and quality of his land. By this means further taxes on agriculture will cease.

“6. No . . . regulation concerning the size of agricultural enterprises can be given. . . .

“7. Inheritance rights of land and property will be regulated through inheritance laws, so that a split in ownership . . . can be avoided.

“8. The state has the right to expropriate with suitable compensation:

“(a) land not in the possession of Germans;

“(b) land, that according to the judgment of the

professional court, through mismanagement, has not been serving the needs of the people;

“(c) sections of the land of farmers not able to take care of all themselves, for the purpose of new colonisation . . . ;

“(d) land needed by the state for especial national purposes, such as highways, fortifications, etc.

“Land acquired illegally (according to German law) will be expropriated without compensation.

“9. A carefully planned colonization . . . is a task of the state. . . . Of first importance is the borderline in the east.”

Section 4 informs the farmers that their class will enjoy an industrial and cultural rise, “in keeping with its importance for the entire nation”. Taxes will be lightened. The state will see to it that agricultural work will pay again. The farmer will get tractors at special prices, fertilizers, live-stock, scientific agricultural advice and free chemical examination of his soil. Each district will be organized. Every farmer will have the chance to rise higher in his profession; the able farmer can even become an inspector of his district or direct colonization. Living conditions will be bettered. The importation of foreigners to work in the fields will be unnecessary, because Hitler farms will be so delightful that they will draw the excess of unemployed away from the cities. The farmer’s “Kultur” will be bettered immeasurably. Agricultural uni-

versities with plenty of free scholarships for those unable to afford such an education will be spread throughout the Reich.

The farmers will be freed! "This political movement for liberty of the German nation is the N.S.D.A.P.!"

THIS orgy of promises has had the desired effect. It resulted in a veritable stampede of farm votes. The German farmer living in a hovel dreams of his future palace in the Nazi Reich. A Germany without taxes is almost too good to be true. The farmer himself does not understand much about the high-fangled notions of Nazi agitators and of the Nazi press, but it all sounds mighty good to him. And these Jews must be pretty rotten people, worse than he had suspected. Why, they were the ones responsible for the loss of the war. That is news, and another reason for rallying to the Hitler banners. The farmer looks at his mail and finds a striking pamphlet, "Nationalsozialismus und Landarbeiterschaft". One illustration strikes his eye and his hardened features lighten into a smile: a beautiful farm-house for two families, each family possessing four rooms, store-houses, roomy cellars. His eldest son will be away at college learning how to secure maximum results from the land. The farm itself will

be the ideal object in an ideal life, where all worry and care will be abolished.

Even the working man on the farm is not forgotten. He cannot share in profits derived from the sale of products, but he can share in the products themselves. He will be paid in wheat, corn, or eggs and can do what he wants with the products. He will not be expected to work longer than 10 hours a day. "The working man on the farm must have time, during which he can feel himself to be a person. He must have hours of leisure, at which time he can lose himself in observation of nature and can dedicate himself to his family".

And what about the farmer who owns thousands of acres, the "Grossgrundbesitzer"? He will have all the privileges given to the small farmer and is guaranteed his right to private property. Somewhat paradoxically, it seems, with the other ideals presented. But *c'est la même chose!* There are to be no discontented people in the Third Reich.

JUGGLING the program around and evolving these grandiose agrarian promises seems almost a bit comical to the outside observer, but it is obvious to the visitor in Germany that Hitler is taken by the farmers as being in deadly earnest. One need only to note the

farmers lining the roads and cheering the "S.A." squads as they march along the country roads on the weekly "sport excursions". Hitler's agitation has struck productive territory here.

CHAPTER 17

NAZI KULTUR

THE average German is intrigued by the word "Kultur". It gives him a strange sort of self-satisfaction to realize that Germany is one of the most civilized nations on earth. He points to Germany's greatest contributions to the world of genius—Goethe, Schiller, Luther, Kant, Beethoven, Bach, Bismarck, Frederick the Great,—and says proudly: "They were Germans!" This deep-seated, nationalistic spirit, this ardent love for German culture and ideals and for the German fatherland, was demonstrated in the astonishing battle Germany with her allies put up against tremendous odds during the World War. The wave of nationalism that swept through Europe in the 19th century seemed to leave more lasting effects in the Reich than in other nations. The German working-man feels that he is intellectually superior to the laborers of other countries; in other classes there is a corresponding feeling.

