OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

CESARE SANTORO

Hitler Germany

as seen by a Foreigner

with thirteen Diagrams and a Supplement:
"The New Germany in Pictures"

"I take leave of my German People in the hope that that to which I aspired in 1919 and which by a slow development led up to January 30, 1933, may ripen in order that the historic mission of our People may be integrally accomplished."

Paul von Hindenburg

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1. Chancellor Hitler reading his opening speech in the presence of President von Hindenburg.

LEADING MEN IN PARTY AND STATE

2. Field Marshal and Minister-President Hermann Göring, Air Minister.
3. Rudolf Hess, the Führer's Deputy.
4. Reich Minister Baron von Neurath, Head of the Secret Cabinet.
5. Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.
6. Minister of Propaganda Dr. Josef Goebbels.
7. Minister of the Interior Dr. Wilhelm Frick.
8. Minister of Economics and Reichsbank-President Walther Funk.
9. Minister of Education Bernhard Rust.
10. Minister of Agriculture R. Walther Darré, Reich Leader of Farmers.
11. Minister of Finance Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk.
12. Minister of Communications Dr. Julius Dorpmüller.
13. Minister of Labour Franz Seldte.
14. Minister Dr. Heinrich Lammers, Head of the Reich Chancellery.
15. Minister Dr. Artur Seyss-Inquart.
16. Minister of Justice Dr. Franz Gürtner.
17. Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs Hans Kerrl.
18. Minister Dr. Hans Frank, Head of the German Law Academy.
19. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs Wilhelm Ohnesorge.
20. Colonel-General Keitel, Chief of the High Command of the Fighting Services.
21. Dr. Robert Ley, Leader of the National Labour Front.
22. Colonel-General von Brauchitsch, Commander-in-Chief of the Army.
23. General-Admiral Dr. Raeder, Commander-in-Chief of the Navy.
24. Minister Dr. Otto L. E. Meissner, Head of the Chancellery.
25. Secretary of State Konstantin Hierl, Head of the Labour Service.
26. Secretary of State Dr. Dietrich, Reich Chief of the Press.
27. Secretary of State Hanke, Propaganda Ministry.
28. Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg.
29. Viktor Lutze, Chief of Staff of the SA.
30. Heinrich Himmler, Head of the SS. and Head of the German Police.
31. Adolf Hühnlein, Head of the National Motor Corps.
32. Secretary of State E. W. Bohle, Head of the Foreign Organisation.
33. Ernst von Weizsacker, Secretary of State in the Foreign Office.
34. Baldur von Schirach, Leader of German Youth Movement.
35. Wilhelm Kleinmann, Secretary of State in Ministry of Communications.
36. Fritz Reinhardt, Secretary of State in Ministry of Finance.

37. Hans von Tschammer und Osten, Secretary of State and Reich Sports Leader.
38. Gauleiter Josef Bürckel, Reich Commissioner for Austria and the Saar territory.
39. Konrad Henlein, Commissioner for Sudetenland.
40. Philip Bouhler, Head of the Führer's Chancellery.
41. Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, Reich Leader of Women.
42. Dr. Fritz Todt, Inspector-General for Roads.
43. Prof. Albert Speer. Inspector-General for Architecture in Berlin.

STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY OF RIGHTS

44. Reich Cabinet after the sitting on March 16, 1935, at which the reintroduction of compulsory military service was decided.
45. Meeting of the Reichstag on March 7, 1936 at which Hitler announced the reestablishment of Germany's military sovereignty in the demilitarised Rhenish zone.
46. German infantry regiments marching over a bridge in the formerly demilitarised Rhenish zone.

FOREIGN POLICY

47. Visit of Sir John Simon and Mr. Anthony Eden to Chancellor Hitler, March, 1935. Others present include the German Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath, and Ambassador von Ribbentrop.
48. Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Secretary, on his first visit to Berlin.
49. Arrival of Lord Halifax in Berlin.
50. The Hungarian Minister-President Daranyi and the Hungarian Foreign Minister Kanya at a reception at the Berlin university.

MUSSOLINI'S STATE VISIT TO GERMANY

51. The Duce's arrival at Berlin.
52. German Army manoeuvres in Northern Germany.
53. The well-known "Unter den Linden" beautifully illuminated and decorated.
54. March past of all units of the Fighting Services in the presence of Mussolini and Hitler.
55. The Führer speaks.
56. The Duce speaks.

THE ANSCHLUSS

57. German troops entering Austria (German and Austrian officers side by side).
58. German Soldiers being joyfully welcomed by the inhabitants.
59. The Führer speaking at Linz.
60. Children slip through in order to offer flowers to the Führer.
61. Adolf Hitler's triumphal drive.
62. Arrival at Vienna.
63. Adolf Hitler delivering an address from the balcony of the Hofburg.
64. Adolf Hitler's reception in the historic Vienna Town Hall.
65. The Führer's election speech in the Vienna North-West Station Hall on the "Greater Germany Day."
66. Cardinal Archbishop Dr. Innitzer recording his vote in Vienna.
67. The historic meeting of the Reichstag on March 18, 1938.
68. Commissioner Josef Bürckel, who had charge of the plebiscite in Austria.

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69. The Führer and the Duce in front of the National Monument (Altare della Patria) after laying a wreath.
70. The Führer and the Duce watching Fascist Youth exercises in Centocelle near Rome.
71. The great parade in the "Via dei Trionfi"—the new road through the old Roman monuments.

