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TWO

Hitler's Program

"Territory as the goal of our foreign policy and a new ideologically sound, unified foundation as the goal of our political action at home."

Mein Kampf

His Philosophy of Life

THE world looks like this to Hitler: Nature has populated the earth with living beings of all sorts. Among them an endless and merciless struggle for existence prevails. The right to live is their supreme law. The strong conquer and the weak must die; and this is as it should be. For only by means of the pitiless elimination of the weak can Nature develop.

Man is subject to Nature's iron will just as animals and plants are subject to it. "In the end, nothing but the instinct of self-preservation is victorious. Under its pressure so-called humanity, as an expression of a combination of stupidity, cowardice, and vain conceit, melts like snow in the March sun. In eternal war humanity has grown—in eternal peace humanity must die."

The idea that man might be able to conquer Nature, Hitler derisively calls pacifist and "typically Jewish in its impudence and stupidity." All attempts of humanity to revolt against the inexorable logic of Nature, will in the end harm only the transgressors them-

'earing away the veils of inarticulate mysticism
/hich fog the pages of 'Mein Kampf' the German
uthor of this hook lays bare the grim purposes
f the well-known Austrian paper-hanger.

The Book and the Author

WHEN it became apparent that Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was to be taken seriously, there was a rush in various countries to make this book available in completely unexpurgated form to readers throughout the civilized world.

This book does not purport to be another translation of *Mein Kampf*. It is, however, an entirely accurate and faithful description of Hitler's world program. The original *Mein Kampf* is an extremely long book, and that is not its most formidable feature from the standpoint of the reader. Hitler's style is notoriously bad even in German, and the organization of his book makes it extremely difficult for the reader to acquire a clear picture of his thesis. *Hitler Is No Fool* corrects this fault by the simple process of gathering together the widely scattered Hitlerian views on the Jews, democracies, war, peace, racial theories, etc., and arranging these topics in an orderly form. We learn how Hitler came to power, why anti-Semitism is an inevitable part of fascism, and why the real facts of Hitler's life are not told in his book.

The author is a young German, now taking out his American citizenship papers. He opposed Hitler during the early Nazi days and spent many terrible months in a concentration camp, which he described in his famous first book, *Fatherland*. This present volume is further proof of his really great ability as a writer. The book presents a most penetrating analysis of Hitler and his policies, proving conclusively that the man is not to be taken lightly and that continued attempts to laugh him off will play directly into his hands.

Hitler Is No Fool

BY KARL BILLINGER

AUTHOR OF "FATHERLAND"

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60

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Contents

Preface		vii
1	Who Is Hitler?	1
2	Hitler's Program	29
3	How Did Hitler Come To Power?	88
4	How Does Hitler Carry Out His Program?	132
5	Will Hitler Win?	169
Footnotes		195

Preface

TODAY, after more than six years of feverish activities, Nazi Germany is still a mystery to the man in the streets of America. To him the Third Reich appears as a one-man show. He resents a social order built upon terror and fear and is indignant when he reads about Jewish pogroms, threats of invasion, and conquests of weak countries. But he is at an utter loss to explain the miraculous career of the "Austrian housepainter." He might, perhaps, pity the German people. But the longer he sees them ruled by a "fool" or a "madman," the more will his pity change into contempt, the more will his feeling grow that the Germans, after all, deserve a Government which they apparently are not able or even willing to overthrow.

For this man in the street the present book is written. It wants to acquaint him with the chief exponent of German fascism, with his ideas and plans and, moreover, with the forces he represents. The best way of doing it might still be to go back to the most authoritative source, Hitler's own book. The world would have been spared much guessing about the essence and aims of the National Socialist regime had it taken the trouble to study the Fuehrer's work carefully. History has seldom offered the opportunity of learning from a dictator himself his most guarded designs before he has been able to carry them out.

But how are we to know that Hitler who has told so many lies, broken so many promises, and violated so many solemn treaties did not veil and distort the truth in his book? Even a liar will tell

the truth if it is more advantageous than lying. There was a time in Hitler's life when nothing but frankness would help his career.

Let us for a moment return to the years when *Mein Kampf* was written. In November, 1923, in Munich Hitler led his first violent assault upon the Weimar Republic. However, the insurrection proved a fiasco. The Army upon whose support Hitler had counted did not follow him, and the police turned their guns upon the traitors, even though the famous General Ludendorff, the brain of the German Armies in the War, marched in the front rank. On the eve of the insurrection Hitler, revolver in hand, made the solemn vow, "Either I am victorious by tomorrow afternoon, or I shall be a dead man!" Under the bullets of the police he chose to preserve himself for the German people and fled to the Bavarian mountains, to the family of his friend Hanfstaengl.

Shortly after the insurrection he was taken into custody and brought before a People's Court which sentenced him to five years' "honorable imprisonment," the minimum punishment for high treason.

The Nazi movement had suffered its first major defeat. The Hitler Party was outlawed and began to disintegrate. Army officers and industrial backers withdrew their support. Hitler had compromised himself too greatly.

At the same time stabilization of the currency and the first foreign gold loan made the German economic situation look a little more hopeful. The inflation with its fantastic rise of prices had hit the lower middle class especially hard. It had robbed it of all its savings and had driven it into the arms of political reaction. Now, however, with the prospect of better times ahead, the small shopkeepers, artisans, peasants derived new hope and were less ready to listen to the reactionaries' attack upon the Republic.

The end of the year 1923 marked a turning point also for the German revolutionary movement. It became clear by then that its

most influential body, the Communist Party, had not been able to mobilize for the establishment of a socialist order the radical sentiments which the War had created among the workers.

Big Business consolidated the profits made during War and inflation and did not feel any immediate necessity for playing with counter-revolution.

The democratic Government, to all appearances, had emerged victorious and established its authority. Hitler's political career seemed at an end.

During this period of general decomposition of his movement the most vital question for Hitler was to justify himself to those of his followers who had remained faithful and to prove anew to those who had left him his indispensability for the future. Thus in the prison fortress of the small Bavarian town of Landsberg, where he had begun to serve his sentence on April 1, 1924, he started to write his book. *Mein Kampf* is the continuation of Hitler's political fight. Nobody will therefore expect objective truth from the man for whom objectivity in politics is a "poison." But the purpose of his writing made him write *his* truth—the book tells the truth about its author.

It is a strange hodgepodge of autobiographical notes, political discussions, and personal philosophy of life. It is at one and the same time a document of self-defense and a program for a new German Imperialism. Its content superabounds in pseudo-scientific argument, but there is always a political point even in the most abstruse digression.

There are now available for the first time two complete American editions of *Mein Kampf* which have not been censored by Hitler. But not many of the readers to whom the present book is addressed will have the time and patience to plow through the Fuehrer's voluminous and obscure work. In extracting its rational kernel and exhibiting the inner logic in Hitler's seemingly senseless

theories and assertions, I have tried to give them an easily understandable "lead" through the Leader.

In the presentation of Hitler's program I follow as closely as possible Hitler's own words. Nothing else would give as faithful a picture of the personality, character, and intellectual composition of the man who, an almost unknown figure ten years ago, is now keeping the world in breathless suspense. The quotations are taken from the German edition of 1938 which, like all the hundreds of various German editions, corresponds but for a few changes to the original version of *Mein Kampf*. The American reader who possesses the English translation of 1933 should not try to find the quoted passages there. They have been omitted for the most part.

The story of Adolf Hitler is, of course, not the whole story of German fascism. The details of an individual life, the accidents of a political career should not divert us from searching for the social roots of National Socialism. The Fuehrer's character illuminates only the character of the social forces which find in him their ideal expression. I therefore did not confine myself to a mere summary of *Mein Kampf*, but tried to describe the relations between National Socialism and the various strata of the German people as well. The role of fascism manifests itself in these relations.

The historic background of the rise of Hitler—the economic, social, and political problems of the Weimar Republic—were unique, and history will not repeat them exactly the same way in any other country. But once the nature of *German* fascism is understood, it should not be difficult for the man in the streets of America to detect the American brand and to realize that Hitlerism is only the German version of a fight now being waged throughout the world.

K. B.

Hitler Is No Fool

ONE

Who Is Hitler?

"Today I consider it my good fortune that Fate assigned me Braunau-on-the-Inn as my birth place; for this little town lies upon the border of those two German states whose reunion appears to us younger men, at least, as a task of our life to be fulfilled by any means whatsoever."

THIS is the opening sentence of *Mein Kampf*. It is a quite characteristic Hitler sentence. He combines a statement concerning his life with one of his political aims. He makes it clear that to attain the aim he will stop at nothing and that he is imbued with an historic mission.

From the explanation of the necessity for annexing Austria, Hitler takes the reader upon intricate and obscure, but never aimless, paths to the prophetic warning at the Conclusion:

A state which in the period of racial poisoning dedicates itself to the cultivation of its best racial elements, must some day become the master of the world. This the followers of our movement must not forget, if they should ever be led to fear that the sacrifice is too great in comparison with the attainable results.

The union of Germany and Austria is the beginning; the conquest of the world the end of Hitler's program.

The man who has set such an aim for himself is no ordinary mortal. Is he a superman? Or is he mad? From what sources does he draw his strength, and what circumstances have made his meteoric career possible?

Although he is our contemporary, there is a veil of mystery and of the supernatural about him. Legends have seized upon his person, even during his lifetime. They are eagerly spun by his official and unofficial scribes. And not without reason. The legend belongs to the self-made leader as the Grace of God belongs to the absolute monarch. The ruler must appear to his subjects as the chosen instrument of Providence.

In his book Hitler has laid the groundwork for the mystification of his life. In picturing his parental home, his family, and his youth —in describing his venture into life, his service during and after the War, there is hardly a single clear statement of fact. Much is blurred intentionally, much has been proved beyond doubt to be imaginary. The omission of circumstances and experiences which in any other man's life would be irrelevant takes on a special significance.

Hitler's Home

Hitler was born on April 20, 1889, the son of a minor Austrian customs official. His father strictly regimented his household. He was proud to have worked his way up from a shoemaker's apprentice to the position of an Imperial civil servant, and he wanted his son to become an official too. Adolf, however, felt irresistibly drawn to the Arts. He thought with horror of a life spent sitting in an office. He wanted to become a painter. The conflict between the tyrannical father and the willful son pervaded the boy's early youth. When hardly eleven years old, so he says, he decided to thwart his father's plans by means of passive resistance. He no longer studied, but went on a quiet and stubborn strike at school, in the hope that his father would renounce his cherished wish of some day seeing his son in

a government job. With his father's death, when Adolf was thirteen years old, the struggle came to an end.

The boy had no difficulty with his mother. She spoiled him and allowed him to follow his inclinations without restraint. On his insistence she consented to take him out of the secondary school he hated so much and promised to send him to the Academy of Arts in Vienna. But she, too, died soon afterward. What Hitler did during the time between his father's and mother's deaths, he does not say. He is strangely reticent when speaking of those "happiest days" of his childhood. We do not even know from his statements how long this carefree period lasted. "Two years later," he writes, "my mother's death brought these beautiful plans to an abrupt end." The "two years later" can refer only to the time of his father's death. Thus the reader gets the impression that Adolf Hitler was an orphan at the age of fifteen, alone in the world, without solicitous brothers and sisters. He tells how he packed his bundle and left the small provincial town of Linz, where his mother had last lived, for Vienna, to try his luck in the metropolis of the Hapsburg Monarchy. All that he possessed besides some underwear, clothes, and a stack of drawings in his bag, was "an unshakable will in his heart" to make something of himself.

For the popularization of the Fuehrer, Nazi propaganda later made good use of the picture of the boy standing alone and forsaken in the hubbub of Vienna. It is not difficult, however, to point out a few inconsistencies which have escaped the autobiographer. Between the death of his father in January, 1903, and that of his mother in December, 1908, fully six years elapsed which Adolf spent at home, without any serious occupation, as a spoiled darling of his mother. These are years which are of the greatest importance for the future development of any human being. In the picture of the man with an iron will they would, to be sure, have had no place. Thus Hitler passes over them with light strokes.

Not a boy of fifteen, but a nearly mature young man of nineteen was left alone at his mother's death. No, that also is not quite true. For even though Hitler does not mention his sisters and brothers anywhere with so much as a word, they were nevertheless there. For a man who has made racial ancestry and pureness of blood the decisive factors in the life of his subjects, the great reserve in describing his own origin is somewhat surprising. To critical biographers like Heiden and Olden we are indebted for noteworthy disclosures about the Hitler family.

In the first place there is Hitler's father, whose influence on the boy's development was undoubtedly great. Alois Hitler was the illegitimate child of a peasant girl, whose family name, Schicklgruber, he bore until he was forty, when he married *K*lara Poelzl, Adolf's mother. The name of *K*lara Poelzl's mother had been Hitler, and there seems to be some foundation for the assumption that Alois Schicklgruber, on his mother-in-law's insistence, changed his name to Hitler.

*K*lara Poelzl was Alois Schicklgruber's third wife. The first marriage had ended in divorce. Hitler's eldest half-brother, Alois, was born of this marriage. After Adolf's phenomenal success Alois, waiter by trade, settled in Berlin and opened a café-restaurant at the Wittenberg Platz. He now invites the passing burgher with the intimate and *gemütlich* sign "ALOIS."

One month after the death of his first wife Hitler's father married a second time. Two months later a daughter was born to him, Angela, who afterwards was to take care of Hitler's household in Munich and in Berchtesgaden. The father's second marriage ended a year later with the death of the second wife. Ten months thereafter Alois Schicklgruber, now forty, married a third time—this time a girl of seventeen, Adolf Hitler's mother-to-be. Two other children of this marriage are living: a boy, Edmund, and a daughter, Paula. Little is known about either of them.

At the age of fifty-six Hitler's father retired, unusually early for a state official. Three times he changed his residence, before he finally settled down near Linz.

Of all this nothing is said in Hitler's autobiography. There he draws a picture of a family of three, living in modest but strictly regulated conditions. He likes to call his father *alter Herr,* a form of address in favor among student fraternities at German universities. His father's career, which was in no way unusual, becomes in Hitler's description the triumph of an iron will. The little house and garden which Alois Hitler-Schicklgruber had acquired toward the end of his life has in *Mein Kampf* grown to the size of a country estate.

Poverty is no disgrace. The same groups who got no end of amusement from jokes about the first President of the Weimar Republic, "the red saddler" Ebert, and his wife, have, on the other hand, known well how to exploit for propaganda purposes Hitler's humble origin. That he came from the "common" people was of tremendous help to Hitler in winning over the German lower middle class. But to be able to preside over a bourgeois Germany, the Fuehrer must be the child of a respectable family. Poor but clean.

It becomes a little difficult to fit this father—forever migrating, with an inclination for alcohol, married three times, himself an illegitimate child and father of a daughter born two months after his marriage—into the Third Reich's conception of "blood and soil" aristocracy. Hence his picture in *Mein Kampf* is heavily retouched.

The longing for bourgeois respectability and social recognition is even more noticeable in Hitler's descriptions of his "Viennese years of learning and suffering."

Vienna

The four or five years which Adolf Hitler spent in Vienna after the death of his mother formed his character in all its important

traits. They were terrible years. He came to Vienna with "the proud confidence" that he would be accepted in the Academy of Arts. He failed in his entrance examination.

His drawings were returned as unsatisfactory. "I was so sure of success that the news of my not being accepted came like a bolt out of the blue," he writes. But he closes the matter with a remark typical for him. The Director of the Academy assured him that the drawings he had shown, although bad as far as painting goes, revealed surprising architectural talent. "That I had attended neither a School of Architecture nor had had any instruction in architecture amazed my examiners."

Thus the defeat which the would-be painter had suffered is discreetly transformed into professional recognition of his natural abilities as an architect. And Adolf, who had just left the Academy building "in the greatest depression," was convinced in a very short time that he "would some day become an architect."

Still, entrance to the Architectural School of the Academy in Vienna required a completed formal preparatory training which Hitler did not have. "What I had missed in school out of stubbornness, was now to take its bitter revenge." By all ordinary standards, he felt, the fulfillment of his dream of becoming an artist was not possible. Seemingly insurmountable obstacles confronted him. But obstacles are there only to be overcome! The picture in his mind of his father, who had risen from cobbler to state official, inspired him to make his way in the world in spite of everything. The details of his attempt to make up for the wasted years, he does not relate. At the very beginning of the second chapter of his book the thread of the description of his further schooling or specialized studies breaks off. It closes with a dramatic declaration of thanks to fateful necessity "for tearing me away from the hollowness of a smug life, and for pushing Mother's boy out of his soft nest and giving him Dame Care for a foster-mother; for throwing the reluctant one into the

world of misery and poverty, thus allowing him to meet those for whom he was later to fight." Except for a few scattered comments the plan and the will some day to become an architect have been quietly dropped from Hitler's autobiography. In the next paragraph of his story, in which we expect to hear more of his development, the Fuehrer takes a big jump to his favorite topic, the "Jews and Marxists." The transition is most sudden!

The interrupted school period, the lost years of his youth, the collapse of his favorite plan, have left deep marks on Hitler's character. Even at the height of his power the shades of his earlier failures must haunt him. In his book, he breaks out with resentment: "So-called 'Intelligence' looks down with infinite condescension upon anyone who has not been dragged through the obligatory schools and thus had the necessary knowledge pumped into him."

But he later avenged himself on school, science, and professional architects. His contempt for "book-learning," his condemnation of the school as a place of spiritual culture, his love of Caesarian buildings the plans for which he now draws, betray the lasting effect of the failures of his youth. Nothing gives him more satisfaction, besides military parades, than to guide admiring visitors through the splendor of his new Reich Chancellery in Berlin. The local boy who made good recently ordered an Opera House to be erected in Linz where he had heard his first opera. Needless to say the architecture of the building is inspired by himself.

The Fuehrer never forgets a defeat. Woe to the institutions in which he has failed! And woe to the country in which for years he suffered the greatest personal humiliation!

The Chauvinist

In Vienna, the city which "even today can awaken only gloomy thoughts" in him and which in retrospect seems to him the "embodiment of incest," Hitler became a fanatical Nationalist, a fanatical

hater of "Marxism," that is, of organized labor, and a fanatical anti-Semite.

He brought from home an inclination to chauvinism. The history course in the Linz secondary school had already awakened "a little national fanaticism" in him and the social and political conditions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were fertile soil for its growth. The German-Austrian middle class—which represented an economically, socially, and politically privileged minority within the confusion of nationalities in old Austria—developed its German nationalism as a weapon in the struggle for its position. The old rivalry between Austria and Prussia had been decided in favor of the Prussians with the victory of their army at Koeniggraetz in 1866. The victorious war of Germany against France, which followed in 1870-71, the founding of the Reich and its powerful industrial upsurge quite naturally had a strong attraction for the neighboring German-Austria. Hitler's contempt for the House of Hapsburg and for the entire Austro-Hungarian Dual-Monarchy, and on the other hand his ardent admiration for everything Reich-German, he shared with many advocates of a Greater Germany. The descriptions of his youth are tinged with pain and envy at being excluded from the glory and power of the Bismarckian Reich.

Why is it that Austria did not fight in this war [against the French]? Why not Father and all the others too? Are we not Germans like the rest of them? Don't we all belong together? This problem began for the first time to torment my little brain. With suppressed envy I had to listen to the answer to my cautious question—that not every German possesses the good fortune to belong to the Reich of Bismarck. I could not understand this.

In Vienna, he later compared "with proud admiration the rise of the Reich with the slow death of the Austrian state." Contempt for Austria and adoration for Imperial Germany were among the reasons which moved him to leave Vienna for Munich. At the begin-

ning of the War he offered himself as a volunteer in the Bavarian rather than the Austrian Army. But the humiliations which he had suffered in Vienna were one day to be avenged.

It is by no means a coincidence that among the Fuehrer's closest associates in the most responsible positions there are numerous foreign-born Germans. One might name the Baltic-German, Alfred Rosenberg, theorist and philosopher of National Socialism, who has probably influenced Hitler's views more than anyone else. Rosenberg's hatred for the Russian Revolution, the echo of which reverberated loud enough in the Baltic border states to strip the German landed gentry of their privileges, is reflected clearly in the foreign policy of German National Socialism. There is also the "Peasant-Leader" and Minister of Agriculture, Walter Darré, born in Argentina, "an outpost of struggling Germandom in South America," as the Nazis put it. The recognition which the Argentinians failed to show him he arranged for himself in Germany. In the first year of the Third Reich he presided over the unveiling of his own memorial, which "his grateful peasants" had erected in his honor in the Rhineland. Rudolf Hess, too, Private Secretary and personal lieutenant of the Fuehrer, was born outside of Germany—in Alexandria. The thwarted Nationalism of the "Egyptian" can now find compensation in an unrepressed authority.

Hitler and the Workers

The second of his outstanding traits, his contempt for and fear of organized labor, the custom official's son also inherited from his family environment. In his attempts to interest his son in a government job, Alois Hitler probably more than once spoke of the misery and dirt of the laborer's life, from which he had managed to rescue himself. "The environment of my youth was composed of groups of petty bourgeois, that is, of a world which has very little connection with the real manual laborer," Hitler writes. He then adds an

observation that proves his familiarity with the feelings of the lower middle class for the workers, so long as it refuses to unite its struggle for its own existence with theirs.

As strange as it may seem at first glance, the abyss existing between this social class, which is by no means well situated, and the workers, is often deeper than one would think. The reason for this—shall I say—enmity lies in the fear of a social group, which has but a short time ago risen from the ranks of the workers, that it may sink back into the old, scorned class, or at least that it may still be regarded as belonging to it.

The fear of the lower middle class, threatened with being dispossessed and pushed into the ranks of the workers, was later to become Hitler's powerful ally.

During his first year in Vienna, Hitler made a living as an unskilled laborer. When he for the first time experienced the actual life of a worker, the heavens split wide open on the young man who, well taken care of by his mother's pension, had heretofore abandoned himself to happy day-dreaming. To revel in an artist's career or in the heroic past of the German nation had surely been more pleasant than carrying mortar on a scaffolding.

But it was not alone the physical hardship of the work that depressed him. The feeling that he had lost caste weighed even more heavily upon the official's son. He detested the "moral coarseness" of his fellow workers and the "low level of their spiritual culture." The miserable existence of the working-class family filled him with horror. The very thought of having to spend his life in these depths was unbearable to him. Not for a moment would he consider joining his fellows in their fight for better living conditions.

Nothing characterizes him better than his own words when he describes his first contact with them:

My clothing was still fairly orderly, my language cultivated, and my personality reticent. I was still so much absorbed in myself and my fate

that I had very little time to worry about my environment. I only looked for work to keep from starving and to make possible my further education, no matter how gradual. Probably I would not have bothered about my new environment at all, if an incident had not occurred as early as the third or fourth day, which forced me to a decision. I was asked to join the union. My knowledge of union organization was at that time nil. I should have been able to prove neither the necessity nor the superfluousness of its existence. Since I was told that I must join, I refused. I gave the reason that I did not understand it, and would not be forced into anything. Perhaps because of my first reason they did not throw me out at once. They may have hoped to convert me in a few days or to compel me to give in. In either case, they were thoroughly mistaken. A fortnight later I no longer could have joined, even though I had otherwise been willing. In this fortnight I got to know my environment better and no power in the world could have moved me to join an organization whose representatives I had seen in such an unfavorable light.

During the first days I was irritated. At noon some went to the nearest pubs, while the others remained on the construction lot and there ate their usually miserable lunches. They were the married men, whose wives brought them their soup.

I drank my bottle of milk and ate my piece of bread somewhere off by myself, and studied carefully my new surroundings or pondered over my miserable condition.

The "terror" at the job, by the way, doesn't seem to have been quite so terrible. For not only did the workers let him stay on without joining the union, but they were even patient enough to listen to the talks with which he blessed them. Even then Hitler was not able to listen quietly when others spoke. When he heard the workers talk politics, his self-control was at an end.

At first I tried to keep quiet. Finally, however, I could bear it no longer. I began to take a stand, began to argue. But I was forced to the realization that this was completely futile, as long as I did not at least arm myself with definite knowledge on the disputed points. So I set

out to get acquainted with the sources of their would-be wisdom. Book after book, pamphlet after pamphlet, now took their turn.

Which books the Fuehrer actually read, he nowhere informs us. That he certainly did not read and digest any of the scientific works of Marxism becomes evident from a later passage referring to the year 1919-20. Not until he heard a lecture by Gottfried Feder, he says, did Marxist economics suddenly become clear to him. However, he did not have a very competent teacher in Feder, who, under the pressure of questions put to him by political opponents, once admitted that he had never read *Das Kapital* of Marx, which he was discussing. In any case, Hitler has never with so much as a sentence—spoken or written—shown signs of possessing even a smattering of the scientific findings of Marxism, whose destruction he has made the task of his life. Considering the weapons with which he fights, he need not know Marxism to be able to "refute" it.

Hitler would have us believe that the Social Democratic masons were greatly disturbed by the little hero's heated discussions.

"I argued, each day better informed about their own knowledge than my opponents themselves." A nineteen-year-old against an entire crew of Reds! The scene vividly reminds us of the National Socialist legend which tells how Hitler during the War captured, single-handed, an entire platoon of Frenchmen. The Military rewarded his alleged heroism with the Iron Cross, first class. (The records seem to have been lost.) But the unappreciative workers rewarded him finally by chasing him from the building.

A few of the opposition leaders forced me either to leave the building at once or to be thrown from the scaffolding. Since I was alone and resistance seemed futile, I preferred to follow the former advice, enriched by a new experience.

But none must think that the Fuehrer ever took a defeat lying down.

I left filled with disgust, but at the same time so upset that I could not possibly turn my back on the matter. No, after the first upheaval of revolt, my persistence won out, and I decided to go back to the job. I was confirmed in my decision by Want, who embraced me with her pitiless arms, for in a few weeks I had eaten up my small savings. Now I had to return, whether I liked it or not. And the game began once again, only to end as before.

At that time I reasoned with myself: Are these human beings, worthy of being part of a great nation?

A painful question, for if the answer were "yes," then the struggle for a pure united German people is not worthy of the sacrifices which the best would have to make for such scum; but if the answer were "no," then our nation is poor in *human beings.*

Himself one of these "best," the young man, whose main accomplishment consisted of wasted school years, made the decision once and for all to take the work and sacrifice upon his own shoulders to save the "scum" of the nation. He found a compromise between "yes" and "no." The leaders of the scum must be destroyed; only then can part of the scum be won back.

How long Adolf Hitler worked as a laborer can be determined rather accurately. He left his parental home after the death of his mother in December, 1908. It is unlikely that he came to Vienna until the beginning of 1909. He tells us that in the year 1909-10 his fortunes changed. He no longer had to eke out an existence as a day laborer, but worked "then as a minor draftsman and aquarellist." A companion of these times has told that this period began in August, 1909. Thus Hitler's life as a working man lasted altogether half a year at the most. There is every reason to assume that it was not half a year of uninterrupted steady work. And thus ended forever this famous, much-praised episode of his life.

Today the Fuehrer is celebrated in official Germany as the symbol of the German worker. When he commands the German industrial masses to understand the vital necessities of his new imperialism, he speaks as one of them.

The Poorhouse

But what did he do in the remaining three or four years he spent in Vienna? Why such painful memories connected with this city? A "painter in water colors who painted to earn his bread and studied for pleasure," a twenty-year-old, healthy man with such many-sided interests in the theater, art, and politics could enjoy his young life even in limited and modest circumstances. The dark secret, which remains carefully veiled and hidden in his autobiography, is the wretched existence of a man early stranded among the real dregs of society. The picture of years spent in the Asylum for the Poor and Homeless, fed as a beggar with charity-soups in the monastery courts—the picture of life among the derelicts in a city of millions cannot be passed on to his contemporaries.

Ernst Roehm, one of Hitler's fighting companions, had the courage to say of himself that the path of his life had sometimes led him into depths the sight of which would make a Babbitt shudder. Hitler did not possess Roehm's courage.

His language becomes general and vague whenever he alludes to the "five years of misery and grief" he went through in Vienna. What their nature was, he dare not say.

Not until much later did his companion of those Viennese days, the draftsman Reinhold Hanisch, relate details of his life with Hitler. He too had come to Vienna in 1909. In a flophouse where he spent the night he met Hitler for the first time. He describes the scene in these words: "On the very first day I found sitting beside the bed assigned to me a man who wore nothing but an old pair

of trousers, torn to shreds—Hitler. His clothes were being deloused, because for days he had wandered about aimlessly without a roof over his head, and he was in a dreadfully neglected condition."

"My clothes were still fairly orderly," Hitler had written in describing his first days at the construction job. Hanisch's presentation does not sound incredible. Months have passed in the meantime.

"I asked him what he was living on and he hinted that for several days he had depended upon begging in the streets for his food. His hunger was so apparent that I was moved to share all I had with him—a quarter of a loaf of bread. Gratefully he accepted the gift and admitted that he had not eaten all day."[1]

Hanisch and Hitler go into business together. Hitler paints postcards, for which Hanisch tries to find customers. They divide their income. The business feeds them meagerly. Hitler is not a disciplined worker. He prefers reading newspapers or going to the Parliament to listen to the speeches. When he returns he can talk politics for hours, and he doesn't care in the least whether or not his flophouse companions listen to him. He hates the politicians, the ignoramuses who get good pay for their nonsense. He hates the Hapsburgs, who try to gain favor among their Slavic subjects and suppress the German elements. He hates workers and their unions. He hates his environment. He hates. Not a single word expressing pleasure in living is to be found in his writing. Not a single suggestion that he had a friend or ever loved a girl. Dressed in a shabby black frock coat which reaches to his knees, his hollow cheeks framed with a beard, his hair—in the bohemian fashion of that time—hanging down his neck, the artist starves through life absolutely alone. He breaks with Hanisch, too, when the latter fails to get the price he expected for a picture. He hates everyone. And now he finds the object on which to concentrate: The Jews. In

hating the Jews, he hates all the unpleasantness of his ruined existence. One day he will take a horrible vengeance upon the Jews for all his suffering and disappointment.

The Anti-Semite

"Today it is difficult, if not impossible, for me to tell just when the word *Jew* first gave me occasion for special thought," he writes, preparatory to his telling how he became an anti-Semite. His father was not anti-Semitic, and even in school he had not been imbued with hatred for the Jews. He says he recalls that in school there was a Jewish boy of whom he was always wary. But this he ascribes solely to the fact that the Jewish pupil was a tattletale. In Linz the difference between Jews and Gentiles had not yet become apparent to him, because the few Jews who lived there had "occidentalized their external appearance in the course of the centuries." Their features were too "human" for him to differentiate. Even in Vienna it had taken him considerable time to be able to distinguish the Jews among the thronging crowds, though it was not difficult to tell the orthodox Eastern Jew by his clothes.

Anti-Semitism thrived in the social peculiarities of the Hapsburg Empire. The nearness of Poland and Rumania with their large Jewish populations, the emigration of Galician Jews to the Danubian capital, where there were better possibilities for earning a livelihood, the sharp national battles within the Hapsburg Monarchy had always favored anti-Semitic currents in the German-Austrian middle class. Georg von Schoenerer's Pan-German Party [2] and the even more influential Christian-Social Party [3] of the Viennese Burgomaster Karl Lueger were both anti-Semitic. Schoenerer and Lueger—especially Lueger—were Hitler's prototypes of popular leaders. To them he dedicates dozens of pages in *Mein Kampf* in admiring acknowledgment.

If we are to believe his own story, it was his hate of the Haps-

burgs and his nationalistic fervor for Germany which set him first on the road to anti-Semitism. The intriguing on the part of the great Viennese press for favor at the Court of the cursed Hapsburg repelled him. That their sympathies should be more with France and French culture than with the admired Reich of Bismarck, aroused his indignation. His original leaning toward liberal democracy had for this reason cooled off. Now and then he would reach for the *Deutsche Volksblatt,* the organ of the Christian-Socialists, but the violent anti-Semitism which it advocated did not yet find favor with him.

His own "study" of another side of cosmopolitan life revealed to him the Jewish danger in full—he discovered that in Vienna the Jews had a monopoly of sin. Here for the first time in his book we come upon expressions which throw some light upon Hitler's sex life. It may be interesting for the psychiatrist that *Mein Kampf* speaks of sexual matters almost exclusively in connection with anti-Semitism.

When in the evening I walked through the streets and alleys of Leopoldstadt [the poor Jewish district of Vienna], I was made the unwilling witness of scenes which remained hidden to the great majority of the German people until the War gave the soldiers on the Eastern Front the opportunity to see similar sights, or more accurately, forced them to see them.

What hypocrisy from the mouth of a man in whose proximity and with whose knowledge countless boys were being prostituted by Nazi officers! And, quite aside from the infamous lie that more Jews than others were professional prostitutes in Vienna, did not the German troops at the Western Front, with whom Hitler served, know the German Army brothels in the occupied territories of Belgium and France? Even Hitler could not very well unmask the responsible German officials as Jews.

But more than in the truth of his assertions, we are at the moment interested in the nature of the man who advanced them. One thing we may say with certainty: His "study" of prostitution in Vienna gave him the decisive push which made him a convinced and active anti-Semite.

When for the first time I thus recognized in the Jew the manager of this revolting trade of the metropolis' scum, as cold as he was shamelessly efficient and businesslike, a shiver ran down my spine. But then I exploded. I no longer evaded the Jewish problem. Now I faced it.

His alleged observations seem to have impressed him deeply. The rape scene, especially, has caught his fancy. "The dark-haired Jew-boy lurks in ambush for hours, satanic joy upon his face, for the unsuspecting girl, whom he poisons with his blood, thus stealing her from her people." Then again he tells of the "rape of hundreds of thousands of girls by bow-legged repulsive Jew-bastards." And another time: "These dark parasites on our people deliberately rape our inexperienced young blond girls and thus destroy something which cannot be replaced in this world."

Another noteworthy detail should not be overlooked in the search for the sources of Hitler's passionate, obsessed Jew-hatred. Not until the Social Democratic masons had threatened to throw the anti-union day laborer, Adolf Hitler, from the construction scaffolding and thrash him soundly, did the anti-social role of the Jew in all its import dawn upon him. At that moment he discovered that Social Democracy and the labor unions were entirely dominated by Jews and forever thereafter "Jews" and "Marxists" are identical for him.

-- Thus the function of the Jew in Hitler's life becomes simple and obvious: Hitler wanted to be an artist but failed. He then found out that the Arts are dominated and polluted by the Jew. Hitler wanted to convert the workers to nationalism and failed. He saw

them in the grip of the international Jew. Hitler spent his youth without friends, without love. Naturally, love has been commercialized by the Jew. This dirty and ugly though more successful competitor takes unfair advantages over the noble and restrained Aryan.

The philosopher has found the touchstone of Wisdom. He can now erect a logical structure of the world that has no contradictions: the Jew furnishes all the necessary explanation and justification.

"Thus a long inner struggle came to an end."

From the "weak cosmopolitan" who had come to Vienna he had grown into "a fanatical anti-Semite."

The Bachelor

Concerning Hitler's sexual predispositions many rumors are in circulation. Almost all of them are without foundation, because those who really know will not or can no longer tell. It cannot be said with certainty either that he is homosexual or that he is impotent, although he undoubtedly is suffering from sexual repressions.

Homosexuality thrived in Hitler's immediate environment for many years. Roehm and Heines, two of his highest SA officers, have never made a secret of their homosexuality. The orgies which they held almost publicly more than once aroused storms of protest within the Nazi movement itself. Count Helldorf's homosexual relations with the adventurer Hanussen, alias Steinschneider, did not cost him his post as Chief of the Berlin police forces. It cost only Hanussen's life. As early as 1927 a delegation commissioned by Ludendorff requested Hitler to dismiss from the party certain SA officers who had been abusing boys in the Hitler Youth Organization. Heiden [4] reports Hitler's answer: "I don't give a hoot whether they — — — from the front or the back!" He protected his followers as long as he believed he was sure of their faithfulness. That Roehm and Heines were shot in 1934 because of their

abnormal inclinations, even a Goebbels was not able to convince the world. In spite of these facts, there is no known basis for the assumption that Hitler himself is homosexual—or ever has indulged in homosexuality.

On the other hand, it is a fact that he had not a few relationships with women, which, however, always came to an abrupt end. The most tragic of these was with his niece, Grete Raubal, the daughter of his half-sister Angela. The girl, who had worshiped her Uncle Adolf, shot herself in 1930 in his Munich apartment.

It has been rumored that many women have been close to him; none has stayed with him. From time to time, the Fuehrer thinks it opportune to demonstrate his interest in the other sex. He will then appear in public with a beautiful woman or invite a dancer to perform before a select gathering. But the act is all too obviously staged. The celebrated bachelor of the Third Reich, to whom millions of hearts are turned in hysterical ecstasy, has fundamentally remained as lonesome as the vagabond in the Viennese flophouse.

There has been much speculation as to the reason for Hitler's devoting so much attention in his book to syphilis. He accuses old Germany of not having made the struggle against this disease the central task, "*the* task of the nation."

By the use of any available means, a complete picture of all the damage caused by this most horrible disease should have been pounded into the people until they became convinced that everything depended upon the solution of this question—new life or decay.