Here then is another method of winning susceptible German voters for the Nazi party. Even now, as before the war, only a certain portion of the popula-

tion is financially able to afford a higher education. This unfortunate state of affairs will be remedied at once in the Third Reich. Every capable and diligent German will have the chance to achieve a university education and "become a successful leader". A comprehensive reform will take place in the public schools and the universities. Physical education will be placed before studies in importance, Hitler promises, after casting an eye at the enormous growth in the popularity of sports since the war. Schools do not belong in the centre of the large cities; they will be placed on the outskirts "where there is green" or in the public parks. Just how this wholesale transfer of schools will be managed in a country almost bankrupt has, of course, been left unexplained.

The school-children must not be burdened with too many facts; they must be taught first of all the importance of will-power. "First in importance," says Hitler, "will be development of character, especially in will-power and power of decision, together with training for a joy in responsibility; and then—last of all—the scientific training." They are to be taught to reverence all great Germans: "The admiration of every great deed by a man of the German race must be bathed in pride for that happy individual. From the numerous great names in German history the greatest are to be selected and presented to the students in so emphatic a form that they shall become the pillars of

an indestructible national feeling." Anti-Semitism is to become a feature of the new educational policy: "The entire education and training by the national state must be turned in the direction of burning an instinct for racial sense and racial feeling into the hearts and brains of the youth. No boy nor girl should leave school without having learned the last word about the necessity of pure blood." Children will be taught biology, racial history, German and history as the most important subjects. Of foreign languages, English will have the place of honor; no German child will soil his tongue by learning to conjugate French verbs. There will be no such thing as failure; the backward pupil will simply get more attention until he is able to keep up with the others.

The "shame" of German university life will be corrected at once by chasing all Jewish professors from faculty ranks. Here too the university student will be compelled to study "knowledge of races" (Rassenkunde). In a Germany so proud of its "akademische Freiheit" the word "compelled" will be introduced. There will be no connection between scientific Germany and the science of other countries. What Germany produces of scientific value will be for Germans only. German genius will become national and not international!

In religious life the party demands "freedom for all religious confessions in the state, in so far as these

confessions do not offend the morality of the German race. The party as such represents the point of view of a positive Christianity, without binding itself to any particular confession. It opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit in and around us and is convinced that the lasting convalescence of our people can only follow on the principle: common welfare before self-interest." It is modestly admitted that Christianity has attained its true worth through the Germanic character given it through the Reformation. Hence this "Germanic character" will be stressed in the Third Reich. This heroic Teutonic spirit rather than Christianity based upon love will be the new key-note. Christ's doctrine of forgiveness and loving thine enemy are obviously out of place in a country that must preach eternal enmity to the "French swine". Nazi pastors will be expected to dilate upon the heroic character of the ancient German gods—even though they be heathens—, since they express the real, aggressive, positive Christian spirit. The love-thy-neighbor-as-thyself Christian will be taboo. Any portion of the Christian doctrine that smacks too much of Jewish influence must be forgotten. Christianity *à la Hitler* will be a fascinating experiment.

In the field of art everything tending to accentuate the national German spirit must be preferred to international tendencies. Modernistic settlements, architectural efforts showing American or other influences,

will be prohibited. Germans will be asked politely to hear German music, if you please, and not "Bolshevistic, Jewish music". The theatre will be taken out of the hands of private producers and directed in the future by the state. Here, too, all national productions will be stressed.

A privilege and pleasure to live in this paradise where there will be "a blooming of all the sciences and fine arts in a politically free and economically sound state"!

CHAPTER 18

HITLER AND MUSSOLINI

As regiments of Nazi soldiers file by, their heads turned stiffly to the right and their eyes upon their leader, Hitler stands and acknowledges proudly the loyalty of his followers. The Fascist chief is happy in the spotlight of public adoration. Kissing babies, shaking hands, making speeches upon every possible occasion, all the well-known attributes of twentieth century popularity are pleasant tasks for him. He is not dazed by his dizzy ascension to power; he has, on the other hand, a well-developed appreciation of his own ability and he believes in himself.

Although fickle, vain, short-sighted, lacking in finished education, there are fundamental characteristics in Hitler's nature that have brought him to his present position. He is an excellent orator, organizer and leader. Catapulted into fame he points to these characteristics as a gift of nature, which has endowed him with these particular capabilities in order to make him the German Mussolini.