72. The Führer, the King and Queen of Italy, the Duce and attendants in the royal enclosure.
73. The naval review in the Gulf of Naples.
74. 90 Italian submarines rising simultaneously.
75. The Romans greeting the Führer and the Duce on the Piazza Venezia.
76. Equally enthusiastic is their welcome in Florence.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS IN NUREMBERG

77. Storm Troopers' Detachments march past the Führer.
78. Staff Guards march past.
79. Nocturnal demonstration of 100,000 political leaders of the National Socialist Party in the "Zeppelin Meadow." The scene is illuminated by 150 powerful searchlights.
80. The same as seen from outside.
81. Demonstration of the Labour Service in honour of the Führer.
82. Detachments of the National Socialist Motorised Corps close the Parade.
83. The various party formations assemble to pay homage to the memory of dead heroes.

THE NEW ARMY

84. Parade before the Führer, the Minister of War, and the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, the Navy, and the Air force.
85. Mechanised heavy artillery.
86. Anti-Tank gun.
87. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles the German Army was only allowed to use "sham tanks" at manoeuvres.
88. To-day whole regiments of fast and powerful armoured cars may be seen.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GERMAN NAVY

89./90. Launching of the battleship "Scharnhorst" (left) and of 10,000-ton-cruiser "Blücher" (right).

THE GERMAN NAVY

91. Armoured cruiser "Deutschland".
92. A destroyer in the North Sea.
93. German cruiser "Nürnberg" arriving at Swinemünde.
94. Submarines alongside the quay at Swinemünde.

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96. "Richthofen" air squadron at Staaken airport near Berlin.
97. Field Marshal Göring inspecting the Guard of Honour at the Air Ministry on March 16, 1935, the first anniversary of the reestablishment of Germany's military sovereignty.
98. Heavy anti-aircraft guns.

SOCIAL POLICY

99. A million workpeople assembled on the Tempelhofer Feld on May 1, 1933, to hear Chancellor Hitler's speech.
100. Hitler, accompanied by his deputy Rudolf Hess and the leader of the Labour Front Dr. Ley, inspecting a detachment of "Factory Troops".
101. Hitler and a little drummer of the "Factory Troops".
102. A festive evening of German workers.
103. The 25,000-ton "Strength through Joy" ship "Wilhelm Gustloff"—a pioneer in the service of holidays for German workers.
104. The launch of its sister ship the "Dr. Robert Ley".
105. Workers on board a 'Strength through Joy' liner en route for Madeira.

106. How they are served and generally looked after.
107. Enthusiastic "Strength through Joy" tourists arriving at Ponta Delgada in the Azores.
108. The plan of the "Strength through Joy" seaside resort, accommodating 20,000 workers on the island of Rügen (Baltic).
109. Itinerant theatre for workers on the Reich motor-roads.
110. Sailing on board one of the numerous yachts belonging to the "Strength through Joy" community.
111. The community also teaches its members how to ride and
112. . . . how to fence.
113. Swimming-bath for workers in a German Factory.
114. A merry meeting of peasants and workers on the occasion of a ski-race organised by the "Strength through Joy" community.

IN THE SERVICE OF THE WINTER RELIEF FUND

115. Field Marshal Göring collecting for the "Winter Help."
116. The President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht "robbing" financiers.
117. Miss Fridel Schumann returning to Berlin after riding through East Prussia and collecting 160,000 Marks for the "Winter Help."
118. Distribution of the "single course" midday meal on the first Sunday of every month.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST WELFARE ORGANISATION

119. The National Socialist Welfare Organisation provides country holidays for thousands of children, while tired mothers
120. . . . meanwhile find relaxation in specially appointed rest homes for mothers.

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121. New style of workers cottages.
122. Homes for farm labourers.

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123. A small settlement.
124. "The Family Home."

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125. A workshop of the German Dye Trust in which synthetic benzine is manufactured.
126. Machine for producing cellulose.
127. Hydrogenation plant at the Leuna Works of the German Dye Trust.
128. Finishing process in the manufacture of synthetic rubber.
129. Storage and packing of synthetic rubber.
130. A view of the textile exhibition in Berlin.

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131. Front view of streamlined super-express.
132. Heavy three-cylinder streamlined locomotive (2,700 h.p. capable of maximum speed of 110 miles an hour).
133. Henschel-Wegmann streamlined locomotive.
134. The "Flying Münchener" and the "Flying Stuttgarter" combined.

HITLER'S MOTOR-ROADS

135. Hitler turning the first sod on the bank of the Main near Frankfort on September 23, 1933, thus inaugurating the work of building the new Reich motor-roads.
136. A motor-road in the Third Reich.

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138. "Sans Souci" in Potsdam, Frederic the Great's favourite summer residence.
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140. The Königssee at Berchtesgaden. View from the Gotzenalm towards Hundstod and Langasee.
141. Neuschwanstein Castle near Füssen (South Bavaria).
142. Heidelberg in spring. The Castle as seen from the opposite bank of the Neckar.