Page upon page he dedicates to the past failings and future duties of the State to exterminate this plague. That in its spread he sees the hand of the Jew who is out to ruin the German race, was to be expected. But in his presentation there is also to be heard an unusually mild and understanding note of compassion for the endangered and the sick. Even a boy of fourteen must be shielded

from his sensual lust. "He has no right to waste these years in uselessly loafing about." Otherwise, Hitler says, one should not be surprised "that at this age syphilis already begins to look for its victims."

His words are full of pathos when he speaks of the sick and their duties to the race. The State must see to it that only the healthy beget children. *"He who is not healthy and worthy physically and mentally, may not perpetuate his sorrow in the body of his child."* The State must further "by means of education teach the individual that it is no disgrace to be ill and weak, only a regrettable misfortune, but that it is a crime and a disgrace to make this misfortune dishonorable through one's own egoism, by passing it on to innocent human beings." There is only one disgrace: to beget children in spite of one's own illness. But it is a high honor if the "innocently sick one" renounces parenthood. *"Conversely, it must be considered reprehensible to withhold healthy children from the nation."*

Is the childless Hitler then to be honored for renunciation or is he behaving reprehensibly against the vital interests of the Aryan Race and the National State?

The War

Hitler writes that he left Vienna for Munich in the spring of 1912. In the beloved Reich he hoped to find what the hated Hapsburg Monarchy had denied him. At that time he was twenty-three. Only terrible memories united him with his home and Vienna. "It made me sick merely to think of this Babylon of races."

The entire structure of his view of life was already erected in its final form. He notes with satisfaction that in his further life "only details needed to be added."

Whether or not there is more than a mistake behind the error in time has so far not been proved. Actually he did not go to Germany until 1913, as is apparent from police registration. The terrible

poverty of the years in Vienna does not seem to have haunted him so fiercely after he went to Munich, even though his life there did not distinguish itself in any way from that of other poor and unknown painters, of whom there were many in Munich, the city of the Arts. But the reality of the Second Reich [5] was vastly different from his dreams, and no one will therefore be surprised to see him soon exposing the internal weaknesses of Germany. Into the prosaic course of an unsatisfying life the World War struck like lightning. It found Hitler ready to throw himself jubilantly into its arms.

Even as a boy of ten he had been enthusiastic about "everything which had any connection with war or with soldiers." A book about the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 had been "the most profound inner experience" to him. The Boer War had appeared like "sheet lightning":

> I waited impatiently for the daily news and devoured news flashes and reports; I was happy to be able to witness this heroic battle, even if it were only from a distance. The Russo-Japanese War already found me considerably more mature.

Proudly he tells of himself that all efforts to make him a pacifist had failed. The long period of peace which had seemed ahead was to him an "undeserved meanness of fate." "Why could one not have been born a hundred years earlier, say, at the time of the Wars of Liberation, when a man did not have to possess a business to be appreciated!" The World War therefore came as a fulfillment of the dreams of his youth—and as an escape from the misery of his humdrum existence. With the following words he describes his feelings in those tragic days when the breath of the entire civilized world was held back with horror:

> To me those hours came like a salvation from the bitter feelings of my youth. Even today I am not ashamed to say that I, overcome with a

storm of enthusiasm, sank upon my knees and thanked Heaven from an overflowing heart for having let me live in this age.

He enlisted as a private in the Bavarian Army and participated in the entire campaign on the Western Front. The loneliness of his civil life followed him into the army, too. He never wrote or received a letter by field-post; he received no packages from home. His comrades considered him queer. He would sit brooding for hours in some corner away from them, staring into space, and then suddenly condemn with wild accusations Germany's invisible enemies who were working for its downfall. Of course he meant the Jews and Marxists. As far as discipline and obedience to his officers were concerned, he was a model soldier. In 1916 he received a slight shrapnel injury. After the wound healed, he immediately reported again for service at the Front. He received several citations, but strangely enough he never got beyond the rank of sub-corporal, the first rank above a private in the German Army.

A hot argument has started over the Iron Cross, first class, which Hitler later pinned to his SA uniform. When and for what could he have received it? The information is contradictory. Olden[6] relates no less than seven different versions, all having issued from Nazi sources. One is that he captured twelve Frenchmen in a dug-out; another that he surprised a French officer and twenty men in a cellar and disarmed them; yet another relates that it was an English tank that he tricked into a grenade-crater, where the crew drowned. The time, too, of the heroic deed ranges in the various versions from the Autumn of 1915 to October, 1918; the date of the award is once given as August 4, 1918, and another time as October 4. According to the *Angriff,* Goebbels' organ, the award was given some time between October, 1916, and October, 1918. It has never been proved officially. The history of his regiment, to be sure, informs us that Hitler belonged to it, but there is no mention of his bravery.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution

The Revolution of 1918 found him in the hospital once more; this time, as he writes, blinded from poison gas. In the course of a month the illness seems to have been completely cured. After the military defeat, Hitler, now thirty, faced a void. Germany's loss of the War was a terrible blow to him. All sacrifices for nothing! And why? The same enemies who had crushed all the hopes of his life were here at work, too. Jews and Marxists had broken the resistance of the German people from within. They must be dealt with. Not until they are wiped out can the struggle for world domination be resumed. That Germany must fight a new world war, even if the political and military preparation should take decades, is clear to him beyond the shadow of a doubt. In the future he will devote all his strength to this one goal.

"I decided to become a politician." With this sentence Hitler ends a chapter in his book; with this sentence he begins a new chapter in his life. Gone are all his plans of becoming an artist or an architect. His entire future life is to be devoted to revenge.

Death to the Jews and Marxists! Death to all those who are determined to stand in the way of Germany's imperialist rebirth, at home or abroad!

The city of Munich, where he now goes, is no longer the pleasant, easy-going, cordial city of pre-War times. Even in the year 1916, when he went there on leave after his injury, the depressed, defeatist attitude of the Bavarians and their hatred for Berlin had shocked him. He had traced it back to the undermining work of the Jews. Then the Revolution had come. The Bavarians had first of all chased out their "venerable Royal House" of Wittelsbach, as Hitler reverently puts it. The democratic Republic was followed by a Soviet Republic, and the Soviet Republic was crushed in a bloody fight by the Freikorps,[7] armed and financed with the help of the

Social Democratic Government in Berlin. The era of Reaction had begun.

Hitler lived in Munich during the Soviet Republic. What he did at that time he nowhere tells. He only mentions in one place that the Central Committee of the revolutionary Government wanted to have him jailed because he had earned "its disapproval." Eye-witnesses of that time have reported that Hitler spoke at mass-meetings in favor of Social Democrats as opposed to the radicals.

A few days after the freeing of Munich, I was appointed to the commission investigating revolutionary activities in the Second Infantry Regiment. This was my first more or less purely political activity.

Behind this apparently innocent sentence is hidden his co-operation in some of the most dastardly deeds of those bloody days. In a little biography, which a Hitlerite wrote in 1923 with the consent of the Fuehrer, is the following: "Ordered to testify before the investigating commission, his accusatory documents bring ruthless clarity into the shamelessness of the military betrayals of the Jew-dictatorship during the Soviet period in Munich."[8] This can all be said more simply. Hitler betrayed his comrades to the counter-revolutionary execution squad. Informer and hangman of the soldiers with whom he had lived—these were his first political offices. In his biography of Hitler, Heiden has a detailed eye-witness account of the work of the "investigating commission." In the barracks where Hitler was living with a number of "Red soldiers," apparently in complete harmony, the "Whites" one day appeared. Every tenth man of the "Reds" was stood against the wall and shot. Hitler had been separated from the rest before the executions began. The "Whites" were taking good care of their informer.

His chance came when a few reactionary Reichswehr officers discovered his talent as a speaker. In one of the courses organized by the Reichswehr for the purpose of "inculcating the troops with

nationalism," that is, of undermining the Weimar Republic, a soldier had opposed Jew-baiting.

This stimulated me to reply. The overwhelming majority of the men taking the course agreed with me. The result of the matter, however, was that a few days later I was appointed so-called educational officer in a Munich regiment.

His job now was to bring the soldiers, whose discipline at that time was "rather weak," back into the fold of reaction.

The Nazi Party

In his capacity as informer for the Reichswehr he also became acquainted with the political party out of which the NSDAP (*National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei*—National-Socialist German Workers' Party) grew. One of his officers had ordered him to look into a political group which called itself the German Workers' Party. Certainly the Reichswehr had no business in politics and no right to bother about the political activities of the population. But it was already at that time a state within a state and was assuming an authority which a weak democratic Government did not dispute. The informer found from about twenty to twenty-five people assembled in the small meeting hall. He already knew the speaker. It was Gottfried Feder, who also lectured in the Reichswehr courses. Hitler sat down quietly and looked the assembly over; they belonged "chiefly to the lower strata of the population." Everything seemed to proceed in the usual manner of one of the countless small political meetings of the Germany of that time, until "a professor" got up and argued against Feder. That was Hitler's cue. He forgot that he had come as a spy and now took part in the discussion. At the close of the meeting, Anton Drexler, the Chairman of the "German Workers' Party," asked Hitler to read a

pamphlet he had written. It bore the title: *My Political Awakening*. Hitler read it the following morning in his little room in the Infantry Barracks. The contents intrigued him. The author had progressed from Marxism to "national thinking"—"a development which I had experienced myself twelve years before." But in spite of his interest in the pamphlet, Hitler was about to forget the entire matter, when a week later he received a notice from the German Workers' Party that he had been accepted as a member. He had never applied for membership.

Naturally, I was more than surprised at this manner of "recruiting" members, and I did not know whether I should be angry or amused. I had never thought of joining an existing party, because I wanted to found my own. So this suggestion was out of the question as far as I was concerned.

But then he changed his mind and joined the ridiculously small party, even though there was "nothing printed, no membership cards, not even a rubber stamp—only evident good faith and an honest will." He became its member Number 7.

In the very smallness and obscureness of the group he saw a chance for himself. Where else could he have played a role?

That I was poor and without means seemed relatively easy to bear, but it was more bitter to be one of the nameless, one of the millions, whom Chance lets live or die without even those nearest taking any notice. In addition there was the difficulty which was bound to arise from my lack of formal education.

After two days of painful worrying and pondering he came to the conclusion that he had to take this step. It was, as he says, the most important decision in his life.

A more malicious trick of Fate could not be imagined. Hitler,

who was to build up the most powerful political party Germany had ever known, found his way to it while he was carrying out his duties as a spy; and he became a member of it against his will.

That was in 1919. Four years later he considered himself strong enough to attempt to seize the Government by means of a *Putsch*.

TWO

Hitler's Program

"Territory as the goal of our foreign policy and a new ideologically sound, unified foundation as the goal of our political action at home."

Mein Kampf

His Philosophy of Life

THE world looks like this to Hitler: Nature has populated the earth with living beings of all sorts. Among them an endless and merciless struggle for existence prevails. The right to live is their supreme law. The strong conquer and the weak must die; and this is as it should be. For only by means of the pitiless elimination of the weak can Nature develop.

Man is subject to Nature's iron will just as animals and plants are subject to it. "In the end, nothing but the instinct of self-preservation is victorious. Under its pressure so-called humanity, as an expression of a combination of stupidity, cowardice, and vain conceit, melts like snow in the March sun. In eternal war humanity has grown—in eternal peace humanity must die."

The idea that man might be able to conquer Nature, Hitler derisively calls pacifist and "typically Jewish in its impudence and stupidity." All attempts of humanity to revolt against the inexorable logic of Nature, will in the end harm only the transgressors them-

selves. Want, disease, misfortune, and finally death are their certain punishment. "Therefore, he who would live must fight, and whoever will not fight in this world of eternal struggle does not deserve to live."

Nature is imbued with the universal urge for purer breeding. For this reason she has given her creatures the instinct for the preservation of the species. Only through pairing strains with like strains can the strongest and most valuable offspring develop. The progeny of two "not quite equally well-bred beings" cannot achieve the racial superiority of the better of the parents.

Such pairing is at variance with the will of Nature for the progress of life in general. This end is achieved not in the pairing of superior with inferior, but in the uncompromising victory of the former. The stronger must rule and has no right to unite with the weaker and thus to sacrifice his own strength. He who is born a weakling may consider this cruel, but that is because he is only a weak and narrow-minded human being.

Thus Nature or Providence—Hitler uses both concepts interchangeably and in the same sense—subjects the whole of humanity to its laws, but it treats its members differently according to the race to which they belong. The function of some races is to rule, of others to submit. Providence has made some the executors of its desire for higher breeding; for the others remains the consolation of fulfilling Nature's eternal will by serving the stronger willingly.

The chosen are determined by blood. Blood is the basis and substance of the race.

The less the blood of a people is mixed, the purer is the race. Still this does not mean that the race which has the purest blood is the best. The Negro, for example, may, from the point of view of blood composition, be quite pure racially; yet Hitler puts this "born half-monkey" beneath the limit where the human species

begins. Therefore blood must not merely be pure; it must be of a definite quality, so that Nature can depend upon it to carry out her evolutionary scheme. The race whose blood is most highly qualified to this end is the "Aryan race." It was destined to be the bearer of all human development probably since the beginning of time.

It is a useless undertaking to argue about what race or races were the original bearers of human culture and thus the founders of all that we include in the concept *humanity*. It is so much simpler to ask this question for our own time. And here the answer is easily and clearly reached. Whatever we see before us today in the way of human culture, art, science, and invention is almost completely the creative product of the Aryan. But this very fact allows the not unfounded conclusion that he alone was the founder of superior humanity in general, and for that reason represents the prototype of all that we understand by the word *man*.

What Hitler actually means by "Aryan race" he nowhere makes clear. As a matter of fact he would have great difficulties in defining it. Science does not know the term Aryan in a racial sense. The word has nothing to do with blood, physical appearance, or mental capacities. According to the American Anthropological Association it simply denotes a "linguistic family." As such, it includes almost all European languages. But Hitler, further ironing the already flat theories of his authorities, the Frenchman Count Gobineau and the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain, manages to make their "scientific discoveries" the justification of his imperialist program.

According to him, the Aryans are the chosen people of the Lord. Certain qualities of their blood make them superior to all other races. They possess, for example, the gift of organization and of "inner experience," which has been denied other races. Everything lying outside the realm of "cold logic," such as ethical concepts or expressions of pure feeling, exist only in the Aryan. His highest

virtue is his readiness to sacrifice himself for the general interest of culture and humanity. "Every worker, every farmer, every inventor, every official, etc., who works, without ever being able to gain happiness and fortune himself, is a bearer of this high ideal, even if the deeper significance of his action were always to remain hidden from him."

But being the most idealistic and generous among God's creatures, the Aryan is also exposed to the danger of being misunderstood by inferior races and of falling prey to harmful ideas, for example, to the pernicious nonsense of pacifism.

Actually the pacifist-humane idea is all right when the superior man has previously conquered and subjected the world so completely that he has become the sole ruler of this earth. The idea in this form lacks the possibility of a dangerous result to the extent that its practical application becomes less and less possible and finally impossible. Therefore: first fight and then perhaps pacifism. [In the original German edition the last sentence reads: "Therefore: first fight and then see what can be done."]

--The Aryan race, however, can, through continued mixing with inferior blood strains, become so polluted that the original Aryan elements finally are submerged in it. Such a people is doomed to historical death. "The fusion of blood and the resultant lowering of the racial level are the only reasons for the dying off of ancient cultures; for human beings do not die of lost wars, but rather of the loss of that power of resistance which is the property only of pure blood."

Therefore, within the Aryan people there are for Hitler classes of varying value, depending upon the purity of their blood and the magnitude of the remaining, unharmed "racial kernel." For example, a people once predominantly Aryan but today "more and more falling prey to negrofication," and therefore destined to fall, are the French.

The German Aryans belong to the "highest humanity which by the grace of the Almighty has been presented to this world." Unfortunate circumstances have prevented them from achieving the goal Providence has set them; to rule the globe. One of the reasons is the German people's illusion of eternal peace on earth.

Whoever would truly and from the depth of his heart desire the victory of the pacifist idea in this world, would with all possible means have to fight for the conquest of the world by the Germans; for if the reverse were to happen, the last pacifist might easily die with the last German, since the rest of the world has never been so completely taken in by this unnatural and illogical nonsense as, unfortunately, our own people have. Thus whether we like it or not, we would have to decide to go to war in order to achieve pacifism.

Another of the reasons why the German Aryans are not yet the master of the world is their failure to retain the full purity of their race.

The German people lack that sure herd-instinct which has its basis in the unity of blood and which, in moments of danger, saves nations from their downfall, because all minor internal differences disappear at once when they oppose their common enemy, showing him the closed ranks of a unified herd. In the fact that our primary racial elements of the most varying kinds have remained unmingled, is to be sought the foundation for what we mean by "super-individualism." In peaceful times it may occasionally be of good service, but all in all it has cost us world domination. Had the German people in their historical development possessed that herd-like unity which other nations had, the German Reich would today probably dominate the whole globe. The history of the world would have taken another course, and no one can tell if in this manner the same end might not have been achieved which so many blinded pacifists today hope to beg for themselves through whining and sniveling *—a peace supported not by the olive branch of tearful pacifist females, but founded rather upon the victorious sword of a nation of rulers, taking*

the world into the service of a superior culture. . . . Even today our people suffer from internal differences. However, what brought us misfortune for the past and present, may be a blessing for our future. Because, no matter how harmful it was on the one hand that the complete union of our original racial elements did not take place and thus form a whole, unified body of people, it was just as fortunate on the other hand, since thus at least a part of our best blood has remained pure and evaded racial decline.

For the German people, the Savior does not come too late. It is the historical mission of National Socialism to bring together all the Germans in the world, to unite them into one German Empire, to lead the best racial elements among them into ruling positions in the new, the Third Reich[5] and to create the spiritual and material conditions under which Nature's final goal can be realized.

And herewith we pass from the domain of the general and philosophical into that of the concrete and political.

Annihilation of the Internal Enemy

Politics is for Hitler a means of fulfilling the eternal will of Providence that the strong must rule and the weak must fall. Just as human culture, according to him, did not begin until the Aryans subjugated inferior races, so the development of culture to greater heights cannot be reached unless the German people, destined to rule by blood and race, have conquered the place in the world which is their due.

But the German nation of rulers at present lies prostrate upon the ground, dishonored and defeated. Its domestic and foreign enemies have deprived it of the fruits of all its labors and sacrifices. Jews, Marxists, and Socialists drove the dagger into the back of the glorious German Army just before the final victory, and the conquerors sentenced the German people, in the most shameful peace treaty of all times, to eternal weakness. To settle accounts

with the domestic traitors, to break the chains of Versailles, to do away with the miserable Republic, and to give the German people, once they have recovered their political freedom at home, the armaments with which to fight for a place in the sun—these are the prerequisites for the new rise of the Reich.

A great variety of opponents is embraced in Hitler's category of "internal enemy." The term includes not only "racially inferior" or "impure" elements, such as "Jews and Jew-bastards," but everyone whose views and actions do not conform to Hitler's philosophy of life. Marxists and pacifists come under it as well as democrats and other believers in the parliamentary system; all Protestants and Catholics who fall for such insipid ideas as the universal brotherhood of man or such nonsense as international understanding; all scientists who refuse to be convinced that Hitler's "inexorable logic of Nature," the law of the jungle, must be applied to human society, or who may even doubt the correctness of the National Socialist racial theories. They are all unsuited for the honor of being responsible citizens of the new German Reich. Their open or secret opposition makes them a great danger. They must be broken with the aid of the two powerful weapons at the disposal of a "strong" government: terror and propaganda.

Twice the opportunity had been missed to clean up the "riffraff" at home. At the beginning of the World War the Kaiser should have put the leaders of the entire labor movement under lock and key, tried them, and rid the nation of them.

Pitilessly the entire military machine should have been used to extinguish this pestilence. The political parties should have been dissolved. The Reichstag should have been brought to its senses—if necessary with the aid of the bayonet—or, even better, suppressed at once. . . .

If at the beginning of the War and during the War twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had been exposed to poison gas all at once, just as hundreds of thousands of our very best

German workers of all classes had to suffer it in the trenches, the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain.

But instead of "pitilessly exterminating" the troublemakers and thus squashing the vermin once and for all, "His Majesty the Kaiser" extended his hand to them in reconciliation. They showed their appreciation by fomenting the Revolution of 1918.

The second unforgivable error the German government committed in 1923, during the French occupation of the Ruhr. Instead of utilizing the pitiable situation of the Reich and the incipient uprisings for the destruction of the "Marxist hordes," the Government called them to help in organizing passive resistance against the French. "A real National Government would, at that time, have desired disorder and unrest, if only to have provided a pretext for a final settling with the deadly Marxist enemies of our people."

With the "most brutal grip one should have seized the vipers who were feeding on our national body." Such an error must not occur a third time! The enemy within must be destroyed by any means whatsoever before Germany can fight foreign enemies. "For woe to us if victory is not the reward of the first day's battle. As soon as there is so much as a shadow of defeat over a people which is not quite free from internal enemies, its strength of resistance will break down and the opponent will be the undisputed victor."

Hitler himself puts the question: "Is it really possible to exterminate spiritual ideas by means of the sword? Is it possible to fight philosophies of life with brute force?" He answers the question himself, too:

Concepts and ideas, as well as movements with a definite spiritual basis, whether false or true, may be checked by means of force after a certain stage of their development, only if the physical weapons are at the same time the harbingers of a new explosive Idea or philosophy of life. . . .

Each attempt to fight a philosophy of life by means of violence comes to grief in the end if the struggle does not take the form of aggression for a new spiritual point of view. Only where two philosophies of life struggle with each other can the weapon of brute force, unyielding and ruthless, bring about a favorable decision for the side which it supports. . . .

[It must be perfectly clear that] perseverance is and always will be the primary prerequisite for a battle with the weapons of naked force. Only in a consistently uniform application of the methods for the suppression of a doctrine, *etc.* lies the possibility for the success of the intention. But as soon as violence gives way to indulgence—no matter how hesitantly—the doctrine which is to be suppressed will not only recover, but it will even be in a position to gain new life from each persecution; for after the lapse of such a wave of suppression, indignation over the sorrow suffered leads new followers to the old doctrine and the old followers will attach themselves to it with greater obstinacy and deeper hatred than before, and even renegade followers will try to return after the danger is over. In the consistently uniform application of force alone lies the first prerequisite for success. This persistence is never anything but the product of a certain spiritual conviction. Any force which does not grow from a solid spiritual base will be vacillating and uncertain. It lacks the stability which can be gained only from a fanatical view of life.

Propaganda and violence, applied constantly side by side, should lead to the internal union of the German people. Only with a united people can Hitler be expected to carry out the great task for which Providence has chosen him: to make Germany a world power once more. Upon this goal the entire activity of a nation must concentrate with fanatical determination. All other interests must be subordinated to this one. No sacrifices, no efforts must be shunned. The hearts of children must no longer be "poisoned" with the "curse of objectivity," when the "preservation of one's very existence is at stake." Science in the National Socialist State must be a means of furthering national pride. And much more important than scientific schooling for the young people is that

their "bodies be in the pink of condition." The girl's training, too, should be directed primarily toward physical development; spiritual and intellectual values are to have only a secondary role. The goal of feminine education must always be the "future mother," for the Fatherland needs soldiers.

The culmination of the whole educational process is to be military training. "Military service must be considered the final period of the normal education of the average German."

Hitler's Criticism of the Kaiser's Policy

Hitler is no raving visionary. He sees the political difficulties which stand in the way of a rise to world power by a conquered Germany, and he wishes to avoid the mistakes which in his opinion brought about the downfall of the old Reich. Therefore he submits the domestic and foreign policy of pre-War Germany to a severe criticism. He is especially disgusted with the "half-heartedness" which characterized its actions.

> Half-hearted was everything which was in any way under the influence of this Parliament [the Reichstag]—you may examine whatever you will.
>
> Half-hearted was its policy in dealing with the Poles; of stirring up without ever seriously pushing through. The result was neither a victory for Germany nor a reconciliation with the Poles; instead, enmity with Russia.
>
> Half-hearted was every attempt to solve the problem of Alsace-Lorraine. Instead of once and for all crushing with brutal fist the head of the French hydra, and afterward giving the Alsacians equal rights, neither was done. . . .
>
> All of this might yet have been bearable, if the power upon whose existence the country depended—the Army—had not also fallen victim to this general half-heartedness.
>
> The sins committed by the so-called "German Reichstag" in this direction would have alone sufficed to draw down upon it the curse of the German nation for all times. Upon the most miserable pretenses did these

parliamentary hoodlums steal from our people and smash the weapon of self-preservation, the only protection of their freedom and independence. If the graves of Flanders' plains were to open up today, the bloodied accusers would rise from them, hundreds of thousands of the finest young Germans who were driven into the jaws of death poorly and insufficiently trained—all because of the unscrupulousness of these parliamentary criminals. Millions of cripples and dead the Fatherland has lost, for no other reason but to make possible for a few hundred demagogues political corruption, blackmail, or even only the grinding out of their theories.

While Jewry shouted forth to the whole world, by means of the Marxist and democratic press, its lie of German militarism and thus attempted with every possible means to burden Germany, Marxist and democratic parties curtailed every adequate development of German national force. At the same time, the colossal crime which had been committed must have been apparent to anyone who gave so much as a thought to the matter of a future war, for which the entire nation must be mobilized and which would find millions of Germans facing the enemy poorly or insufficiently trained—all this because of the crookedness of these fine representatives of our own so-called "popular representation." But aside from the results of the brutal and coarse unscrupulousness of these parliamentary pimps, this lack of well-trained soldiers at the beginning of the war could only too easily lead to losing the war—a fact which the World War proved in so horrible a manner.

The loss of the struggle for freedom and independence of the German nation is the result of a half-heartedness and weakness (already apparent in time of peace) in the training of the entire popular force for the defense of the Fatherland.

Just as too few recruits were trained in the Army, likewise in the Navy, the same half-heartedness was at work to make the national defense weapon more or less worthless. . . .

Had the German battleships at Jutland had the same tonnage, the same armor, and the same speed as the English, a hail of the more efficient German 38-centimeter shells would have sunk the British fleet into a watery grave.

Added to this insufficient domestic preparedness for war was a sterile and dangerous foreign policy. The alliances Germany made were suicidal. Even a clear conception of the meaning of political treaties was lacking. Hitler is convinced that

> the fates of nations are welded closely together only by the hope for a common success in the sense of common acquisitions, conquests—in short, of a mutual growth in power. . . .
>
> *An alliance whose aim does not embrace the intention to wage war is senseless and worthless.* Alliances are formed for no other reason but war.

Instead of preparing for the battle to rule the world, the Empire pursued the portentous illusions of a "peaceful economic conquest of the world, the greatest nonsense which ever became the leading principle of statesmanship." The old Reich lacked the "inner strength for active aggressive plans of its own. It feared nothing so much as war, only to be finally forced into it at the most unfavorable hour. It wanted to escape fate and fate caught up with it. It dreamed of world peace and was stranded in a World War."

Thus before the War the whole German alliance-policy "ended in a defensive association of aged, historically retired, and pensioned states." According to Hitler this missing will for power is a most unfortunate result of the varying racial elements in Germany and the disruptive work of Jews, Marxists, and liberals, and their "parliamentary procurers."

The aimlessness and weakness of the Empire is, he believes to be traced back to the fact that the fundamental question was not asked: How, with a constantly growing population, could the future of the German nation be insured?

Hitler sees four ways of dealing with the population problem. "First, one might, according to French precedents, decrease the number of births artificially and thus evade the hazard of overpopulation."

But he turns down this method on the basis of his race theory.

As soon as propagation as such is reduced and the number of births decreased, the natural struggle for existence which allows only the fittest to survive will be replaced by a natural mania for saving at any cost even the weakest and sickliest. Thus the seed will be planted for a progeny which must become more pitiable, the longer this contempt for Nature and its will continues. The end, however, will be that such a nation will one day be deprived of its existence on this earth, for man may for a short time be able to spite the eternal laws of self-preservation, but revenge is bound to come sooner or later. A stronger race will drive off the weak, since the desire for existence in its final form will break all ridiculous ties of a so-called humanitarianism of the individual in order to replace it with the humanitarianism of Nature, which destroys weakness to make room for strength. He who therefore would insure the future existence of the German people by self-limitation of propagation, thereby robs it of its future.

A second method would be the one we so often hear praised and suggested nowadays: *domestic colonization*. This is a suggestion offered by many well-meaning people, but usually misunderstood by most of them, thus causing the greatest damage imaginable.

In Germany the term domestic colonization is used for the resettlement, begun toward the end of the nineteenth century, of peasant families in sparsely populated parts of the country, especially east of the Elbe. The Imperial regime, under whose supervision the resettlement was undertaken, wanted to kill two birds with one stone: first, to strengthen the German influence against the Poles in the eastern provinces; and second, to assure to the "Junkers," the landed gentry of these parts, the necessary labor for their large-scale agriculture. The plots sold to the settlers were as a rule too small to provide work and food for the entire peasant family. The settler was therefore forced to earn money on the neighboring estates of the gentry at sowing and harvest time. The poor peasant,

in taking over the settlement, went deep into debt, and thus became hopelessly tied down to his "property." In this way, the much-feared danger of labor's deserting the land was staved off. Carried on in this spirit, domestic colonization was fundamentally but another one of the many schemes to please the influential and reactionary Junkers.

The attitude of the big landowners toward domestic colonization changed at once when, after the War, the Weimar Republic tried to extend the settlement activity further and to create self-supporting homesteads. The Junkers began to fear for their giant estates. The settlement question will come up again in a later chapter. For the present, let us hear what else Hitler has to say about it.

> . . . on this earth there are still huge areas of unused land which but await the coming of the cultivator. It is only just to conclude that this soil has not been reserved by Nature for the future use of any one nation or race, but that it is land and soil for those people who have the strength to take it and the industry to cultivate it.
>
> Nature knows no political boundaries. It populates the globe with living beings and watches the tournament of strength. The strongest of heart and industry, as her dearest child, wins the lordship of existence. . . .
>
> For us Germans, however, the slogan "domestic colonization" is disastrous if only for the reason that it immediately confirms in us the opinion of having found a solution, which, in accordance with pacifist points of view, assures us an existence of gentle slumber. This doctrine, once taken seriously, will mean the end of all effort to regain the place in this world which by right belongs to us.
>
> Just as soon as the average German were to become convinced that this peaceful program would assure him a life and a future, any attempt at an active and thus alone fertile representation of our vital interests in the world would be at an end. Every truly useful foreign policy would of necessity have to be considered buried as a result of such a national standpoint, and with it the future of the German people in general.

For that reason it cannot be stated emphatically enough, says Hitler, that domestic colonization can never suffice "in securing a future for the German nation without increase of territory."

Also out of military considerations he rejects the idea of the German people growing its food within the German borders.

> . . . in the very size of the living space of a people there lies an important factor for the determination of its external safety. The greater the area at the disposal of a people, the greater is its natural protection; for military decisions against nations living on smaller, more condensed areas have always been carried out more quickly and easily and especially more effectively and completely than would be possible against nations living on larger areas. A large territory offers certain protection against irresponsible attacks, since success is attainable only after long and serious campaigns, and for that reason the risk of a foolhardy attack will appear too great, unless extraordinary circumstances prevail.
>
> Therefore extensiveness of the state makes easier the defense of the freedom and independence of a people, while conversely a small area actually invites the aggressor.

Of the "four possible ways of guaranteeing work and bread to the increasing population," Hitler has rejected the first two, birth control and domestic colonization. But two others remain:

> One could either conquer new soil, in order to take care of the surplus millions each year, and thus advance the nation on a basis of self-support; or one could decide by means of industry and trade to supply the needs of foreign markets, in order to make a living from the money earned.
>
> Therefore: Either territorial policy or a colonial and trade policy.

The best method which, unfortunately, the Empire did not choose, would, in Hitler's opinion, have been the conquest of new soil in Europe, adjacent to Germany, rather than in the Cameroons.

If one wanted territory in Europe, this could in a general way be acquired only at the expense of Russia. Then the Reich would, in the manner of the Knights of the German Order, have had to start marching on the old road to the East in order to conquer with the sword the land, and with the plow the bread for the German nation.

Such a policy would have made it necessary to form an alliance with England.

Only with England protecting the rear would it have been possible to start out upon the new Germanic conquest. . . .

To win England's approval, no sacrifice would then have been too great. It would have meant the renunciation of colonies and prestige at sea, and we would have spared British industry German competition. Only an unconditional position could have led to such a goal—renunciation of world trade and colonies; renunciation of a German battle fleet; concentration of the entire power of the State upon building the Army.

The result would probably have meant a momentary restriction, but a great and mighty future. . . .

Let us suppose that an intelligent German foreign policy had taken over the role of Japan in 1904, and it would be difficult to estimate the results Germany might have achieved.

It would never have come to a World War. The blood shed in the year 1904 would have saved tenfold that lost in 1914-18.

But what a position would Germany assume in the world today!

However, caught by the illusions of a "peaceful economic" penetration of the world, the old Reich decided in favor of the fourth method—in favor of trade and colonial politics, Hitler declares. Here also it was led by the same half-heartedness, the same ridiculous conceptions of peace:

Only children could believe in going out to get their bananas by means of friendly and correct behavior and by continually emphasizing their peaceful intentions in a peaceful competition of peoples, as has been

prattled so frequently and soothingly, without ever having to resort to arms.

No, once we entered upon this road, it was inevitable that England should one day become our enemy. It was worse than senseless to fly into a rage, though quite in keeping with our own harmlessness, because England would take the liberty of meeting our peaceful intentions with the violence of the brutal egoist. We, of course, would never have been able to do this.

From any point of view the alliance-policy of the Reich was disastrous. For

if European territorial policy was to be conducted only against Russia and with England as an ally, then on the other hand, a colonial and world trade policy was to be carried on successfully only against England with Russia. . . .

However, an alliance with Russia against England was not even considered, just as little as an alliance with England against Russia, since in both cases the end would have been war—an alternative which was to be averted by a trade and industrial policy.

Germany's alliance with the doomed Hapsburg monarchy made an understanding with Russia impossible. At the same time it weakened the enthusiasm for war on the part of the Triple Alliance —Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy—for Italy bitterly hated the Austrian ally.

The value of the Triple Alliance was negligible even from a purely psychological point of view, since the solidity of an alliance decreases in just the same measure as it restricts itself to the maintenance of the *status quo*. Conversely an alliance will become stronger the more the individual signers may expect to attain tangible, expansive goals specified by it. Here, too, as everywhere else, the strength lies not in defense but in offense.

There were in Germany at that time people who understood the dangers of its foreign policy and tried to correct them, says Hitler, and he mentions a memorandum of Ludendorff, then a colonel on the General Staff. But the warnings of "German Conservative Circles" were blown to the four winds.

Hitler's Foreign Policy

In the First Volume of his book, Hitler has exhaustively criticized the failings of Imperial Germany in order that a new Germany should not repeat them. In the Second Volume, written two years later, he lays down the guiding lines for a future German foreign policy. Its chief aim is unalterable: Germany must once more become a world power! That means infinitely more than just re-establishing the borders of the old Reich or doing away with the Treaty of Versailles.

Germany is no world power today. Even if our present military weakness were overcome, we would still have no right to this title. Of what significance is a state on our planet today whose ratio of population to territory is as pitiful as that of the present German Reich? In an age in which the whole world is gradually being divided up among countries, some of which cover almost entire continents, one can hardly call a world power a state whose political motherland is confined to the ridiculous area of scarcely 200,000 square miles.

As far as territory goes, the area of the German Reich disappears completely beside that of the so-called world powers. And no one should try to prove the contrary by naming England and France, because the English motherland is really nothing but the capital of the British world Empire, which calls almost a quarter of the surface of the world its own. The United States must be considered another of the giant states of first magnitude; then Russia and China. All of them enormous areas, some of which are ten times the size of the former German Reich. And even France must be counted among these countries. Not only is its army supplemented in an ever increasing degree by the colored popula-

tion of its gigantic empire, but racially also it is so rapidly falling prey to negrofication that one can actually speak of the beginning of an African state on European soil. If the development of France were to continue in the present manner for three hundred years, the last Franconian blood strains would drown in the European-African Mulatto-State. A powerful, closed settlement from Rhine to Congo, populated by a new inferior race which had slowly developed from continued bastard-ization. .

Today we find ourselves in a world of gradually growing states in which our own Reich is becoming ever less and less significant. It is important that we face this bitter truth with a cold and sober mind. It is important that we trace the German Reich through the centuries for a comparison of its population with that of other countries. I know that everyone will then be alarmed at the conclusion which I expressed already at the beginning of this discussion: *Germany is no longer a world power, no matter whether its army is weak or strong. . . .*

If the National Socialist Movement really wants to receive the consecration of a great historical mission for our people, it must, imbued with this realization and filled with sorrow over the German people's real condition in this world, courageously and conscious of its goal, take up the battle against the aimlessness and the inefficiency which have hitherto guided the foreign policy of our people. It must then, without regard to "traditions" and prejudices, find the courage to gather our people and their strength for a forward march upon that road which leads out of the narrowness of our living space to new territory, *thus freeing us forever from the danger of being annihilated or of entering as a people of slaves into the service of others.*

The National Socialist Movement must try to do away with the disproportion existing between our population and our territory—regarded as source of nourishment and basis of support for our power politics. It must try to do away with the disproportion between our historical past and our hopeless and impotent present.