Hitler has adopted Mussolini's Fascist manner of

greeting, holding the right arm high into the air. He imitates the Duce's peculiar mannerisms when addressing a crowd and attempts to use the same Mussolini "hypnotic stare", which in Hitler's case results in a grotesque and ludicrous version. The latter has made a deep study of every phase of the Italian dictator's character and attempts at every conceivable time to imitate him.

There are indeed similarities in the careers and characteristics of the two men. Both are self-made men, both started at the bottom and earned their livings in early life. After wandering about uncertain as to the next step, Mussolini as a teacher and Hitler as a working-man anxious to become an architect, both had turned their eyes towards a political career. Mussolini came eventually to Switzerland, where he joined a group of anarchistic-socialists and from where he was deported. Coming to Austrian Trent, he was converted to the nationalist cause of Italy. Here he suffered deportation again. At the outbreak of the war, he turned his efforts towards forcing his country into the war against Austria-Hungary, Italy's ally in the Triple Alliance, (formed in 1882 and renewed for continuous periods in 1891, 1903 and 1912). Mussolini wanted his country to have nothing to do with the "reactionary" central power, which to him seemed interested in gobbling up Italy's possessions. Then again, as a revolutionary, Mussolini desired war even

though a pacifist at heart, feeling that only through war could a social revolution come to free Italy.

Taking part in the war and wounded at the front, Mussolini suddenly turned around and became the deadliest enemy of the Socialists and Communists in Italy. He became the leader of Fascist troops, which on October 1, 1922, marched on Rome and took over the government. Finding that a republic was not wanted by Italians and that the power of the Catholic church was still a thing to be reckoned with, Mussolini conveniently changed his earlier views and came to an understanding with the monarchy and later with the Church. At first faced with the skeptical criticism and even open enmity of various other nations, Mussolini turned his heart and soul towards the upbuilding of his fatherland. Uniting a clever foreign policy with comprehensive domestic reforms, using force when necessary to carry through his projects, Mussolini has succeeded in convincing a large portion of the rest of the world that a dictatorship was the one thing needed to keep Italy among the powers. A born leader, a diplomatic genius, a truly outstanding personality, Mussolini is now looked upon with admiration rather than with skepticism.

Hitler's followers point out that he is destined to play a similar rôle in the history of Germany. One of the most popular books in Nazi homes is a gaudy volume of photographs which emphasizes the simi-

larities in the careers of Mussolini and of Hitler. Here is the iron fist provided by nature to smash Germany's way back to the top of the nations.

A close comparison in the characters of the two men, however, brings to light certain differences. In early life Mussolini was a trained journalist. He knew the value of the printed word as well as the spoken. He was an able journalist, a logical thinker, a man to whom propaganda rated second to clear-thinking. His capacity for detailed and painstaking work is illustrated in the remarkable press campaign he directed before his march on Rome. Hitler on the other hand has always remained the political demagogue, more intent upon impressing his followers and keeping them in a state of blind devotion than upon keeping them enlightened politically. Both men are extreme egoists, able and anxious to place their own welfare before any other thing of importance. Mussolini is the quick-witted man of ambition, the man who can change his standard the second he perceives that his personal interests will be benefited by the change. Hitler is slow and blundering, depending upon political good-luck rather than upon any exceptional political genius.

Mussolini resembles Bismarck in that he is a "Realpolitiker". He refuses to commit himself or to insist upon keeping or making promises. His assertion that "the best program is no program" stands out in

direct contrast to Hitler's loud insistence that the Nazi program will never be changed; it is made to be carried out and will be carried out even at the risk of death. Mussolini, realizing that one man cannot know everything, has surrounded himself with a group of leaders, whose advice he values and whom he trusts implicitly. Hitler, too, has a group of leaders about him, but little devotion or understanding exists here. Continued squabbling among Nazi leaders has been a stumbling-block since the formation of the party. Hitler, absolutist among the masses and his storm-squads, does not possess personality sufficient to control a small group of political leaders, whose obvious aim is—like his own—personal power.

Here lies probably the most essential difference in the two men. In his chess play for personal power, Mussolini relied on a carefully trained organization and on trusted followers, whereas Hitler in his play for power depends upon himself alone. So fascinated is he by the force of his own personality, that he believes he can be swept into the dictatorship without outside aid by presenting himself and a program, which is difficult to surpass in number of absurdities. It is difficult to imagine a nation so advanced as the German ruled by a man with the level of intelligence exhibited by Hitler in his speeches and writings. True, there is force here, brutal driving force, but the intelligence and political capacity to lead a nation is

sadly lacking. The political charlatan who stands on a street corner and shouts defiance at the powers that be is not the person to place in a dictator's chair. The German people, sick to death of adversity, grab at the last straw. And that straw seems to be Hitler, who imagines himself the Teutonic Mussolini.