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143. A Junkers airplane (German Lufthansa's "Ju 86" type).
144. Four-engined seaplane "Ha 139," specially constructed for the German Lufthansa by the Hamburg Airplane Works.
145. Motor-ship "Friesenland," the fourth floating base established by the German Lufthansa for the transatlantic air mail service.
146. Dornier flying-boat "Do 18" just before being catapulted from the motor-ship "Ostmark."
147. Arrival of the "Zephir" at New York after flying over the Northern Atlantic.
148. Model of the new Berlin Central Airport at Tempelhof.

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149. Harvest thanksgiving at Bückeberg.
150. A farm in Upper Bavaria.
151. A farm in the Black Forest.

THE REICH LABOUR SERVICE

152. March past of the Reich Labour Service before the Grand Stand on the Zeppelin Meadow in Nuremberg.
153. A camp in the Bavarian Alps: members of the Labour Service leaving for their daily work.
154. Gaily singing, a squad of Labour Service men set out to accomplish the task assigned them.
155. Their arduous Labour in the marshes of the Ems region.
156./157. Labour Service men digging draining-canals and clearing the ground of stone blocks.

LABOUR SERVICE FOR WOMEN

158. Young Labour Service girls resting in a field ...
159. ... and dancing in the open air.

GERMAN YOUTH

160. The leader of the German Youth, Baldur von Schirach, inspecting a guard of honour on the occasion of his visit to camp.
161. Physical training of the Hitler Youth.
162. Physical training of members of the "Union of German Girls."
163. New Youth Hostels at Freiburg.
164. Home for German Girls at Binow (Pomerania).
165. Professional competitions of the Hitler Youth: a youngster engaged in soldering.
166. Members of the naval section of the Hitler Youth in a sailing race.
167. Baldur von Schirach watching a competition of masons.
168. German Girls in camp listening to a lecture by their leader.

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169. The Wilhelmplatz in Berlin, with the Chancellery and the Ministry of Propaganda.
170. Model of the German Film Academy.
171. German art under the Weimar Republic: the monstrosity shown in the photograph is supposed to represent a woman seated.
172. "The Joy of Life," by Prof. Seeger, a typical specimen of contemporary German art.

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NEW BUILDINGS IN THE THIRD REICH

173. Königsplatz in Munich. Temple of Honour, House of the Führer, and Offices of the Administration.
174. Reich Sports Field in Berlin, as seen from the air.
175. Model of buildings planned for the annual Party rally in Nuremberg.
176. House of German Art in Munich.
177. German Pavilion at the Paris World Exhibition, 1937.

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Foreword to the Third German Edition

The success achieved by the first two editions of my book "Four Years of Hitler Germany" has encouraged me to bring out a third edition. In consideration of the fact that, in the meantime, events of great historical significance have occurred in the New Germany, I have deemed it necessary to extend the general scope of my work to include a period of upwards of five years. I have dealt with the visit of the Führer to Italy and, above all, with the re-incorporation of Austria into the German Reich. Consequently, I have had to change the title of my book.

In point of fact, it has now become impossible to give a complete picture of Hitler Germany without dealing with the Führer's native country, which through a favourable and unforeseen turn of events has been re-united with the Motherland whose size and wealth have been thereby considerably augmented. It has also had the effect of fundamentally altering the political and strategic situation of the German Reich with regard to South Eastern Europe.

I have devoted a special chapter to this latter subject, whilst the other chapters have been supplemented and brought up to date by new information and data. A number of new pictures dealing with these recent events have been added to the illustrated appendix.

In this way, I hope to have now offered the reader a work which faithfully reflects the present situation and will thus enable him to obtain a clear conception of what is happening in the Third Reich.

Berlin, October, 1938

The Author

Foreword to the First German Edition

In chronological order, the National Socialist revolution in Germany in 1933 was the fourth of a series of upheavals which have transformed, and continue to transform, the destinies of modern Europe. Not less than its predecessors—the French revolution of 1789, the Russian revolution of 1917, the Fascist revolution in Italy in 1922—the National Socialist revolution constitutes a social, moral, and political event of decisive and farreaching importance. The moral import and the genius for organisation of National Socialism have not only resulted in a complete transformation of the outlook of the individual German and in a startling change of the international position of the German Reich; they are also a capital factor in the shaping of international relations, in the evolution of which they mark a fundamental change of direction.

During the twelve years which preceded its advent to power, the National Socialist Party offered the world a spectacle which could not fail to attract universal attention, alike by reason of the extraordinary diversity of its activities, of the novelty of its aims, and of the fervour of its adherents. Yet the curiosity which the National Socialist movement comprehensibly excited was not devoid of a feeling of apprehension as to its possible future developments. The work accomplished by the National Socialist regime during the first four years of its existence has fully justified the curiosity thus aroused, whilst it has at the same time allayed the fears entertained. A new chapter of history has been opened. This is a fact which it would be impossible to deny, from whatever point of view it may be considered.

Immediately after his appointment as Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, in his first appeal to the German nation dated February 1, 1933, asked

to be allowed four years time in order to accomplish the task of National reconstruction which he had set himself. He reiterated the same request a few days later in a speech in the Sportpalast in Berlin, when he said: "During fourteen years the German nation has been at the mercy of decadent elements which have abused its confidence. During fourteen years those elements have done nothing but destroy, disintegrate, and dissolve. Hence it is neither temerity nor presumption if, appearing before the nation to-day, I ask: German Nation, give us four years time, after which you can arraign us before your tribunal and can judge me! Allow me four years, and I swear to you, as truly as I have now undertaken my duties, I will depart. It is not for any reward or benefit that I have taken office, but only for your sake. It has been the gravest decision in my whole life . . .