The "forward march upon that road toward new territory" leads eastward. "When we in Europe today speak of new territory, we

can think in the first place only of Russia and its bordering states." Here, too, Hitler sees Providence on his side.

Fate itself seems to point the way. In turning Russia over to Bolshevism, it has robbed the Russian people of that intelligence which had heretofore guaranteed its national existence. For the organization of a Russian governing body was not the result of the political capacities of the Slavs in Russia, but a wonderful example of the state-building activity of the Germanic element in an inferior race. Thus countless powerful empires have been built. Inferior peoples, with Germanic organizers and masters as their leaders, have in this manner more than once grown into mighty state edifices and remained thus as long as the racial kernel of the state-forming race remained. For centuries Russia drew its strength from this Germanic kernel of its upper and leading classes. Today this kernel may be considered as almost completely exterminated and extinguished. It has been replaced by the Jew. . . . The giant empire in the East is ready to fall. And the end of Jew-domination in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state. We have been chosen by Providence to witness a catastrophe, which is the most powerful proof of the correctness of our national race theory.

From the Nazi's conception of their historical mission—to make Germany a world power at the cost of Soviet Russia—to its realization is a long road. Many an obstacle must first be overcome; the soil must be carefully prepared before the final battle can begin. The "internal enemy" must be totally destroyed. Above all, Germany must first be freed from its political isolation.

Hitler's Policy of Alliances: England and Italy

In politics there is no room for sentimentality, says Hitler. Yesterday's enemy may be tomorrow's ally. States act only in the interest of their own power, and even a coalition of victorious powers will disintegrate at the very moment when the goal for which it was formed has been attained.

States with "partly heterogeneous desires and aims" had fought against Germany.

All of these states at that time profited by the defeat of Germany. Fear of our strength forced avarice and jealousy among individual powers into the background. They saw in a complete emasculation of the Reich their best protection against a future uprising. Their bad conscience and their fear of the strength of our people is the most lasting putty for keeping the individual parts of this alliance together even today.

The only hope for a recovery of Germany's strength Hitler sees in splitting up its former enemies and bringing them to account individually. Therefore he attacks most sharply those nationalist groups in Germany, who, it is true, fought like him against the "appeasement policy" of the Weimar Republic and for the re-establishment of a strong military government, but who through the stupidity of their political demands kept re-uniting "the disintegrating alliance of our opponents." The most nonsensical and most fatal policy of these groups, "whose political horizon does not extend beyond the border of 1914," is their constant cry for the return of the territory of which Germany was robbed by the Versailles Treaty. For a two-fold reason *"the demand for the re-establishment of the borders of 1914 is political nonsense of such dimensions that it becomes a crime."* In the first place, nationalist circles still have not understood that a very different, much more important issue is at stake.

The borders of the year 1914 mean nothing for the future of the German nation. They did not serve as a protection in the past nor will they furnish strength in the future. The German people will neither gain its internal compactness through them, nor will it be assured food, nor do these borders seen from a military standpoint appear useful, or even satisfactory, nor could they finally improve the condition in which we now find ourselves in relation to other world powers, or more correctly

to the real world powers. Our discrepancy with England will not be lessened; the size of the United States will not be reached; not even France would suffer an essential decline in its political importance.

The result of such a revision of the Peace Treaty would "again be so pitiful that God knows it would not pay to risk the blood of our people again for it."

Hitler's second argument against demands for the old boundaries is that it hinders the splitting of Germany's enemies.

When our bourgeois world sets the regaining of the 1914 borders as a political program for Germany, it frightens every possible partner who might want to leave the ranks of our enemies, because he must fear to be attacked individually and to lose the protection of his allies. Every individual state will consider itself affected and endangered by that demand. .

In howling against five or ten states, one neglects to concentrate all his powers of will and body for the thrust into the heart of our most despicable opponent, and sacrifices the possibility of gaining strength through an alliance.

Here, too, lies a task of the National Socialist Movement. It must teach our people to overlook insignificant details and keep their eyes on greater things, not to waste their strength on immaterial things, and never to forget that the goal for which we must fight today is the bare existence of our people, and that the only enemy whom we must meet is and remains that power which robs us of this existence.

Hitler is convinced that with "a cool examination of today's European balance of power," there is every possible chance of separating the former opponents of Germany, and that moreover some of them can be won as active allies. To this end he examines the antagonistic interests of European powers. First, there is England.

The traditional tendency of British diplomacy since the days of Queen

Elizabeth was toward preventing by the use of any available means the growth of a European power beyond certain limits, and if necessary, to check its growth by means of offensive warfare. The weapons of power used by England in such instances were various, depending on the particular issue or the task to be accomplished, yet the decisiveness and will power put forth were always the same. The more difficult England's position became in the course of time, the more necessary did the British Government deem the maintenance of a condition whereby the European states exhausted each other as a result of rivalry.

England's policy of a European balance of power—which left its forces free to defend its over-seas possessions—caused the British always to turn against the strongest power on the European Continent, and, logically enough, to support the enemies of that power. By crushing the hegemony of Napoleon I, England had restored for a long time to come the balance of power on the Continent.

As soon as the successful war of Germany against France (1870-71) and the enormous development of German industry began to shift the balance in favor of Germany, a change in the English position became noticeable. An alliance between England and France probably could have been prevented, Hitler thinks, if Germany had refrained from carrying out its unfortunate trade and colonial policy and shown its readiness to turn against Russia. Thus the errors of its foreign policy brought about an alliance of the strongest world powers against it.

With the victory over Germany in the World War, or as Hitler calls it, "with the revolutionizing of Germany,"

British concern over the threat of Germanic world hegemony found a conclusion pleasing to English statecraft. An interest in the complete extinction of Germany from the European map has since then not existed —even for England. On the contrary, the very crumbling of the structure in those November days of 1918 placed British diplomacy in a new position which would have seemed impossible.

For four and a half years the British world Empire had fought to break the apparent preponderance of a continental power. Now suddenly there was a catastrophe which seemed to wipe this power out of the picture completely. There was such a lack of even the most primitive instinct for self-preservation [on the part of the Germans] that the European balance seemed to be thrown out of line. *Germany annihilated, and France the first power on the European continent. . . .*

Actually England did not attain its end in the war.

This immediately resulted in decisive changes in English foreign policy.

England does not want a France whose military fist can, unhindered by the rest of Europe, take over the defense of a policy which must some day in one way or another conflict with English interests. England can never want a France that has, with the possession of enormous western European coal and iron mines, the prerequisites for a menacing economic world position. Furthermore, England can never want a France whose continental political position appears so secure, thanks to the destruction of the rest of Europe, that the resumption of the main line of French world policy becomes not only possible but inevitable. What Zeppelin bombs did during the War, French bombs could multiply a thousand-fold any night; the excessive military power of France weighs heavily upon the mind of Great Britain's world Empire.

Besides England there is one other state in Europe with no vital interest *"in a complete extinction of a German central Europe which would give France the economic and military power to lead her to undisputed hegemony."* That is Italy.

Italy also cannot want a further stabilization of French hegemony in Europe. Italy's future will always be conditioned by a development centered about the Mediterranean basin. What made Italy go to war was certainly not the desire to strengthen France, but rather the intention of giving the hated Adriatic rival [Austria-Hungary, Germany's ally] a

death blow. Any further strengthening of France on the Continent will mean a future checking of Italy, and no one should be fooled into believing that common ancestry among nations can do away with rivalries.

Contemplated with a sober and cool head it is today, first of all, these two states, *England* and *Italy,* whose most natural interests are at least not opposed to the prerequisites for the existence of the German nation and are even to a certain degree identical with them.

In Europe Germany can have only two allies in the near future: England and Italy.

First Destruction of France

The irreconcilable, the mortal opponent of Germany, is and always will be France, says Hitler.

The insulting charges which he made against France in *Mein Kampf* have caused him much embarrassment in his foreign diplomacy. They are in too open contrast with his avowed desire for peace with France, and they form great obstacles to a German-French "understanding," which he pretends to seek. Innumerable times responsible representatives of the Hitler regime have had to assure the French that the Fuehrer no longer holds to his former opinion of France. Hitler himself has done so.

In an interview granted the French Journalist Bertrand de Jouvenel on February 21, 1936, Hitler said:

"When I wrote the book, I was in prison. French troops occupied the Ruhr. It was the moment of greatest tension between our countries. Yes, it is true, we were enemies at that time."[9]

Here we must revive the Fuehrer's memory a little. As already noted, *Mein Kampf* consists of two Volumes, the first of which Hitler wrote during his imprisonment in the old fortress of Landsberg on Lech. This Volume bears a 1925 copyright and appeared on the market on July 18, 1925. It is dedicated to the memory of the

sixteen men who lost their lives in the Munich *Putsch*. The date of the dedication is October 16, 1924. In the Volume also there are various passages which make it obvious that the book was written during the year 1924. A reminiscence of the beginning of the War in August, 1914, reads:

With proud sadness I remember, especially during these days of the tenth anniversary of the tremendous occurrence, the early weeks of the heroic battle of our people, in which fate so graciously allowed me to participate.

This First Volume, however, contains not a single one of the attacks, that produced so much apprehension and indignation in France. These insults and attacks are all to be found in the Second Volume of *Mein Kampf,* which was not written in 1924, but much later; and, to be more specific, at a time when Hitler had long since left the fortress and the French had already evacuated the Ruhr. Volume II bears a 1927 copyright; it is very easy to establish from its contents the time it was written. The Conclusion, for example, states:

In November, 1923, in the fourth year of its existence, the National Socialist German Workers' Party was outlawed and dissolved in the entire Reich. Today, November, 1926, in the entire Reich, it stands before us free, stronger, and internally more solid than ever before.

In the final chapter, at the very place where Hitler expounds his foreign policy in minute detail, there are critical notes on the Treaty of Locarno which was signed on October 16, 1925, and introduced the period of political overtures between France and Germany. There are references to the Soviet Union which had "now lasted almost ten years," to the still existing coalition of the victorious powers "eight years after a world struggle," etc. Hitler can hardly

have written these chapters "in the moment of greatest tension between our countries," as he assured the French journalist. Obviously he wrote them during the era of the Briand-Stresemann policy of *rapprochement*.

Hitler has gone to great lengths to maintain the fiction that he no longer holds his former views regarding France. He has made systematic efforts to censor all translations of *Mein Kampf*. In 1934 he forced a Paris publishing house to withdraw and destroy an unabridged French edition. Neither the earlier English nor the earlier American edition contains the most important section on France. However from the first to the current 420th edition of the book in Germany, not so much as a word of the German original has been changed to soften the attack on the French. On the contrary, a new accusation has been inserted in the current German edition: ". . . France—who incidentally stole Alsace-Lorraine from us."

Hitler's charges against France are not merely the emotional outbursts of an embittered German patriot, but a fundamental constituent of the National Socialist plans for world domination.

An understanding between France and Germany is for Hitler inconceivable.

For that is one thing we should finally make clear to ourselves. The inexorable mortal enemy of the German people is and always will be France. No matter who has reigned or will reign in France—Bourbons, Jacobins, Napoleonites or bourgeois democrats, clerical Republicans or red Bolsheviks—the final goal of their foreign policy will always be the attempt to gain possession of the Rhine border and of the Rhine by means of a dissolved and ruined Germany.

France's goal in the World War was the complete annihilation of Germany. The goal of every French foreign policy will always be

an impotent Germany. Hitler is so completely imbued with this conviction that he pounds it again and again into the heads of his German readers.

What France is doing today in Europe, stimulated by its own desire for revenge and methodically guided by the Jew, is a sin against all white humanity and will one day incite all the furies of vengeance of a generation that has recognized racial pollution as the original sin.

For Germany, however, the French peril signifies the obligation to push aside all sentimentality and to offer our hand to him who, threatened in the same manner as we are, is equally unwilling to submit to French thirst for power.

In view of the vital issue at stake, all questions of lesser significance must wait. The stupid blockheads or slick schemers who stand in the way of any positive German activity in foreign politics by indiscriminately protesting against *all* the injustices Germany has suffered, must be made innocuous.

That Italy has annexed Germanic Southern Tyrol, should not stand in the way of a German alliance with Italy, just as England's robbing it of its colonies should not stand in the way of an alliance with England. "Let us leave the healing of our small wounds to the mild cure of time, once we have been able to burn out and close the biggest one of them."

From a military point of view, also, an alliance with England and Italy has exceptional advantages.

The most important thing at the moment is the fact that an approach to England and Italy will in no way bring about war. The only power which might be strong enough to oppose the alliance, France, would be in no position to do so. But the alliance would give Germany the possibility of quietly making the preparations for an accounting with France, which would have to be made in one way or another within the framework of such a coalition. For the significance of such a coalition

lies in the fact that Germany would not suddenly be exposed to an invasion, but that the opposing alliance itself, the entente, to whom we owe so much misfortune, is dissolving and with its dissolution *the mortal enemy of our people, France, falls prey to isolation.*

There are many other proofs of Hitler's real feelings toward France. In 1929, he wrote in his own paper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter:*

As long as a Frenchman shakes hands with a German in a cordial manner, this hand is fatal for Germany. Not until France sees the embodiment of hatred in a German statesman will the German people have regained the respect of the world.

The most convincing statement of his view of the relationship between Germany and France Hitler, as a representative of German imperialism, has formulated in a passage of *Mein Kampf*. There without defamation, this time even without drawing upon "world Jewry," he writes:

I shall never believe that France's intentions toward us can ever change, for they lie deeply rooted in the instinct of self-preservation of the French nation. If I were a Frenchman and the greatness of France were as dear to me as the greatness of Germany is sacred to me, then I neither could nor would act any differently than a Clemenceau. The French people, slowly dying off not only in number but especially in their best racial elements, can retain their position in the world only by destroying Germany. French politics may make a thousand digressions, but somewhere near the end there will always be this goal as a fulfillment of her last wishes and deepest longings. . . . Not until this has been fully understood in Germany, so that the German nation's will to live need no longer be wasted in merely passive resistance, but will gather its force for a final and decisive conflict with France with everything at stake on the German side—not until then will there be a possibility of bringing to a conclusion the *eternal and in itself sterile struggle between us*

and France. But with all this, Germany must see in the destruction of France nothing but a means of finally giving our people the chance of possible expansion in another place.

The Territorial Policy of the Future

Here, then, is a rough sketch of Hitler's foreign policy: A separation of the victorious powers; a *rapprochement* or if possible an alliance with Italy and England; and the isolation, and ultimate destruction of France, so that Germany can without fear of attack from behind turn toward conquests in the East.

The future goal of our foreign policy must not be orientation—either toward the West or the East—but eastward expansion in the sense of regaining the necessary land for our German people. Since it takes strength, and the mortal enemy of our people, France, is choking us incessantly and robs us of our strength, we must take every sacrifice upon ourselves, if it is suited in its results to aid in an effort to annihilate French desires for hegemony in Europe. Every power is today our natural ally, if it, like ourselves, finds French desire for power on the continent unendurable. No effort to go to such a power should be too great for us, and no renunciation unutterable if the final result will but offer us the possibility of an overthrow of our grimmest hater. . . .

With this we National Socialists deliberately put an end to the foreign political direction of our pre-War era. We begin where we left off six centuries ago. We stop the eternal drive of the Germans toward the South and the West of Europe and cast our eye upon the territory in the East. We finally conclude the colonial and trade policy of pre-War times and pass on to the territorial policy of the future.

Hitler does not veil the nature of such a territorial policy. When he builds Germany's new world empire, he will be guided by the knowledge that a people of masters must never breed with inferior races, if it does not want to risk the loss of its domination forever. Old Germany was guilty in its internal as well as foreign policy of

a terrible error. It believed that races or nations could be Germanized. Hitler knows, however, that "only territory but never people can be Germanized." To force the German language upon a subjugated people of an alien race would not make Germans of them. Not language but blood decides a person's race. Confusion between the ruler and the subjugated would bring with it the danger of deterioration of the ruling race. "The final result of such a process would therefore be the annihilation of the very properties which once made the conquering nation capable of victory." The protection of the superior race demands a sharp differentiation between the German conquerors and the inferior subjects. In the British administration of India Hitler sees an exemplary way of handling submerged races. "England will lose India only if its administrative machinery should succumb to racial decomposition (something which is at the moment entirely out of the question in India) or if it is defeated by the sword of a powerful enemy." The "so-called national circles" in Germany have neither before nor after the War understood the necessity of making the race principle paramount in their colonial policy.

The "Germanization of the East," by which so many understood the Germanization of the Polish people, confused German language with German blood.

Here too the result would have become a miserable one: A people of a foreign race expressing its alien thoughts in the German language, thus compromising through its own inferiority the height and dignity of our own folkdom.

That which in the course of history has advantageously been Germanized was the soil which our ancestors conquered with the sword and settled with German peasants. In so far as they brought strange blood to our nation, they helped bring about that wretched splitting up of our inner being, which is apparent in the—unfortunately still much praised—German superindividualism.

The conquest of new land for settlement in Europe must serve the further "Aryanization," the higher breeding of the German race. The National Socialist State cannot leave the settling of its newly conquered territories to chance, but must subject it to strict regulations.

Race commissions appointed to that end will issue to the individual the permit to settle. The qualification for obtaining a permit will be a definite racial purity. Thus in time border colonies can be founded, whose inhabitants are exclusively to be bearers of only the highest racial purity and for that reason of the highest racial efficiency.

The inhabitants of these regions—peoples who, from the viewpoint of National Socialist race theory, are all "inferior"—can therefore count with certainty upon being either exterminated, driven off, or kept in complete slavery. The relationship between the Aryans and the non-Aryans can be only a master-servant relationship.

The Conquest of the German People as the Prerequisite of Wars of Conquest

Germany must have to offer more than good intentions if it ever hopes to achieve its policy of foreign alliances. It must above all prove to England and Italy that it is itself *capable of alliances*. No power would want to unite

with the Weimar Republic, with a State whose administration for years has been a miserable picture of incapacity and pacifist cowardice and whose people for the greater part live in democratic Marxist blindness and scandalously betray the interests of their own country.

In our present incapacity of being an ally lies the profound and final reason for the solidarity of the robber enemies.

The powers will not consider Germany a desirable colleague

until government and public opinion represent with equal fanaticism the will to fight for freedom. This is indispensable if a change in public opinion is to be brought about in those nations which are willing on the basis of their most private interests to march side by side with a suitable partner—in other words, to conclude a treaty with us.

Instead of seeking its salvation in Jewish-international understanding and pacifist nonsense, the Weimar Republic should have left nothing undone for the rebirth of the political will for power and the desire for self-preservation of the German people.

When, in the year 1919, the Peace Treaty was forced upon the German people, one would have had the right to hope that through this very instrument of endless oppression the cry for German freedom would have been powerfully nourished. *Peace treaties whose demands strike nations like the lash of a scourge do not infrequently sound the first roll of drums for the later uprising.*

What an issue could have been made of the Treaty of Versailles!

How this instrument of boundless blackmail and most outrageous humiliation might in the hands of a willing Government have become the means of whipping up national passions to white heat! How an ingenious propagandistic use of these sadistic horrors could have stirred up the indifference of our people into an indignation, and this indignation into blazing mania!

How every single one of these points could have been burned into the brain and feeling of this people until finally in sixty million minds of men and women a common shame and a common hatred would have exploded into a single ocean of flame, from whose glow would have arisen one steel will and one cry:

"We want arms again!"

Yes, this peace treaty might have served such a purpose. In the boundlessness of its suppression, in the shamelessness of its demands, there lies the greatest weapon of propaganda for the re-vitalization of the nation's spirits of life which have gone to sleep.

Then, of course, beginning with the first primer of the child up to

the last newspaper, every theater and every movie, every billboard and every spare wall must be placed at the service of this one great mission until the timid prayer of our patriots today, "Lord, make us free," is transformed in the head of the smallest boy into the glowing prayer, *"Almighty God, bless some day our weapons; be as just as thou always wert. Judge now if we are ready for our liberty! God, bless our battle!"*

But if our people possess a Government which understands its mission, six years will not pass before the courageous foreign policy of the Reich will have at its disposal the keen will of a people thirsting for freedom.

It is equally important that Germany make it as easy as possible for English and Italian statesmen to revise their anti-German policy. War propaganda created a general anti-German psychology in the countries of the Allies, and it takes hard work to change the spiritual constitution of a people. Especially in England, where by parliamentarian democracy Jewry can still influence public opinion against Germany, will it be difficult for the leading politicians to break away from France and to support Germany, even though such a policy would be in the best tradition of English continental politics. Germans must understand the difficult position of these statesmen who have to cope with antagonistic public opinion in their countries. They must be patient and do everything to take the wind out of the sails of their opponents. The howling for a new German war fleet or for the recovery of the German colonies will only make it more difficult for English statesmen to draw closer to Germany. (In 1926 such demands seemed to Hitler to be the "absolutely unrealizable and purely fantastic nonsense of bloated patriot-politicians and coffee-house Babbitts.")

Only when a strong German Government and a German people, united internally by a fanatical desire to fight for their freedom, will have convinced the world that Germany must once more be considered a powerful factor in European politics—only then will

it be possible to change public opinion in other countries in favor of a coalition with Germany.

"This, too, will naturally take years of uninterrupted skillful work."

An end, then, to the hurrah patriotism of our bourgeois world of today, to the romantic nationalist slogan of the War years: "Many enemies—much honor." An end to all sentimentality!

Germany died of its fantastic conception of the Nibelungen alliance with the Hapsburg corpse. Fantastic sentimentality in the treatment of today's foreign political possibilities is the best way to prevent our rebirth forever. . . . [War and its] all-embracing organization should not be approached from an heroic, but from a practical point of view. *Diplomacy must see to it that a people does not perish heroically but is kept alive in a practical way. Any means that leads to this end is good, and not to use it must be termed a criminal irresponsibility.*

Foreign political considerations should be based upon one principle alone: *is it useful for our people now and in the future, or will it be to their detriment?* This is the only criterion to apply in the treatment of foreign political questions. Partisan, religious, humane, or any other points of view must not enter the picture at all.

God and Justice with Hitler!

If, however, there should still be some weak-minded idealists or race-poisoning moralists, who on principle reject the conquest of foreign territories and the subjection of "inferior" peoples, says Hitler, they must be told that the highest law of the Germans is their will to win the battle for existence.

State boundaries are made and changed by man. . . .

The actual success of the conquest of an excessively large territory by a nation does not entail any obligation on the part of other nations to acknowledge the possession of the conqueror forever. It proves no more

than the power of the conqueror and the weakness of the conquered. And this power alone is law

Coolly and soberly one must regard the matter from the standpoint that surely it cannot be the will of Heaven that one nation should be given fifty times as much land as another. And one should not be dissuaded by political borders from achieving the boundaries of eternal justice. If this world really has enough room for all of us to live in, then the territory we need to live on must be given us.

Of course we will not be given it gladly. Then, however, the law of self-preservation goes into effect; and what is denied to our kindness we shall take by force. If our ancestors had depended for their decisions upon the same sort of pacifist nonsense as do our contemporaries, we would own only one-third of our present territory; in that case, however, there would be no German people to worry about its existence in Europe. . . .

Today we are eighty million Germans in Europe! If in less than a hundred years 250 million Germans are living on this continent, our foreign policy will have proved correct.

Toward the end of his book the worried Hitler writes a political testament to guide the future of the German nation, once it is master over Europe:

Never suffer the rise of another continental power in Europe. See in every attempt to organize a second military power near the German border—be it but the beginning of a state capable of rising to military power—an attack on Germany, and consider it not only your right but your duty to use any means, including force of arms, to check the growth of such a state, or to destroy it if it has already developed.

This is the program with which Hitler offers himself as liberator and aggrandizer of the German nation. Many of its features are old and well-known. It contains everything for which chauvinism and reaction stand. In its fanaticism and barbarism it expresses the frame of mind of a beaten and curbed but not destroyed imperialist

system. Thus far, its author has qualified as a legitimate spokesman of German "national" interests.

But Hitler will have to do more than to repeat old goals of conquest and robbery in order to prove to the upper class that he has what it takes to be Fuehrer. He must prove it by mobilizing once more a people, bled white and longing for peace and security. For the old compromised reactionaries, for the profiteers of the Pan-German League [10] the Germans will no longer work up any enthusiasm. A new approach must be applied. The old goals must be integrated in an all-embracing philosophy of life.

In 1914 it sufficed to tell the German people that the Fatherland was attacked to send them willingly to the battlefields of France, Belgium, Poland, Russia, Italy, and Turkey. To build the Empire of the future whose borders will not be confined to the ridiculous area of 1914, the cry of national self-defense must be tremendously broadened. "The very existence of the German race" is now at stake, and in face of it such terms as *offense* or *defense, aggressor, provoked* or *unprovoked attack* must be stripped of their old narrow meaning. Every war Germany will undertake in the future will be a holy war, fought for the fulfillment of the Lord's own will. Therein lies the sense in the nonsense of Hitler's racial gospel.

The doctrine of Aryanism is at one pole; the doctrine of anti-Semitism at the other. Both are designed to intoxicate and flatter the German people into unity and submission.

Hitler And The Jews

"The efficiency of the truly great popular leader consists in the main and at all times in preventing the division of the attention of a people and always concentrating it upon one single enemy."

Mein Kampf

The American reader who has struggled through eight hundred pages of *Mein Kampf* might easily come to the conclusion that none but a maniac would be capable of the terrible insults and accusations which Hitler pours upon the Jews. It would seem that there is no baseness in the world for which the Jews are not responsible, no indecency of which they have not been guilty. They deliberately contaminate the Aryan race and carry on white slavery aand prostitution; they organize societies such as the Freemasons in order to protect immorality under the guise of the religious tolerance which they teach. Now they use the princes, then democracy, and finally dictatorship for their dark plans. At one and the same time they are the leaders of international finance capital and the international workers' movement; they have gained control of banking and Big Business in the United States and have delivered over German industry to foreigners; they fomented the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the 1918 Revolution in Germany. They brought Negroes to the Rhine to poison the blood of the Germans. They are cowardly and don't wash.

All the shopworn tales of the foulest anti-Semitism are found in *Mein Kampf*, from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (a document repeatedly proved a forgery in open court), in which the Jews are said to have revealed their plans for world-domination, down to pornographic allusions to the raping of blond Aryan maidens by "swarthy, bowlegged Jew-bastards."

Is there any point, some may ask, in taking these vicious, moon-struck lies seriously? Have not scientists the world over, in so far as they still consider their task to be the investigation of the truth and not the "fostering of national pride," unanimously rejected the National Socialist racial doctrine as gross nonsense? On the other hand, did this prevent the Nazis from continuing it in theory and practice? Are we not, then, doing these criminals too much honor to dispute their abominable assertions?

Scientific refutations alone will not rid the world of Hitler's racial doctrine. The fanatical Nazi will continue to hear the voice of the Jew in every voice raised against his faith. Fascist race-frenzy will die only with the collapse of the system which depends upon it for its support.

But this is exactly the point which interests us. Why does fascism need anti-Semitism? What ends does it serve? Is it an accidental or a necessary part of National Socialist domination?

In the preceding pages we have developed Hitler's domestic and foreign program without going into the Jewish question in particular. Indeed, it was our intention there to prove that Hitler's plans can be presented and completely understood without drawing upon the racial theory at all. Other reactionary and imperialist politicians have criticized the weakness of the pre-War Empire toward its internal enemies and have denounced its conduct of foreign affairs and its inadequate military preparations for the "unavoidable" World War. They, too, concocted "overpopulation" theories to justify territorial conquests. But in so doing, they did not feel the need for that racial doctrine which is Nazism's unique contribution to the theory and practice of imperialistic expansion. They justified their position on political and economic grounds.

If anti-Semitism and the whole race humbug of the Nazis is not necessary in order to provide a rational foundation for the aims of German Imperialism, why then does Hitler draw them in, point by point, for the support of his program?

The First Volume of *Mein Kampf* bears the title, *An Accounting*. Whom is Hitler calling to account? Not Jews, Pacifists, Democrats, and Marxists, as one might assume at first glance—National Socialism doesn't argue with them; it exterminates them. The partner whom Hitler considers worthy of "an accounting," to be sure a highly critical one, is the German upper middle class. The Fuehrer makes no secret of his contempt for the complacency, the cowardice,

the indecision, the lack of brutality and fanaticism of the middle class, and its general betrayal of the interests of the German nation. For him, the German bourgeoisie proved itself incapable of preparing adequately for the War and bringing it to a victorious conclusion. Above all, it failed where internal enemies were concerned. Just as it lacked the energy during the War to exterminate "Marxists and Jews" with poison gas, so during the French occupation of the Ruhr a middle-class government again preferred to organize passive resistance with the aid of Marxist workers, instead of destroying them in a civil war.

I shouted myself hoarse in those days many and many a time, and tried to make clear at least for so-called nationalist circles, what was at stake, and that if the same mistakes were made as in 1914 and the succeeding years, there would inevitably be an end like that of 1918. I begged them repeatedly to give destiny free rein and our movement an opportunity to settle with Marxism; but I preached to deaf ears. Everybody, including the Chief of the Defense Forces, knew better, until they were finally confronted by the most miserable capitulation of all times.

Then I became firmly convinced that the German Bourgeoisie had reached the end of its mission and that it had no further task to perform. Then I saw how all these parties quarreled with Marxism only because of competitive jealousy, without seriously wishing to annihilate it.

The German middle class, in Hitler's opinion, was no longer capable of finding a solution for the problems which confronted a defeated imperialist Germany. An entire people had to be won for the future totalitarian war of conquest. The middle class no longer possessed a single idea with which it could have mobilized the German people toward such an end. It had not even found a useful substitute for the program of Marxism.

What, then, was there to give to the masses, if Social Democracy were overthrown? There was not one movement capable of drawing the

masses of workers under its spell, once they had lost their leadership.

The "bourgeois" parties, as they call themselves, will never be able to draw the "proletarian" masses into their camp, since here two worlds face each other, separated partly naturally, partly artificially, and their attitude toward each other can only be one of opposition.

Even before the War, German statecraft had ceased to have the "slightest conception of the nature of the force which leads men to death out of free will and resolution." What Germany needed was a new Idea which could wrest the masses from Marxism and send them out again "upon the field of honor." Without the Idea no enthusiasm for battle!

The demonstration of a great new Idea was the secret of the success of the French Revolution; the Russian Revolution owes its victory to an Idea; and from an Idea Fascism [Italian] received the strength to subject a people in a most beneficial manner to a most comprehensive reshaping.

Bourgeois parties are not capable of doing this.

Here the National Socialist race concept enters into the picture to fill the gap left by the ideological bankruptcy of the middle class. The main props of the new explosive Idea, on the strength of which Hitler offers himself to the German nation as its savior are these:

The "Aryan" theory as a doctrine of the predestination of the German people to dominate the world.

"Nature's aristocratic method of selection"—expressed in politics by the Leader-Principle—as a basis for the domination by the few "pure" and the subordination of the many "inferior."

The marauding expeditions of German Imperialism as God-ordained acts for the "self-preservation" of His dearest children.

The destruction of the masses' rights and their exploitation as a German "people's commonweal," in which everyone makes sacrifices.

And running through it all anti-Semitism, as the fuel with which

the flame of nationalistic fanaticism is to be fed to keep it at white heat.

Compared with the "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" of the French Revolution and the "Peace and Bread!" of the Russian Revolution, *Deutschland erwache, Juda, verrecke!* ("Germany, Awake! Judah, Perish!") seems indeed a typical Nazi substitute.

It does not matter to a demagogue how much truth there is in his slogan. If only the masses fanatically believe in it! Hitler literally basks in such expressions as "fanatical intolerance," "ruthless want of consideration," "most brutal decisiveness," in characterizing the National Socialist movement and its aims. He continually points to the mutual dependence of the fanatical belief in an Idea and the application of the most inhuman methods of putting it into practice. A fanatical view of life is to him the only stable ground for the constant use of violence against enemies.

There are not a few people who even today refuse to believe the stories or written reports of the gruesome deeds of horror in Hitler's concentration camps, for the simple reason that they find such barbarism irreconcilable with their love of the old German culture. Perhaps they will stop to consider the significance of having a fascist state, with all its means of influencing the masses, spreading the idea that the "Marxist," the socialist, the communist, and the Jew are deadly enemies of the German people and that to fight them is a deed pleasing in the eyes of The Lord. If they were not possessed of the fanatical idea of serving Germany, how could those brown- and black-uniformed peasant lads, students, unemployed, and bank officials torture, with unflagging zeal, day after day and year after year, prisoners turned over to them to be "educated"? There is comfort in the realization that one is carrying out the will of destiny when he is committing atrocities.

Anti-Semitism is an integral part of National Socialist doctrine.

The Jew bears the same relation to Hitler's Aryan as Hell does to Heaven. This is exactly what is new in Hitler's anti-Semitism. He makes it an inseparable part of his political program. It is not the "weakness" of an "otherwise sensible" man, as many a friend of Hitler would have us believe, but the compelling ideological force of a new German Imperialism. Hitler knows that countless dangers lurk on the road to a Place in the Sun—enemies all around, at home and beyond the German borders. There is, for example, the Christian Church, which, in spite of its notorious complacency in dealing with the strong of this world, constitutes for Hitler an eternal source of pernicious doctrines and is partly responsible for the pacifism which has sapped the strength from German hearts and made them incapable of fighting the bloody battles of the future. There are the millions of Germans who hate capitalism with its social desolation and murderous wars. There are the powerful countries, England, France, and America, whose strength is still fresh in the minds of the German people. There is, finally, the Soviet Republic, on which the politically most active German workers stubbornly fix their hopes for a new and better world. The problem seems superhuman and frightens the fainthearted. How are they to be approached? The old German statecraft failed miserably in its work from 1914 to 1918, but Hitler feels equal to his mission.

It is part of the genius of a great leader to make opponents of greatly varying natures appear to belong to only one category, because the realization that there are various enemies will lead weak and unstable characters to doubt their own cause.

As soon as the wavering masses see themselves confronted by too many enemies, objectivity steps in and the question is raised whether actually all the others are wrong and their own nation or their own movement alone is right.

With this comes the first paralysis of their own strength. Therefore, a

number of different enemies must always be regarded as one single enemy. This strengthens the belief in one's own cause and increases one's bitterness against the attacker.

The "one single enemy" upon whom Hitler concentrates the attention of his people in order to divert their attention from their real enemies, is the Jew.

That Hitler specifically chose the Jew for the role of universal scapegoat is not surprising. He did not need to invent anti-Semitism but merely to continue an already highly-developed movement. But to him belongs the dubious honor of having "modernized" it.

In "the good old times" anti-Semitism served as a justification for all existing social evils, as a diversion from the corruption and inefficiency of governments, and from the misery which accompanied the decay of feudalism and the rise of capitalism.

The small producer, expropriated by capitalism, and the peasant son, relegated to the proletariat, were not difficult to ensnare into looking upon the Jew as the personification of capitalistic forces—forces whose laws they could neither comprehend nor change, but whose effects they felt on their own persons. The anti-Semitism of the nineteenth century, as the great labor leader August Bebel once expressed it, was "the socialism of the dolt." Wherever the progressive workers' movement was strong, anti-Semitism could get no footing. Its followers were to be found predominantly among the lower middle class.

With the rise of fascism the task of anti-Semitism has been expanded. It no longer serves only as a device for diverting the attention of the people, but now becomes one of the most important ideological weapons of attack. National Socialism has developed it into a whole "doctrine."

Naturally, not everyone can play the role of the devil. In the twentieth century two horns and a hoof no longer suffice; one must

be more subtle. A group of human beings must possess quite definite social characteristics if they are to be charged with the sins of the world. It must be a minority, but a minority of a special kind. It must have members among that possessing class which the masses hold responsible for their own misery. At the same time, however, these members must be easily distinguishable from the majority of the possessing class. It is also most advantageous if the group is represented on the political Left and in a conspicuous position in the workers' movement. Finally, as justification of the claims of world-wide imperialist demagogy, it must exist internationally.

The Jew fulfills all of these requirements in an ideal way.

He is a hopeless minority in the world and therefore weak. The number of Jewish capitalists is infinitely smaller than the number of non-Jewish capitalists, but large enough to enable the efficient art of propaganda of our time to identify much-hated capitalism with these few. The fury of the masses can be directed upon them without so much as touching capitalism. Their names, and in northern countries to some extent the color of their hair, make them more or less recognizable. In practically every highly industrialized country there are Jewish labor leaders, and the participation of the Jews in the field of progressive Left politics was especially great in Germany. Finally, there are Jews to be found in almost all countries of the world, even though in some there are but a handful. But the actual number of Jews is not relevant for anti-Semitism.