CHAPTER 19

THE ENEMIES

THE two uncompromising enemy parties, both of which stand in the Nazi path to power, are the Social Democrats and the Communists. There is no hope for conciliation between either of these parties and National Socialism. Their respective programs differ so thoroughly that there is little possibility of a coalition between either and the Hitlerites. The Nazis want all or nothing. Hitler commands a revolutionary party and admittedly wants to overthrow the present government. His party as such is illegal in the German republic, but its strength is so great that a ban would be well nigh impossible.

The Social Democratic party owes its origin to the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein" founded by Lasalle and a group of Leipzig working-men in 1863. This organization, a purely national one, was united with the international workers led by Liebknecht in 1875. In 1919 the Communistic party split with the Social Democrats.

The Social Democrats demand international organi-

zation of the proletarians; creation of a satisfactory system of international law; abolition of war through an organization of nations possessing the same privileges; transfer of capitalistic private property to the producing classes; and removal of all class distinction. The party believes that its ideals can be fulfilled best in a republic. No monarchistic or militaristic movements are to be tolerated. Freedom of religion and equal rights for all men are points stressed in the program. The party is opposed to all imperialistic and Fascist aspirations just as it supports the true Socialistic state. It supports all efforts for international understanding, especially the work of the League of Nations and the World Court; the right of self-determination for all peoples, the right of minorities. It opposes the forceful destruction of the black man in colonial territories. It demands international disarmament. It supports the economic unity of European states and desires a United States of Europe.

Socialistic and democratic, the party has achieved one of its aims through the founding of the German republic. It has bettered the position of the workingman, so that now, in many respects, the German laborer is in a better condition than many of the bourgeoisie. Possessing 8,575,343 registered voters and 143 seats in the Reichstag at the elections of September 1930 the Social Democrats, still powerful, will have nothing to do with the Hitlerites.

Hitler preaches that the Social Democrats control a coalition running the government in a "shamefully corrupt" manner. Attacks have long passed the stage of mild political dispute. The battle for power is a bitter one, with no quarter given nor asked.

The second enemy—and the greater of the two—is the Communist party. Organized in 1916 under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (both later murdered), the party maintained that internationalism is the only fatherland for the German proletarian. In 1917 the Communist party announced its adherence to the Russian Soviet.

The Communists demand first of all a dictatorship of the proletariat. Other points in its program include: economic partnership with Soviet Russia; treaties of brotherhood with the suppressed classes and masses of the entire world; annulment of the Treaty of Versailles and of all international political treaties; sovereignty of the German Soviet Republic; annulment of all "tribute" under the Young Plan, all foreign debts and former international obligations of the German bourgeois. All property must be expropriated without compensation and all capitalistic enterprises handed over to the state. There is to be no private property. Government will be based on the Russian Soviet system. A huge Red army to defend Soviet Germany will be organized.

The Communists demand further: every man be-

tween 16 and 55 must be given work; the six-hour day will be in force for all laborers; every laborer will be paid according to his ability; every laborer will benefit by accident, sickness, old-age and life insurance; freedom of religions as well as anti-religious propaganda; freedom of the press, etc.

Denying as it does the superiority of the Germanic people and stressing the international brotherhood of the workers as opposed to nationalism, the basic idea of Communism stands in direct contrast to the Nazi doctrines. Both parties realize that there is little probability of either coming to power without a revolution; hence both have adopted a policy of force in achieving their aims. The government as it now exists is too strong for either party, the result being that the Nazis and the Communists have turned their thoughts to the annihilation of each other. A miniature reign of terror has gripped the country, where an astonishing guerilla-like warfare has kept the police busy.

CHAPTER 20

HITLER AND FRANCE

THE dapper little Austrian, shoved by a kindly fate to the centre of the world-stage, makes no hit with the French part of his audience. Amazed by his sudden rise to potential power, angered by his denunciations of everything French and uneasy in the face of his bellicose actions, the French have been in a quandary. They have watched in dismay as the gospel preached by Hitler has spread infectiously through Germany, Austria, Hungary and even in Czechoslovakia, where the Nazi chieftain is represented in the Prague Parliament. How can they handle this unwelcome apparition, who casts a shadow somewhat larger than his meagre self across the face of Europe? They call him a "political firebrand", an "ambitious demagogue", a "magic saviour", "an unbalanced, temperamental actor, an easily excited neurasthenic who is overwhelmed by the events of the moment and who lacks the capacity for real leadership and the ability to come to a decision at the right time", but what can they do about him?