I cannot rid myself of my faith in my people, nor lose the conviction that this people will resuscitate again one day. I cannot be severed from the love of a people that I know to be my own. And I nourish the conviction that the hour will come when millions of men who now curse us will take their stand behind us to welcome the New Reich, our common creation born of a painful and laborious struggle and an arduous triumph—a Reich which is the symbol of greatness, honour, strength, honesty, and justice!"

It is not an exaggeration to say that the task accomplished in Germany within the space of four years represents a social and political transformation which in normal times would have taken much longer to achieve. All Hitler's promises have been punctually fulfilled, for when the National Socialist Party took power it was already ripe for the task it had voluntarily assigned itself while in opposition.

Four years are but a brief episode in the life of a nation whose history dates back a thousand years and more. Yet this short span has sufficed for the National Socialist Government to create an entirely new political system, entirely new social and economic organisations, entirely new juridical and administrative organs. It has also sufficed to liberate Germany from the fetters imposed on her at Versailles, to reestablish her military force and her parity of rights among the nations. Successive Republican Governments had during fourteen

years endeavoured without the slightest success to realise the same aims.

What is the secret of this marvellous result? Does it not reside in the confidence placed by the masses of the German nation in the man whom they regard as a providential saviour?

A revolutionary development of this sort manifestly demands time and very serious decisions in order to mature. Just consider the difficulties to be overcome: innumerable traditions and institutions to be replaced by new beliefs and new creations, innumerable personal conditions to be readjusted, innumerable criticisms to be withstood, innumerable discontents to be faced, especially on the part of those elements of the population whose scepticism is difficult to dispel. In the long run, however, all these obstacles were surmounted, and at the general election of March 29, 1936, the number of voters who declared themselves in favour of the Government was 44,412,000 out of a total electorate of 44,955,000. Even such formerly convinced adversaries of National Socialism as the ex-Minister of the Interior Severing and the ex-President of the Reichstag Loebe were compelled by the simple logic of facts to admit the efficiency of the new regime. Their example was followed, although for very different reasons, by General Ludendorff.

The effect produced abroad by this result was all the greater, firstly, owing to insufficient knowledge of the real condition of affairs in Germany when the National Socialist Party took office in 1933, and of the activity displayed by the National Socialist Government during the first four years of its existence; secondly, owing to the campaign of hatred waged by its innumerable adversaries against the Third Reich.

In this connection, however, a remarkable change has been recently observed. Thanks mainly to visits paid by foreigners to the new Germany, a number of prejudices have been destroyed. But this must not be taken as implying that prejudices have ceased to exist. On the contrary. The campaign of hatred and defamation continues. Such a state of affairs, by perpetually rekindling suspicion, misunderstanding, and disquietude, adversely affects international relations and is consequently detrimental to the cause of European peace.

The object of this book is to contribute to a better understanding of the new Germany created by Hitler. Hence the author has carefully abstained from putting forward any subjective opinion and has contented himself with exclusively enumerating certain demonstrated facts and figures. The reader will himself draw the natural and logical conclusions.

In a brochure published by me at Geneva four years ago under the title "The National Awakening of Germany, as seen by a Foreigner" I endeavoured, on the basis of my own observations, and after a prolonged stay in Germany as foreign Press correspondent, to shed light on the origin, the fundamental principles, and the programme of the movement created by Adolf Hitler. The present work is but the continuation of that brochure. It is destined to resume the results of the first Four-Years Plan elaborated by Hitler and to expose the real aim of the second Four-Years Plan, the object of which is to render Germany economically independent of foreign countries.

The present international situation, which is so complicated and uncertain and full of perils, imposes on every journalist who is conscious of his mission the duty of devoting his whole strength to the work of mutual enlightenment, of removing as far as possible all cause of friction based on misunderstanding between nations. It is his duty to encourage mutual comprehension founded on the notion of a real international community.

In so doing I believe myself to be in full agreement with those of my colleagues who, having spent long years in Germany, have had the opportunity of observing the degree of moral and material abasement to which the German nation was condemned during the years following the War, and also the titanic efforts made by that nation to recover and create for itself a new existence. All of us shared the faith of patriotic Germans, each of us shared their hopes and the joyful confidence which, little by little, inspired them.

When living amidst a great nation fighting for its very existence, it would be inadmissible for the impartial observer to retreat into an obscure corner and to refuse to admit the reconstructive value of that nation's efforts to retain equality of rights with other civilised nations.

It would be folly to remain blind to that nation's good will to live at peace with the world and to contribute to its general well-being.

The greatness of the events of which we have been the immediate witnesses has not prevented us from seeing clear, has in nowise influenced our efforts to search for the truth, and the objectivity of our judgment concerning the results obtained. True, mistakes—and especially tactical ones—have been committed. In certain countries the result has been a markedly hostile reaction to the deeds and theories of the new Germany. Such mistakes, however, are inevitable in a revolution of so wide a scope, which has its own methods and which seeks new ways and means for fundamentally transforming the entire political, economic, and cultural existence of the German nation.