Fascism is not a military dictatorship. It must possess a mass following before it can ever hope to gain power. Otherwise the ruling classes, threatened with loss of their position, would have no need of an Austrian subcorporal as their savior. The overwhelming majority of German workers hated reaction, distrusted the Right, and followed the lead of the two great labor parties, the Social Democrats and the Communists. The lower middle class was not socialistic, but was opposed to Big Business. Anti-capitalist sentiment was

widely spread among all laboring classes of the people. Hitler knew perfectly well that the upper middle class with the old methods of open reactionary politics could no longer deal with a majority so powerful in number. The pig-headed, die-hard Hugenberg, leader of the German Nationalist Party and formerly director of the Krupp Works, could not win a political following among the laboring classes. In order to be able to influence the lower middle class or perhaps even Socialist and Communist workers, the National Socialist Party had to come out with an anti-capitalist program. It had to compete with Marxism in its own field, but in such a manner as not to gamble away the confidence of German Big Business.

Those to whom our presentation might seem too manufactured and those who do not believe that Hitler saw the problem so cynically, need only turn to his own presentation. The solution of the dilemma revealed itself to him one evening in Munich while he was present at one of the political meetings, organized by the Reichswehr, for the "national education" of soldiers. He writes:

When I heard Gottfried Feder's first lecture on the "Breaking of the Tyranny of Interest," I knew at once that here I had come upon a theoretical truth which would gain an immense importance for the future of the German people. The rigorous separation of stock-exchange capital from our national economic system offered a possibility of fighting the internationalization of German economic life without, at the same time, threatening the basis of an independent national economy in the battle against capital in general.

I began to study again, and now for the first time came to a real understanding of the content and meaning of the lifework of the Jew Karl Marx. Only now did his *Kapital* become really comprehensible to me, exactly as did the battle of Social Democracy against the national economy—a battle meant but to prepare the ground for the reign of the truly international-finance and stock-exchange capital over the national economy.

Also, the thought immediately flashed through his mind that now he "had found one of the most indispensable prerequisites for the founding of a new party."

Thus the Fuehrer's intuition brought about the truly gigantic accomplishment, not only of discovering at once a fundamental difference between national German and international Jewish capital, but also of unmasking the Jew *K*arl Marx and with him the Social Democratic party as tools of stock-exchange capital. He boasts that he exposed the Marxists and showed them in their nakedness to be nothing but Jews who, because they wanted to destroy Germany as their next victim, were directing their struggle against German businessmen. To Hitler the fact that the German workers' movement was profoundly divided was but a Jewish tactic. The Jew simply plays Marxism with allotted roles: now as a Socialist, now as a Communist, now as a member of the Spartacus League,[11] or as a Pacifist, or as a moderate Democrat. But he can't fool a Hitler with it all.

For the Nazis, the division of capital into Aryan-National, "productive"; and Jewish-International, "predatory" capital naturally makes possible the distinction between good and useful capitalists and bad and harmful ones. The Aryan businessman does not work for profit but for the well-being of his fatherland and his employees. This makes him a true socialist. The dirty capitalist, the exploiter, is the international Jew. Herewith the "scientific" foundation for the "socialism" of National Socialism has been laid.

In his book as well as in his entire political practice, Hitler has kept strictly to the technique of making no distinction between the workers' parties opposing each other. With full deliberation he calls the workers' movement, with all its contradictory and incongruous organizations, Marxist; but *Marxist* he uses synonymously with *Jewish*. In vain will the reader peruse *Mein Kampf* for a word concerning the German Communist Party, whose political program

differed fundamentally from that of the Social Democrats. The battles which surged within the ranks of the workers are for Hitler only a Jewish division of labor. Communist revolutionaries, opposing the existing Social Democratic Government in armed uprisings, according to Hitler, were commissioned by the Jews, who wanted to make the submission of the terrified middle classes easier for the Social Democrats.

Hitler, who fights for a goal which the "cowardly," "stupid," "effeminate," and "forgetful" masses of German people do not understand as being their own, must destroy all institutions and organizations through which the will of the "backward" people might express itself. The whole National Socialist system of domination is based upon the "Leader-Principle," that is to say, the dictatorship of a small aristocracy. Democracy, Parliament, all the liberties won by the masses through centuries of struggle—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right to organize, the right to the secret ballot—must be destroyed if National Socialism is to live. But the mere political suppression of democratic organizations does not suffice. They must be defamed, and as ideals they must be torn from the hearts of the young. The reader may easily imagine how the Nazis villify and dishonor them—they denounce them as "creations of the Jew."

Parliamentary democracy, the Fuehrer says, conforms best to the requirements of the Jews, since

it eliminates personality and puts in its stead a majority of stupidity, incapacity, and last but not least, cowardice.

This institution can be precious and valuable only to lying sneaks who shun the light of day, whereas it must be loathsome to every honest and straightforward fellow, ready to assume personal responsibility. Therefore this kind of democracy has become the instrument of that race, which according to its inherent aims shuns the sunlight, now and for

all times. Only the Jew can praise an institution that is as dirty and faithless as he is himself.

The present democracy of the West is the forerunner of Marxism which would be unthinkable without it. It is democracy alone which furnishes this universal plague with the soil in which it spreads. In its outward form of expression, parliamentarianism, democracy created a "mock image of dirt and fire," in which, I am sorry to say, the fire seems to have gone out for the moment.

Marxism, however, is the supreme attempt of the Jew to eliminate the overtowering significance of personality in all phases of life and to replace it with the masses' sheer weight of numbers.

The concept of human equality, in whose name all progressive movements of the past centuries have been led, is an invention of the Jews, according to Hitler. The Christian doctrine, naturally, has also been polluted by the Jews; for it considers universal man, and not the élite, the Aryan, as created in God's image. National Socialism must expose the Christian nonsense of universal brotherly love and charity as Jewish rottenness. How else can Hitler expect from German soldiers the most inhumane brutality, which he says is the real humanity of war?

"Jewish" is anything which stands in the way of Hitler Germany and its designs. The Jew is for Hitler the invisible antagonist in every problem and in all fields. The Jew can no more escape from fascism than from his own shadow. He develops with it and makes his appearance wherever fascism has enemies or difficulties. Whenever Hitler raises the cry of "Jew," we may be sure he means a foe of German Imperialism.

Here is the way he works it: Hitler's war program, as we have already heard him say, is built upon the destruction of France and the subsequent annexation of enormous areas in the East belonging to the Soviet Union. For the political weakening and isolation of

France, Hitler needs the support of England and Italy. We know that in his opinion Germany should certainly have waged war against Russia in 1904-5, at a time when Russia, because of its defeat in the war against Japan, could have offered little resistance to the German aggressor. Seen from the point of view of German Imperialism, Hitler strives for an old goal. How, then, does he accomplish the trick of dressing up this old program so that it may appear as a heavenly mission of the Aryan Germans against the international Jew? Nothing is more simple. He need but "unmask" the Soviet Union and all other powers opposing his plans of suppression and conquest as the tools of Jewish subterfuge, and he will have given his imperialistic goals a racial justification. And this is exactly what he does.

In Russian Bolshevism we must see the twentieth-century attempt of Jewry to conquer the world.

The more difficult problems of imperialist politics, for which this crude technique is inadequate, can always be solved on the basis of the "*international* Jew." Previously Hitler has endeavored to prove that on the basis of the theory of the European balance of power England cannot be interested in the complete annihilation of Germany, but rather needs a strong Germany to counteract the French struggle for hegemony on the European continent. But the actual difficulties of an Anglo-German friendship must be explained somehow. Who is behind it? You guessed it!

The destruction of Germany was not due to English but primarily to Jewish interests. Our Jewish press understood again and again how to direct the people's hatred especially upon England; and many a good German ass [12] most readily flew upon the glue-twig extended by the Jew, talked of "regaining the strength" of the German Navy, protested the robbing of our colonies, advocated winning them back, and thus

helped furnish the material, which the Jewish scoundrel was then able to turn over to the members of his race in England for practical propaganda purposes.

If someone modestly wanted to object that it was the German "Marxist-Jewish" Social Democrats who most vituperatively denounced the Soviet Union and were reluctant to establish close relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and that, on the other hand, it was the "Aryan" General Staff of the Reichswehr who favored "Eastward-Orientation"—military co-operation with the Red Army—Hitler would probably fling at him the reply that this, too, was an example of the diabolical game of the Jew who wanted to deliver Germany over to Bolshevism without burdening his tools, the Marxists, with the responsibility. The formula can always be made to fit.

The Jew is to blame for your situation! What else can Hitler offer the German people to strengthen their patriotism? Better living conditions? Access to education and culture? Who would pay for that? Besides, an easier existence softens the Aryans and develops the mind excessively. But thinking is not good for fanatical belief and even less for the explosive Ersatz Idea, by means of which the German people must be united and brought into the mood for war.

It's the Jew's fault! If one only tells the masses often enough, they eventually believe it, the Fuehrer proclaims. "The receptive capacity of the great mass of people is but very limited, their intelligence small, and their forgetfulness great." They can be made to believe anything. You would now be powerful, well-to-do, and the masters of the world, had not the Jew deprived you of the fruits of your labors and sacrifices, he flatters the Germans. The Jew paralyzed the national instinct for self-preservation with his pacifist-Marxist poison; he pillaged the German people during the War; he organized the strike of the munition workers in Berlin shortly before the final victory; he fomented the Revolution, "the most disgraceful act of

the century"; he founded the Weimer Republic on the basis of payment of tribute to the Allies and renunciation of the stolen German territories; he made Germany into a "slave colony" of foreign countries.

German history is now being rewritten from this point of view. The schools, the Hitler Youth, the SA and SS, the press, radio, film, the co-ordinated priests, the preachers of the new heathen cults, and last but not least, Streicher's pornographic "disclosures" of Jewish debauchery drum the new doctrine into the Germans. Thus the "education of the masses to nationalism" is carried on.

The Jew is the common denominator to which Hitler reduced the sum total of his enemies. All failures, all submissions, all mistakes of German Imperialism in the past must in the same way be laid at the Jew's door, as must be all the difficulties of the present. And as for the future—it is also wise to carry the general absolution in one's pocket. Can anyone imagine a more satisfactory alibi than the formula: "It's the Jew's fault"? If National Socialism uses the industrious qualities of the German people for the production of military means of destruction, it answers that the international Jew is forcing it to war preparations by preventing the democracies which he dominates from disarming. If the earnings on German exports are used to buy raw materials for the war machine, instead of food for the masses, it's the Jew's fault, since he deprives German goods of access to the world market. The Jew is Paris today, Washington tomorrow, Moscow the day after. Whether or not a Jew actually makes his physical appearance is of no importance whatsoever to anti-Semitism. For who can prove that the Jew, invisible behind the scenes, does not pull the strings? In Czechoslovakia, by using the Democrat Benes and his "Hussite"[13] clique, the Jew tried to defraud Germany of her eternal rights to Czech territory. In Austria the Jew joined hands with the Catholic Schuschnigg in order to be able to block the much-desired return of the "Eastern Province" to

the Reich. If a Roosevelt denounces Nazi aggression, he becomes a Rosenfeld; if an Eden, a Churchill, and a Duff Cooper doubt the wisdom of appeasement, they become bribed tools of international Jewish finance.

The Nazi won't allow himself to be disconcerted by trifles. The behavior of the Jew and Socialist Leon Blum would seem to contradict this formula because Blum, as Prime Minister, initiated "non-intervention," and thus delivered "Marxist-bolshevik" Spain over to German and Italian fascism. But the Fuehrer had already told the faithful that "there is in France today more than ever an internal agreement between the designs of the stock exchanges, the Jews who are running it, and the wishes of a chauvinistic national statecraft." And so the good Nazi remains unperturbed. He attributes Blum's policy to the general cowardice, indecision, and inefficiency of the parliamentary democracies. With cold logic the Aryan cannot be caught. His Idea will resist any reasoning.

Fascism did not pull anti-Semitism out of a drawer for home consumption only. It makes excellent use of it in planning foreign attacks. That the fascist system of government exerts an attraction for the most reactionary sections of the ruling classes in the entire capitalist world, becomes more obvious daily. The "Law and Order" with which Hitler and Mussolini keep their peoples suppressed arouses the admiration of all reactionaries. The crisis of capitalism has prepared the soil for anti-Semitism in countries whose democratic liberal traditions formerly barred its way. Monopoly capital learns more and more to value the diversionist device of anti-Semitism. Jew-baiting is the bridge over which fascist agents force their entry into England, France, Canada, North and South America; unemployed workers and the impoverished middle classes are their best raw material, and they share the leadership with members of the native "Aryan aristocracy."

Who would deny that Hitler handled the fundamental problem

of our times, the struggle between Capital and Labor, in a manner which many a capitalist in less fortunate countries envies? No more labor trouble! For such a heaven-on-earth he would gladly sacrifice a little of his Christianity. Nor can anyone expect that the unemployed, upon whose backs the democracies fight their political battles, will fly into righteous indignation when they read that the German unemployed are now working in munitions factories. And whoever has had the opportunity, in times of severe struggles between Capital and Labor, of following the behavior of the lower middle class, knows that this politically vacillating but most influential class always tends to turn upon both of them when the conflict lasts a long time. Why should they not welcome an "arbiter" who promises to handle the contending parties with equal severity and justice? There is a common base for the Fascist International. It develops from the general crisis of capitalist society and from the failure of the democracies to solve it in a democratic way.

Why did Mussolini suddenly, after fifteen years of dictatorship, discover anti-Semitism? Was this cynic suddenly struck by a racial illumination? Did he recently pick up *Mein Kampf* in an hour of leisure, to read there that he has really always been an anti-Semite, "perhaps in the depth of his subconscious"?

At the beginning of his fascist career the Freemasons [14] sufficed for the internal diversion of the Italian people; he dissolved their organizations and persecuted them no less harshly than the socialists and communists. Not much time has passed since the Italian press made fun of Hitler's Aryan theory and sneered at his German bearers of the torch of culture, who were still munching acorns in the Teutoburg forests at a time when ancient Rome had reached the pinnacle of civilization. One astonishingly simple explanation of Mussolini's conversion is that the economic situation in Italy looks deplorable, that the dissatisfaction with increasing taxes, rising prices, and the

human sacrifices in Ethiopia and in Spain necessitated the opening of a new safety valve. But this alone would have been nothing more than the old Czarist recipe. Anti-Semitism, spread as a national virtue and a new religion, also strengthens Mussolini's position in his struggle against England and France in the Mediterranean and the Near East.

The co-ordination of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio bloc on the question of anti-Semitism increases its imperialistic fighting power. Little does it matter that the Arabs whom Mussolini and Hitler are now "protecting" against the Jews are Semites themselves, according to Nazi racial theory. Neither is it of importance that there are hardly any Jews to be found in Japan. In the Near East anti-Semitism is carried on in the form of anti-"Judaism" to fit the political requirements of the German-Italian fight against England and France. In the Far East, where even the skill of a Goebbels cannot build up a "Jewish question," fascism has destined to the Soviet Union the role of the Jew.

Anti-Semitism opens to Mussolini spheres of influence which his arm could not reach before. In France, Africa, in North and South America there are millions of Italians and descendants of Italians. If they can be united, they will be extremely valuable troops with whose aid Mussolini can exert direct internal influence upon these countries. Anti-Semitism, a simple, comprehensible, and old "explanation" of social and economic inequality, is a far more effective rallying cry than the obscure, vague, and new idea of the "Corporate State." Utilizing a genuine if misdirected feeling of rebellion against existing social injustice, it has a truly international appeal. By stamping the Jew as the symbol of capitalism *and* bolshevism, it draws upon primitive sentiments of resistance against exploitation as well as upon fear of social revolution. Skillfully developed along these lines by fascism, anti-Semitism thus becomes an ideological link

between the upper and the lower middle class, and its effects can be traced even far into the confused camp of labor. Its appeal is as international as decaying capitalism itself.

A spiritual affinity is already uniting German and Italian fascists and American reactionaries. Do not Hitler and Mussolini, Goebbels and Gayda find silent—but how much longer silent?—approval of their attacks on Roosevelt? And was not the domestic and foreign collaboration of international fascism quite successful in discrediting the New Deal as a Jewish-Communistic experiment? Is not the expression "Jewish-Communistic" more and more tied up with everything liberal, progressive, democratic? Do not the fascists slander everyone who would stand in the way of their aggressions as "Communistic war-mongers"? Hitler's formula, "Jews and Marxists" has been Americanized. "Jews, Communists, and Foreigners" it is in the United States. It is the applied formula of "national education" of *Mein Kampf*.

Thus anti-Semitism is today not only the old means of deception used by reaction, but an integral part of the fascist-imperialist politics of penetration and conquest. New persecutions of the Jews are always the signal for a further offensive on one of the many fronts where fascism is active.

No matter how useful it may be to expose again and again the senseless accusations against the Jews as lies, it is insufficient if it is not a part of the fight against fascism in all its manifestations. Neither scientific nor moral arguments can rid the world of this organized Jew-baiting. Even after the last Jew has emigrated from Germany, National Socialism will not stop spreading the gospel of anti-Semitism. On the contrary, the "international Jew" will remain the evil spirit in the world. The more so, when the internal situation of fascism becomes more strained and its foreign policy more aggressive. The poor little Jewish shopkeeper, whose poverty is visible to everyone, bears scant witness to the dangerous international influ-

ence, the fabulous wealth, and the dark schemes of Jewry. When he disappears, it will be much more effective to incriminate the Jew in the City of London, in Wall Street, and in Moscow, as the would-be destroyer of Germany. The more abstract and mysterious "the Jew" becomes, the better he serves Hitler's purpose.

The confusion which anti-Semitism has aroused among the Jews themselves is due to the fact that "the Jew" does not exist. There are rich and poor Jews, leisure-class and working-class Jews; there are Jewish fur-workers and bankers, dentists and small tradespeople, professors and factory workers. Consequently, there are also reactionary and liberal, conservative and revolutionary Jews—and there are fascists among them. Their attitude toward fascism generally depends upon their social status. A minority among them would be only too glad to make peace with fascism, if fascism would only make peace with them. Not a few silently hope that Hitler or Mussolini may come to their senses and drop anti-Semitism. They find themselves in a similar position to many non-Jewish Americans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen, who would have no objection whatsoever to experimenting with an American, English, or French Hitler, if they had the assurance that their respective Hitlers would refrain from "unnecessary" and "embarrassing" excesses—from such "stupidities" as book-burning and the regimentation of the sciences. They still do not understand that regimentation, not only of the sciences but also of the entire public and private life, is necessary to fascism for its existence—just as is "the night of the long knives,"[15] the concentration camps, the People's Courts,[16] and anti-Semitism. They are blinded by the "successes" of National Socialism. How wonderful it must be, they think, when the capitalist is unchallenged boss in his own house, the captain of industry master of his own army of workers! To have no more NLRB's, no CIO's, no AF of L's—only company unions and no right to strike, no "foreign agitators" and no "red terror"!

Anti-Semitism in the countries where fascism has gained power can disappear only with fascism itself. In the nations which are still democratic, the advance of anti-Semitism can be resisted successfully only if the battle against anti-Semitism is carried on as a battle against reaction, against unemployment, as a battle for better living conditions, for social progress, for a civilization which deserve its name.

Either democracy possesses enough insight and desire to protect the vital rights of the overwhelming majority of the population, or "aristocratic" monopoly capital will find its Hitler, who will solve the social problems by means of the Fuehrer-principle. This is so obvious that one is almost ashamed to say it again.

For the Jews there is only one certainty: *Victorious* fascism will strangle them, regardless of whether they have supported it, whether they have "personally" not taken sides, or whether they have openly and courageously fought against it. "The so-called good Jew is our most dangerous enemy," writes the organ of the SA in its issue of January 13, 1939, "because he challenges our pity and paralyzes us in our struggle."

But guns sometimes backfire. So the witch doctor Hitler gives his faithful ones to understand that his race-formula should not be used schematically. For example, he justifies England's post-War understanding with Japan on the ground that the supremacy of the United States forced English statesmen into an alliance, which "from a racial point of view is perhaps unjustifiable, but represents the only political possibility for a strengthening of the British world position against the aspiring American continent."

In the interest of imperialism, one must have absolutely no scruples. Hitler did not hesitate to ally himself for a while with such an "inferior" race as the Poles; he is now courting the "Semitic" Arabs; and he has signed a pact with the Japanese who are in *Mein Kampf* classified as one of the sterile, non-culture-creating races. In

order to brush aside any doubt as to the "racial justification" of the Nazi alliance with the "Yellow Peril," the Fuehrer has had recourse to an ingenious method: He has raised the Japanese to the ranks of Aryans!

With this he has only repeated what his ideal and prototype, the anti-Semitic burgomaster of Vienna, Lueger, did. When his followers accused him of associating with Jews, the burgomaster told them:

"I alone decide who is a Jew!"

THREE

How Did Hitler Come To Power?

"How often we used to shake with laughter over these simpleton middle-class poltroons and their ingenious guesses as to our origin, our intentions, and our goal."

Mein Kampf

The Weak Democracy

Nazi historians have an easy time of it. They have no more problems to solve. In their profession the Leader-Principle, as everywhere else in Nazi Germany, holds sway. They have to present German history as the history of Great Germans only. The greatest German came to power for the very reason that he was greater, more energetic and more farsighted than any of his opponents, because he fought with the right weapons and because he followed with the sureness of a sleep-walker the road which Providence pointed out to him. His enemies were blockheads, traitors, and crooks.

Based upon this formula is everything which today is handed down to the German children and adults as scientific knowledge. Anyone dissatisfied with such an answer and looking for further explanation would soon find himself on the direct road to high treason.

The strength of "The Great Man Theory," which is, by the way,

not found in fascist historical science alone, lies in the fact that it reduces the involved political, social, and economic conditions of an era and the driving forces of their development to pure psychology. The theory has, indeed, the advantage of simplicity, but it is a stupid simplicity. Its interpretation of historical events is just as unconvincing as that of its extreme counterpart, an historical philosophy which has been called "Economic Determinism" and which is often erroneously taken for Marxism. According to this second theory, the course of history is the unavoidable result of tremendous unknown economic forces before which the individual is driven as a blind and helpless object.

Like The Great Man Theory, Determinism also has for every question a glib answer, explaining all and nothing. It works on a few stereotyped formulas. Two of its favorite clichés are "inevitable" and "automatic" and afterward it knows that everything had to happen as it did. It is partial to generalizations such as: Capitalism must inevitably go through the phase of fascism before socialism can be realized; the inner contradictions of the fascist economic system will automatically bring about its collapse.

Although apparently wholly exclusive of each other in their individual outlook, both theories nevertheless have a common nucleus. Whereas the former asserts that great men make history as in a vacuum, while the latter holds that solely objective facts—above all the economic conditions of an era—make history, they both deny the part played by the people in the determination of their destinies.

The victory of fascism in Germany was not inevitable. Hitler's triumph was the result of a long struggle in which millions inside and outside Germany took part directly or indirectly. It was not the victory of a single man, but of one part of the German people over another. Neither was it the victory of anonymous economic forces alone. Hitler gave these powerful interests the form and expression

by which they were able to rise to dictatorial mastery in Germany. In this lies his personal share in the success, and to this extent he helped make history.

But the relationship between Hitler and the German ruling classes is not a fixed one; beneath the surface the struggle for power never stops. Hitler is no more their lord than he is their puppet.

The statement that men make their own history requires further explanation. They make history under conditions which are already there and which are not of their own choosing. It depends on their conscious effort whether or not they solve the problems which history presents to them. A clear understanding of the issues must naturally precede conscious effort. The better men understand them, the more successfully can they intervene in the course of history.

In 1918 the overwhelming majority of the German people felt the need of changing its social order in such a manner that a repetition of the barbaric slaughter of the War years would be made impossible for all time. It was more or less clear to most Germans that the War had not been fought for their benefit, nor for that of the Italian peasant, the French worker, or the English intellectual. They hated imperialism because it bred wars. Most Germans called themselves socialists; they were determined to build a more humane and beautiful Reich.

Systematically deceived and kept in the dark as to the true military situation at the front, both the army and the civilian population were completely unprepared for the collapse. The *K*aiser had fled; Ludendorff and Hindenburg insisted on an immediate armistice to save the Army from total destruction. The sailors rebelled against the admiralty which wanted to drive them to their death in a last suicidal battle against the English fleet. The powerful war machine of the Empire literally fell apart overnight. The ignorance of the population and the inconceivable speed and completeness of the catastrophe explain why the collapse was later so effectively attrib-

uted to the work of dark forces in Germany, to the Jews and Marxists. The lie of the war reports was logically continued in the lie of the "stab in the back."

Every authority of the old Government was gone in 1918-19. The people left the parties of the die-hards, and jingoes who had insisted on "No Peace without Victory." The sharks of the Pan-German League who were ready to sacrifice the lives of further hundreds of thousands of German soldiers for the robbery of the French mines of Longwy and Briey and who with their greed frustrated every attempt at a sane peace, had suddenly become silent and disappeared from the political arena. Power lay in the street, and the Social Democratic leaders, to whom millions and millions of Germans turned, took it up there with a heavy heart. They did not know what to do with it.

The democratic Republic, which succeeded the Empire, carried within itself from the very beginning the germ of its collapse. The overthrow of 1918 was no revolution in the sense of the great French Revolution in 1789, in which the bourgeoisie wrested political power from the hands of feudalism. Nor was it a revolution like the Russian of 1917 in which the workers seized power. A social revolution takes place only where one class supplants another as the ruling class and uses political power to rebuild the entire social structure in its own interest. The overthrow of 1918 created in Germany no clearly marked division of power. Like the Revolution of 1848, that of 1918 was a typically German revolution—it ended in a compromise.

There was, however, a vital difference between 1848 and 1918. In 1848 a compromise was reached between the upper middle class and the nobility, two propertied classes—a compromise which the ascendant middle class felt impelled to make in the face of the growing strength of the working class. An expanding capitalist economy was able to support their combined rule.

On the other hand, in 1918 a compromise was attempted between

the working class and the upper middle class, one a non-propertied, the other a propertied class—a compromise which the Social Democratic leadership felt impelled to make in the face of a threatening proletarian revolution. Not only was Germany's exhausted capitalist economy unable to support such a partnership, but the attempt was doomed to fail under any circumstances, for a socialist order cannot be grafted upon a capitalist system.

The Social Democratic Government merely talked of transferring the decisive means of production to public ownership without which a planned socialist economy is not possible. Actually it did not dare to touch Big Business. It never found the courage to divide the big landholdings of the Junkers—with or without compensation—among the landless peasants and farm hands. It granted unlimited autonomy to the reactionary Reichswehr whose officers it took over from the Imperial Army. It left the reactionary judiciary intact. Thus in a few months it became a prisoner of the old reactionary, imperialist forces whose destruction the majority of the German people had expected from it. Its great historical guilt lies in the fact that it did not fulfill the promise it had given the German people. It was not equal to the task placed before it.

This is not to say that these men consciously and willfully prepared the way for reaction and fascism. The great majority of them were good democrats—to be sure, democrats of German coinage. They called themselves "socialists." What seemed to them to be socialism, in a Germany which had never known a liberal democracy, was a beautiful dream of general harmony among the classes—something that never existed anywhere. Least of all was there a foundation for it in poverty-stricken Germany, shaken by the misery and unrest of the post-War period. One has only to read the autobiographies of these men to see how helpless and incapable they were when faced with the great problems of the Weimar Republic.

The political power with which the people had entrusted them melted away in their hands.

The Communist Party of Germany, the second largest workers' party, had been founded by Social Democratic workers and intellectuals who had left the old party because they did not wish to participate in the betrayal of the revolutionary principles of the workers' movement. They had fought the "Social Chauvinism," the collaboration of the Social Democratic leaders with the Imperial German Government during the War. After the revolution, they continued the struggle against the opportunism of the Social Democratic Governments. Schooled in the experiences of the Soviet Russian Revolution, they made the conquest of political power the cornerstone of their program. In Berlin and central Germany, in Hamburg and in the Ruhr district, they led the workers in a series of armed uprisings—all of them ruthlessly suppressed despite local successes and heroic resistance.

The Social Democratic Government tried to stave off the Communist attacks by turning for support to those deadly enemies of the democratic Republic, the Reichswehr and the illegal Freikorps. With the weapons and the money which the Republic used to suppress the Communists, the German counter-revolution was organized. During the first years of the Weimar Republic, the openly reactionary forces would never have alone dared to shoot down the revolutionary workers. Such a course could be pursued only by a party which a large part of the workers and the lower middle class trusted would bring about socialism by peaceful, bloodless means.

The hatred of the Communists for the Social Democratic renegades, for the betrayers of the social revolution, and, on the other hand, the hatred of the Social Democrats for the Communists, who in their eyes wished to destroy the peaceful construction of the Republic, built up such a high barrier between the two great

workers' parties that it could not be torn down when decisive days came. It can hardly be imagined today how deep was the division among the German workers. There was not a single point of political, social, and economic nature on which unity between the two parties existed. The Social Democratic leaders hated the young Soviet Republic and sought to come to an understanding with the western democracies. The Communists saw in the Russian Revolution the model for Germany's own development, and in closer ties with Soviet Russia the best means to meet the destructive policies of France. The Social Democratic Party assured the workers that the German economic structure had to be made strong and effective again before socialization could be thought of; the Communists pointed out that with the strengthening of the capitalist economic system, the propertied classes would also be strengthened and that the policy of waiting was tantamount to the total renunciation of socialization. The enmity between the two parties knew no bounds.

While the forces of the working class were engaged in an embittered fratricidal struggle, the reactionaries were losing no time. Equipped with the huge financial resources and the positions of power which the Revolution had left them, they led the fight against democracy on all fronts. Reaction is never petty in the choice of its weapons. At the same time that they were legally directing the political opposition, they were organizing armed resistance by outfitting illegal bands over which the Reichswehr held a protecting hand. Seeing the weakness and the confusion which existed in the Government, they soon found the courage to make the first frontal attack against the Republic. In 1920, a year and a half after the Revolution, they risked their first armed counter-revolutionary uprising and occupied Berlin with their troops. The quick suppression of the *K*app[17] *Putsch* was not the work of the Government. It had fled. But the workers smashed it with an irresistible general strike. The liberal English historian, R. T. Clark, in his *Fall of the Ger-*

man Republic, draws the following conclusions from the experiences of those days:

The situation had been saved entirely by the action of the workers. Here was a lesson for the democratic coalition, if it was democratic. Democracy in Germany was safe if it based itself on the democratic elements; the lesson that a strong and vigorous Socialist party was the one real basis of democracy in Germany was once more reinforced. But the Government refused to learn it. The strikers, flushed with their victory, were inclined to stay out till they had consolidated it. They wanted to see insurrection not merely defeated but punished, and they wanted the socialist aspect of the Government's work greatly extended. Under the influence of Left extremists a great number of the strikers refused to go back unless guarantees were secured against the "national" intriguers: This was the inevitable end of the compromising concession-to-the-enemy policy adopted by the official party, which had made a timid bourgeois regime out of the promise of a strong Socialist State. There was bitter evidence already that the bourgeois democracy was no friend to the workers and the Government obligingly supplied more.[18]

The events that followed the *K*app *Putsch* showed everyone, who was willing to see, how powerless the Government already was when it had to deal with its internal enemies of the Right. The Reichswehr, which had offered no resistance to the Kapp *Putsch,* attacked the workers when they refused to lay down their arms unless the Government would take measures to punish the traitors. Together with the Freikorps, which had fought on the side of *K*app, the Army took bloody revenge on the aroused workers. "Outnumbered and badly munitioned, the insurgents [workers] put up a magnificent resistance in their squalid streets, but were crushed with a thoroughness and viciousness that was in striking contrast to the tenderness with which the Kappists had been treated," writes Clark on the course of the fight in the Ruhr district.

The weakness of the democratic Republic, the non-fulfillment of

its socialist promises, the progressive inflation and economic distress, naturally reacted on the political attitude of the lower middle classes. In 1918 the peasants, employees, shopkeepers, artisans and those belonging to the professions, had for the most part changed over from their old political affiliations and had come to regard the Social Democratic Party as the representative of their interests. Instead of a new start in life, the Republic had given them unemployment, poverty, and despair. The impoverishment of the lower middle classes proceeded with unparalleled speed and brutality. Their life savings were transferred into worthless paper by the drop of the mark and the rise in prices. In the fall of 1923, a loaf of bread cost millions of marks. When the value of the mark was finally stabilized at the ratio of 4,200,000,000,000 marks to one United States dollar, the expropriation of the middle class had long been completed.

Since the Government had capitulated before the difficulties of socialization, the re-entry of German industries into the world market had, naturally, to be effected in a capitalist fashion. This could only mean a further deterioration of the living conditions of the working sections of the population. German capitalism, which had lost its foreign investments, its colonies, and a great part of its raw materials, and which had seen its industrial equipment become obsolete and antiquated during its isolation in the War years, endeavored to regain its ability to compete on the international market. The costs were borne by the workers, peasants, employees, officials, students, scientists, and artists. Was it any wonder that the lower middle classes, which were asked to endure new privations after the sacrifices of the War years, gradually lost the sympathy with which they had greeted the new Republic?

On top of this, the infuriating spectacle of fabulous luxury, the most senseless extravagance in the midst of indescribable need, unrolled itself before all eyes. The War and inflation profiteers, German and foreign crooks and speculators frequented the swanky

night clubs which had sprung up like mushrooms in all the big cities. In number and growth only one other enterprise could compete with them—the banks. Speculation boomed. A few English pounds bought a house, a few thousand dollars, whole blocks of streets; and not a few foreigners made good use of the golden opportunity. The "bankruptcy sale" of Germany during the inflation period has probably, more than anything else, advanced the reactionary campaign against "Jews and foreigners." The question of war debts and reparations remained dangerously unsettled. None knew how many billions of gold marks the victorious Allies still wished to extract from the emaciated German people. Demoralization and despair had reached a depth hitherto unknown.

This was the general political atmosphere during the years 1919-23, and all this was grist to Hitler's mill. The mistakes and omissions of the weak democratic Republic, the inexorableness of vengeful Allied Imperialism were his best aides.

The Demagogue

Once and for all, the erroneous idea that Hitler is only an adventurer or a reactionary nationalist of the old school must be discarded. He is neither a gang leader of the type of a Captain Ehrhardt [19] nor a stupid reactionary like Kapp. He is, above all, a politician and a politician who realizes better than many pseudo-socialists the decisive role of the masses of the people in politics. "To lead means to be able to stir masses," he says in his book. Even before he began his political career he dedicated himself to a study of how to lead and rule masses. And more than that, he has, with sure instinct, comprehended the relationship of the classes to one another and the mechanism of their struggle.

Perhaps the reader will think it farfetched to call Hitler a politician who thinks in concepts, which, according to his own words, are an invention of the "Jews and Marxists." Actually he is not only

a shrewd politician, but a class-conscious politician. The man who persists in branding the class struggle a Marxist fabrication, who pretends to replace the struggling classes with the united nation and capitalist exploitation with the National Socialist people's commonweal, who alleges that his Government supersedes class rule and serves only the German people as a whole—that man is an extraordinary strategist of the class struggle.

"The national intelligentsia," as he calls the representatives of the old Imperialism of the *K*aiser, was compromised and no longer had an effective program. The middle class parties "had in the most craven manner capitulated to the street." The only ones who according to him had the courage and the strength to come out openly against "the Street," that is, against organized Labor, were the Freikorps. Yet they, too, could not "exert any influence because they lacked political understanding and above all they lacked any real political goal. . That which excluded national Germany from any practical contribution to the political development was the lack of co-ordination and of co-operation between brute force and ingenious political will."

This failing was to be corrected by the political movement which Hitler now undertook to organize.

He wanted to take the bull by the horns. It was clear to him from the start that the National Socialist Party would have to become a mass party if it was to exert any influence "upon the practical construction of German development." The masses, however, were with the enemy, with the "Marxists"; they were hopelessly "led astray by the Jew." How could they be won back?

If anyone still hopes that Hitler may some fine day after all introduce real socialism, he has but to contemplate the Fuehrer's feelings concerning "the masses." A deep abyss of contempt for the working people separates him from the true socialist. He sneers at "the broad masses" as being stupid, simple, cowardly, lazy, mentally inert, and

insolent. They want to be dominated and are always glad to give in to the strong.

Like a woman, whose emotional life is motivated less by abstract reason than by an indefinable, instinctive longing for the strength that will complement her, and who for that reason prefers to bow to the strong rather than to dominate the weakling, the masses in the same manner love the ruler more than the suppliant and are much more satisfied with a teaching which will not tolerate another beside it, than they are with liberal freedom, which they don't know what to do with and which usually makes them feel forsaken. They are equally unaware of the indecency of their intellectual terrorization as they are of the revolting treatment of their human liberty, since they in no way suspect the internal nonsense of the entire doctrine. They see only the ruthless strength and brutality of the systematic, methodical expressions of this doctrine before which they must always bow in the end.

Hitler is not referring to his own doctrine here; he is speaking of Marxism. Elsewhere he says:

The masses' capacity for learning is but very limited; their understanding is small; and for that reason their memory is short. . . . The people in their overwhelming majority is so effeminate that their thought and action are guided less by sober reasoning than by emotional instinct.