Hitler's glorification of the Germanic race, his fantastic economic theories, his formulas for future international relations, his ferocious nationalism and bitter anti-Semitism have found critics everywhere, but none are so excited as those in France, which feels itself threatened by a trial of Hitlerism. Successive German governments have adopted a policy of reconciliation with France, a policy which Hitler announces will be discontinued, if he once comes into power.

Hitlerism is admittedly a challenge to the post-war supremacy of France, whose hegemony in Europe the Fascists want to end. Demanding equality in armaments, cancellation of reparations and the end of the Versailles Treaty, Hitler strikes his fist forcibly against those very things upon which the French are the most sensitive. Since the war France has resolutely avoided a helping hand for her traditional enemy. She admits coldly that a weak Germany is to her advantage because it would give her a feeling of security which she would otherwise not enjoy. A Germany just wealthy enough to pay reparations and just poor enough to be unable to support a military machine would be—from the French viewpoint—an ideal state of affairs. The flow of funds into France after the war, where it straightway went into the pockets of parsimonious natives and was held there, has gradually enriched the country. Germany, kept weak in armaments by the Versailles Treaty, has been

unable to offer any opposition to France and her satellites—Czechoslovakia, Poland and Belgium—which have adopted a new “encirclement policy”, a repetition of the same strangle-hold which, according to German historians, was one of the indisputable causes of the World War.

“To the French,” says Jules Sauerwein in the *New York Times*, “the Hitlerites seem to mean the double danger of war and revolution. This fear is perhaps exaggerated because Hitler is far from having among his immediate partisans men capable of such big undertakings.

“If Hitler gains the helm of the German state, he will have two alternatives. First, he may elect to carry out his financial and social program which will mean the overthrow of existing conditions and speedy bankruptcy for Germany. This course will evoke violence and at the same time deprive Germany of all her allies except a few miserable countries which may be dragged down with her in the hazardous adventure.

“Although this disturbance can last only a few months it will nevertheless be very dangerous for the rest of Europe.

“If, on the other hand, Hitler abandons his sensational program and follows in the footsteps of Chancellor Bruening not many weeks will pass before he will be deserted by three-fourths of his partisans, who will proceed to form a revolutionary party which the

Communists will know how to use to further their own ends at the right moment. That is an eventuality which France should consider well and guard against.

“The statesmen of Paris have great need for clear vision just now. They should above all take into account that there is a Chancellor in Germany who once more has had the courage to defy Hitler. In as much as Dr. Bruening, after all, is not a hero hankering for martyrdom, it may be concluded that if he defies the man who already is credited by many with being all-powerful he must still hold a few trumps in his hand. He must be sure of the support of the police and the head of the Reichswehr.

“France, therefore, faces a choice between an orderly Germany and a Germany which will cradle disorder threatening all Europe. Premier Laval is persuaded that the situation shapes up like that and that we should go to Chancellor Bruening’s aid. But unfortunately the Premier cannot offer Germany a single centime because the French are resolutely keeping their hands in their pockets. It will be a necessity therefore for M. Laval to help Dr. Bruening as much as possible with reparations concessions or in some other way.

“If Dr. Bruening has nothing more than words with which to defy Hitler and if he fails to find in France the backing which the celebrated agitator is seeking in England and Italy, it is evident that the

National Socialists will sit in Germany's Ministerial Council before next April (1932) and it then will be too late for France to block the course of events bound to result therefrom."

What will France do if Hitler comes into power? It is too late to start thinking about concessions now. Any weakening of the French position will obviously convince Hitler's followers, and even those who are undecided whether to cast their lots with him or not, that France has been tamed into submission by the Nazi leader and that much more could be obtained were he placed at the helm. On the other hand, if France continues her present aloof position, the Germans will be driven to desperation.

Bruening's victories—his dictatorial measures to restore German credit, his sudden announcement that Germany is unable to pay reparations any longer, his remarkable strategy in staving off Hitler's advent to power as long as possible, all these have failed to satisfy the French people. They see clearly that negotiation with the German government is almost useless, for the simple reason that the present government does not represent the will of the majority of German voters.