This book contains a summary of my studies in the course of the first four years of the Third Reich. I submit them to the reader at the moment when the Paris World Exhibition furnished the Third Reich with the opportunity of showing the whole world the results of its regained activity.

Berlin, December 1937

Cesare Santoro

FIRST PART

What the German nation has ardently desired for centuries is henceforth a reality: one single, fraternally united people, liberated from the mutual prejudices and hindrances of past times.

Adolf Hitler

I.

Heritage and Programme

When Field Marshal von Hindenburg in his capacity as President of the Reich invited, on January 30, 1933, the leader of the National Socialist Party to assume the responsibility of taking power, the condition of the German nation was one of deep despair.

The streets of German towns were full of millions of unemployed waiting for the dole which was scarcely sufficient to provide for the most indispensable needs of daily life. There were few families in which father and sons, or all of them, were not jobless. Statistics offer us a painful picture of this tragic state of affairs. The number of unemployed totalled more than six millions, or over one-fourth of the 21 million workers available under normal conditions in Germany. To this number, however, must be added three millions who were only partially employed. Hence, including the members of their families, some twenty million citizens representing about one-third of the total population of Germany were victims of the plague of unemployment and of all the multifold miseries engendered by that plague. In order to alleviate these miseries the German Federal States and the German municipalities spent an enormous sum exceeding three milliard marks; but the assistance forthcoming was entirely insufficient, and humiliating into the bargain. The situation of handicraftsmen was not less deplorable. Germany was thus menaced by the rapid destruction of that power of labour which throughout the centuries has invariably constituted her most precious asset.

In rural districts, the farmer had lost the love for his own soil, since he was perpetually haunted by the nightmare of a forced sale. A large number of German peasants were no longer free proprietors of their holdings. Crushed under the weight of debts totalling some milliards of marks, they often faced the prospect of seeing their farms seized for the benefit of creditors or of the inland revenue authorities. Thousands of German farmers had been driven from the soil, which had meanwhile passed into the hands of new proprietors entirely incapable of drawing any legitimate profit from it. Thousands of others were reduced to a position devoid of any material stability. Peasants were deluded by the offer of prices which were allegedly to be quoted on the Bourse; but it

turned out, in the long run, that such prices were paid only to speculators, at the cost alike of farmers and consumers. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that Germany's food supply should have been rendered, to a large degree, dependent on importations from abroad, and that a very large number of agricultural labourers should have been unable to obtain employment with farmers deprived of an adequate market for their produce.

German economy was consequently at the time in a critical position. This was partly due to the world economic crisis, but partly also to the deflationist policy of the Brüning Government, the result of which had been to weaken the home market in Germany by greatly reducing the purchasing power of all persons who depended on fixed salaries or wages. Industrial production in Germany, since its apex in 1929 till the fall of the Brüning Cabinet in 1932, had decreased by 40%. The value of its gross monthly output had diminished from approximately seven milliard marks in 1928 to about one-half in 1932. The collective income of persons in receipt of fixed salaries and wages, which was estimated at 43 milliard marks in 1929, had been reduced to 33 milliards in 1932, representing a loss of 25%.

Such a retrograde movement is without precedent, even in times of great crises, and it is not surprising if the rising wave of destruction should have menaced even the oldest and solidly established firms which enjoyed a world-wide reputation, such as the firm of Borsig, which found itself compelled to suspend its payments.

As regards the banks we need only recall the sacrifices to which the Reich had "nolens volens" to consent in order to prevent the bankruptcy of some of the most important of them. At the end of January, 1933, the reserves of gold and foreign exchange were reduced to 439 million marks. It is true that the Reichsbank had been granted a credit of seventy million dollars by foreign banks of issue, and that the Gold Discount Bank had been accorded a credit of 45 million dollars; but Germany had to promptly repay these two credits, totalling over 483 million gold marks, in order to retain her freedom of action. Germany's private indebtedness abroad amounted to over 25 milliard marks, more than two millions of which were alone due for daily interest on the capital sum borrowed. And it must be borne in mind that no export surplus existed by means of which the amount of foreign currency necessary for these enormous payments could be obtained.

The economic situation of numerous municipalities was catastrophic, owing largely to the immense expenses of the administrative apparatus. The Reich employed over 95,000 functionaries, 72,000 employees and workers. There were in addition, 250,000 functionaries and 44,700 employees and workers in the pay of the Post Office, to say nothing of the German Railways, a semi-independent undertaking to which the Reich was bound by a network of powerful financial interests. The various German Federal States counted together some 275,000 functionaries, municipal and autonomous corporations some 500,000. Despite the prodigious expense incurred by the States and municipalities for the maintenance of this numerous personnel, the members of the latter, recruited

for the major part from the bourgeoisie, were generally reduced to the ranks of the proletariat. And the same held good of the small tradespeople.

On the other hand, what was the internal constitutional position of the Reich?

Under the terms of the Weimar Constitution supreme authority for the Reich as a whole was vested in and subdivided between *a)* the President of the Reich, *b)* the Chancellor, *c)* the Reich Cabinet consisting of at least ten Ministers, *d)* the Reichstag consisting of some 500 deputies, and *e)* the Reichsrat composed of 68 members. But a similar organisation existed in each of the 18 States which formed the Reich. Each State had its own Prime Minister, its own Government, and its own Parliament. Thus Germany was governed by a President, 11 Reichsministers (including the Chancellor), 59 Ministers of the various States (in addition, it must not be forgotten, 42 Senators of the Free Hanseatic cities), and about 3,000 deputies.