Revolutionary workers he calls "degenerate proletarians . physically corrupted and for that reason also spiritually a miserable pack." Whereas some of his fellow party members, as for example the military bully Roehm, have now and then found a word of sportsmanlike praise for the revolutionary workers' courage and their moral strength of resistance, Hitler has only burning hatred and deep contempt for them. The workers who adhere to Marxism always remain for him the criminals who upon the construction scaffolding in Vienna broke his "spiritual resistance" with physical violence and chased him away. Those who are not politically conscious are for

him a credulous, uneducated, lazy gang—the hoodlum proletariat of the Viennese flophouse.

But Hitler, the official's son, is not Hitler, the politician. The politician needs the masses to reach his goals. Without them his movement can never become powerful. Without them Germany can never again enter upon another great war. Thus his feelings are in eternal conflict with his political insight. It is the real conflict of the demagogue. "All great movements are popular movements," says Hitler, the politician, "are volcanic eruptions of human passions and spiritual emotions, stirred up by the cruel Goddess of Misery or by the flaming torch of the word flung into the masses and are not syrupy effusions of literary aesthetes and drawing-room heroes."

When Hitler analyzes the policies of the Pan-German Party of Schoenerer, which were closely analogous to his own, he realizes that it failed "because from the very beginning it did not place the primary emphasis upon winning its members from the broad masses. It became 'bourgeois, respectable, mildly radical.'" Such a party will in the long run attract at best lukewarm reformers and opportunists, but no fighters. Because for really great sacrifices "one needs the simple people from the broad masses. They alone are resolute and hard enough to fight this battle to the bloody finish."

"In general," he says summing up, "a philosophy of life will have prospects of victory only when the broad masses are willing and ready to fight the necessary battle as the bearers of the new teaching."

The middle-class parties with their antiquated methods of political warfare may be all right when it comes to satisfying the political ambition of professional aesthetes and plaintive pacifist females, but they will never again win over the masses, says Hitler.

No, we must not entertain any illusions about that. Our present-day bourgeoisie has become useless for any higher task of humanity, simply because it is without reservation too corrupt, and it is too corrupt not

so much out of—let us say—deliberate corruptness but rather as a result of an incredible indolence and all that comes from it. For that reason those political clubs which knock around under the collective title of "bourgeois parties" have long ceased to be anything but professional and vocational groups united by common interests, whose highest task is the best possible representation of their selfish interests. That such a politicizing "bourgeois" guild is able to do anything but fight, is obvious; but especially, when the opponents are not made up of cautious shopkeepers but proletarian masses, whipped up to the utmost and resolved to go the whole hog.

Hitler's harsh language in his criticism of middle-class political parties should not deceive us for a moment. He accuses them of only one sin: They are no longer able to save an imperialist Germany from the German socialists. The opponents of the upper middle class are also his opponents. They are the socialist workers and their political allies, the great majority of the German people.

To break this majority with any available means is the primary strategic goal of the young Hitler movement. "Any available means" includes weapons of physical and spiritual terror of every kind.

Upon looking back today at the beginning of the Nazi Party, one cannot help admiring the sureness of the demagogic instinct which led Hitler in his political agitation. From the selection of the name of his party up to the last detail of the meeting technique, from the design of the party flag to the party program, everything is put in the service of one task—developing a mass party and making that party known and popular with the very masses who were disappointed in the weak Democracy. In a continual attack upon the Republic founded "upon high treason," in an uncompromising battle on two fronts, against the middle class as well as the workers' parties, in the concreteness and popularity of his demands, and in a mixture of the most unscrupulous propaganda and unrestrained terror Hitler saw the swiftest and surest way to success.

The German Workers' Party underwent a rapid reconstruction after Hitler, its member Number 7, had in appreciation of his oratorical powers been entrusted with the propaganda department.

First of all, he pushed aside the old useless party officials and replaced them with soldiers whom he had known in the War and through his work for the Reichswehr. "They were all active young men, used to discipline and from their military days drilled in the principle: 'Nothing is impossible; everything goes if the will is there.'" Then he undertook to change the name to "National-Socialist German Workers' Party." The masses want socialism. Very well, he promises them a new, better kind than the poor product which the "Marxists" are trying to doctor up. The challenge expressed in the words *Socialist* and *Workers' Party* was chosen just as deliberately as the red posters with which the young party announced its first meetings. It wanted to provoke. It wanted clashes. It wanted publicity at any cost. The Fuehrer, consumed with ambition, saw in the isolation of his small group the greatest political danger. "During the early period of our development we suffered from nothing so much as from the insignificance and obscurity of our names which in itself made our success doubtful." Whenever his group of followers became weak and despondent, whenever it wanted to shrink before the ridicule of enemies and the criticism of friends, he called out to them:

It does not matter whether they laugh at us or defame us, whether they represent us as clowns or criminals, the main thing is that they name us at all, that they again and again occupy themselves with us and that in time we appear to the workers as the only force with which they must still contend.

He seeks the hatred of his enemies, for "whoever on this earth cannot stir the hatred of his opponents does not seem to me a worthy friend."

He incites the workers by imitating the outward forms of their movement. "As our color we chose red as a matter of principle. It is the most exciting and was bound to arouse and provoke our opponents to the utmost and to bring us to their attention in one way or another." He uses their tunes and fighting songs for which his rhymesters write new words. He leads the art of political propaganda to hitherto unattained heights of demagogy.

At the same time he must repeat to the frightened "bourgeois poltroons" that all this is merely a matter of external show and that there is absolutely no cause to be alarmed. The owning classes are distrustful. It will be some time before they realize that the enemy front can be broken up only by such demagogic methods. "Declarations concerning the final aims of a certain political ground work," naturally enough, cannot be made. Hitler must in this case, too, depend upon the "intuitive insight of the spiritually superior Leader-classes." But the middle class has less instinct than even the police allow.

The German Nationalist minds, in the greatest secrecy, whispered the suspicion around that fundamentally we, too, are nothing but a new version of Marxism, perhaps nothing but disguised Marxists or, for that matter, socialists. For even to this very day, these forces do not understand the fundamental difference between socialism and Marxism. Especially when it was discovered in addition that as a matter of principle we did not welcome "ladies and gentlemen" at our meetings but only "German comrades," and that we spoke between ourselvs only of "party comrades," then many of our opponents were sure of the Marxist specter.

Thus Hitler speaks with anger and irony of the middle class, an ally whose obtuseness and uneasiness at the thought of Hitler's unscrupulous demagogy makes the Nazis' work unnecessarily difficult. For demagogy is a two-edged sword. The masses, won over with dangerous promises, cannot eternally be put off with promises.

The middle class fears that someday it will have to pay the piper after all.

In Hitler's remarks concerning the nature and tasks of propaganda, his notorious talent as a politician and his contempt for the masses find clearest expression. Propaganda is his favorite topic and he frequently returns to it in his book. It is "a truly fearful weapon in the hands of the expert," he says, and he allows no doubt to exist that he considers himself a top-ranking specialist in this field. To the inadequacy of German War propaganda and the superiority of that of the Allies, he traces a good portion of the causes of the German downfall. The heroism of the German Army was "spiritually wasted" by bureaucratic idiots. If only he had been made director of a propaganda ministry at that time!

More than once I was tortured by the thought that if Providence had put me in the place of these incapable and criminal know-nothings and good-for-nothings of our propaganda service, fate would have taken a different course. During these months I felt for the first time the entire treachery of an ominous destiny which tied me down at the front in a position in which any chance shot of a negro might kill me, when I might have rendered the Fatherland other services in another place.

His basic rules concerning the value and application of propaganda, briefly summarized, sound something like this: Propaganda must be used according to the principle that the end justifies the means. It is correct whenever the desired success is attained. In this success lies the only measure of its value.

It must always be addressed to the masses. . . . It must be popular and must adapt its intellectual level to the intellectual capacity of the most simple-minded of those to whom it is directed. Therefore, its purely intellectual level will have to be driven lower, the greater the mass of people to be reached. . . . The more modest its scientific ballast

is and the more it concentrates exclusively upon the emotions of the masses, the more thorough and complete the result. . . . Any effective propaganda must limit itself to a very few points and must use them as slogans until with certainty the very last man can understand what is wanted. . . . The task of propaganda is not to weigh various rights, but to emphasize exclusively the one it advocates. Its task is not to see objective truth, which may be useful to others, and to place it before the masses in doctrinary sincerity, but to serve one's own truth persistently. It was fundamentally wrong to discuss War guilt from the point of view that Germany could not alone be made responsible for the outbreak of this catastrophe, but it would have been right to burden the opponent with the whole guilt, even if this had not corresponded to the actual course of events, as was actually the case.

Propaganda is not a matter of right or wrong, truth or falsehood. A most one-sided representation of one's own point of view, the lowest possible intellectual level, an appeal only to the instincts and emotions of the masses, a concentration upon a very few easily understandable slogans, and the greatest persistence in their repetition assure success. If these rules are adhered to, by means of propaganda "a people can be duped into seeing Heaven as Hell, and conversely the most wretched life as paradise."

In the choice of his means the demagogue is absolutely unscrupulous. The credulity and decency of the "less educated" masses open up unsuspected possibilities in the political struggle for him who knows the soul of the people. Lying becomes a science in his system. He considers it a

very correct principle that in the size of the lie there is always a certain factor which will make it credible, since the broad masses of the people are more easily corrupted in the very depth of their souls, than they are consciously and deliberately bad. Therefore, with the primitive simplicity of their souls, they more easily fall prey to a big lie than to a small one, because they themselves tell many small lies but would be

ashamed to tell big ones. Such an untruth will never occur to them and they will never think of the possibility of such a monstrous boldness of the most infamous falsification on the part of others, and even after the clarification of the falsification they will long doubt and vascillate and will accept at least any sort of cause as true; for that reason the most infamous lie can never be wiped out entirely.

The burning of the Reichstag in Berlin, which was intended to create the atmosphere for the open terror of the Nazis, later revealed the entire significance of this recipe. Even today many Germans cannot believe that the Nazi Government burned the Reichstag in order to arouse the middle-class voters and win the elections. The very thought that his Government should commit a crime is intolerable to "the primitive simplicity of soul" of the unpolitical German. But that the criminals themselves should sit in judgment over the innocent—the Communists, whom they accused of the deed—to grasp that exceeds the power of imagination of even politically experienced men. Even a Europe which had experienced war and revolution was not used to such methods of fighting. Hitler had guessed correctly. The lie was too infamous for part of the people not to fall prey to it.

The topic with which Hitler begins his practical political agitation in Munich is naturally not the delicate issue of the people's commonweal. This would have been embarrassing, for the "uncultured" workers always wanted to know what the commonweal meant in terms of wages, labor unions, the length of the work day, the right to strike. Discussions of such touchy questions involved the risk of alienating either the workers or business. Hence Hitler concentrates upon a field with which he is more familiar and upon a lecture with which he as an army propagandist had already helped to educate the Reichswehr. The *pièce de résistance* of his repertory is the Peace Treaty of Versailles. He observes correctly that at that time the masses regarded denunciations of the

Treaty as "an attack upon the Republic and a sign of reactionary, if not monarchial views." Nevertheless, Hitler decides that his party must attack the Treaty; for, he says, the party must not indiscriminately curry the favor of the masses, and it is precisely on the issue of the Treaty, he feels, that mass resistance can be most easily broken down. "The NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers' Party] should not become a flunkey of public opinion, but must become its master. It must not be the servant of the masses but their lord!"

But Hitler was soon to learn that it was easier to "nationalize" the Reichswehr than the "misled proletariat."

With the first sentence, which contained the criticism of Versailles, one could hear the stereotyped interjection hurled back in reply: "And Brest-Litovsk? Brest-Litovsk!" Thus the crowd roared again and again until it gradually became hoarse or the speaker finally gave up any attempt to convince. One could have beat his head against the wall in despair over such a people!

Indeed, this was the way the German people at first reacted when a Nationalist tried to fool them into believing that the Weimar Republic was guilty of the Peace of Versailles. Not that they had in any way acknowledged the Versailles Treaty to be just, and not, as Hitler tries to make it appear, that they did not want to understand "that this dictate meant a hitherto unheard-of robbery." What the workers wanted to express with the cry "Brest-Litovsk" was their indignation over the hypocrisy of the German Imperialists in representing the Versailles Treaty as a terrible injustice, after they themselves had fought for years for the annexation of territory and in the Peace of Brest-Litovsk had dictated the same cruel conditions to a defeated Russia. Hitler, the Imperialist, had no right to protest against a peace of extortion. "Marxist work of destruction

and the enemy's poisonous propaganda had deprived these people of all their reason," Hitler complains. On the contrary, these people were imbued with a nobler sense of justice than Hitler had ever experienced. They had fought against Versailles *and* against Brest-Litovsk; they fought against imperialist war in any form and under whatever flag it appeared.

The way Hitler breaks down the resistance of his audiences is characteristic of his propaganda. First of all, he changes his topic and speaks at future meetings on "The Peace Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles." He "had learned a lesson of great importance at that time; that is: *To strike the weapon of the enemy's reply out of his hand at the beginning.*" For this reason he describes in his future speeches first of all the generosity with which the victorious German Army had treated the Russians.

I contrasted the two peace treaties, compared them point for point, and showed the really boundless humanity of the one as contrasted with the inhuman cruelty of the other, and the result was a triumphant one. At that time I spoke on this topic at meetings of two thousand people, where sometimes the gaze from thirty-six hundred hostile eyes struck me. Yet three hours later I saw before me a swelling mass filled with the most sacred indignation and the most boundless wrath. Again a great lie had been torn out of the hearts and minds of a crowd numbering thousands, and in its place a truth had been planted.

The historical truth is distinguished from Hitler's in that the really boundless humanity of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty contained the following conditions for Russia: Cession of 290,000 square miles, an area one-and-one-half times as large as the whole of Germany, with a population of approximately fifty million or one-third of the total population and with one-third of the entire railway and communication network and 75 per cent of the iron production. In addition Russia was to pay war reparations amounting to six billion marks. That German Imperialism did not harvest the fruits of

the dictate is to be ascribed not so much to its magnanimity as to its collapse and to the resistance of the Soviet Government.

The four hundred eyes which at these meetings did not look daggers at Hitler belonged to the "Hall-Defense," an armed gang which accompanied him everywhere for his protection and for the breaking of any opposition. Out of it developed the notorious SA, the Storm Troops of the Nazi Party.

He invariably selected only young men for this purpose, "comrades whom I knew from army days, others, newly won young party members, who had from the very beginning been taught and trained to realize that terror can be broken only with terror, and that on this earth the courageous and decisive had always achieved success." Any heckling was immediately answered with clubbing and expulsion. With "the most brutal decisiveness" they were to throw themselves upon anyone who had the nerve to answer that the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was not a document of the most boundless humanity. They were "trained for attacks to be carried out blindly." Hitler's language becomes lyrical when he describes these terrorist gangs in action.

How the eyes of my boys used to glow at me when I explained to them the necessity of their mission. . . . Like a swarm of hornets they flew upon the disrupters of our meetings, without regard for their preponderance, no matter how great, without regard for wounds and bloody sacrifices, completely imbued with the great thought of clearing the way for the sacred mission of our movement.

He describes some of the memorable great meeting-hall battles between SA and workers, in which the Nazis naturally always smashed the cowardly Red majority to bits. That on more than one occasion his boys were saved only through rear exits and police cordons; that the reactionary judges of counter-revolutionary Bavaria invariably sentenced to severe prison terms "the Reds" as

the attackers; and that his gangs found their most sympathetic protector in the Munich Police President Poehner and in the Reichswehr, from which a great many of them came—all this the chronicler of the heroic epoch of the Nazi movement does not mention.

But even if we read with the proper amount of skepticism Hitler's poetic descriptions of the magic of his speeches, a kernel of truth continues to exist in them. He succeeded in getting thousands to turn out to his mass meetings and in bringing them under his influence. It was, however, not the workers, but chiefly people from the lower middle class who felt drawn to his movement. And it was not only the spectacle of the hysterically shouting fanatic which attracted them. But here somebody finally told them, concretely and simply, why times were so hard for them. The Entente is pillaging Germany, Hitler screamed at them. The Jews and stock-market speculators are enriching themselves on your misery! The Marxists have betrayed Germany to international Capital!

In the famous Program of the NSDAP, consisting of twenty-five "unalterable" points, the demagogy of the Nazis attains its pinnacle. The Program contains a series of national and social demands. To the first category belong: annulment of the Versailles Treaty; inclusion of all Germans in a Greater Germany on the basis of the right of national self-determination; return of the German colonies; establishment of a national army, instead of the "troop of mercenaries" which the Treaty of Versailles demands. Naturally the Program insists upon the exclusion of all Jews from citizenship rights. In their drawing power, however, the national demands fell far short of the social demands, which were cut to fit the mood and the most pressing needs of the lower middle class and the workers. War profits were to be confiscated by the State; all "unearned incomes" to be eliminated; big corporations to become the property of the State; and large estates, where the interests of the nation demanded it, to be expropriated. Capital punishment for usurers,

speculators, and other parasites upon the German people! Expropriation of department stores and subletting to small dealers! Sharing by the workers in the profits of industry!

The language is radical; many of the demands are extremely popular. In spite of this Hitler did not succeed, either before his *Putsch* in 1923 or up to the moment of his rise to power in 1933, in exerting a noteworthy influence upon the German workers' movement. The organized and experienced German workers have turned their backs with contempt upon the social demagogy of the anti-Semitic apostle of incitement, just as they have turned down his chauvinism.

The masses of his followers came predominantly from the urban and rural middle classes, and they came to him in greater swarms the worse their economic condition became, the more they saw themselves betrayed by the Republic. The raging inflation of 1923 was the first high-point in the development of the National Socialist movement; the depth of the crisis of 1932 was the second.

Many observers of the Nazi regime have drawn the conclusion on the basis of the middle-class origin of its followers that the entire regime has a middle-class character. They saw in fascism the victory of the middle classes, threatened with social annihilation, over the workers as well as Big Business. Recently, however, most of them have learned better—through the acts of an unparalleled aggressive imperialism, through the economic degeneration of the "victorious" middle class, and through the powerful concentration of wealth and capital in Nazi Germany. It would not have needed the conquest of Austria, Spain, and Czechoslovakia to recognize in National Socialism the new German Imperialism. The entire history of National Socialism points to the forces which stood behind Hitler. On two occasions—at the Munich *Putsch* and at Hitler's appointment as Chancellor—they became clearly recognizable.

The Putsch *of 1923*

After the overthrow of the Soviet Republic, Bavaria became the center of German reaction. All the conspirators against the Weimar Republic opened headquarters there. Bavaria teemed with illegal Rightist organizations, local vigilante groups, and Freikorps—all more or less closely allied with the Reichswehr. Among them were the Oberland (Upland), the Reichsflagge (Reich Flag), the Reichskriegsflagge (Reich War Flag), the Organisation Escherich (Escherich Organization), the Wiking (Viking), the Bluecherbund (Bluecher League), the Bayern und Reich (Bavaria and Reich), and many others. All were waiting for the opportunity to give the Republic its death blow. Hitler had already won a unique position among the armed nationalist groups. Besides the semi-military SA, he controlled a political party. The Reichswehr could, of course, no longer use Hitler, now a party leader and well-known politician, as an informer, but it understood his value as demagogue. Captain Ernst Roehm, an active officer in the Reichswehr, and the retired Captain Hermann Goering, an aviation officer during the War and now living by shady business transactions, placed themselves at his disposal. Goering became the SA leader; Roehm introduced Hitler to the higher officers' corps of the Reichswehr. The sub-corporal had connections as high up as the Chief of the Armed Forces. He now became socially eligible and received invitations from circles previously closed to him. He addressed the Bavarian Industrial Association, and money began to come in. In the midst of the inflation the Nazi Party acquired the *Voelkischer Beobachter,* then an independent nationalist weekly. Hitler has never given any accounting of the sources of his finances, not even to his party. That quantities of foreign money poured in to him—dollars, pounds, lire, even French francs—has been attested by witnesses in court. So, too, it has been found that the party salaries of high Nazi functionaries

were paid during the inflation in Swiss francs. None of this hurt Hitler's prestige as National Liberator. The possessing classes have never taken offense at this type of international solidarity.

Ludendorff, the most famous general after Hindenburg, formed an alliance with the sub-corporal and brought him additional prestige. As early as 1923 Hitler was regarded by Reaction in Bavaria and beyond as the coming man, the one who would cleanse democratic Berlin, the "Prussian pigsty."

His party was growing; Reichswehr arms were at the disposal of the SA. The entry of French troops into the Ruhr district loosed a new wave of nationalistic passion. The Government in Berlin trembled at the political and economic consequences of the collapsing currency, now less sure than ever of the sphinx-like Reichswehr.

The Bavarian Government consisted at that time of one man only: von Kahr, upon whom supreme emergency powers had been conferred. His chief collaborators were General von Lossow, Commander-in-Chief of the Reichswehr in Bavaria and Colonel von Seisser, Commissioner of the Bavarian Police. This trio was busied with preparations for a *coup d' état* of its own against the Republic. Hitler negotiated with them and gave his word of honor that he would not strike independently, but would wait for the command of the Government. Seisser, for his part, tried to come to an understanding with the Supreme Chief of the Reichswehr in Berlin, General von Seeckt, who, however, would not commit himself. Von Lossow also hesitated. Before he undertook the treacherous venture, he wanted to be 51 per cent sure that it would be a go. Hitler urged; he sent Ludendorff to Lossow; he himself dealt with von Kahr; he was impatient. Police President Poehner was on his side; his SA stood ready; Ludendorff would march at the head of the *Putschists*. After a conference with the Bavarian Government, on November 6, 1923, in which von Kahr opposed immediate action,

Hitler determined to act for himself, word of honor or no word of honor. He was suddenly afraid that the high and mighty revolutionists were plotting to let him down. They had needed him to drum the masses together, but now they wanted to yield him no share in the spoils. So, on the evening of November 8, with the SA under Goering's command, he burst into a meeting of Munich upper-class people that had been called by a leading businessman, and at which Herr von *K*ahr was about to make a speech against the Republic. Revolver in hand, Hitler led *K*ahr, Lossow, and Leisser into an anteroom and implored them to support his *Putsch*. They promised, were freed, and left the meeting.

After the New Provisional Government had been announced with Hitler as political leader, Ludendorff as Chief of the German Armed Forces, and *K*ahr as Governor of Bavaria, and while Hitler was passing the night in the beer hall waiting nervously for the progress of the "Revolution," *K*ahr and his aides betrayed him and declared his party dissolved.

Confused and desperate because of conflicting reports about the attitude of his allies, he nevertheless ordered the scheduled "Triumphal March" to start the next morning. But the two thousand National Socialists, with Hitler and Ludendorff at the head, were stopped by a few policemen, first with warnings, then—much to their surprise—with bullets. The Fuehrer fled. The *Putsch* had gone on the rocks.

Among the sixteen dead who fell before the Feldherrnhalle were: a judge, a retired captain of cavalry, three bank officials, three engineers, four salesmen, two craftsmen, a butler, and a head waiter. The list of casualties gives a true cross-section of the social composition of Hitler's party. Industrial workers there were none.

No less informative than the history of the origin of the *Putsch* is its legal aftermath. The Berlin Government found great difficulty in bringing action against Hitler. Any idea of punishing Luden-

dorff, who had also been involved in the Kapp *Putsch*, was out of the question. There was a minimum punishment of five years' honorary imprisonment for high treason, but the Bavarian judges declared that they would be willing to pass sentence on Hitler only if the Reich Government pardoned him after six months. The Government promised.

Perhaps many have wondered why a man, convicted of high treason—a man who had sacrificed sixteen lives in his attempt to overthrow the Republic by force of arms—was permitted to continue his political activities in prison by writing *Mein Kampf*. The writing of this book was, however, only one of the prisoner's many activities. With the full knowledge and consent of the authorities he received political friends who furnished him with reports of the reconstruction of the outlawed movement. Roehm, in his autobiography, *The Story of a Traitor*, tells how he twice visited Hitler in Landsberg and discussed with him a new nationalistic military organization. The prisoner had the use of two rooms; he was free to go about the town; his letters were uncensored; he could get any sort of reading matter he wished; and his political friend and fellow-prisoner, Rudolf Hess, acted as his private secretary. Besides all this, he was pardoned after six months, as promised. Thus the Weimar Republic dealt with its arch-enemy. To be sure, it dealt in this way with a traitor who had acted from "only the most honorable motives," that is, not selfishly but for the vested interests.

The poet and writer, Ernst Toller, who had been a leading figure in the Munich Soviet Republic, did not find any clemency in democratic Germany. He had to stay in jail for the whole sentence, five years, most of the time in strict solitary confinement.

The Back Stairs Route to Power

Hitler, the politician, has learned much from the Munich *Putsch*. It was his first and last attempt to gain political power by an armed

uprising. From now on he will keep to the democratic rules of the game and practice high treason only on a strictly legal basis, like the great industrialists and the generals of the Reichswehr. The Republic cannot under such circumstances suppress his party. Time will work for him. The dollar-sun which rose over Germany after the stabilization of her currency will shine but a short time. The Versailles Treaty, the lie about Germany's sole responsibility for the World War, the burden of reparations, offer material for nationalistic agitation for a long time to come. The great capitalists who, for the moment, have no special use for him, will turn to him again when they need him. For he has drawn this lesson, too, from his *Putsch* experiences: He can count on "the best people" only so long as they need him. He must play politics in such a way that he is indispensable to them. No danger will threaten him from the pitiful Weimar Republic so long as the workers, the only real strength that he need fear, are at each other's throats.

The reconstruction of the Nazi Party was difficult. Four years go by (1924-28) before it has overcome the worst consequences of the Munich defeat. The economic recovery of Germany and the period of the Briand-Stresemann *rapprochement* were not a climate favorable for chauvinist revenge. Internal party dissension used up a great deal of energy. In the elections of May, 1928, the Nazis won only 12 seats out of 465 in the Reichstag. (The Social Democrats won 153, the Communists 54 seats.)

But the fact must not be overlooked that in 1928 the party was more firmly behind Hitler than was the old immature movement of 1923. His authority as leader was now uncontested. The Freikorps had either come under his banner or simply disappeared from political life. He had found a group of able lieutenants. One of them, young Joseph Goebbels, an ambitious but unsuccessful scribbler, second only to Hitler in demagogy and oratory, was put in charge of the Berlin district. Then there were the brothers

Gregor and Otto Strasser, who had been successful in building up the party organization, particularly in North Germany. Goering, who had fled the country after the *Putsch,* returned, now that he was no longer in danger, and brought Hitler valuable connections that he had made in Sweden and Italy. Later, at Hitler's request, Roehm left his post as Army Instructor in Bolivia, which he had accepted in disappointment over the course of events after the *Putsch,* and came back to take over the command of the SA. The financial status of the party had also improved. Two of the richest and most powerful industrial kings of the Ruhr district, Kirdorf and Thyssen, were now among his patrons.

In the middle of 1929 came the second great chance of Hitler's life. Exactly ten years before, the Bavarian Reichswehr had discovered him as an anti-Semitic propagandist. Now advancement was repeated, this time in the sphere of big politics. This time it was not just a few reactionary officers who appreciated his qualities as demagogue, but the focal point of German monopoly capitalism itself. Dr. Alfred Hugenberg, the leader of the German Nationalist Party and one of the Titans of heavy industry, brought Hitler into his orbit. As one of the most influential members of the Pan-German League, this arch-reactionary and imperialist had forced the continuation of the War until the German people had been bled white. But even before the end of the War he had begun to prepare new lines of resistance for German Imperialism, should it suffer a defeat. Looking far ahead he began to buy up newspapers even while German soldiers were still losing their lives for "No Peace without Victory." In the inflation he acquired all of the means of forming public opinion that he could lay his hands on: newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, film corporations, advertising and distributing agencies; in ten years he had built up the most powerful propaganda apparatus in all Germany. In his hatred of democracy he was not to be outdone even by Hitler. But though he had

command of incomparably greater means for fabricating public opinion, and though his influence as leader of the German Nationalist Party reached from the manufacturing plants in the Ruhr district to the Junker estates in the East, his sphere of political activities was limited. He could mold only the politics of his own class. This sly little reactionary was not the man to set the masses in motion. He did not have the political passion of a Hitler; and he was too well known to workers, peasants, artisans, and intellectuals as the symbol of the reactionary rich of Germany. Hugenberg as friend of the workers? Hugenberg posing as a democrat, to say nothing of a socialist? Everyone would have laughed!

The opportunity which put the idea of a political alliance with Hitler into Hugenberg's head came during the struggle of the reactionaries against the Young Plan and against Stresemann's conciliatory policy toward France. The extreme Right wished to organize a mass movement against the acceptance of the Plan which, for the first time, was to determine the amount of Germany's war reparations. The reactionaries needed the great nationalistic drummer for this purpose. But the fight against the Young Plan was actually only the occasion, not the inner cause, of the alliance between Hugenberg and Hitler. That such an alliance was made at all indicated that a new era of co-operation between Big Business and the Nazis had been entered upon. The socialism of this workers' party had lost its horrors for capitalism.

One should not, however, imagine that the relationship between Hitler and Hugenberg was a simple one. Their union was not based on love alone. These two partners distrusted each other and each hoped somehow to deceive the other. Intrigues and maneuverings were carried on without end. Monopoly capitalism, the impelling force of imperialism, needed for the moment Hitler's masses of loyal adherents in order to liquidate the social gains of the Republic, to shatter the labor unions, to carry on rearmament, and to break

the bonds of the Versailles Treaty; Hitler for his part needed monopoly capital for its money, influence, and political power. In this respect the interests of Hugenberg, the imperialist by trade, and and of Hitler, the imperialist by inspiration, were one. Both, however, knew perfectly well that after the Republic had been crushed they would have to settle with each other as to which of them would carry out the program. This was not merely a personal affair between two individuals; it was a fight for power within the ruling classes and its outcome would determine for long years the tempo, the form, and the political, social, and cultural content of the "National Rebirth" of Germany. One thing was clear: Whatever it might be called, it would be a dictatorship. But it was not yet certain whether it would be an old-style military dictatorship, with perhaps a monarchy as decoration—or fascism; whether the Prussian police and the Stahlhelm[20] or the SA and SS would be the instruments of the terror; whether the old civil servants or a new Nazi bureaucracy would have control of the Government; whether the economic policy would aim at world commerce or self-sufficiency; whether an independent or co-ordinated Christian church would enjoy governmental backing; whether the racial issue would exist at all or whether it would be made the core of the new ideology of the State—all this would depend upon whether Hugenberg and the forces represented by him, or whether Hitler and his party, would finally gain the upper hand. It is true that in either case democracy, the workers' movement, the last remnants of civil liberty would disappear. There would be no further organized opposition to exploitation. Germany would be transformed into a gigantic barracks. Nevertheless the interests of the two partners were not identical.

Hitler knew only too well that the moment he lost his mass following, he was done for. He was much too clever to waste his best card and sell himself unconditionally to Hugenberg. He reserved for himself complete political freedom of action. In the course of

three years, the "National Front" between Big Business and the Nazis went to pieces on more than one occasion. Whenever Hitler sensed any danger of being dropped by his powerful allies, he saw his salvation in a ruthless attack on them. He did not then hesitate to use the propaganda apparatus that he had built up with the capitalists' funds for bombarding "the social register people," "the traitors," "the moneybags," and "the country-club reactionaries." In his social demagogy he was unhampered by any direct identification with the owning classes. His masses of adherents were the only asset he could trade on. He had to keep them under all circumstances.

It was therefore necessary for him always to appear to the middle classes as the one and only unselfish servant of the nation, as the national revolutionist who was not the tool of any class interests, but who fought only for the welfare of the great German people. In this sham front against Big Business lay one of the reasons why the liaison with Reaction did not cost the Nazis the sympathies of the lower middle class. "See how he tells them the truth," Hitler's agitators would say triumphantly in their meetings. "When he is in power, the rich people can't walk over you as they do in this Jew Republic."

One other observation occurs at this point. Once Social Democracy had utterly disappointed the hopes placed in it by the lower middle class, once it became clear that the Social Democrats were making of the fight for a socialist Germany a miserable horse-trade, and that they were losing one position after another to the old reactionary forces, the alliance with these forces no longer harmed the prestige of the "revolutionist" Hitler. It even enhanced his power of attraction. It gave the "son of the people" the attributes of decency and legitimacy as well as political prestige. Rumors of murders by the SA and SS, of dissipation and immorality of high Nazi functionaries, of plans for wholesale assassinations, seemed to be without

foundation if the guardians of German morals, the generals, the church dignitaries, and the respectable women's clubs considered him socially acceptable and politically trustworthy. The older German generation has never been able to part entirely with its fond illusions of the good old days when everyone could find work and the German name was honored throughout the world.

Hitler held enough trump cards to risk a tie-up with Hugenberg. He couldn't lose by it. Moreover, it was the only way he could win. He had not forgotten the bitter lessons of the Munich *Putsch*.

The campaign against the Young Plan failed, but the National Front remained in existence and continued its attacks upon those parties which had turned Germany into a "Young-Colony." The Plan provided a superabundance of material for agitation. Germany was to pay reparations for more than fifty years. "National high treason! Not only you but your children and your grandchildren have been enslaved," raged the unleashed Hugenberg-Hitler propaganda. By auto, radio, airplane, the struggle was carried into the remotest village. Finally, the coffers of High Finance were completely at the disposal of the Hitler organization. Now the Nazis could demonstrate what modern demagogy was able to achieve. In a single year sixty National Socialist newspapers and periodicals appeared on the market. The functionaries of the party, who formerly for the most part had served without pay, became full-time employees. Their financial dependence upon the party leadership strengthened the Leader-Principle more than anything else.

Thus it is not surprising that Hitler's alliance with the most powerful and reactionary Big Business groups harmed him but little, even within his party. It is true that a series of minor mutinies took place. Otto Strasser, who had once been a Social Democrat, dared to point out the dangers of the political course and to say something about treason against socialism. Without much ado, Hitler threw him and his small group out of the party. A revolt in

the Berlin SA, which forced its way into Goebbels' Party Headquarters and smashed everything to bits—Goebbels was not to be found—Hitler also successfully put down. He had the money; he had the power.

The influence of the NSDAP now grew with lightning speed. At the elections of September 14, 1930, it received—instead of the 800,000 votes of 1928—6,500,000 and sent 117 representatives to the Reichstag instead of 12. In an unparalleled sweep it became the second largest party in Germany. Only Social Democracy with 8,500,000 votes and 143 seats was still numerically stronger.

The election results of 1930 show that it was definitely not to the industrial workers that Hitler owed this victory. The combined vote of the Social Democrats and Communists had increased. A loss of 600,000 Social Democrat votes was more than offset by an increase of 1,400,000 Communist votes. "Marxism" had not been smashed, but the center parties had suffered heavy losses. The new Nazi voters were bolters from the moderate center parties and people who had never voted before. How political minded the entire population had become can be seen from the ratio between the actual and the eligible voters. Eighty-two per cent of those qualified to vote went to the polls.

Most important among the reasons for Hitler's gains was the economic crisis which began at the end of 1929. Propaganda and demagogy alone do not suffice—even with the heaviest financing—to explain the Nazis' phenomenal growth. For that an especially prepared soil and the right political climate were necessary. The crisis shook the economic and political structure of the Republic to its very foundations. Unemployment rose to over six million. Foreign credits were withdrawn. The Government's vaults were empty; Government authority was rapidly vanishing. Bruening, appointed Chancellor under pressure of Reichswehr-General von Schleicher, did his best to destroy the last vestiges of democracy and

the people's confidence in the Republic. Soon he reigned without the Reichstag by emergency decrees which lowered salaries, raised consumers' taxes, and decreased the already miserable unemployment relief allowances. In the eyes of the masses Bruening became the Chancellor of Hunger.

The Republic has sold you down the river! Day by day the National Socialists hammered at the unemployed, at the despairing intellectuals, at the peasants ruined by bottomless prices, at the small businessmen suffering from the drop in the consumer's purchasing power.

Among the workers dissatisfaction with the Social Democratic policies became more and more noticeable. The "socialism" of this party had degenerated into complete opportunism. For all of Bruening's Emergency Decrees it took the political responsibility. Bruening was still the "lesser evil" for the Social Democrats. They had lost all their fighting spirit. The Communists, to be sure, increased their influence, but, confined to a sectarian policy, they did not succeed in gaining the confidence requisite to launching a great united movement against Hitler and Reaction.

It is not necessary to trace in detail the fast-moving events of 1930 to 1933. It has been done in innumerable books. If anything can illustrate the helplessness of the democratic forces against the assault of their enemies, it is the fact that in the person of the eighty-four-year-old Reichs-President von Hindenburg, Imperial Field Marshal and descendant of a Junker family, the Republic saw its last means of salvation.

The internal political history of this period reads like a pulp story. Intrigues and counter-intrigues alternated; everything depended upon winning Hindenburg's favor. The fate of the Democracy had passed into the hands of a political gang, headed by Colonel Oscar von Hindenburg, the President's son, and by Dr. Meissner, Secretary of the Presidency.