What can the French government do when Hitler finally takes his turn? Will "strong measures" be necessary to cope with the eventual emergency? Can France attempt another occupation of the Ruhr and

risk a terrible fiasco? What is better—the nervous marking of time as Hitler beats at the doors of the government, or a test of Hitlerism, the sooner the better? Will a repudiation of the Versailles Treaty and reparations upon the part of Hitler goad the French people, always fearing for their own security, into another gigantic war? Will France back her “sacred rights” by machine guns, airplanes, cannon and poison gas at a time when she is just emerging from a weary reconstruction period after the last world conflagration?

After the war of 1870-71 France paid a huge indemnity in so short a time that even the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck, was amazed. The French accepted their defeat philosophically and got to work; as in 1815 France endured defeat easily and prepared at once to regain her elevated place in the concert of Europe. The surprising recovery after 1871 caused a clamor of protest to be raised in victorious Germany, where voices for a “preventive war” were heard. Bismarck, the “Realpolitiker”, opposed this course strenuously. He understood that Germany had been saturated with wars and that she needed no conflicts, at least for the time being, to reassert her supremacy.

But this idea of “preventive war” has not altogether died in Europe. It is flaming in many a patriotic French heart at the present time. Is it not better to risk a conflict now, when a quick war on a weakened

Germany would be rich in compensation and justify the constant French claim to security? Or ought the French to wait until the Reich, grown powerful under the dictator, Hitler, would treat its neighbor with ill-concealed scorn? Japan's flagrant violation of the Kellogg Pact and its ignoring of the League of Nations have brought home conclusively to the French as well as to other nations the fact that war as a national necessity has not been banished from the face of the earth, in spite of the magnificent efforts made to bring about so happy a state of affairs.

A "preventive war" by France, or even a new invasion of the Rhineland, would probably precipitate Europe and the world into another and more terrible war. Conditions existing in Europe to-day are unquestionably more dangerous than they were during 1914, when the spark of Sarajevo set the world ablaze. As much as the French appreciate Briand's efforts for peace, what he has done shrinks into insignificance for his fellow countrymen when they think of the spectre of a fighting Germany, "the bully across the Rhine", which for one thousand years has been the great French enemy.

THE French apparently do not favor a coalition between Hitler and the Bruening government, which they look upon as but a preliminary step to a Fascist

dictatorship. It would be better to have a trial of Hitlerism as soon as possible. Then the futility of it would become evident to the mass of the German people, they believe. The situation, at least, would be considerably clarified and the constant feeling of uneasiness which exists both in France and Germany would give way to an outburst of some kind; whether civil war, revolution or world war remains to be seen.

Hitler's outspoken declarations about Franco-German relations have added much to French uneasiness. "The only possible way of obtaining an understanding between France and Germany," Hitler told a group of foreign newspaper correspondents, "is by France agreeing to abandon her policy of blackmail and extortion which she has practiced for twelve years against Germany. France also must give up her effort to keep the German nation in economic slavery for another sixty years by means of reparations. French statesmen constantly complain of the progress of the Nationalist movement in Germany, quite overlooking the fact that no nation can accept, without protest, the treatment the Germans have undergone at the hands of France since 1918.

"The outcome of the disarmament conference at Geneva in February, 1932, will have an important bearing on the future of Franco-German relations. The conference will be the touchstone by which the common sense of the world will be tested. If the world

wishes the system of political extortion to continue, then it will agree at the conference to the maintenance of the French hegemony, which has been achieved by means of a huge army unnecessary to the defense of her frontiers, which are fully protected under the agreements of the League of Nations."

Behind these warnings France sees not the gesture of a responsible diplomat but the threat of a political demagogue who thinks of the French as a "negro-nation" corrupting the blood of Europe.

The French, occupied in watching Hitler's apparent landslide, seemed to overlook the fact that Chancellor Bruening, in spite of his reconciliation policy, was personally opposed to the further payment of reparations, a point upon which all the various political parties in Germany agree, in spite of their otherwise widely divergent platforms. When Bruening recently announced the inability of the Reich to pay further reparations, thereby denouncing the Young Plan and the reparation clauses of the Versailles Treaty, he took a step which immediately caused the French to wonder whether the Chancellor was stealing Hitler's thunder. Taking the largest share of German reparations, 52.7% of the total to be paid, France has insisted that these political debts are sacred. Dr. Schacht's prophecy—the end of reparations—seems to have come true, in spite of the French viewpoint.