In the Reichstag and the individual State Diets these 3,000 deputies represented no fewer than 16 political parties, ranging from the National Socialists and German Nationals to the Social Democrats and Communists, *via* the Centre and Democratic groups, with all sorts of more or less unimportant subdivisions. Since the strength of the various parties and their preponderance in the different regions of the Reich were not always the same, it came about that the Governments of the States were often completely opposed to one another from a political point of view. Sometimes these Governments were absolutely opposed to the Reich Government, and the latter not infrequently lacked the necessary prestige to assert its authority. Germany thus afforded the spectacle of complete disunion—social, dynastic, ideological, religious, and political—which obviously resulted in the utter impotence of the whole German nation.

Such a complicated political mechanism could not but open the door to political and economic corruption. The history of Germany during the years following the War was a long series of scandals and malversations in which, unfortunately, a large number of persons were involved who had been entrusted with public functions. A host of disreputable jobbers and speculators contrived to slip into various official posts and unscrupulously exploited their political relations in their own personal interests. All this happened at a time when the economic situation in Germany, owing to unemployment and deflation, had assumed catastrophic dimensions.

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the propaganda organised in Moscow and tending to the disintegration and dismemberment of the German Reich should have rapidly found favour among the proletarian classes. Hence strikes, lockouts, street disorders culminating in shooting affrays and rowdyism of the worst sort, were daily occurrences. The weakness of the authorities coupled with the defenceless condition of the bourgeoisie enabled communist agitators to perpetuate a reign of terror among all sections of the population.

It was therefore comprehensible that only a few weeks before Hitler's advent to power over 100 Communist deputies representing some six million electors could be returned to the Reichstag, where they formed the third largest party.

Communists and Socialists together occupied 40% of the total number of seats in the Reichstag. Would it be wrong to consider that National Socialism, by conquering power just at the right moment, prevented the "bolshevisation" of Germany?

So far as cultural life in Germany was concerned, it may be recalled that almost all the means by which the intellectual activity of a nation finds expression—such as the theatre, the cinema, the music world, the Press, the publishing houses—were in the hands of Jews, i. e. of a race whose tendencies and aims are wholly at variance with National Socialist ideals. 23 out of 29 Berlin theatres, or 80%, were under Jewish management, and a large number of the plays staged were written by Jewish authors. Jewish influence was not less evident in the cinema, this powerful modern instrument of propaganda among the masses: in 1931 no fewer than 70% of stage-managers and musical composers in the film world were of Jewish extraction. Similarly, numerous influential and widely circulated organs of the daily and periodical Press were financially controlled, managed, and edited by Jews. This was especially the case in Berlin and Frankfurt.

The worst, however, at the beginning of 1933, was the well-nigh total loss of regard for national traditions, the loss of faith in the national destinies of Germany, the absence of confidence in her future. This state of moral prostration affected the youth of the country in a special degree. An older generation, which had fought in the War, had found on its return home an unhealthy antipatriotic atmosphere; whilst a younger generation was being born and bred in this unnatural environment.

These observations were common to everyone who lived in Germany during the years preceding Hitler's advent to power. The lack of such an important educational factor as compulsory military service, on the one hand, and the plague of unemployment, on the other, produced their inevitable consequences in the shape of a deplorable moral relaxation and in a not less deplorable decrease of patriotism. Foreign observers conceived grave doubts as to the future of the German nation, despite the proofs of courage, discipline, and force of resistance given by that nation during the World War and which had their source in the universally esteemed, characteristic qualities of the Germanic race.

This affirmation will not appear surprising, when we remember that the young generation had developed into manhood at an epoch in which, for instance, a lecturer on philosophy at the Technical Academy in Hanover was allowed, not only to grossly insult Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, himself a Doctor "honoris causa" of the said Academy, but also to boast in unseemly manner of having had recourse to all sorts of trickery in order to avoid serving his country in the trenches. And at the same time a Professor of Heidelberg University, addressing a meeting of pacifists, even ventured to go so far as to speak of "those who fell on the field of dishonour".

Such, briefly sketched, was the veritable aspect of the German Republic created at Weimar. That Republic would fain have paraded as a great Power

possessed of equal rights with all other Powers. But behind this deceptive mask was the undeniable reality of the dire distress of a population of 67 million souls.

The other Powers were content to treat the German Republic as a second-rate State condemned to play the part of Cinderella, notably at Geneva. Since Germany was incapable of supporting her claims by any display of military force, she had necessarily to confine herself to the rôle of a perpetual applicant whose requests were invariably rejected by her strongly armed adversaries, whose judgments in questions submitted to them savoured of arbitrariness rather than of impartiality.

It is not necessary to go back to 1923 and the occupation of the Ruhr, when Germany was not yet a member of the League of Nations. At his traditional reception on New Year's Day, 1931, President von Hindenburg expressed the hope that the coming year would not be marked, for the German nation, by further cruel and painful disillusions. The Minister of Defence, General Groener, representing the absent Chancellor Dr. Brüning, stated in his reply that the principle of equality of rights between nations was still far from being assured, and that the obligation to disarm, solemnly guaranteed by other Powers, was still a long way from being accomplished. Hence, according to General Groener, the German Government reserved its right to insist energetically that the fundamental principle of "equal security for all", without which no real pacification would be possible, should be applied. Hereupon the Minister of War of a foreign Power hastened to declare that the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were not susceptible of any modification, and proceeded to energetically insist on the necessity of distinguishing between victors and vanquished. This happened four years after Locarno.