Bruening lost the confidence of the Junkers when he attempted to push a resettlement program, intended to overcome the agricultural crisis by breaking up some of the huge landholdings in Eastern Germany. Schleicher found the right successor in the retired Cavalry Captain Franz von Papen, who, as military attaché in Washington during the War, had become notorious in connection with the German dynamiting of American munition plants. His political qualifications consisted of his good manners which captivated the aged President. Von Papen came from a family of big Rhenish industrialists and had excellent connections. Conscientiously he contributed his share to the downfall of the Republic. In July, 1932, he unconstitutionally ousted the Prussian Government, thus annihilating the last prop of the Social Democrats. Von Papen was also the go-between who recommended Hitler to Hindenburg and saved the Nazis at the most critical moment of their existence. Out of what motives he acted—whether out of revenge upon Schleicher who had made him Chancellor only to let him down, or whether in the hope of using Hitler as his tool—it is not clear nor does it matter. A democracy ruled by intrigues, tricks, drawing-room plots, and financial scandals, is already on its deathbed. A democracy in which millions of organized workers look on paralyzed while a small clique in the palace of an old Imperial General decides their future, exists only on paper.

After von Papen's fall, General Schleicher, "the Chancellor-maker," had to take over the Government himself in a last effort to keep Hitler out. He flirted with the idea of establishing a kind of military dictatorship—a rule of the Army supported by a "collaboration" with the labor unions and by the Gregor Strasser wing of the Nazis. Thus he hoped to get a base broad enough for him to rule without Hitler. But the clique around Hindenburg persuaded the Reichs-President that of all people Schleicher, scion of an aristocratic Prussian family, was a dangerous innovator. Schleicher, like

Bruening before him, fell as victim of the Junkers. He tripped over the plan of exposing the so-called Eastern Help Swindle. Hundreds of millions appropriated for the improvement of small-scale agriculture in East Germany had found its way into the pockets of the big landowners. The small farmers got nothing like their share. Schleicher had the documentary proof of the swindle and threatened to publish it. But the Junkers would not tolerate any interference with their sacred rights to the German taxpayers' money. They had the ear of the Reichs-President. A short time before they had presented him with the former family estate of the Hindenburgs, lost long ago by the family and bought back now with funds provided by Big Business. This little token of affection could not but enhance the President's feelings for the plight of the harassed Junkers. Schleicher's attack upon the privileges of the landed proprietors and his suspicious dealings with the labor unions were for Hindenburg "Bolshevism." Schleicher had to go. The "Office General," as the Nazis called him, may have been a brilliant expert of political intrigue. He was certainly no fighter.

Bruening—Papen—Schleicher—consumed in rapid succession! At last the road was clear! The National Socialist "Revolution" could take over. The President of the Reich—who one month before had assured Gregor Strasser: "I give you my word of honor as Prussian General that I will never make this Bohemian sub-corporal Chancellor of the German Reich!"—now summoned Hitler on January 30, 1933, and entrusted him with the formation of the Government.

To assess the role which Big Business and the Junkers had assigned to Hitler, it is well to examine more closely the exact time and circumstance of his "seizure of power." Until the very last moment the ruling class wavered. It turned over the Government not joyfully but with hesitation. For a while it had hoped that von Papen, one of them by birth and education, could handle the job of destroying the Republic. While Papen was Chancellor, Big Busi-

ness subsidies to the Nazis shrank. The effect became visible immediately. In the July elections of 1932, the Nazis reached their maximum of 13,700,000 votes and 230 seats in the Reichstag. Nevertheless, Hindenburg refused to give Hitler the portfolio of Chancellor, which ordinarily would have gone to him as the leader of the strongest party. He wanted to make him only Vice-Chancellor under Papen. Three months later, at the November election, the Nazis lost two million votes and thirty-four seats in the Reichstag.

The turning point seemed to have come. The Hitler Party suffered a tremendous loss in prestige when all of Germany looked on as the "Revolutionist" with the strongest party behind him was twice summoned by Hindenburg and twice left without the Chancellorship. On this occasion no revolutionary shouting could hide the fact that forces behind the scenes were deciding whether at all or under what conditions the sub-corporal was to govern. The party, triumphant but a few short weeks before, began to crack up. Its propaganda machine ate up an endless amount of money—sums which could no longer be raised by wealthy individual friends, but only by Big Business organizations. If they did not continue to pay, Hitler was lost.

In Goebbels' diary, *My Part in Germany's Fight,*[21] the following entries for the December days of 1932 are to be found:

Deep depression throughout the organization. One feels so worn out one longs for nothing but a few weeks' escape from the whole business.

'Phone call from Dr. Ley [Leader of the German Labor Front]: The situation in the party is getting worse from hour to hour.

The year 1932 has brought us eternal ill-luck. Outside the peace of Christmas reigns in the streets. I am at home, alone, pondering over my life. The past was sad, and the future looks dark and gloomy; all chances and hopes have quite disappeared.

For hours, the Leader paces up and down the room in the hotel. It is obvious that he is thinking very hard. He is embittered and deeply

wounded by this unfaithfulness [of Gregor Strasser who was reported to have gone over to Schleicher]. Suddenly he stops and says: "If the party once falls to pieces, I shall shoot myself without more ado." A dreadful threat, and most depressing.

Goebbels calls the financial situation in December hopeless. "Only ebbtide, debts and obligations, and on top of all this, complete impossibility, after this defeat, of digging up money in large sums anywhere."

This was the mood of the party and its highest leaders exactly one month before it came to power. The man who came to its rescue was the irrepressible retired cavalry captain, von Papen. He arranged a secret meeting between the desperate Fuehrer and the Cologne banker von Schroeder, a man in the close confidence of the big industrialists of the Rhine and Ruhr. A few days later Goebbels made the following entry in his diary: "Finances have very suddenly changed for the better."

When the money began to flow again, it meant that heavy industry had decided to back Hitler against Schleicher, whose negotiations with the unions and whose "bolshevist economics" had made him suspect.

The Schroeder Bank had excellent connections with the "City," London's financial center. English influences may have played a much greater role in Hitler's appointment than the world knows. Schleicher and Hammerstein, the two most influential generals of the Reichswehr, were known to be favorably disposed toward "Eastward-Orientation," toward making a bid for Soviet friendship. A highly dangerous course for England. In a paid drummer, Finance, Industry, and Landowners believed they had a more reliable agent than in military dictators with "national-bolshevist" leanings.

One of the methods which won for Hitler the Junkers' confidence deserves some attention because it illustrates so well his social dema-

gogy. Among the twenty-five Points of the "unalterable" Program of the National Socialists, there is, as already pointed out, one which has to do with landownership reforms. A political party which professed to be the party of the working people naturally could not ignore the fact that with more than 5,000,000 agricultural units in Germany, 34,000 big landowners owned more than 37 per cent of the total acreage. One does not have to be a Bolshevik to consider unhealthy such an enormous concentration of ownership, which to a great degree is a remnant of the feudalistic past. Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic border states have, since the War, been forced to undertake a more or less serious redivision of the land. Land-reform was part of the program of every German party which wanted to be considered progressive.

We demand a land-reform to meet our national requirements; the enactment of a law to expropriate without indemnity land for the common welfare; the abolishment of land taxes; and the prevention of speculation in land.

Thus we read in the unalterable Nazi fairy story.

But as early as 1928 the *Deutsche Zeitung,* organ of the big agrarians, was able to publish an official announcement by Hitler:

In the light of the mendacious interpretations made by our enemies of the Program of the NSDAP, the following statement is necessary: Since the NSDAP recognizes the principle of private property, it is self-evident that the phrase "expropriate without indemnity" can refer only to the creation of legal possibilities to expropriate, if necessary, land which was not acquired lawfully or is not administered in the interests of the commonweal. This, therefore, is directed primarily against the Jewish land-speculation companies.

Thus a social demand, however vague, has been turned into an anti-Semitic issue. With unfailing class instinct Hitler has always

considered private property in the means of production to be sacred, has always warned the members of his movement lest they sympathize with the Marxist brand of Socialism.

In the discussion which preceded the expulsion of Otto Strasser, he refuted Strasser's "German Socialism":

> Don't you see, the great mass of workers wants nothing but bread and circuses; it has no understanding for any ideals. We will never be able to count on winning the workers to any extent. We want a selection of a new class of masters who are not, as you are, motivated by any ethics based on compassion, but who are absolutely convinced that on grounds of superiority of race they have the right to rule, and who can ruthlessly uphold and maintain this mastery over the broad masses.[22]

This language the Junkers and big industrialists understood better than the eternal chatter of reforms and socialism.

Another factor—the threatening changes in the development of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties—must have exerted some influence upon the decision to let Hitler come to power. From 1930 to 1932 the Communists gained 1,400,000 votes which to a great degree came from former Social Democrats. Compared with 1928 the number of Communist voters was almost doubled. With 6,000,000 votes it became the third strongest party in Germany and was well on the way to overtaking the Social Democrats.

Social Democracy in decline, the Hitler-mobilized masses in confusion, the Communists gaining—such a situation could not continue. In the next crisis millions of Social Democrats and Hitlerites might go over to the Communists. Three years of hunger, unemployment, despair, and boundless demagogy had heaped up an enormous amount of political dynamite. A landslide had to be prevented by all means. Now it was Hitler's turn.

But not without guarantees. To the very end the ruling classes could not free themselves from the thought that Hitler was unpre-

dictable—not a gentleman like themselves—and that dangerous elements were concealed in his movement. So they surrounded him with a cordon of dependable, trustworthy men. Hindenburg's favorite von Papen was made Vice-Chancellor. Not Roehm or Goering, but the Prussian General von Blomberg got the Reichswehr Ministry. Neither Rosenberg nor Ribbentrop, but von Neurath, a professional diplomat of the old school, moved into the Foreign Office. The Ministry of Commerce was safe in the hands of Hugenberg. The Stahlhelm leader Seldte became Minister of Labor. The Treasury was taken care of by Count Schwerin-Krosigk. To make it foolproof, Hindenburg let it be understood that no changes could be undertaken in the Cabinet without his personal consent. We have him on a leash! So thought the Hugenberg crowd, the Reichswehr bureaucracy, the landed families, the Reichs-President. He can move in one direction only—against the Left, the workers, the Democracy. One month later the Reichstag burned. The terror began.

Today it looks as though the leash has not withstood the strain. Hindenburg is dead—even his testament the Nazis have falsified to their advantage; Schleicher and Gregor Strasser have been murdered by Hitler; von Papen escaped the same fate by a hair's breadth. Neurath was squeezed out of the Foreign Office by Ribbentrop. In Hugenberg's Ministry of Commerce reigns Funk, Hitler's economic adviser. The Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces is Hitler, with Goering at his side as Chief of the Air Force. Propaganda is made by Goebbels, the despised Mephisto of the Third Reich. To be sure, Franz Seldte, the former Stahlhelm leader, still haunts the Ministry of Labor, and Count Schwerin-Krosigk is now, as before, Tax Collector in the Ministry of Finance. The one has been deprived of his steel helmets without which he is not even an adornment. The other tries desperately to give the less and less orthodox financial structure of the Third Reich some appearance of solidity.

It seems that Hitler has conquered right down the line, that he and no other will determine how German Imperialism is to regain its Place in the Sun.

He and no other?

FOUR

How Does Hitler Carry Out His Program?

"The future of a movement depends upon the fanaticism, yea the intolerance, with which its followers represent it as the only true one, and carry it through, despite other similar movements."

Mein Kampf

Savior of Civilization

OF HIS idol, Karl Lueger, Hitler says admiringly that he understood "how to make use of all the already existing means of power, to make existing powerful institutions favorably disposed toward him and to draw from such old sources of strength the greatest possible use for his own movement." Hitler's road to power and six years of his Government show how well the pupil has taken to heart the teachings of his master. To the superficial observer it might seem at times as though Hitler, like a mad bull, were challenging the whole world at once. Actually, he is a shrewd tactician who prepares and times his actions at home and abroad with great care. Two weapons whose effectiveness grows out of the social conflict of our age help him in a singular manner to attain his victories in Germany as well as outside. The first is the spectre of Bolshevism.

"Bolshevism" has become one of the most misused political catch-

words of our time. It comes from the history of the Russian labor movement. "Bolsheviki" was the name given to the followers of the left wing of Russian Social Democracy, led by Lenin, because they won the majority of votes at a Party Convention. (*Bolshe* is the Russian word for *more*.) Since the Russian October Revolution of 1917 was led by the Bolsheviki, and since their revolutionary principles are recognized by those workers' parties which united to form the Third (Communist) International, the name has taken on a political meaning all over the world. Inseparably bound to the history of the first Workers' State, the term "Bolshevism" represents, to the followers and friends of the Third International, the sum total of the only successful theory and practice of socialist revolution and construction. To its adversaries it is a symbol of terror which calls up images of willful lawlessness and general chaos.

All serious observers are united in the belief that in 1932 there was hardly a chance for a Communist revolution in Germany. The reasons are already known to us. The working class was split; the lower middle class had turned away from it; the Army was securely in the hands of reactionary officers. The upper middle class and Junkers were in no way intimidated, but rather on the offensive against the Republic. And yet the fear of Bolshevism was one of Hitler's most powerful aides.

Throughout the world capitalism has reached a state of irritability and nervousness as a result of its obvious failure to supply the vital necessities of man without disastrous crises and collapses. Not much has remained of the proud conviction of its youth that through free competition the ever-increasing welfare of humanity was guaranteed. There is no intelligent capitalist who does not realize that governments must intercede in their nations' economic life in order to alleviate the devastating effects of depressions, the chronic unemployment of millions, the pauperization of the middle class, and the plight of the intellectuals. The representatives of "rugged indi-

vidualism" are gradually dying off. But reactionary groups have not for one moment given up the struggle against reform measures, even though they may acknowledge them to be necessary. If government has to inaugurate reforms, then it should be at least their own government. They themselves want to decide who is to receive and who is to give, and they want to be assured that they will have to give as little as possible.

In all progressive legislation—be it the protection of youth, the most modest agrarian reform, or a more humane penal code—they see an attack upon their world, their morals, their possessions. When in America a democratic President is called a Communist because he supports relief for the unemployed, government help for the farmers, or Labor's right to organize, one can imagine what role the Red herring, the scare of Communism and Bolshevism, must have played in a country like Germany, over which the shadow of a social revolution had already passed. As the Savior from Bolshevism, Hitler was certain of the wholehearted support of Big Business. In January, 1932, a year before he was entrusted with the Government, he told the industrial magnates of Western Germany in Duesseldorf:

Even if there are many in Germany today who assert that we National Socialists are incapable of constructive work—they are mistaken! If it were not for us there would be no more Germany, no *bourgeoisie!* The question Bolshevism or no Bolshevism would have been decided long ago! Take the weight of our gigantic organization off the scales of national events and you will see that without us, even today Bolshevism would tip the scales.[23]

For the master of the art of propaganda and demagogy, it was easy to give such a horrifying picture of a Godless, starving, and enslaved Soviet Russia that many of the peasants, of the God-fearing Protestants and Catholics, were ready to throw themselves

into the arms of anyone who promised to protect them from a similar fate. With the spectre of Bolshevism Hitler made the breach between the workers and the lower middle classes still wider. Above all, as "Bulwark against Bolshevism" he succeeded in gaining the backing of great sections of the Christian churches.

Those who believe in appeasing fascism might have learned something from German domestic developments since 1933. As soon as the Nazis had crippled their chief enemy, organized labor, they went after all their other opponents in turn. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had warned against a repetition of the Bismarckian *Kultur Kampf,* the Government-inspired campaign against Catholicism: "To the political leader, the religious doctrines and institutions of his people must be sacred. Otherwise he should not be a politician but should become a reformer, if he has the stuff for it." He did not then think it fair to pass judgment on a church as such, "if once in a while a degenerate in priestly garb runs afoul of the moral code in a vile manner." With such a righteous man, himself brought up a Catholic, who gave the Church its due and who would uproot Godless Communism, the Vatican was eager to sign a concordat. That was in 1933, soon after Hitler became Chancellor. At that time his position was not secure. The agreement with the Pope strengthened him at home and abroad. It "co-ordinated" twenty million German Catholics and helped smooth over foreign criticism of torture and murder in the prisons and concentration camps. A few years later the Nazi press suddenly published sensational reports of moral crimes of degenerates in priestly garb, of sexual perversion among Catholic monks, of the treacherous smuggling of money out of Germany by Catholic nuns. In campaigns which lasted weeks the immorality and the high treason of Catholic priests were paraded before the people in monster public trials. A new *Kultur Kampf* is now on, fought with the weapons of National Socialist lies and unscrupulousness. More than eight thou-

sand Catholic monks and lay brothers, according to official reports, were brought to trial. Step by step the Catholic Church is now being robbed of the rights Hitler had guaranteed it in the Concordat. Catholic youth organizations have been dissolved; Catholic parents have been so intimidated that they are taking their children out of parochial schools. The leader of the "Catholic Action," Ministerial Director Klausener, along with several of his collaborators, was shot by the SS in the blood purge of 1934. The famous Encyclical of Pius XI did not deter the Nazis for one moment.

The Protestant Church is hardly better off. Hundreds of ministers who refuse to use their pulpits for Nazi propaganda have been paying for their daring in prisons and concentration camps. The best-known among them, Pastor Niemoeller, started out as a faithful supporter of Hitler. He learned too late that the new doctrine of salvation was to bring him into irreconcilable conflicts with his Evangelical faith. *Hitler is the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have no other gods before him*—this is the First Commandment of National Socialism. Protestants and Catholics were desirable allies in the battle against Marxism, against "Bolshevism." Now they must become faithful Nazis.

Religious persecution in the Third Reich is directed not only and not primarily against the Christian Doctrine as such. To be sure, this doctrine cannot very well be used by a system which declares the conquest of other Christian peoples a mission set for it by Providence and which places allegiance to Fuehrer, State, and Race above allegiance to Christian teaching and humanity. The Nazis cannot afford to allow anyone to have a shadow of doubt about their mission. In fanaticism and intolerance they see the only guarantee of their continued existence. But above all, they can under no circumstances put up with any organization which might become the center of mass opposition against their regime. When today a German attends services at the Evangelical

Confessional Church or attends Catholic mass, it is no longer, as in former days, merely a matter of worship, but also a political act. Whether he wants to or not, he indicates thereby that his conception of the nature of religion and of the function of the Church is not that of the Nazis, and that he rejects the National Socialist "People's Church," whose chief theorist, Hitler's close friend Alfred Rosenberg, writes that it must "by all means subordinate the ideal of brotherly love to the idea of national honor."[24]

As soon as Hitler felt strong enough, he tore up his agreement with the Pope. With what end in view he had signed the Concordat at all, is apparent from a remark of Rosenberg's concerning an earlier agreement between the Vatican and Mussolini, which had served the Nazis as a model:

> Through the Concordat of 1929 Catholic priests are deprived of the right to political activity; the Catholic "Pathfinder" organizations, too, have been dissolved, in order not to allow the development of a State within the State. Since the Vatican has approved this step for Italy, it can no longer raise any fundamental objection to similar measures by other governments.[25]

In the "totalitarian" Hitler State it is entirely up to the government to decide where it will draw the line between religious and political activity. "Totalitarian" itself signifies that the State considers all and sundry fields of human life, endeavor, and behavior subordinate to its authority. Who can prevent the Nazis from seeing in the preaching of brotherly love an attack upon their own doctrine and institutions?

But in spite of all that has happened in Germany, fascists in foreign countries continue to celebrate Hitler as the savior of Christendom. "It should never be forgotten," writes Father Coughlin in his weekly *Social Justice* (April 3, 1939), "that the Rome-Berlin Axis is the great political rampart against the spread of Com-

munism. As such, the Rome-Berlin Axis is serving Christendom in a peculiarly important manner." The Bolshevik scare continues to serve in the field of religion, as in international politics, as the trail-blazer of fascism.

With the Red herring Hitler conquers Europe. He need only confront the English and French bourgeoisie with the threat that with him the only dependable dam against Communism will fall, and he can squeeze any imaginable concessions out of capitalists fearful for their existence. By blackmail tactics, by the ultimatum "me or Bolshevism," he has made his greatest conquests without firing a single shot. His invincibility lies in the quaking of the Chamberlains and the Daladiers at the thought of a socialist revolution in Germany, Italy, Spain or wherever fascism might experience a defeat. They react exactly as did the frightened German middle class. Asked to choose between fascism or a possible popular uprising, they blindly choose fascism.

The political attitude of the English Government toward Japanese aggression in Manchuria, Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, Hitler's military occupation of the Rhineland, his annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, Hitler's and Mussolini's intervention in Spain, Mussolini's seizure of Albania—its attitude toward all of these was dominated by a single thought: In a new world war only Communism can win. Democracy grows weak with age. The British Tory Government moves toward the road of surrender, exactly as the German Republic did. The Red herring is devouring it.

Just as it was the class interest of the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers that brought Hitler to power in Germany, it is the class interest of the English and the French bourgeoisie which make his triumphs in Europe possible. Therein lies the secret of his success. Hitler and Mussolini would not be the cynical pirates they are, if they did not make the most of their historical role as

"Saviors of Civilization." "What fascism has done for the preservation of civilization is as yet incalculable," Hitler said again in his Reichstag address on January 31, 1939. "Upon the solidarity of Germany and Italy is founded the salvation of Europe from its threatened destruction by Bolshevism."

Liberator and Revolutionist

The warning against the deluge of Bolshevism is Hitler's sharpest but not his only weapon in carrying out his plan of conquest. The struggle over the re-division of the world is, in the twentieth century, integrally tied up with revolutionary desires of national and social nature. Inseparable from Hitler, the Communism-Killer, is Hitler the "Revolutionist," the "Protector of National Minorities," the "Liberator of Oppressed Nations."

In the projected National Socialist world-empire lives a motley group of nationalities. Germans, Poles, Serbs, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Turks, Bulgarians, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and others exist as scattered national minorities within foreign states. Migrations and, more than that, political borders have created this Babel of languages and nationalities in Southeastern Europe. The Paris Peace Conference at the end of the World War attempted the political reorganization of this territory on the basis of the right of nationalist self-determination.

But the Peace Conference did not solve the minority problem, partly because of the designs of French-English Imperialism. Germany was to be surrounded by a ring of independent states, politically allied with France, which were to block any new German attempt at expansion toward Southeastern Europe. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was to be cut off from Central and Western Europe by a chain of border states. The idea of a bulwark against Bolshevism by no means originated with Hitler.

However, no international commission, even with the best of

intentions, could have solved the nationality problem solely on the basis of plebiscites. Self-determination remains but an empty phrase if it is not accompanied by far-reaching political and economic reforms. Even the most democratic of these post-War states, Czechoslovakia, knew conscious discrimination against its minorities in questions of political and cultural autonomy or of government relief. How much more justification is there for dissatisfaction on the part of the Ukrainians in Poland, the Hungarians in Rumania, or the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia! Since 1919 in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, enough political dynamite has again accumulated to blow up all Europe. National self-determination needs only a spark to set it off.

Hitler has decided to apply the match. From an economic and military point of view alone his position is extremely strong. More than half of the total export of countries like Yugoslavia and Rumania goes to Germany, and Germany is building up a monopoly position by bartering its industrial equipment for their farm products. With the annexation of Czechoslovakia the German Army holds all the geographic advantages. When France took no steps to stop Hitler's military fortification of the Rhine, it lost to Germany its dominant influence in the Balkans. How much more difficult it will be for France to bring military aid to Poland, Rumania, or Yugoslavia in the future!

Utilizing to the full Germany's economic and military preponderance, Hitler bores from within in the states he threatens. The desire among German minorities in Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Slovakia to "return home to the Reich" is not astonishing in view of Hitler's uninterrupted series of triumphs, of National Socialist agitation, and of the profound national conflicts in those states. Numerically these minorities are not negligible. In Poland there are probably over a million Germans, in Hungary and in Yugoslavia each half a million, in

Rumania three-quarters of a million. Many of them, with their great faithfulness to tradition and their narrow clannishness, are material for potential "Fifth Columns"; their formidability naturally increases with Hitler's influence.

The Nazi's in their expansion do not depend merely upon *German* minorities. To the Hungarians in Rumania or the Croats in Yugoslavia they come as liberators from the Rumanian or Serbian yoke. They have already "saved" the Slovaks from the Czechs. Only one minority, the most oppressed of all, does not interest Hitler. That is the 250,000 Germans in the Southern Tyrol, whose language Mussolini forbids, whose tradition he destroys, whose affection for the homeland he persecutes as high treason. The Axis, the collaboration with "the great man South of the Alps," is more important for the Savior of Germany than the fate of a few hundred thousand Germans. He accepts Mussolini's decree expelling the German population from this old German-Austrian province. The Imperialist knows no sentimentalities.

The economic and military conquest of the territories which are to be incorporated in "Greater Germany" is not enough for Hitler Imperialism. In critical situations such newly annexed nationalities might become dangerous foreign elements within Nazi Germany. Hitler has not forgotten how in the World War the Austro-Hungarian conglomerate of nationalities cracked up. He knows what it means to have eight million embittered Czechs in the rear of a German Army facing East. "Pacifying" by blood and terror the conquered territories, or those yet to be conquered, must go hand in hand with the actual winning over of a part of the population to National Socialism. The most important class whose support Hitler can gain in these agricultural countries are the peasants, and upon them the Nazis concentrate their propaganda.

In Southeastern Europe, where the peasants' fight for land is

at the root of the social struggle, the Nazis pose as peasant-liberators. Anti-Semitism facilitates their role. The Jews, by a long historical development, have been forced to concentrate upon trade and a few of the professions—all other vocations having been closed to them. Hence in countries with a relatively large Jewish population, such as Poland or Rumania, the Jewish lawyer, cattle buyer, and peddler can easily be made to appear in the eyes of the peasant as the symbol of all sharpers and exploiters. Fighting the Jew becomes to the poor peasant synonymous with fighting the hated landowners, the corrupt government officials, the usurious bankers. Once we rule in Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary, the Nazis tell the peasants, we will clean out feudal as well as capitalist exploitation. Then the peasants will finally own the land they work; then the "interest slavery" of the banks will be broken; then the industrial and cultural development which has been shackled for centuries will advance in giant strides. And the peasants are all the more ready to believe them because they have gained little, if anything, from Anglo-French "protection."

Hitler's totalitarian Imperialism conquers not only with airplanes and tanks. It cashes in on social abuses and injustices which democracy refused to touch. One of the most tragic spectacles of our time is the sight of the fascist powers capitalizing on legitimate aspirations for national and social freedom—the sight of the fascists posing with considerable success as the friends and protectors of oppressed nations and exploited classes. Here it becomes most obvious that fascism cannot be fought successfully merely on ideological grounds. The hope for a better life will always make the "liberator" welcome, regardless of his reputation.

"Military Economy"

Of all the surprises which National Socialism is constantly springing on the world, there is probably none that aroused more specu-

lation than its "economic miracle." Even people who condemn Hitler's policy of conquest now and then point with admiration and hope to his domestic achievements. Did he not bring about order and recovery in a surprisingly short time to a country torn by political conflict and confronted with economic collapse? Did he not do away with unemployment and give the working people an economic security which the democracies are failing to give them? Hitler's foreign policy is barbaric and criminal, one hears them say, but at home he has entered upon new constructive roads for the solution of social and economic problems.

The Nazis industriously encourage such thinking. They enumerate all the things they would do to raise the living standards of the people if they only had the raw material, the territory, the "living-space," which other great powers possess. "If we had the Ukraine, we would make a paradise out of Germany," Hitler screamed at the Nuremburg Party Congress in 1936 amid the thunderous applause of his audience. In every speech he peddles the argument that Germany is "a people without living space." He compares Germany's population per square mile with the population per square mile of the Soviet Union, America, or the British Empire, and demands that something be done to correct the disproportion. How successful his argument has been so far is shown by the widespread notion that Hitler can be bought off from war and that further territorial concessions will release the explosive power of the Third Reich like steam out of a valve. As yet, however, Hitler's appetite has grown with every conquest; he mobilizes ever more feverishly and becomes ever more aggressive. The more he has the more he rants that he belongs to the "have-nots." Can he never be appeased?

To make a fundamental distinction between the internal and external policy of a government is naive. A government has but one policy. If it adopts a program of conquest and domination

abroad, it will attempt to enforce an iron suppression at home. Surely it is no coincidence that Germany, Italy, and Japan—the three great imperialist aggressors—have destroyed all their democratic institutions and now rule with terrorist methods not only Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and parts of China; but also Germany, Italy, and Japan. And surely it is no coincidence that a government which puts forth every effort to retain democratic institutions at home, to alleviate the misery of its underprivileged, and to encourage the cultural progress of all its people, is not guided in its foreign relations by the instincts of a wild beast.

Hitler's internal policy cannot be separated from his foreign policy. Only taken together do they reveal the whole picture.

What Hitler has done in Germany is a "miracle." He has put six million unemployed back to work, and, from a state which was confronted with financial bankruptcy, he has extracted at least twenty billion dollars for armaments, highways, and fortifications. But the wonder is not so much what he has done, but how he has been able to do it and, even more, where it will lead. Could it be that Hitler-Germany is on the road to socialism after all? Of late it has become quite fashionable to draw parallels between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union and to find a surprising resemblance in the economic systems of both states. Frequently one hears the opinion expressed that there are no longer any basic differences in their economies—that the economy of the Third Reich is also completely organized under an all-encompassing plan; that German businessmen are losing their independence and are becoming virtually employees of the State. Private property, so the story goes, has long ago become a fiction in Germany; it exists only nominally; in reality the State does as it wishes with private capital and decides not only when and where capital is to be invested, but also the profit it is to bring. The independent businessman as well as

the free market and free labor, uncontrolled price and profit as the regulators of the system—all these essential elements of capitalism, we hear, have been replaced by the dictates of a state bureaucracy.

There is no doubt that the economic order of the Third Reich outwardly resembles less and less the capitalism of free competition which we have been used to. Whether or not for that reason it is something fundamentally new—perhaps socialism—is another question.

All the cultural, economic, and political innovations of Hitler-Germany have one thing in common: they all serve war preparation. From the education of youth to the building of state highways, from the "Hereditary Farm Bill" to the "Schools for Leaders," from the production of airplanes to the adulteration of bread—everything is subordinated to one end. Germany must win the next world war.

It was therefore unavoidable that the Nazi State should subject the entire economy to minute regulation and should interfere seriously with the rights of the individual capitalist. Those who see in any government interference in business or in any public property a sign of socialism might today take up the famous Social Democratic slogan of 1919-20 and shout that socialism is on the march throughout the world.

One need not know much sociology and economics to understand the social and economic system that is being set up in Germany. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The Nazis call what they have built and are continuing to build at a feverish tempo "Military Economy," and by this they understand "the total mobilization of all spiritual, moral, physical, intellectual, economic and technical forces of the entire people's commonweal." [26] The total mobilization serves the total war—the war which will be fought with all weapons

and in all fields. It is to make Germany the master of Europe and of the world. Military Economy and socialism have as much in common as do prison and freedom.

Many observers have been misled by the new outward forms of Military Economics. Its resemblance to a planned economy is due to its totality, which in turn reflects the thoroughness of Hitler's war preparations as well as certain weaknesses peculiar to German capitalism. New indeed are its dimensions, which leave the "war economy" of the *K*aiser-Reich far behind. New, also, is the fact that it does not confine itself to government interference in the economic sphere, but that it invades the private life of every German, drafting even the child of ten into its service. But not new is the attempt of the Nazis to make a virtue of necessity.

The Achilles heel of German economy is its lack of raw material. The highly developed German industries have always been dependent upon foreign raw materials. Hitler's tremendous need of additional material for armament and the simultaneous curtailment of German exports produced an endless chain of government interventions in the form of rationing and apportioning, of regulating exports and imports, of directing capital investment and of fixing prices. The English or American armament industry can take the necessary raw materials and accessories from the market without immediately creating a serious shortage. So far, present British rearmament has been carried out with the understanding that government orders should interfere as little as possible with the interests of private business. "Business as usual" was Chamberlain's unheroic motto during the first phase of British rearmament, although he had to modify it as the speed and the extent of his armament program grew. But German capitalism, so poor in raw material, could never afford such luxury, even if it wanted to.

The Spartan frugality, which the Aryan philosophy of life is to teach the German people, is but a reflection of the bitter necessity

to feed the Moloch of the war industries at the expense of civic needs. The German workers, who are told by the well-padded Goering that they should prefer cannons to butter, hit the nail on the head when they characterize Nazi-heroism with the ironic statement: "Military posture takes the place of the winter overcoat."

The apparent incongruity between the Third Reich's desire for self-sufficiency on the one hand and for conquests on the other hand vanishes if it is understood as the totalitarian war preparation of a country poor in raw and accessory materials. By mobilizing all possible sources of material and reserves for war and by filling up the gaps as best they can with substitutes, the Nazis arm themselves against a repetition of the disastrous effect of the World War blockade. Self-sufficiency is for them not an end in itself. Mass production of expensive and in many ways less satisfactory substitutes impoverishes the country. If today the Hermann Goering Iron Works opens up mines which had been abandoned for decades because it did not pay to operate them, it means that the capital and labor expended to extract one ton of iron must be greater than in countries with richer deposits of ore. The more successful Hitler's second Four-Year Plan, to which he has assigned the task of making Germany self-supporting through the most painstaking utilization of the last existing raw materials and the production of new substitutes, regardless of costs—the worse off Germany's national economy will be, the higher the cost of production, the smaller the consumer's share. Such an economic policy even an heroic National Socialism cannot carry on for the pleasure of the Apostles of Blood and Soil. It can be justified only by the hope of a final success that will more than pay for all the temporary hardship and self-denial. Once we have Rumanian oil, Hungarian wheat, Ukrainian ore, Danish butter—we don't need to stint ourselves any more; then we will have plenty; then you can loosen your belts, the Nazis tell the German people.

But in the meantime, Military Economy snatches the control of the entire national life. The enormous need of capital for the new armament works, the transfer of entire branches of industry from the vulnerable border-regions to the center of Germany, the constantly rising costs of "self-support," force the Government to draw its net of regulations ever tighter.

Forced concentration of capital, elimination of small business and trade, and decline of the workers' living standards go on under the whip of total mobilization. The demands of the modern army, navy, air force, and fortifications can be met only by the technical equipment of big industry. Whether they want to or not, the Nazis have to strengthen the preponderance of the huge industrial plants over the medium-sized and smaller ones. And even among the big industrialists, there are certain groups, the masters of heavy industry, who on the basis of the indispensability of their factories for war must be shown preference in the assignment of raw materials and labor.

Since Hitler has been in power, the capital investments in German industry have constantly risen.

Is not this the best yardstick for measuring the progress of German economy under our leadership, ask the Nazis? Do not these investments signify belching smokestacks, growing industries, increasing numbers of employed, rising purchasing power of the people and general prosperity? There is only one factor they lose sight of: that this is merely a matter of the rise of Military Economy—a Hitler boom.

At an ever-growing percentage new investments are inspired and controlled by the Government. An opponent of the New Deal might argue that Roosevelt with his pump-priming is well launched upon the same road. But the difference between the New Deal's intervention in national economy and the Nazis' total mobilization is precisely the difference between democratic and fascist aims. In

Germany the available capital is directed into industrial channels to serve war. In 1938, for example, according to official Nazi statistics, the investments in capital-goods industries (which are vital to Military Economy) were three times the amount invested in 1933; whereas investments in the consumer-goods industries increased only one-third in the same period. Through a pains-taking control of the money and capital market, through prohibiting the flotation of new stock issues, through forced loans and obligatory investments, through alloting raw material and through a foreign-trade control, the Nazi Government sees to it that all available resources are used for the war machine.

The term *available* is elastic. The less capital needed for consumer goods production, the more there is to be used for war products. This simple truth determines the Nazis' attitude toward the people's standard of living. One cannot eat guns, airplanes, and Siegfried Lines. Drawing six million workers into industry would under normal conditions lead to an increase in purchasing power and a rise in demand for consumer goods. As a consequence, idle capital would flow into light industry, which would hold out the promise of good profits. But it is just this that Military Economy must avoid; its aim is war and not the well-being of the people. "Don't you think that we would raise wages if we could!" exclaimed Rudolf Hess, the Fuehrer's lieutenant, in his address in Halle, in 1937. "The command could easily enough be given: Raise all wages 50 per cent! We in the leadership would gain much popularity by such a command. But why don't we do it? Because we have a conscience. For we know that wages can be raised, but no one could prevent the corresponding rise in prices which must follow."

Such a statement contains but a half-truth: A rise in the purchasing power of the workers would lead to a rise in the price of consumer goods if their supply were not increased accordingly.

This the Nazi Government does not want to do. For then instead of importing the raw materials so necessary for the war machine, it would have to import butter and wool; instead of using building materials for the construction of fortifications, it would have to use them for much-needed apartment houses. Funds destined for Military Economy would have to be utilized for public welfare. The socialism of this Workers' Party is such that it conflicts with the party's "historical mission" whenever the question of raising the living standards of the German people comes up. To be true to their cause, the Nazis must decide against the interest of the people.