THE menace of Hitlerism could not help but excite a nation so touchy and so volatile as the French. Everywhere in France, on the boulevards of Paris and in the most out-of-the-way cafés of the provinces, the fiery apostle of violence and German nationalism is the subject of gloomy forebodings and animated debates. Stocks and bonds in Paris react sensitively, just as in other financial centres of the world, upon rumors of Hitler's latest moves. The French look with a certain measure of confidence on their own military machine, the strongest army in the world. The cream of the country's youth is being trained in the methods of modern warfare. The streets of French cities are filled with young men in uniform, ready to offer life and limb for "la patrie". But the memories of 1914-1918 persist, unpleasant memories of German fighting ability. And prominent in the most recent of French nightmares are the features of the nervous little Austrian.

CHAPTER 21

WHAT NEXT?

WITH a most astonishing spirit of patience and fatalism, the German nation is watching the approach of civil war and revolution. There is little more German statesmen can do to save the fatherland from economic collapse or a shattering disaster. If ever a nation has fought admirably to shoulder an unfair burden, which the impartial historian will be ready to admit, then it is Germany; this in spite of the views of American publicists and former diplomats who vaguely point to new sporting stadiums and churches in the Reich as an indication of the fact that Germany is not suffering as badly as other nations in the world-wide depression.

Coming out of the war all but ruined through terrible loss of life and economic misery, and depending upon the Wilsonian 14 points for a fair deal, Germany was faced at Versailles by the victor nations with but one end in view—a “Revanche-Politik”. Now that Germanic militarism was crushed and the world made safe for democracy, bankrupt Germany

was ordered to spend the next sixty years in raising \$33,000,000,000 in gold plus interest. This was the result when Wilson, anxious above all to have his League of Nations accepted by the world, transferred the leadership in "peace negotiations" to Clemenceau, the French Tiger, author of the significant sentence: "There are 20,000,000 Germans too many." Wilson's promises were treated as the expression of a private individual. An impossible burden was placed on Germany. On January 11, 1923, the French marched into the Ruhr and attempted to seize German property, after heroic efforts had been made to meet the huge burdens.

The Dawes Plan in 1923 was a recognition by the United States that she had made a mistake in leaving Germany's fate in the hands of the latter's deadliest enemy. International experts considered Germany's financial and economic condition and finally agreed that Germany was to pay lesser sums until she reached a normal condition, when she could again start the higher payments. For five years Germany was forced to reckless borrowing at high interest to meet the Dawes Plan obligations. International financiers still could not see the folly they were causing. There existed an extraordinarily naïve belief that Germany could do the impossible. The seeds of present financial difficulties in the Reich were sown during the five years the Dawes Plan was in effect.

During the first six months of 1929 another international committee of experts met, "two independent experts from each nation, experts who enjoyed international prestige and authority in their own countries and who were not bound by any instructions from their own governments", America (Owen D. Young and J. P. Morgan), Belgium, France, England, Italy, Japan and Germany. The Reich was ordered to pay about half a billion dollars annually in gold. This reparations plan was to be final. Ratified in May 1930 the Young Plan soon proved to be but another failure. Thirteen months later, on June 5, 1931, the German government was forced to tax the incomes of all Germans to the breaking point in order to keep the nation above water. International capital began to have some doubts about the wisdom of sending money into the Reich; the flow of foreign capital began to calm down. Unable to pay for her imports, the nation was forced to increase her exports as much as possible and cut down on imports. Countries furnishing Germany with raw products began to complain. Industry was beginning to be tied up. Germany was at the crossroads.

On June 20, 1931, the Hoover Moratorium at last signaled the fact that a change of mind had taken place. A new attitude was indicated towards this impossible and artificial system of reparations, a system that meant the industrial, social, financial and political

ruin of Germany. France objected and refused to agree to the proposal unless Germany promised to start payments again at the end of the year's holiday. But here was no blessing. International bankers suddenly started a panicky call for money loaned Germany; huge industrial enterprises and banks began to fail in the Reich; domestic and foreign capital started to pour out of the country. No temporary relief could help Germany. The sick patient needed medicine, not morphium.

There is a limit to everything. After thirteen years of attempting to conform to a treaty, which the British economist Keynes recognized at once as a crazy venture into finance, the German people have had enough. A government attempting to fulfill treaty obligations must have the support of its people. It is obvious that the present government does not have the sympathy of the people. The Bruening régime, operating as it does under a virtual dictatorship, has lost the confidence of a people who have endured misery patiently, but who are now ready to throw up their hands and cry: "Germany has done what it could. Take anything you want. Do anything you want."