Some months later, when a German proposal for a Customs Union between the Reich and Austria was made known—a proposal founded on the thesis enunciated by Briand of the admissibility of individual conventions between States—the Western Powers declared such a plan incompatible with existing treaties and a danger for peace.

On July 13, 1931, the Darmstädter and National Bank, one of the leading German banks, was obliged to suspend its payments owing to a sudden "run" which effectively drained its available resources. Other German banks were threatened with a similar fate. The German Ambassador in Paris unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a loan for his country. Similar efforts of the President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Luther, in Paris, London, and Bâle, likewise failed. Nothing better resulted from visits paid by Chancellor Brüning and the German Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Curtius to Paris and London.

But the most characteristic example of the contemptuous, and occasionally hostile, attitude of foreign Governments towards the Reich, was furnished in 1932 at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva when the question arose of recognising Germany's equality of rights in view of the requirements of her security. Thanks to the influence of Great Britain this recognition was finally

admitted at the end of the same year, but with such restrictions as to render it valueless for practical purposes.

Total confusion, general misery, internal disorders, lack of all prestige abroad —this was the balance sheet of post-War Germany. Hitler was therefore quite right when, in his appeal to the German people on February 1, 1933, he stated: "We are assuming a terrible heritage".

The Government's Programme

What programme did the National Socialist Government formulate on taking power?

To this question Hitler replied in his speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1937, when he said:

"When, four years ago to-day, the venerable President of the Reich called me and confided to me the task of forming and directing a new German Government, we had just passed through a period of severe struggle for the conquest of power, a struggle which we had carried on by strictly legal means. Of this struggle the National Socialist Party was the soul. Already before being formally proclaimed, the new State had for a long time past derived its ethical and political ideals from that party. *All the fundamental ideas and principles on which the new Reich is based had long since been those of the National Socialist Party.*"

The fundamental ideas and principles mentioned by Hitler had been enunciated in 25 articles on the occasion of one of the first important meetings of the Party in Munich, as far back as February 25, 1920. (In this connection we would refer the reader to pp. 64—68 of our brochure "The National Reawakening of Germany as seen by a Foreigner".)

When the National Socialist Party came into power it was necessary to incorporate these 25 articles in a Government programme. This Hitler did after the Reichstag elections on March 5, 1933. At these elections the parties represented in the Government of National Recovery—namely, the National Socialists, the German Nationals and their auxiliaries, and the Wurttembergian Winegrowers—had together obtained some 20,500,000 votes (as compared with about 15,000,000 at the previous elections) and had gained 341 out of a total of 647 seats in the Reichstag, which enabled the parties in question to secure an absolute majority.

On the occasion of the opening of the new Reichstag on March 21, 1933, a solemn ceremony took place in the Garrison Church in Potsdam in the presence of President von Hindenburg, Chancellor Hitler, Hermann Göring (President of the Reichstag), the various deputies, and high officials of the State and the National Socialist Party. President von Hindenburg in welcoming the assembly insisted on the difficult and manifold tasks incumbent on the new Government, and reminded his hearers that the place where the present assembly was gathered evoked memories of ancient Prussia "which had become great in the fear of God, by her fidelity to duty, by her never failing courage, by her constant patriotism, and which on these foundations had succeeded in uniting all the

German peoples." After which Chancellor Hitler proceeded to deliver the speech opening the session of the Reichstag. The Chancellor said:

"For many years past our nation has been oppressed by grave cares. After a period of proud recovery, of great prosperity in all spheres, poverty and distress have again become our lot, as was so often the case in the past. Despite industry and the will to work, despite their energy and their learning and the best of intentions, millions of Germans are in vain endeavouring to-day to earn their daily bread. Our economic activity is languishing, our finances are disorganised, millions of our people are without work. The outside world knows only the deceptive external aspect of our towns, but does not perceive the misery behind it."

Hitler went on to observe that for the past two thousand years the German nation had known constantly changing destinies. The cause had been invariably the same, namely, disunion and division. Even after the political unification realised by Bismarck, this heterogeneity of conceptions had continued within the German community and had produced its devastating effects until that very day.

"The revolution of November, 1918"—the Chancellor continued—"marked the end of a struggle into which the German nation had entered in the unshakable conviction that it was only defending its freedom, hence its right to live. For neither the Kaiser nor the German Government nor the German nation had desired war. The catastrophe was followed by a general collapse in all domains. Politically, morally, culturally, economically, our nation sank ever deeper and deeper . . .

The absurd theory according to which the victors must eternally remain victors and the vanquished eternally remain vanquished engendered the insanity of reparations and as a consequence the catastrophe of world economy."

Hitler then recalled that the rebirth of the German people began under exceedingly unfortunate auspices. Nevertheless, confidence in their own national strength should enable the Germans to form a new community. President von Hindenburg had had the rare and magnanimous courage to confide, on January 30, 1933, the leadership of the Reich to the "Young Germany", and the majority of the German nation had confirmed this decision on March 5. On behalf of the new Government Hitler expressed his unshakable determination "to undertake the great work of reorganising the German people and the German Reich and to carry this task to a successful conclusion".