The People's Commonweal

Military Economy's demand for labor is insatiable. After having forced thousands of German domestic workers to return to Germany from Switzerland, England, Holland, and Scandinavia, the Nazis are now recruiting farm hands from Italy, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia and skilled metal workers from the United States and Canada. They have long since revised their former view that the German women's realm of activity is the family. The total number of employed women rose from 5,200,000 in 1935 to 6,400,000 in 1938; of women employed in industries, from 1,400,000 to 1,840,000. A compulsory "year of service" for women makes it impossible for a girl under twenty-five to enter a college or to take a job without having worked one year on a farm.

But the guardians of the German family do not stop here. Child labor has again been legalized. Young people over sixteen may again be required to put in up to nine hours of night labor; adolescents between fourteen and sixteen may be required to work eight hours until ten o'clock in the evening; and children under fourteen may be required to do light work (under good hygienic conditions) up to five hours a day.

The ten-hour day has generally replaced the eight-hour day. For

important industries the number of working hours can be increased to twelve. The "Decree concerning the securing of required labor for purposes of special state-political significance" which Goering signed in February, 1939, puts labor under military discipline. Every worker can at any time be shifted to any place to do work considered important for national safety. In time of war the decree will certainly be extended to include all work. The dictator of the Four-Year Plan has justified the measure in typical Nazi fashion: "The security of national defense has forced me to issue a decree—one which it was no pleasure for me to sign. When it was a matter, my fellow working comrades, of making the Reich safe, when it was a matter of building an insurmountable barrier in the West, I did not hesitate: I introduced compulsory labor." It is the same line of reasoning he used in his order to cut down the beautiful German forests. Preparation for the war of world conquest justifies for the Nazis any despoliation of Germany and the German people.

Together with longer working hours goes the speed-up. Today, under the direction of the German Labor Front, the huge Nazi company union which all workers and employees must join, an intensified efficiency drive is on. Its effects on labor can be read in figures of accident and health statistics. Within one year, from 1936 to 1937, the number of shop accidents, of injured and sick workers whose cases were officially recognized, rose from 86,700 to 95,200. The physical capacity of the workers, undermined by the effects of Aryan undernourishment, is strained to the utmost. Even the Nazis are beginning to be alarmed. One of their leading periodicals, *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* (*The German National Economy*), wrote a short time ago:

In recent weeks, there has been a series of symptoms of overstrain of workers in industry. First, a grippe epidemic took proportions which indicated heightened susceptibility to disease through nervous and physical exhaustion. Second, in many factories there is excessive stimulation

as a result of nervous tension during working hours. Third, the number of excused absences from work has risen sharply. We must watch those symptoms carefully, because the last thing we want is a falling off in production.[27]

The exhaustion of the workers gets official attention only when production begins to drop. Never before was the worker so much a mere appendage to the machine as under Military Economy. Not until they have lowered the people's living and working conditions to the point where productivity is seriously affected, have the Hitler Socialists reached the limit of exploitation. This limit alone decides the amount of capital and labor "available" for the armament industries. The Nazi theoreticians say so openly. The diversion of the nation's resources into armament and the resulting deterioration of the living standard of the population can be continued "if necessary, until near the point where physical decay begins," writes the Nazi Professor Karl Burkheiser.[28]

Lengthening of the working-day, introduction of woman and child labor, speed-up, and the importation of foreign workers do not satisfy the needs of total mobilization. In case of war, new millions will have to be ready to fill the places of the German workers drafted into the Army. Military Economy is incessantly seeking new labor reserves and finds them in "the less economical and for that reason nationally less desirable shops," as one of its spokesmen puts it. It cannot even afford to wait until the competitive struggle has squeezed out the small businessman. It orders their elimination.

From 1935 to 1938 the number of independent cobblers has decreased from 161,000 to 141,000; before the end of 1939, the liquidation of 25,000 more small shoemaker-shops is planned. The Reich Ministry of Labor reported that up to the beginning of 1939 more than 100,000 men have been transferred from their bake-, butcher-, tailor-, and barbershops into industry. In the retail

trade, the same process is going on. The number of radio salesmen, for instance, has been cut down from 70,000 to 32,000.

As far back as February, 1937, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* reported "a suggestion to close up unprofitable one-man enterprises in order to use these craftsmen as skilled workers for the purposes of the Four-Year Plan. . . . It is estimated that there are from 500,000 to 600,000 such enterprises."

Article 16 of the "unalterable" Nazi Program calls for "the creation of a healthy middle class." After six years of Nazi rule one of their organs, the *Deutsche Volkswirt,* has to warn that "large sections of the so-called middle class are living from hand to mouth in a manner which is almost critical."

Whoever sees in the freezing of prices and wages, in the closing of entire branches of trade to new investment, in the assignment of labor to particular plants, in the decrees against migration from farm to city—whoever sees in these measures nothing but the desire of the Nazis to organize a planned economic system, takes the shadow for the substance. He fails to realize that the concentration and centralization of capital, the crowding out of small enterprises by Big Business, the further polarization of the German people into a few "Leaders" and a "following" of millions, have not been prevented, but accelerated by such government intervention.

Hitler has not abolished private property in the means of production. When Military Economy has required the condemnation of private property, he has usually paid adequate compensation. He employs expropriation without indemnity only as a political "punishment" for anti-fascists and Jews, just as he grants special economic privileges to those who have "outstanding merits for the National Socialist State." The profit system is still intact in Nazi Germany. This trivial difference between Hitler's People's Commonweal and the economic system of the Soviet Union is made

light of by those who discover a fundamental similarity between the two. Is it only, as they affirm, a matter of a difference in the label?

Let us pick up any financial news item on German Big Business connected with Military Economy:

Wireless to *The New York Times.*
Berlin, June 3, 1939.

At the shareholders' annual meeting at Frankfort on June 23 the directors of the I. G. Farben [The German Dye Trust] will recommend the maintenance of the 8 per cent dividend. Net profits in 1938 were 55,180,000 marks against 54,853,329 marks in 1937. But 135,718,466 marks was written off for plant against only 105,250,296 marks in 1937.

During the six years of the Hitler regime the Dye Trust passed out more than three hundred million marks in bonuses and dividends, and this sum is only a fraction of its total profits set aside as reserves. From 1933 to 1937 the Trust raised its share of the entire chemical output from one-third to more than one-half of a vastly increased total volume for the country.[29]

The Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry of Economics, Rudolf Brinkmann, had to admit in his speech of November 2, 1938, that there is some justification in the complaint of German businessmen that the big are growing bigger and the small and middle-sized independent enterprises are weakening and passing away. According to the annual report for 1938 of the semi-official *Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft,* an institution owned and directed by the *Reichs-Bank,* profits made by corporations in industry and commerce increased from 5.5 billion marks in 1932 to 14.2 billion in 1937. They even surpassed corporations' profits at the height of the boom in 1928 and 1929, when they had been 13.5 billion marks and 12.7 billion marks respectively. In the first nine months of 1938 the taxable profits of the corporations rose again 20 per cent over those of the corresponding period in 1937. In 1928, the best year for German business

after the War, 33,463 corporations with a capital stock of more than one million marks each made a total profit of 2.5 billion marks. Three hundred and ninety big corporations out of the 33,463 accounted for 1.3 billion marks profit out of the 2.5 billion, an average of 3.6 million per corporation. In 1936, the reduced number of 29,434 corporations made a total profit of 3.7 billion marks. Among them were 573 corporations whose profits accounted for 2.3 billion marks, an average of 4.1 million per corporation. In 1936, the profits of these big corporations were 48 per cent higher than at the peak of prosperity.

In 1928 4,977 persons in Germany had an annual income of 100,000 marks and more. The total income of this category of taxpayers was then one billion marks, or 6.5 per cent of all taxable personal income (excluding the income of wage earners which is in a separate category). In 1932 their number had fallen to 1,686, and their total income to 0.3 billion marks, or 5.2 per cent of all taxable personal income. In 1936 their number had risen to 5,692, their total income to 1.4 billion marks, representing 10.3 per cent of all taxable personal income.

More recent statistics are not yet available. But there is not the slightest doubt that they will show only further concentration of wealth in the upper class.

In the "Marxist" era the Government, to avoid a general economic collapse, had taken over great blocks of leading bank and industrial stocks. The transaction was merely a subsidizing of private business with taxpayers' money. The Reich paid far more than the market value of these securities and then put them away in a drawer in expectation of better times. This was the socialism of the Weimar Republic. When Hitler came to power, the Reich owned 70 per cent of the 140 million capital stock of the Gelsenkirchener Bergwerksverein (a mining company belonging to the Steel Trust), 70 per cent of the 80 million capital stock of the

Commerz-und Privatbank, 88 per cent of the 150 million capital stock of the Dresdener Bank, 38 per cent of the 130 million capital stock of the Deutsche Bank. All of these shares have in the meantime been returned to private hands again. The banks and big enterprises have been able to buy them back with the profits they have made under Hitler's regime. Returning the monopolies to private ownership is one of the by-products of this strange "economic bolshevism."

It is no less than surprising how few changes have occurred in the personnel of Germany's top-ranking families. They are a hardy bunch. The old names that loomed big in the days of the War, the Pan-German League, and the inflation are still at the head of the exclusive list. Take Thyssen Jr., for example, who introduced Hitler to Rhenish-Westphalian industrialists and who, together with Kirdorf, carried through the decision that for each ton which the Coal Syndicate sold, fifty pfennig was to go to the NSDAP. His father was one of the firebrands of the Pan-German League, who as early as September, 1914, had demanded of the German General Staff the annexation of French iron mines. Thyssen Jr. is the chairman of the United Steel Works, the heart of the war industries. Old Kirdorf, another intimate of the Fuehrer and also one of the bosses in the Pan-German League, was Honorary President of the Steel Trust until his death in July, 1938. Thyssen's partner is Geheimrat Voegler, who in 1917 wrote the "United German Iron and Steel Manufacturers' strictly confidential Memorandum" to the General Staff, demanding the annexation of the entire French coal and iron regions and pointing out the importance of these deposits for a future war. In the Board of Directors of the Steel Trust there are besides: Hugenberg and the Rhenish banker Stein, whose associate is Herr von Schroeder. He is the same von Schroeder to whom von Papen brought Hitler in January, 1933.

The twenty-eight Board members of the Steel Trust hold more than four hundred directorships on the boards of mining, chemical, and machine-building corporations. Even in the giant utilities, like the Rhenish-Westphalian Power Company, which, like most public utilities in Germany, is publicly owned, the gentlemen of heavy industry are reigning. Voegler of the Steel Trust is also Chairman of the Board of the Rhenish-Westphalian Power Company, and among the other Board members we find Thyssen Jr. again.

*K*rupp, the owner of the "German armament smithy" in Essen, has a seat on the Board of Directors of the government-owned German Railroads and on Hitler's new Motor Road Corporation. He is at the same time a stockholder in the Upper Silesian Foundries, the Dillinger Foundries in the Saar, the Germania Dockyards in Kiel, the Chemnitz Automobile Corporation, the Ball Bearing Works in Schweinfurt, and the Berndorf Metal Works in Austria. His empire extends from the North Sea to the Saar, from Austria to the Rhine.

But, one may object, the *K*rupps and Thyssens, the Voeglers and Hugenbergs may be as wealthy as they like—that still doesn't mean they have any political influence. If Hitler wanted to, he could expropriate them with a stroke of his pen.

Perhaps it would be better simply to note what Hitler actually is and has been doing for the past six years, rather than to speeu-late upon what he could do.

By suppressing the workers' organizations, by introducing the Leader-Principle into every private business, by trampling under foot all civil liberties, by taking the most aggressive imperialist course and subordinating the entire economy to that end—by all these, he serves the interests of the old Imperialist circles of Germany. His domestic and foreign policy miraculously coincides with theirs. He sees in the Krupps and the Thyssens, according to his

own words, the representatives of the best German race, whose mission lies in ruling. How highly he values their qualities became obvious when he made Thyssen and Voegler members of the Reichstag and Voegler's son the Leader of the "Hitler Youth" in the Ruhr. Herr Reisman-Grone, formerly a member of the Pan-German League and owner of a Rhenish-Westphalian newspaper, he made First Burgomaster of Essen. Reisman-Grone's son-in-law, Dr. Otto Dietrich, was one of the first intermediaries between Hitler and heavy industry. He now is Chief of the Reich Press Service and Minister in Hitler's Cabinet. *K*rupp's daughter married an SA officer, and it must have been a high point in the lives of the SA, the "fighters" against the Trusts, when they formed an aisle at "the wedding of the old with the new Germany." Even Justizrat Clauss, the former Chairman of the Pan-German League, has been invited into Hitler's Reichstag.

An especially fine example of Hitler socialism is the appointment of Emil Georg von Stauss as Vice-President of the Reichstag and member of the Prussian State Council—Herr von Stauss, who, as Director of the Deutsche Bank, as President of the Anatolic and the Bagdad Railroad Company, as General Director of the European Petrol Union and of the German Petroleum Corporation, had led the economic advance of the *K*aiser-Reich into the Near East. The construction of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad was his favorite dream. In 1935, the weekly *Militaer-Wochenblatt* analyzed in retrospect the significance of the plan as follows:

The Bagdad Railroad, this gigantic project of the Deutsche Bank with a rising Germany behind it, meant for this Germany not only the domination of Central and Southeastern Europe, but also the opening for this country of the economic resources of the Near East and of still further undreamed of perspectives. From the point of view of trade policy, even India would be endangered once Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Persia had found access to German commerce.

In 1918 Herr von Stauss lost the battle. But an imperialist is tough. Herr von Stauss is not discouraged, and his interests show that he has remained faithful to his favorite idea—the conquest of Rumanian, Caucasian, and Iranian oil. Not only is he a member of the Board of Directors of big armament firms, such as the Bavarian Motor Workers, the Rhine Metal-Borsig, Siemens, etc., but he is also President of the German Air-Hansa Company, which runs, among others, an air mail and passenger service between Germany and Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. Besides, he is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bavarian Lloyd Steamship Lines, which, together with the Danube Steamship Company, dominates river transport on the Danube. In May, 1938, two months after the occupation of Austria, the Hitler Government decided to start work upon the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal which, according to an official report, is to facilitate the exchange of Ruhr coal for the metals and other raw materials of Austria and the Balkans.

The Essener *National Zeitung,* Goering's paper, divulges the purpose of the new canal with the headline: "By way of the Danube into Asia." A line of communication is now under construction, "which, upon completion of the Rhine-Danube Canal, is to make possible a direct water route from the West German industrial region by way of the Rhine and the Danube through the Black Sea, to Iran, even to near-India and to the Indian Ocean." [30]

In the Board of Directors of the Company which is building the Canal, there is also a representative of the Stauss-controlled Bavarian Lloyd.

Will von Stauss be luckier the second time?

The same gentlemen for whose aims the German people bled once before are still the élite in the Third Reich—the "Aryan race of masters." Not only the old industrial magnates, but the Junkers as well. Their huge estates are still intact and the "Eastern-Help" is still going strong. Between 1931-32 and 1937-38, 562 million marks of

government subsidies have been given to eastern German agriculture. When Hitler came to power, 115 million of this total had been spent. The rest, four-fifths of it, was distributed by the Nazis. To whom did they give the money?

All in all, 41,435 agricultural units participated in the government subsidies. Of the 562 million marks, 35.5 million or 7 per cent went to 10,931 units "under hereditary size," that is, to very small farms; 237.4 million marks or 42 per cent went to 27,477 units "within hereditary farm size," that is, to middle and big farms; 288.8 million marks or 51 per cent went to 3,027 units "over hereditary farm size." In short, three thousand Junker families got more than half of all the money earmarked for subsidies to "eastern German agriculture."

Domestic colonization, too, presents no threats to the Junkers anymore. Between 1919 and 1932 the Weimar Republic's resettlement, timid and insufficient as it had been, had created each year an average of 4,000 new farms on approximately 100,000 acres. After the crisis of 1929, the government had given the matter more attention. So, it had established:

	New Homesteads	*Acres*
1930	7,441	190,000
1931	9,082	240,000
1932	9,046	245,000

Compared to these figures, the resettlement in Nazi-Germany was:

	New Homesteads	*Acres*
1934	4,931	178,000
1935	3,905	165,000
1936	3,308	145,000
1937	1,894	90,000
1938	1,407	64,000

Hitler does not want the Germans to look for "living space" inside Germany.

Hitler need not show daily gratitude to a Thyssen and a Hugenberg for their earlier political and financial assistance. He repays them by carrying through his imperialist program. He may personally consider himself the sole master of Germany. But as master of Germany he strengthens the armament industry and the Junkers, the greatest trusts and greatest landowners—the symbols of German militarism and imperialism. Surely he would also like to humor the cotton, wool, shoe and clothing manufacturers, the big merchants of Hamburg, and not least the lower middle class and the workers. More than anything else, that would bolster his position. But whether the Fuehrer likes it or not, he is the prisoner of his imperialist policy. The demands of Military Economy dictate his actions.

In *Mein Kampf* he had written the proud words: "The State has nothing to do with any particular economic conception or economic development." The barons of heavy industry, however, had more realistic ideas of the "national rebirth" of Germany and of the part they were to play in it. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had said heroically: "One does not die for business—only for ideals." In his Reichstag address of January, 1939, however, the needs of Military Economy broke through in his cry: "We must export or die!" That he dressed those needs up as the natural ones of a people without living space must not deceive anyone. The living space of National Socialism has little to do with the idyllic picture that Hitler paints of the community of peasants and workers "who through their mutual work enable each other to live." For fascism, more living space means more workers to be exploited, more soldiers to be commanded, more raw materials to be turned into machines of destruction. When fascism conquers a country, it digests it by forcing a fascist economy upon it. Every time the monster devours a victim,

it becomes bigger and more terrible. Two weeks after Munich, Schacht's organ, *Der Deutsche Volkswirt,* wrote: "In winning the Saar, Austria, and Sudetenland the Reich, already lacking in territory and raw materials, has acquired mainly overpopulated industrial and mountainous regions." [31]

Thus, incredible as it may sound, the Nazis announce the necessity of new conquests to compensate for the old.

Hitler's Socialism

The further Military Economy advances, the more stringency is required to keep the artificial structure of German economy from collapsing. A flood of laws, decrees, decisions and counter-decisions, prohibitions, control commissions, and a corresponding hypertrophy of officialdom and red tape indicate deep-seated conflicts of interests and growing strains. "At a recent enquiry conducted by a South West German Chamber of Commerce among small manufacturers with 100 to 200 employees each, it was found that up to 75 per cent of the total clerical work was devoted to the fulfillment of control requirements," says a special report on Germany, published by the English monthly *The Banker* of February, 1937.

The high Nazi officials are infiltrating into the executive posts of Big Business. Big Business representatives are being appointed government officials. There is a growing personal union between the bureaucracy of the State and that of the giant corporations. There is also a corresponding growth in corruption among government officials. "In Berlin everything has a price" is a phrase to be heard in the "best circles." A decree of the Reich Ministry of Finance of January 23, 1939, is symptomatic of the scale on which bribing, "fixing," and racketeering is going on. The decree holds it necessary to forbid to "all employees of the Reich Finance Administration any activity with or without recompense outside of their duties in matters pertaining to the authority of the Reich Finance Adminis-

tration." It also forbids the acceptance of presents or favors, but with the modification that this does not refer to "social relations based upon real reciprocity." The People's Commonweal knows where to draw the line. Only the leaders are entitled to graft.

The expense and nuisance of the top-heavy bureaucracy, the rising taxes to cover at least a part of the enormous cost of war production, the measures taken against the flight of capital and the threat of inflation, are naturally cumbersome to many German capitalists, especially to those who do not share in the Hitler boom. Dissatisfaction has taken hold of all social strata and finds its common expression in the fear of the end of the journey—war. The only answer National Socialism knows is more violence and more demagogy.

Military and police forces are ever growing. After taking in the Austrian and Sudeten-German contingents, the German Army, Navy and Airfleet now totals two million men. Besides the regular police there is the SS, originally organized in 1923 as Hitler's personal bodyguard. Its chief function today is to watch and destroy the "inner enemy." It has fully equipped units in all branches of the service. There are the general SS, the SS Communication Division, the SS Shock-Troops "for special assignments," the SS Field Police, the Secret State Police, the SS Skull and Crossbones, personally responsible to Hitler. There are besides the National Socialist Motorized Corps, the National Socialist Air Corps, and the SA and SA Reserve.

The fear that any close contact with the people and any knowledge of their actual living and thinking might dampen the morale of the Elite Guard, creeps through the educational rules of the SS. In isolated Leader Schools called *ordensburgen,* which are built and set apart like medieval cloisters, the young Blackshirts are drilled in the teachings of National Socialism. They are selected only from families that can trace their Aryan origin back to the year

1750. They are permitted to marry only women who can present the same untainted pedigree. The quarters of the Skull and Crossbones are changed at short intervals to prevent any fraternizing between them and the civil population. They are never used for service in their hometown; they are never on duty alone; there is always one to watch the other. They are the guaranteed $99\frac{99}{100}$ per cent pure murderers.

The Leader-Principle had to be adjusted to the growing demands of the dictatorship. In the original edition of *Mein Kampf,* Hitler called it "the principle of Germanic Democracy; election of the Fuehrer, but absolute authority for him." In the current edition of his book, he defines it as "the principle of the absolute Fuehrer authority." This revision was not for the sake of style. It meant a fundamental change in the structure of the Nazi Party and of all other mass organizations in the Third Reich. While Hitler originally wrote that "the chairman of a local group is to be elected" and that all the Leaders of the party are to be chosen by the members themselves, in later editions he issued the order: "The chairman of a local group is to be appointed by the next higher Leader. The same principle is to hold for the next higher organization, the county or the province. The Leader is always to be appointed from above."

The masses of people, the stupid herd of sheep, must be prevented from having the slightest influence upon the government and its direction; governing is exclusively the business of the Fuehrer and the nobles who surround him.

All organizations, not only the Party, the SS, and SA, but also the "National Food Estate," an obligatory association of all agricultural producers and distributors, as well as the Labor Front (and recently the Evangelical Church!) are built upon the Leader-Principle. Common to all of them is their pyramidal structure. Resting upon the broadest possible base, they grow narrower and narrower until

they end in the Government apex. They serve, like everything in the Third Reich, the purpose of domination, mass control, and war preparation. In the social composition of their governing bodies, too, they resemble a pyramid. At the very base, among the workers and peasants, are the Nazi faithfuls, poorly paid or carrying out their party work as an "honorary office." Higher up in the pyramid the middle class element becomes stronger. The air around the apex is absolutely unpolluted by working class elements.

Where are the workers and sons of workers who have been entrusted with responsible positions in the People's Commonweal? The Fuehrer? Son of a petty official. Goering? Son of a high official. Goebbels? The "Doctor," as he is called, the Party's show-off intellectual. Hess and Rosenberg? From merchant families. Streicher, the ruler of Franconia, Dr. Frick, Minister of the Interior, or Police-General Daluege? All sons of officials. General von Epp, the ruler of Bavaria, or Count Helldorf, the Police President of Berlin? Offspring of Junker families. Dr. Ley?—wait a minute! Have we at least found one? The Leader of the Labor Front boasts of coming from a simple peasant family. If it is true, it must have been an extraordinary lucky chance that enabled the son of a poor peasant in pre-War Germany to get his Doctor's Degree from a university. By his manner of living, one could hardly guess his peasant origin. The Dye Trust, which employed him before Hitler, had to dismiss him for chronic drunkenness.

The Nazis know what dangers lie in their isolation. "A movement with great aims must constantly try not to lose its connection with the broad mass of the people," Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*. For this reason, he places as much emphasis upon the maintenance of a mass following as upon the organization of his armed forces.

The German citizen must never be left to himself. He must constantly be exposed to the observation and influence of the Nazis. He must not be given time to come to his senses. As a tiny cog in a

huge machine, with the omnipotence of the State held constantly before his eyes, he must realize that as an individual he is nothing, and as a member of a mobilized nation, as a citizen of an Empire which tomorrow will rule the world, he is everything.

The child who is now required to join the Hitler Youth Organization at ten leaves it at the age of eighteen to be drafted into the Labor Service. Long before he enters the Army, the SA gives him military training. After two years of service in the Army, he becomes a member of the SA or SA Reserve. If he looks finally for paid work, he must first join the German Labor Front. As worker in a factory he receives a card which prohibits him from shifting jobs except by permission of the Government. "Strength Through Joy" takes care of his leisure time. His private life is under the close supervision of the "Block Warden," who as a functionary of the Air Raid Defense has the right to enter his home day or night. Only death will wrest the German citizen from Hitler's loving care.

With the amount of labor and capital spent for armaments and war preparation Hitler could have made a paradise of Germany. Instead, he transformed it into a huge barracks. His "socialism" becomes more and more spiritual, a mental attitude, a faith. The Nazi economist and an editor of Hitler's own newspaper, Nonnenbruch, sees socialism already established: "The German people, by its belief in National Socialism, has spiritually taken possession of the economy." [32]

This is a pleasant way of expropriating the trusts and Junkers. Unfortunately, it did not seem sufficient when Hitler had to take possession of the economies of foreign countries.

The three widely publicized benefits bestowed by Nazi socialism upon the lower middle class and the better paid categories of workers and white collar workers are the introduction of a cheap radio set, "the people's receiver," of a cheap automobile, "the people's car," and of cheap vacation trips on board "Strength-

Through-Joy" boats. The people's receiver is so constructed that the listener can hear only stations within a very limited radius. The Nazis are taking away more powerful sets to prevent listeners from tuning in to foreign news broadcasts. The people's receiver is good enough —and very useful—for Goebbels' propaganda and enlightenment. The people's car, built by a plant which is owned by the German Labor Front, serves a twofold purpose. It furthers Germany's motorization and preparation for war and, at the same time, leads existing purchasing power into the proper channels. The man who buys the car (on an installment plan financed by the compulsory contributions of all workers and employees to Ley's Union) will have less money to spend on other consumers' goods whose production Military Economy does not want. How long the proud owner who is now paying for a car not yet produced will be able to enjoy it, once he gets it, is another question. Rubber, gasoline, and oil are vitally important for war and therefore restricted. Joseph Werlin, director of the Daimler-Benz Works, one of Germany's biggest automobile factories, wrote the other day in *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* that "the use of automobiles for purely personal pleasure may have to be limited."

The significance of the boat trips with Strength Through Joy, finally, became clear beyond a doubt when the German army of intervention returned from Spain. Then the Nazis, in their incomparable brazenness, told how they had transported the Condor Legion to Spain, disguised as tourists. Of course, they will use their troop transport ships to take vacationing workers, small businessmen, shopkeepers, and employees to the Mediterranean or Scandinavia. It makes friends, its strengthens "national unity," and it is cheap, too. Capitalism has not spoiled the working masses. They are grateful for two weeks of sunshine. But the people's car in the garage as well as the new Strength-Through-Joy cruiser *Robert Ley* are in the last instance destined for The Day—not for pleasure.

To German ears certain words like *turnips* or *marmalade* are inseparably bound up with terrible memories. During the winter of 1917-18 the German people virtually lived on turnips. Marmalade of an indescribable nature took the place of butter and margarine. It was one of those ersatz products in which worms were the best ingredient. There is no war yet. But the consumption of marmalade has increased 400 per cent since Hitler socialism came to bless Germany.

Another word means something to the German people—*champagne*. The story is in the following table:

Year	*Bottles Consumed in Germany* (in millions)
1913	12.1
1933	5.5
1934	10.3
1935	12.2
1936	14.5
1937	19.9
1938	24.0

Four times as much marmalade consumed; four times as much champagne.

FIVE

Will Hitler Win?

"The satisfaction of the members of a national body emanates in the long run not exclusively from theoretical phrases, but rather from the goods of daily life received by the individual and from the resultant conviction that a peoples' commonweal represents in its total achievements the interests of the individual."

Mein Kampf

The Changed World Situation

HITLER and his party have now been in power more than six years. Six years is a long time. It is an eternity for the prisoners in the concentration camps and the dungeons of the Third Reich, for the Germans driven from their homeland or waiting for an opportunity to escape from it. It is more than two thousand days and nights of constant mortal danger for the men and women who continue with unswerving loyalty the struggle against fascist barbarism.

Six years is but a short time. It is only a prelude to a coming period of grandeur for the Nazi who believes in a Third Reich that will last One Thousand Years. It is a nightmare to a world which sees itself moving with terrible speed toward the catastrophe of a new war.

What do these six years mean for Hitler? How much nearer have they brought him toward his goal?

Probably no one is more surprised at Hitler's success than the

Fuehrer himself. The son of Alois Schicklgruber failed in everything. He showed no talent as a painter, no qualifications as an architect. The war for which he had longed so much brought him neither glory nor advancement. In 1919 he was so lonely and friendless that he depended for companionship upon the mice in his barracks which, as he describes in *Mein Kampf,* he used to feed in the early morning hours. Shortly before his thwarted *Putsch* in November, 1923, he confessed only this modest ambition: "All I desire is that the movement continue, that it be placed on a sound business basis, and that I make my livelihood as chief of the *Voelkischer Beobachter.*" [33] In 1932, when he wanted to run for the presidency of the Reich against Hindenburg, the man without a country trembled in fear of deportation. Goebbels has disclosed that a month before the "ascent to power," the Fuehrer thought of suicide. The iron superman, endowed with an unshakable will, exists only in the legends of Nazi history.

One need not rely on information from the Fuehrer's friends or enemies to trace the curve of his political hopes and ambitions. It is in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. The book shows how quickly and easily victories far beyond his expectations came to him. The questions which Hitler has there placed in the foreground have already to a large extent been answered. Not that *Mein Kampf* is outdated because of political developments. How can a document be outdated which sets forth the subjection of the world to Nazi culture! As the maximum program of the Nazis it remains valid until it has been carried out—or until the Nazi movement has been destroyed. But Hitler has already traveled a good part of his road and is now working toward the solution of tasks, the difficulties of which would have stunned him and his followers a few years ago.

Only of historical interest now are those sections of his book which declared a war to the death upon organized labor, parliamentarianism, freedom of thought, progressive education, independ-

ent science—in a word, upon "Jewish Bolshevism." Hitler has carried them out to the letter. Hundreds of thousands of his internal enemies who opposed the rebirth of German Imperialism, have been shot "while trying to escape," beheaded for "high treason," sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor, or driven out of the country. The nation has been "united" with terror and propaganda.

Only of historical interest also are Hitler's ideas of how to use the conflicting imperialist interests of England, France, and Italy to remove Germany from her isolated position. With the help of Italy and England, as he foresaw, he has regained Germany's "national freedom"—that is, the freedom of Imperialist Germany to participate again in imperialist robberies. The union with Austria, which Hitler in the opening sentence of *Mein Kampf* regarded as a life task, is now remembered as only the beginning of his redivision of the world. How long ago it seems that France could rightly be called the strongest military power of Europe and the guardian of the Treaty of Versailles! Today it has lost some of its closest allies in Central and Southeastern Europe; it is cut off from others by a fortified Rhineland; it is faced on three sides by three united fascist enemies, its African and Far Eastern possessions are in danger; and in its military preparation it has long been overtaken by Germany.

As the Fuehrer looks down from his "eagle's nest" in the Bavarian Alps—built in sheer rock by three thousand workers, with enormous difficulties and at great cost—he can view his Reich with the proud feeling that he has increased his area by 63,000 square miles and the number of his subjects by 18,000,000. Such victories, accumulated within the short period of six years and won without any serious fight, are extraordinary indeed.

The Europe of today is not the Europe of *Mein Kampf* any more, and Hitler himself has contributed most to its changes. In carrying out a successful imperialist program, he at the same time destroys the very world political situation which made possible his success.

It was the very weakness of German Imperialism which enabled him to separate England from France and which, on the other hand, made it seem advisable to British and French Imperialism to encourage Hitler's arming for an attack upon the Soviet Union. Today, however, not France, but Germany is the strongest imperialist power in Europe from a military viewpoint. The British Empire no longer feels menaced by France, but by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle. Every further sapping of France's strength by Germany simultaneously means the sapping of Britain's strength also, and inevitably drives the British closer to the French. In Munich the first stage of Hitler's policy of expansion reached its peak—and its end. Until then his actions in the field of foreign policy were mainly directed toward his first strategic goal—the isolation and weakening of France. He relegated to the background the German demand for colonies. He reconciled despised and hated Poland, then "entirely at the mercy of France." He made his *rapprochement* with Italy. He undermined the economic and political influence of France in the Balkans.

During this entire period he enjoyed the tacit acquiescence, if not the direct encouragement, of the British reactionaries. Long before he scrapped the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty, the British Government knew that he was preparing for the move by feverish rearmament. Questions by uneasy oppositionists in the House of Commons were always given vaguely reassuring replies. When Hitler in March, 1936, decisively violated the Treaty by sending his army into the Rhineland, the British Government not only exerted its influence to prevent the French Government from taking counter-measures, but soon afterward sealed the nullification of the military clauses of Versailles by concluding a naval agreement with Hitler, in which it permitted him to construct types of warships, including submarines, previously forbidden to Germany. The British Imperialists believed it extremely clever to confine the German

Navy to one-third the size of the British. They wished to strengthen Germany against France as well as against the Soviet Union, but within certain limits. Here again we meet the grandiose notion that Hitler could be canalized. What Chamberlain had in mind at Munich was the diversion of German Imperialism toward the East, in orderly gentlemanly stages, according to the tried pattern of the British robber barons.

The incredible rapidity with which Hitler advanced can be best gauged by the changes in the relations between the British and German imperialisms. Today the barrage of Nazi propaganda is directed not so much against France as against England. Hitler himself, asked about his present attitude toward *Mein Kampf,* is said to have answered, "I would write every word as it is; only one chapter would I alter—the chapter on England. I would write just the contrary of the view expressed therein."[34] If Hitler did not actually make the remark attributed to him, he might well have done so. In *Mein Kampf* he had flattered the England in which he saw a possible ally; he had lauded the youthful vigor of England's readiness to defend her Empire to the last drop of blood; he had ridiculed the German proponents of a "league of suppressed nations," who sought to utilize the national independence movements in the British colonies in order to undermine the British Empire.

Then he had written: "How difficult it is to defeat England we Germans have learned well enough. Not to mention that I as a Teuton prefer in spite of everything to see India under British rather than any other domination." He had thought just as little of the "hopes for a fantastic uprising in Egypt. The 'holy war' can give our German rummy-players the pleasant sensation that now others are ready to spill their blood for us—in reality, it would lead to a hellish end under the well-aimed fire of British machine-gun companies and a hail of deadly grenades."

Such declarations are unlikely to produce in Germany today much confidence in the Moslem policy of the Berlin-Rome Axis. Their effect would be painful if the collision of British and German interests were to lead to war. The England which the fascist press now depicts to the German people is once again that of "Perfidious Albion," the country of unheroic moneybags, of the senile toothless lion. Goebbels now calls the English people "dumb, treacherous, and cowardly." At present there is very little in Nazi propaganda about the "bolshevist menace," but a great deal about the "treacherous Christian democracies," referring of course to England, France and the United States. Hitler suddenly accuses Chamberlain of plotting to encircle Germany, and cancels the naval treaty.

What has brought about this sudden change? Has Hitler revised his plans? Or has British reaction become anti-fascist? Neither. Hitler's final goal remains the destruction of the Soviet Union and the annexation of its richest regions, and he could be certain of the Tories' benevolent neutrality in such an undertaking. But despite all the partial successes of German Imperialism, this final goal has receded farther than ever before. In his judgment of the Soviet Union's possibility of survival, Hitler has made his greatest blunder. His prophecies of the imminent collapse of the gigantic state in the east, his demonstrations of the inability of the Russian people to govern themselves without the assistance of a German ruling class, read today like the babbling of an idiot. His hatred for the Soviet Union completely warped his judgment.

In 1926, in *Mein Kampf,* Hitler answered those who favored a German-Soviet understanding with the scornful declaration that Germany does not want an ally which "even today does not call its own one single factory in which a really working automobile can be produced."

How simple it then seemed to Hitler to deliver a death blow to the first workers' and peasants' state. But time has worked not only

for Hitler. Today in Soviet factories not only are automobiles, which "really work," produced but tanks and heavy artillery as well. During the period that has elapsed since *Mein Kampf* was written, Soviet industry has supplied 500,000 tractors to a mechanized and collectivized agriculture. It has developed airplanes which have set many world's records and which have twice successfully crossed the North Pole on non-stop flights to the United States. It has built up an iron and steel industry with an output only slightly behind that of Germany itself and approximately twice as large as that of Great Britain. In the production of oil and other essential raw materials the Soviet Union far surpasses Germany. It possesses today an army and an air fleet superior to Germany's. The country whose industrial strength Hitler ridiculed in 1926 now ranks second only to the United States as an industrial power.