A collapsed Germany will not be an asset to tottering Europe. The well-being of international finance, industry and economics demands the well-being of every great nation, even of Germany. The reparation philosophy has been a failure. Germany can be saved,

it must be saved by the cancellation of reparations. Blundering along like a crowd of blindfolded drunken men in an alley, international statesmen, "midgets in the seats of the mighty", fail to see that the world-wide depression is a result of foolhardy economic policies after the war.

So much for a foreign outlook of Germany's alarming condition. What about domestic affairs? Some political observers point to the failure of the referendum to dissolve the Prussian Landtag last summer as an indication of the diminishing brilliance of the Hitler movement. Nothing could be further from the truth. The German public is not reflecting upon the real meaning of Hitler's program, it does not think of his "strange hash of anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism, of economic radicalism and political reaction". It has passed the stage of political argument. It demands action—at any price, and that is what Hitler is prepared to offer. When a nation reaches the limit of its patience, blind fate may step in and solve the problem.

An election in September 1931 in Hamburg testifies to the steady advance of the Hitler party. In the last local election in 1928 the Nazis polled 17,671 votes, entitling them to 3 seats in the Hamburg Legislature. In the 1931 election they returned 43 seats with 202,-

465 votes. The Reichstag elections of 1930, which surprised the entire world, showed a great increase for Hitler; the 1931 figures show a 45% increase again in one year. These figures are typical for the whole Reich. Hitlerism is a power to be reckoned with.

Prophesying the future of a political party in Germany is a difficult proposition. No one can state with certainty that the Hitler party is coming eventually into power. The political temperament of the German people is too complex and too apt to change its front for observers to be able to state accurately what is going to happen. But indications point to the fact that the blatant little Austrian is due soon for a chance at power. The Hitler movement is growing into a landslide, rising more quickly perhaps than any other political party in the history of Germany. This mixture of magnetic personality, promises of a glorious future, unstinted glorification of the German race, and convincing political gains have quickened the German pulse. Nazi visions of a pure race have stiffened the backbone of a people whose pride suffered a dizzy fall after 1918. The attitude seems to be: "What's the use?" A spirit of resignation pervades the atmosphere in present-day Germany: "One might as well give Hitler a chance!"

A brief trial of Hitlerism would perhaps be a good thing for Germany. Afterwards she would not

take her political firebrands too seriously. So mediocre a person as Hitler directing the government from Berlin would be a tremendously revealing experiment. Governments cannot exist on enthusiasm alone and men with startling political and economic theories cannot test them out when the tension in an alarmed Europe is at fever-heat.

Hitler's avowed determination to obtain power legally is not convincing. The very nature of his revolutionary movement protests against what the present republic considers legal. The growth of the Nazi party has been paralleled by a growth, not so rapid to be sure, but nevertheless a steady growth, of the Communists. The two parties together in a coalition could control Germany, but their aims are too far apart. The government is gradually losing its majority, but neither Hitler nor the Red party is strong enough to obtain power legally.

Politically, Germany to-day is in an extremely precarious condition. The republic has been held together to a large extent by the towering personality of Germany's Grand-Old-Man, President Hindenburg. His death would be perhaps the spark sufficient to cause a huge conflagration. Hitler's next attempt to carry through a putsch will have the advantage of a more thorough preparation than his first. He is waiting for the psychological moment to strike, a moment which

in all probability will come before the summer of 1932.

Germany's crying need since Bismarck's death has been leadership. The lack of this fundamental has been responsible for the astonishingly stupid political policy of the Reich before and during the war and for its sorry plight to-day. The leaders have been clever, bold men, but the Bismarckian personality, the born leader, has never appeared. Hitler's belief that he is the long-sought-for individual is taken seriously by a people simply tired of waiting. At a time when the world industrial crisis has struck the weakened German people particularly hard, Hitler has taken advantage of the opportunity to express his inflated ego and ambition by promising to lead his people out of the wilderness. Precipitating turbulence, giving an attractive military show, lashing instincts of prejudice and hate into fury, he battles on to power.

Shouting phrases about liberty and freedom and God, the Nazi host, with an adventurer at its head, marches proudly on, not knowing where it is going. The fatherland, facing chaos, civil war, destruction, calls for help and a dapper quack-doctor nominates himself for the rôle of saviour.

"Deutschland erwache!"

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