This change in the international position of the Soviet Union, which Hitler failed to foresee, is the principal factor behind the new orientation of Germany's and England's foreign policy. With the growing strength of the Soviet Union precluding any immediate expression of the "urge toward the East," Hitler is compelled to seek other avenues of expansion. This brings him into direct conflict with the interests of the British Empire. Germany resumes her drive toward the Near East and India, pursuing once more the course taken by the Kaiser on the eve of the World War. Together with his Italian partner, Hitler now challenges Anglo-French control of the whole Mediterranean area; he co-operates with Japan against British interests in the Far East; he begins to press Germany's claims for colonial possessions. Nazi agents are active in Holland, Denmark, and Belgium—all strategically located from the viewpoint of British military security. Dozens of airdromes have been built in Northwestern Germany from which planes can be launched against English cities.

Thirteen years ago Hitler ridiculed the German philistines who

dreamed of fomenting revolt in British colonies, but today he follows their recipe and, in collaboration with Mussolini, stirs up the Arabs and other British colonial subjects. He is building a huge fleet, beginning once again to challenge British naval supremacy.

Thus at all points Hitler is compelled by the logic of the international situation to revert to the Kaiser's policies which he so bitterly condemned in *Mein Kampf*. He can only follow the advice of the "rummy-players"; for the forces which unrestrained German Imperialism has evoked are far more potent than the fine theories which the "liberator of Germany" once spun.

To be sure, there always was in Hitler's timetable a day marked for an accounting with Britain too. But it was relegated as far as possible. Once France was destroyed and the Soviet Union dismembered, Germany might be strong enough to take the skin of the British lion. *"England will lose India . . . if it is subdued by the sword of a powerful enemy,"* reads a cryptic sentence of *Mein Kampf*. What then seemed to Hitler one of the most difficult enterprises of a far future is today a point in his immediate program. Six years of British "appeasement" have convinced him that the British Empire lies on the road of least resistance.

But Hitler's successes in foreign policy, great as they may appear, cannot hide the fact that he has failed to achieve his primary objectives: isolation of France and alliance with Britain against the Soviet Union. Far from separating his potential enemies, he has driven them closer together. Great Britain, always reluctant to enter Continental commitments and always striving for the weakening of the Soviet Union, is now compelled for the sake of its own security to guarantee the borders of European states and to move toward *rapprochement* with Soviet Russia. Even Chamberlain and his fellow-Tories are forced to make at least a gesture toward an alliance with Moscow. Similarly the French Government, which only a short time ago had minimized the importance of the Franco-Soviet Pact

and refused to enter into military conversations with the Soviet Union, is now pressing Britain to accept the Soviet terms for a collective agreement against Nazi aggression.

So fearful is Britain of further German attacks that for the first time it has pledged to throw all its military might behind Poland, Rumania, Greece, and Turkey, in the event that any one of them feels endangered and calls on her assistance. And Britain and France, now virtually linked in a military alliance, are determined to fight in the event of aggression against Denmark, Holland, Belgium or Switzerland. In the United States popular opinion increasingly favors Britain, France, and the Soviet Union as against the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle, and there is little doubt in the minds of most students of international politics that in a war the United States will give at least moral and economic support to the opponents of the fascist bloc. Thus Germany's very successes in imperialist adventure have evoked the spectre of "encirclement" which Hitler has always dreaded: a possible anti-German coalition of the most powerful states.

What alliances has Hitler acquired in return? He has won the support of two great powers, Italy and Japan, and of a small group of weak satellite states, whose loyalty to Germany remains somewhat questionable. Italy, Hitler's strongest ally in Europe, is a country with a comparatively weak heavy industry, poor in essential raw materials, and impoverished by its costly military campaigns in Ethiopia and Spain. Furthermore, the Italian people, including large sections of the ruling fascist circles, are not overfond of the alliance with Germany and are disinclined to sacrifice themselves for the aggrandizement of the Third Reich. Mussolini, even if he wished, cannot ignore these sentiments; and the Duce himself is a cynical and practical gentleman who would not hesitate to abandon Hitler in order to save his own skin. Germany's Far Eastern ally, Japan, has its hands full with China; and while it still has considerable

nuisance value, Japan is scarcely in a position to render decisive assistance to Germany in time of war.

Measured in terms of man power, industrial strength, raw materials, financial resources, and military equipment, the anti-aggressor states are enormously stronger than the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle.

The strength and the stability of the nascent anti-aggressor coalition cannot, of course, be measured in terms of these factors alone. They depend also on the sincerity and determination of the anti-aggressor states, which in turn depend upon what political forces in these countries are in power. Tory politicians like Chamberlain and Simon, Daladier and Bonnet can scarcely be regarded as unwavering opponents of aggression and fascism. As long as these champions of "appeasement" remain in power, there is no assurance against a new Munich. As the Spanish and Czechoslovakian events demonstrated, international agreements and the canons of international law are no more sacred to them than to the Fuehrer or the Duce. The recent shift in the foreign policy of the British and French Governments was due in no small measure to the popular revulsion against Munich and the growing demand for a policy of resistance against aggression. It did not mean that the British and French reactionaries had been converted to the principles of democracy.

Hitler's Dilemma

In analyzing the dynamics of German expansion, we must bear in mind that Hitler's successes not only have failed to solve, but have actually intensified Germany's economic difficulties. If the seizure of Austria has given Hitler some iron ore and munition plants and if the conquest of Czechoslovakia has yielded him some coal and arms factories, they have not given him enough iron, oil, rubber, copper, nickel, chromium, manganese, tungsten, lead, or the other vital raw materials which the war economy of the Third

Reich so desperately demands. Both Austria and Czechoslovakia lacked their own supplies of these materials and were compelled to import them. Furthermore, both of these annexed territories had highly developed consumers' goods industries, the raw materials for which they also partly purchased abroad. Thus, the conquest of these two countries intensified Germany's raw material shortage and contributed to the dangerous disproportion between the inflated sectors of its industries working for war and those engaged "only" in the production of consumers' goods (and therefore put on a diet). The change in Germany's foreign trade balance from an export surplus of 442 million marks in 1937 to a deficit of 493 million in 1938, further draining off the country's meager gold supply, is largely due to the additional import demands of Austrian and Czechoslovakian industries, which under Nazi rule are losing their foreign markets. At the present moment, the masters of the Third Reich "solve" these new difficulties by stripping Czechoslovakia of iron fences, steel window frames, and copper wire. It is only a question of time before they come for the bronze church bells.

Certainly the Nazis themselves did not believe that the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia would solve their problems. They were quite content to leave such illusions to the "appeasers" in the democratic countries. Nazi spokesmen now frankly raise the question of a general "redistribution" of raw material resources throughout the world; their demands go far beyond the return of Germany's former colonies. Hitler's ambitions for a redivision of the world make the *K*aiser's dreams appear quite modest in comparison.

Thus the logic of Germany's Military Economy and of Hitler's foreign program seems to lead directly toward war. For nobody will believe that the realization of such colossal ambitions can be achieved peacefully. Even the Chamberlains will be compelled at some point to balk at Hitler's insatiable demands. Any serious breakdown of the anti-aggressor coalition, any treacherous attempt to save "peace

in our time" by a new capitulation might convince Hitler that the moment for his "lightning war" has come. He will lead it with the brutality he has shown in his whole career. "The search for a quick decision requires that no limitations which might delay victory must be imposed on the employment of force," writes General Horst von Metzsch, an expert of the German War Ministry whose specialty is the study of the effects of modern war on the civilian population. "No limitations which might delay victory." This will be the guiding principle of Hitler's war strategy. It includes the poisoning of French and English children as well as the slaughtering of all his German enemies that he can lay hands on.

But if a firm and determined coalition of the world's strongest powers resists further Nazi aggression and confronts Hitler and the German Army with the prospect of certain defeat if they move—what then?

Nobody will be so credulous as to assume that a single demonstration by the democratic powers would make Hitler abandon his cherished philosophy and political goal. He might for a while cease his aggressive speeches; he might express his readiness to enter into conversations regarding limitation of armaments; he might try to reconcile British public opinion by a temporary halt in the construction of submarines; but he will regard all these measures as maneuvers for gaining time, awaiting a more favorable moment to renew his imperialist mission.

Let us suppose, however, that a firm anti-Hitler front once and for all prevents the Fuehrer from carrying out his foreign program.

There are those who believe that if Hitler fails to solve through military action the difficulties which his war program has created, he will try, and will be able, to shift German economy from a war basis back into normal channels.

This, of course, would be a gigantic task, involving the complete reversal of everything that Hitler has preached and practiced since

the inception of the Nazi movement. It would mean not only a fundamental shift in German economy, but a basic change in every sphere of social and cultural life, molded until now to fit Hitler's dreams of a world Reich. It would dissipate Hitler's vision of a German race ruling the globe, of the Aryan masters imposing their culture on benighted backward peoples. It would mean a return to the "nonsense" of peaceful co-existence with the various nations.

It is more than doubtful that the Nazis could survive the consequences of such an abandonment of all their endeavors, no matter how skillful they might be in obscuring its significance or in presenting it to the German people as merely a new expression of Hitler's old program. To begin with, Hitler would have to stop the flow of capital into the war industries and to shut down most of the huge arms and munitions plants which now employ millions of workers. He would have to demobilize part of his armed forces. Thus he would immediately confront the problem of finding employment for the masses of men and the accumulations of capital, until now absorbed by Military Economy. According to the estimate of Hugh S. Hanna of the U. S. Department of Labor, "less than 75 per cent and possibly less than 70 per cent [of the German working population] are productively employed and must support the unproductive activities of the remainder."[35] The unemployment directly and immediately created by an end of Hitler's unproductive Military Economy would go into millions. Nazi Germany would then face the same economic problems as the Weimar Republic, but in a far more acute form. It would meet the crisis, unhidden by a cannon boom, with a depleted treasury, with a national debt so enormous that the Nazis do not dare to publish it, with a currency covered by less than 1 per cent in gold, and with its raw material reserves converted into useless armaments.

The political repercussions would be immediate. Until now, Hitler has been able to enjoy the support of Big Business and at

the same time to maintain a large popular following because he appears as the apostle of a Greater Germany. It was his foreign program which won the support of both the titans of Ruhr industry and the small shopkeepers, of the Junkers of East Prussia and the small South-German peasant. But once Hitler's promises of a world Reich exploded, his internal position must undergo a profound change. With the unifying force of his foreign program gone, he would be compelled to make a more or less open choice between Big Business and the masses of the German people.

In the sphere of internal policy there is only one effective means of mobilizing the people behind Hitler: a serious effort to improve the living conditions of the workers and the lower middle class in city and country. Such a course would bring Hitler into direct conflict with the vested interests. On the other hand, a program which promoted the interests of Big Business and the Junkers would rapidly lead to a disintegration of Hitler's mass following.

Hitler's whole outlook, his political record, his connections with the rulers of German business would indicate that in such an eventuality he would follow the normal course of reactionary statesmanship. If he were to cease making cannon, he would in all probability still refrain from granting the people butter. It is extremely unlikely that Hitler would revise his honest belief that the *K*rupps and the Thyssens are the ordained lords of German economy and that the "stupid herd of the people" must be ruled by the Leader-Principle.

Faced with millions of unemployed released from the armaments factories, Hitler would undoubtedly attempt to undertake public works and other measures in an effort to retain mass support, but at the same time would try to maintain his close working relationship with Big Business. He would build more of his pseudo-classic national "monuments," erect new palaces for favored Nazi bureaucrats, and construct more roads for those who can afford automo-

biles. But such a program would be confined within limits imposed by Hitler's desire to preserve those capitalist forces which are the basis of his power and which he believes necessary for the existence of the German nation. Such a public works program would provide no more of a solution for Germany's unemployment problem than similar efforts in other capitalist countries. Furthermore, not even Goebbels' propaganda can successfully cover roadbuilding with the same glamour as a crusade for "national liberation" and world empire. The necessity of fitting his domestic program to the interest of Big Business would inevitably lose him some of his mass support. His ability to maneuver would be restricted, and he would be stripped of much of his personal prestige.

But some observers believe that Hitler would go much beyond a public works program and might even decide to embark on the path toward socialism. All those who see, or profess to see, a similarity in the present economic system of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany certainly envisage no difficulties in such a course. Some American and European writers express the opinion that Hitler holds such vast power that he would encounter no serious obstacles in establishing socialism, should he decide to do so.

Let us assume, for the moment, that Hitler—the sworn enemy of Socialism, of the "Jew and Marxists"—were miraculously converted to a socialist viewpoint. If he attempted to raise the standards of living of the German people, to curtail the profits of German Big Business, to break up the large landed estates of the Junkers, to carry out even the first steps toward socialism—he would certainly lose the support and incur the enmity of the ruling classes which put him into power, and whose interests he has served. On the other hand, he could not possibly gain the support of the "internal enemy," of the German workers. He could not undo the persecutions of the past six years. He could not convert the bitter hatred of the persecuted and oppressed into sympathetic support nor bring

to life the thousands he has murdered. He could not revive the trade-unions which he has destroyed, without evoking powerful forces working for his own destruction.

To embark on a socialist program, Hitler would have to open the jails and concentration camps and release the leaders of the working class; he would have to revive the democratic rights which he has destroyed; he would have to permit the reorganization of the trade-unions he has suppressed; he would have to drive out of office the reactionaries who now occupy all leading posts in the Government and Army; he would have to break the power of the Thyssens and Krupps, and of the Junkers. Can one possibly believe that leaders of the Nazi party who come from the upper middle class, that leaders of the Reichswehr, who come from the German aristocracy will follow Hitler in a program directly contrary to their own interests? When Roehm and his followers dared to consider a "second revolution" in the interests of the lower middle class—a program far from Socialist—they met violent death.

Socialism is the antithesis of everything that Hitler has advocated and fought for. To anyone who pauses to consider the problem seriously, it is unthinkable that Hitler would or could possibly move in that direction.

The Internal Enemy

With his program of foreign expansion blocked, and with a large-scale program of genuine domestic social reform out of the question, Hitler can be certain that his "internal enemy" will grow.

Even today Nazi terror has failed to wipe out the opposition. The picture of "law and order," of a completely unified Reich, which the Nazis so successfully sell to foreign tourists, is a superficial one. Beneath the apparently placid surface of German life, seethes widespread unrest and an active organized opposition. Almost daily the Nazi newspapers publish in obscure positions two or three line items

reporting the execution or the imprisonment of Germans guilty of "high treason" or other activities against the Third Reich. The executioners' axe, the steel whips of the SS guards, slow death in the swamps where prisoners are forced to work, all the terrors of the Gestapo have not broken the spirit of the "internal enemy." The fight against Hitler continues.

As long as Hitler's struggle for "national liberation" gives him easy victories, and consequently popular support, the active opposition is necessarily confined to a minority of people with convictions strong enough to risk the dangers of torture and death. But this opposition will certainly grow in proportion to Hitler's failures in both foreign and domestic affairs. Past experience has demonstrated this point. Even Hitler's foreign victories, in so far as they reveal the dangers of his course, have a two-sided effect. If on the one hand they appeal to the "national aspirations" of a large section of the German people, they simultaneously arouse growing anxiety that the final outcome of Hitler's course will be catastrophic war.

Munich, Hitler's greatest victory, led at the same time to the most striking manifestations of unrest and opposition. American newspaper correspondents noted that the German crowds greeted the demonstrations of the German army in the streets of Berlin with anxious silence, eloquently expressing their fear of war. For the underground movement, the September crisis in Germany provided for the first time an opportunity to reach people who until then had been completely under Nazi influence.

The growing fear of war, the effects of Military Economy on the standard of living, and Hitler's failure to carry out his promises of social reform already have cost him much popular support. The workers who had few illusions about their fate in the Third Reich have had no reason to revise their skepticism. Their resentment against the virtual slavery in which they live, against speed-up, overtime and inferior foodstuff expresses itself in passive resistance

at work that has led to a decline in the output of many factories. Lately, incidents of spontaneous mass opposition against the Nazi regime have occurred. At the end of April, the workers of one of the largest armament plants, Rheinmetall in Duesseldorf, received the speech of the Labor Front District Leader with jeers and anti-Nazi cries. The repercussion of their action in other factories in Duesseldorf was so great that the management of Rheinmetall put up a notice threatening with capital punishment any further discussion of the events in the plant.

The lower middle class in the cities undergoes a painful disillusionment. It had thrown itself most enthusiastically into Hitler's arms. But all the foreign "victories" cannot hide the fact that war economy narrows the basis of existence of the small businessman, deprives his shop of necessary raw materials, his shelves of consumers' goods, subjects his business to the costly supervision of arrogant bureaucrats, burdens him with taxes and "voluntary" contributions, and demands that he carry on for the sake of "Greater Germany."

Discontent and unrest are widespread. Their causes are various. They range from the narrowest interests of special groups to the most vital interests of the entire people. Dissatisfaction may have its source in the deterioration of consumers' goods or in the barrenness and regimentation of spiritual and cultural life. It may be aroused by the indignation over compulsory labor or the Jewish pogroms. It may grow out of the striking contrast between the high living of the Nazi leaders and the self-denial they preach for the people. It may manifest itself in the demands for freedom of religious worship or in the grumbling of housewives against the officially imposed change from meat to fish, from bread to potatoes, from butter to marmalade-substitute. Even now, before the decisive battle, Hitler feels the cost of his foreign successes. Under no circumstances could he hope to lead a united nation into a war of aggression.

The mood of the German people is strongly affected by events outside of Germany. Despite all Hitler's efforts to insulate Germany against outside influence, to suppress foreign newspapers, to drown out foreign broadcasts, to prevent Germans from traveling abroad—the German people react sensitively to the opinions and actions of foreign countries. Diplomatic negotiations to cement an anti-Hitler alliance, a message from Roosevelt, an appeal from British labor, an undistorted report of provocative Nazi maneuvers make their impression. If an overwhelmingly powerful coalition of nations blocked Hitler's path, if doubts about Hitler's course were transformed into the conviction that he is leading Germany to ruin, the organized anti-fascist movement, now a potent if small force, would become a vast army threatening Hitler's rule.

Only such a political force could overthrow Hitler. It would be foolish to assume that the Nazi regime would collapse automatically through the sheer weight of economic difficulties. No regime in modern times has done so. As long as there is no organized political force strong enough to stop him, Hitler can still further lower the living standard of the German people, and German industry can manage to stagger along with even less raw material than now.

The difficulties of the Nazi economy must be transformed into political difficulties for the whole Nazi system before it can be successfully attacked and brought down. It will require the efforts of the great majority of the German people, unified and well organized, to overcome the powerful armed forces of the Nazi dictatorship.

At present, the chances for such a revolution seem slim. Most foreign observers tend to believe the Hitler regime unshakable unless Germany suffers a crushing defeat in war; and many inside Germany share this opinion. They see a Nazi bureaucracy numbering millions and an omnipotent State whose power and authority cannot be challenged. The face of the Nazi front looks impene-

trable. But history should have taught us to distrust the face and to discern carefully what is going on behind it. Otherwise we will be unprepared for great events; such sudden changes as the collapse of Czarist Russia, of the *K*aiser, or, for that matter, of "ever-lasting" American prosperity will not be understood as turning points in a contradictory development, but as miraculous and inexplicable incidents.

True, the higher Nazi bureaucracy seems today firmly established and unlimited in its power. It has succeeded to a large extent in permeating the privileged classes and in sharing their privileges. But the Nazis pay the price for it. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had warned against opening the National Socialist Party to political profiteers:

> The more a movement has to offer in the form of easily accessible positions and jobs, the greater will be its attraction for inferior human material, until finally the political opportunists will have overrun a successful party in such numbers that the honest fighter of older days will not be able to recognize the old movement and that the newcomers, seeing in him an undesirable intruder, determinedly refuse to accept him. With this, however, the "mission" of such a movement is done for.

Today, these sentences read as if they were written by a critic of the Nazi Party rather than by its highest boss. They must incite bitter thoughts in the German reader, especially if he should belong to the "old fighters" of the SA. He sees the lucrative positions taken up by the "March-Hares," by those who jumped on the bandwagon only after victory was certain. He sees the rapid advancement of the big industrialists' sons in the party and the rapid advancement of the high party functionaries in private business. It cannot escape his attention for ever that the "union between the old and the new Germany" goes on in the form of a participation of the high bureaucracy in the exploitation of the people. Phrases and promises are

not enough, as Hitler himself once knew very well. The Nazi movement might appear to the outsider as a monolithic bloc; in reality, it contains all the conflicting elements of a class society which the "people's commonweal" actually represents. The conflict between these elements can never stop.

Whoever despairs over the stupendous power of the Nazi rulers and succumbs to a feeling of the hopelessness of any resistance should call to mind the fate of the SA. Originally it was the largest and most important Nazi military organization. It grew into a veritable army during the Nazi's "period of struggle" and the early days of Hitler's rule. In January 1933, when Hitler was appointed Chancellor, it numbered 600,000 men. In the summer of 1934, it increased its membership to 3,000,000. It then felt strong enough to demand the fulfillment of the promises that National Socialism had made it. It talked of a "Second Revolution," which, after "Marxism" had been wiped out, would break the domination of the Robber-Barons and Junkers. In such talk the lower middle class voiced its desires and interests—that class whose imagination Hitler had first caught with his social and national demagogy. When their leaders challenged the power of the Reichswehr, they came to a terrible end. In the June purge of 1934 Roehm and hundreds of his lieutenants were shot at Hitler's command. Since then the military and political backbone of the SA has been broken. Today it numbers again 500,000 men. It is allowed to march at the big rallies, the victory parades and birthday celebrations; and it is still a useful instrument of terror against the illegal organizations of the Communists and Social Democrats. It is still good enough to burn synagogues, plunder Jewish stores, and enact the "spontaneous outbursts of the German people." But it no longer belongs to the élite of the armed forces. What has destroyed its value for the Nazi dictatorship is the effect of the contradictions between demagogy and truth, between the interests of the lower middle class and those of monopoly capital.

From October 1939 all Germans who have completed their military service will be organized in special "defense detachments," and these detachments will be incorporated in the SA. Some newspaper reporters saw in this decree a sign that the SA has returned to favor. Actually, the decree liquidates the SA as a separate organization. All that will recall its former grandeur will be the old name attached to a new organization whose membership and leadership will no longer have anything in common with Roehm's "old fighters."

The base of Hitler's dictatorship is contracting, and this process, slow as it may appear today, will gain speed and momentum in proportion to the bankruptcy of Hitler's foreign and domestic policy. There is no short cut to freedom and democracy for the German people. The Germans themselves must put an end to the shame of having their good name soiled with the deeds of savages. They alone can prove that the man who now abuses all their industrious efforts, all their constructive and organizational talents for his murderous plans, is not of their own choosing. The German people will have to learn to fight the fascist enemy with the same courage and will of resistance they showed in the World War as long as they believed they were defending their fatherland from foreign aggression. They will have to overcome all their differences, so irrelevant in comparison to their common desire for peace and freedom and humane living. The greatest social force in the anti-Nazi front is the twenty millions of German workers. Theirs is also the greatest responsibility to learn from the mistakes of the past, to unite to win the millions of the lower middle class for an irresistible People's Front.

Any genuine support from the outside world will certainly be welcomed by the German anti-Fascists. But such assistance, whether rendered in peace or war, must be genuinely democratic. A new Versailles, imposed by British and French Imperialism upon a defeated Germany, would overthrow Hitler only to create a new Hitler.

German fascism can be destroyed only by destroying the social order that breeds it. Only for the forces of imperialism and exploitation is Germany a "Have Not" nation. Only for an economic system which produces an "overpopulation" whenever the means of production cannot be employed to the profits of their owners is Germany a "nation without territory." The dynamic forces of German Imperialism originate in the last instance in the discrepancy between the producing and consuming power of its present economic order. Hitler's task is to overcome the discrepancy by conquering new raw materials, by adding new foreign markets, by chaining new millions of workers to capital's chariot.

The German people's task is to overcome the discrepancy by making themselves the masters over the means of production, by using their industries for their own needs, by establishing their own welfare as the goal of their peaceful and collective efforts. The Germans are a strong and talented people. Once they enriched the culture of the world. That they were among the first to fall prey to fascism may enable them to be the first to put an end to it. They will yet rise in their power to wipe out the memory that their name was for a time besmirched with blood and barbarism.

FOOTNOTES

Footnotes

[1] Rudolf Olden, *Hitler*. Querido Verlag, N. V. Amsterdam, 1935. Translated from the German edition, p. 33. American edition published by Covici-Friede, New York, 1936.

[2] Pan-German Party, not to be confused with Pan-German League. *See* 10. An anti-Semitic, nationalistic political party in Austria-Hungary. In decline before the War; did not survive collapse of Hapsburg Monarchy.

[3] Christian-Social Party, founded by Karl Lueger, anti-Semitic Burgomaster of pre-War Vienna. It later came under Catholic influence. After the War the strongest opponent of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. Seipel, Dollfuss and Schuschnigg its leaders. Introduced a Catholic brand of Fascism in Austria in 1934 and surrendered to Hitler in 1938. Since dissolved.

[4] Konrad Heiden, *Adolf Hitler*. Europa-Verlag, Zürich, 1939. Translated from the German, p. 238. American edition published by A. Knopf, New York, 1936.

[5] First, Second and Third Reich. Names popularized by the Nazis for the three German Empires which they accept as legitimate: The First Reich—The "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" (962-1806); The Second Reich (1871-1918); The Third Reich (1933-....). The terms are often misunderstood as signifying (1) the Kaiserreich of 1871, (2) the Weimar Republic of 1918, and (3) the Hitler Reich (cf., for instance, William N. Loucks and J. Weldon Hoot, *Comparative Economic Systems*, New York, 1938. p. 595).

[6] Olden, op.cit. pp. 56-58.

[7] Freikorps. Illegal armed detachments organized after the War by reactionary and nationalistic officers, students, etc. to fight the Weimar

Republic. The Freikorps refused to recognize the new borders of Germany set by the Treaty of Versailles and carried on regular warfare against Poland, Lithuania and Latvia, committed acts of terrorism against the French occupation army in the Ruhr and enjoyed the protection of the Reichswehr (German Army) and all reactionaries in the Government and the judiciary.

[8] Heiden, op.cit. p. 84.

[9] *Paris-Midi,* February 28, 1936.

[10] Pan-German League, a political organization whose imperialist aspirations during the War had much in common with Hitler's program of world domination. Main champion of a "Peace through Victory" during the War. *See* Mildred S. Wertheimer, *The Pan-German League,* New York, Columbia University, 1924.

[11] Spartacus-League. Name of a left revolutionary movement which split from the German Social Democratic Party during the War and grew into the Communist Party of Germany.

[12] The flying ass of the original edition of *Mein Kampf,* one of the famous metaphors of the Fuehrer, was in later editions transformed into a bird.

[13] Hussite, a follower of John Huss, the Bohemian reformer who was burned alive as a heretic in 1415.

[14] Freemasons. An international secret fraternal order whose members mainly belong to the comfortable middle class. Many of Mussolini's democratic opponents were Italian Freemasons. Mussolini persecuted them for political reasons. But the fact that many of them were well-to-do enabled him to claim that his movement was revolutionary and anti-capitalist.

[15] Night of the long knives. The Nazis announced beforehand a general massacre of their opponents once Hitler came to power. Germany would be turned over for three days and three nights to the armed SA and SS. The burning of the Reichstag was the signal for an organized terror, the Nazi version of the St. Bartholomew Night.

[16] People's Courts. Nazi juries consisting of Nazi officials and Army officers set up to deal with all political offenses against the Third Reich. Their hearings are secret, their sentences final.

[17] Wolfgang Kapp, a Prussian State official, propagandist of the Pan-German League, closely connected with the reactionary bureaucracy, high Army circles and the Junkers, tried in 1920 to overthrow the Republic. He represented the pre-fascist reactionary, who did not understand the fine arts of demagogy and mass betrayal.

[18] Clark, op.cit. pp. 66-67.

[19] Captain Ehrhardt. Naval officer during the War. Prototype of the Freikorps-Fuehrer, supported the Kapp-*Putsch* by marching into Berlin with his marine brigade of 5,000 heavily armed men. The Reichswehr Command under General von Seeckt let Ehrhardt and his rebels go free, declaring that Ehrhardt had given his word of honor not to make any further move against the Reich Government. Ehrhardt later took part in Hitler's *Putsch* in Munich in 1923 and in many other counter-revolutionary enterprises. The Republic never failed to pay him his Government pension.

[20] Stahlhelm (Steel Helmets), a semi-military organization under the political leadership of the German Nationalist Party, led by Alfred Hugenberg. For a while in close co-operation with the SA and SS, the Stahlhelm was dissolved when the Nazis came to power.

[21] Dr. Joseph Goebbels, *My Part in Germany's Fight.* Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., London, 1935. p. 205 ff.

[22] Otto Strasser, *Aufbau des deutschen Sozialismus* (Building German Socialism). Heinrich Grunov, Prag. I., 1936. p. 122.

[23] "Vortrag Adolf Hitler's vor Westdeutschen Industrie-Fuehrern im Industrie-Klub zu Düsseldorf" (Address of Adolf Hitler before the Western German Industrial Leaders in the Industry-Club at Düsseldorf). München, 1932. p. 28.

[24] Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des XX. Jahrhunderts* (The Mythos of the 20th Century). Hoheneichen-Verlag München, 1936. p. 608.

[25] Alfred Rosenberg, op.cit. p. 609.

[26] Richard Thoma, *Die Staatsfinanzen der Volksgemeinschaft* (The State Finances of the People's Commonweal), Tübingen, 1937.

[27] Quoted from *Herald-Tribune,* April 17, 1939: Edward H. Collins, "Nazi Economics and War."

[28] Karl Burkheiser, *Grenzen des Staatskredits* (Limits of State Credit), Berlin, 1937. p. 64.

[29] Max Ascoli and Arthur Feiler, F*ascism for Whom?* W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1938. p. 261.

[30] *Essener National Zeitung,* Sept. 17, 1938.

[31] *Der Deutsche Volkswirt,* Oct. 14, 1938.

[32] Fritz Nonnenbruch, *Die Dynamische Wirtschaft* (Dynamic Economics), Zentralverlag der NSDAP, Franz Eher Nachf., München, 1936. p. 11.

[33] Heiden, op.cit. p. 131.

[34] Karl von Wiegand, "Hitler Foresees His Endl" *Hearst's International* combined with *Cosmopolitan,* April, 1939.

[35] Hugh S. Hanna, *Congressional Record,* March 3, 1939.

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We think it is pertinent to list two more volumes, both published in the summer of 1939; *Air War,* by W. O'D. Pierce, and *Military Strength of*

the Powers, by Max Werner. The first book, which Goodwin Watson calls "the best discussion on psychology of modern warfare now available," is particularly applicable to the German plans of warfare in the air, although it covers a much broader theme. *Military Strength of the Powers* is truly a monumental work, completely documented and rigidly objective. It is fortunate that, in addition, it should be addressed to civilians and written in a style which makes it an easy matter to form trustworthy opinions. The true ability of Germany, with or without Italy and Japan, to carry on an aggressive war is set forth in this book and, in addition, we are given an accurate picture of the fighting power of the U.S.S.R., Poland, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the U. S. A.

These books are reasonably priced, but they are just as well printed and well written as *Hitler Is No Fool,* and together they form a vital reference shelf for people who are concerned with the future of peace or the possibilities of war, two of the most pressing questions of this modern age.

School for Barbarians

by Erika Mann

"WHOEVER has the youth has the future," said the cunning master of Germany many years ago, when he was still an obscure Austrian ex-corporal. This book damningly shows how far he has gone toward warping pliable young minds into the monstrous Nazi pattern. Here is a saddening record of infamy that has never been told before and that bodes ill for generations to come; family life poisoned and destroyed; a once proud school system debased; babes in arms pressed into a sinister system of regimentation that allows no child to draw a breath save by leave of the State.

Miss Erika Mann is peculiarly qualified to draw this picture of anguish with bold and unsparing strokes. Herself a member of the war generation of German youth, she knows at first hand the life of young people under the Empire, the Republic, and now the third Reich. The daughter of the famous Nobel Prize winner, Thomas Mann, author of *The Magic Mountain* and the *Joseph* series, Erika Mann has accomplished what few children of famous parents achieve. She has become a distinctive, creative personality entirely in her own right. She went on the stage when very young, became a pupil of Max Reinhardt, and scored a resounding success with her political cabaret, *Peppermill,* which she wrote and directed herself, and which ran for more than a thousand performances in six countries. Since coming to the United States, she has lectured widely on Nazi Germany. The most heartening note in her new book is her faith in American democracy and the most touching section deals with the almost magic effect which residence in a free country exercises on two little refugee boys. It works both ways—this "Who has the youth has the future." 50c

The New Inquisition

by Konrad Heiden

WRITING at white heat and yet with magnificent restraint, Konrad Heiden unfolds what is unmistakably the real story of the Jewish persecutions in Germany and of the November pogroms which sent waves of revulsion through the whole of the civilized world.

This book would be unbelievable were it not for its painstaking documentation, ranging from the testimony of reputable foreign observers to that drawn from the author's wide contacts in his native Germany. Necessarily he has had to disguise the identity of the latter, but there is no mistaking the ring of truth in the communications from German citizens in all walks of life.

The book opens with the Blood Oath being administered personally by Der Führer to his own carefully selected "Elite Guards"—50,000 new recruits—on the stroke of midnight, November 9, 1938, in Munich. Before twenty-four hours had passed, the damage to Jewish stores and property exceeded one and a half billion marks; and before the end of three days, scores of thousands of helpless people had been thrown into concentration camps, where many still remain. Broken heads and broken hearts simply could not be counted.

From this beginning, the scene shifts to the actual horrors of the concentration camps, nowhere revealed so fully before. The author then gives a clear and careful interpretation of the Nazi blueprint for ultimate extermination of the Jews in Germany, taken partly from the writings and edicts of Nazi officials—which points definitely to the conclusion that the treatment of the Jews in Germany was not and is not today an accident, but simply a part of a much larger plan of Nazi world domination, a plan which to date has been carried out to the highest efficiency. 50c

Secret Armies

by John L. Spivak

JOHN L. SPIVAK comes closer to the popular conception of the ace journalist than any other living writer. Combining the instinct of a detective with the resourcefulness of a reporter, and gifted with a hard-hitting, breezy style, he has time and again "scooped the world," "gotten the story"—despite powerful opposition and personal danger that might well have daunted less hardy souls.

But there is an important difference that sets Spivak apart from most other gentlemen of the press. For several years he has devoted his bright and sharp pen solely to uncovering evidence of fascist activities in the United States—evidence that is credited with having set off several official investigations exposing un-American, foreign-dominated propaganda.

Secret Armies climaxes Spivak's exposures. His sensational inside story of Hitler's far-flung, under-cover poison campaign in the Americas would seem scarcely credible, were it not so thoroughly documented with original letters and records, citing chapter and verse, naming names, dates and places. His unanswerable, uncontradicted facts should go far toward jolting many of us out of our false sense of security. 50c

Air War

by W. O'D. Pierce

THIS book comes very timely into a world fast preparing for war. No phase of this preparation has been more discussed or more often used as a gauge of military strength than the airplane. Yesterday it was only a dream; today it is one of man's most formidable weapons. Behind it stands the body of our scientific knowledge, the skill of pilot, technician and military expert. In its shadow are the people of the world, living in their open cities, villages and farms, desiring peace yet fearing the increased threat of air war.

With full technical knowledge and with keen understanding of the social and economic forces at work today, the author answers a number of fundamental questions: What part will aviation play in the next world war; how will the man-in-the-bomber react to his role of mass murderer; will the scientist continue to assist in this destruction; can the civil population withstand the onslaught of prolonged air war and what will happen to morale on the home front? Finally, why are the people of the world being driven, against their will, into an imperialist war from which they have nothing to gain?

W. O'D. Pierce is a young Irish scientist and psychologist. His studies in England, Vienna, America and at the League of Nations in Geneva were concerned with the technical and psychological problems of war. He is the author of several books on psychology and of a popular book on air war recently published in England. At present he is teaching and lecturing in this country.

50c

Military Strength of the Powers

by Max Werner

THE author of this book is a noted military authority who cannot use his own name because of the possible reflection on relatives in his native land. It is only too clear that this handicap does not prevent readers from having what is at once the most recent, authoritative and interesting book on this all-important subject. It is being issued also in England, under the imprint of Victor Gollancz, and in many other languages and countries soon after.

The possibility of war or peace in the near future makes imperative knowledge on the part of all citizens as to the possible strength of the various nations of the world. Without such knowledge, it would be impossible to lay down a proper war-time or peace-time policy. And in this book the authority of the author can scarcely be questioned, for he buttresses his conclusions in every instance with comments and testimonies of practically every military and naval authority of any prominence.

For those who appreciate the most careful research and the painstaking accuracy of this work, there will come the deep satisfaction of forming opinions on the basis of knowledge and not hearsay. Controversial points such as the strength of the Red Army and Air Force, the extent of England's rearmament progress, the true measure of Hitler's striking power, the strategic geographical factors on land and water, the possibility of Japanese domination of the Orient, and a host of other topics which occur in everyday conversation, are all treated fully and completely in this book, without bias and with the realism that should accompany a volume of such vital importance to peoples of all lands. 95c

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