The Chancellor then defined as follows the principles underlying the task of reform which he had set himself:—

"We wish to restore the unity of spirit and will of the German nation.

We wish to preserve our ethnical personality, with all its inherent energies and values, as the eternal foundation of our life.

We wish to subject again the organisation and leadership of our State to those principles which have at all times been a preliminary condition of the greatness of peoples and empires.

We wish to respectfully and reverently develop the great traditions of our nation, which are at the basis of its history and its culture, as the perennial sources of its real strength, and consequently of its possible renascence in difficult times.

For incessant fluctuations we wish to substitute the firm resolution of a Government capable of restoring unquestioned authority to the German nation.

In carrying out this policy we shall take into consideration all the experiences made in the course of centuries, the usefulness of which for humanity has been demonstrated.

We wish to restore the primacy of a policy destined to organise and direct our nation's struggle for life.

We wish to take account of all the living forces of our people in so far as they are the primordial factors on which the future of the German nation depends. We intend making a sincere effort to unite all men of good will, and at the same time to render innocuous all those who desire to harm the German nation.

From the various sources supplied by the German peoples, estates, professions, and classes we wish to form a true and living community capable of assuring between the different vital interests of the nation that just equilibrium which is indispensable to the future development of the entire German people.

A German nation of peasants, bourgeois, and workers must resuscitate. That nation will then for all times remain the faithful guardian of our traditions and our culture, of our honour and our liberty.

Recalling to mind the sacrifices of the War, we wish to prove to the world that we are sincere friends of a peace destined to heal the wounds from which all nations are still bleeding.

The Government of National Recovery is determined to fulfil the task which it has assumed in the interest of the German nation."

At the conclusion of his speech the Chancellor, by an eloquent gesture, invited all those present to rise from their seats in honour of the Field Marshal, as the living incorporation of the virtues of fidelity to duty, sincerity, and discipline. When Hitler resumed his seat the Field Marshal shook his hand with visible emotion.

The Third Reich had been founded. (See Pict. 1.)

Such were the broad lines of the policy of the Government of National Recovery as proclaimed at Potsdam. This policy was clear and precise, and it has inspired the work of transforming and reorganising the German nation.

Hitler none the less considered it necessary to give further explanations concerning the numerous problems of home and foreign policy confronting Germany. This he did two days later, on March 23, 1933, when introducing in the Reichstag the bill "for the suppression of the misery of the people and the Reich" (the so-called Enabling Law).

The essential passages of the Chancellor's exposition were as follows:—

Suppression of Marxism. The programme of the reconstruction of the German nation is all the more difficult of fulfilment owing to the depth of political, moral, and economic distress which we have reached . . . The systematic decomposition of the nation resulting from the erroneous theories of Marxism which have created irreconcilable ideological antagonisms, is destructive of the basis of all possible collective existence. This work of dissolution menaces all the foundations of our social order

Emanating as it does from the Liberalism of the last century, this destructive process cannot, by virtue of a natural law, terminate otherwise than in the chaos of Communism. The mobilisation of the most primitive instincts of mankind, inseparably bound up with Communism, results in an inadmissible liaison between political theories and criminal acts . . . Methods of terrorism, whether individual or collective, cost the National Socialist Party within a few years upwards of 300 killed and tens of thousands of injured.

The unsuccessful attempt to burn down the Reichstag affords but an inadequate idea of what would have happened to Europe in the event of the triumph of this diabolical doctrine of destruction . . . Thanks to its lightning-like action the Government prevented a development susceptible of shaking Europe to its foundations. Many of those, inside Germany and outside her frontiers, who out of hatred for the national movement of rehabilitation and reconstruction proclaim their solidarity with the aims of Communism, would have been themselves the victims of such a development.

The National Government will regard it as its supreme duty to extirpate this plague in our own country, not only in the interest of Germany, but also in that of the rest of Europe.

A True National Community. Only the construction of a true national community, superior to the interests and antagonisms of castes and classes, is capable in the long run of depriving this aberration of the human mind of the elements from which it derives its sustenance. The realisation of a powerful unity of ideas within the German social organism is moreover all the more important since that unity can alone furnish the possibility of maintaining friendly relations with foreign Powers, whatever may be the political tendencies and principles of those Powers. The elimination of Communism in Germany is a matter which concerns Germany alone. True, the outside world may be interested in it in so far as the outbreak of a Communist revolution in such a densely populated country as Germany would lead, especially in Western Europe, to consequences of which it is impossible to measure the extent.

Unity in the Leadership of the Nation. The internal disruption of the German social community has inevitably resulted in an ever more alarming diminution of the authority of the State. This diminution, on the other hand, has generated, in certain parties and countries, conceptions incompatible with German unity. However, much we may respect the traditional claims of the various German Federal States, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the excessive splitting-up of Germany into autonomous States in the past has often been detrimental to the position of Germany in the world and to her own internal evolution . . .

This Enabling Law does not aim at suppressing the German States. But it will permit measures to be taken which for all times will guarantee *uniformity of policy in Reich and States.*

A more extensive reform of the Reich could only be a consequence of its organic evolution. The object of any such reform must be to draw up a constitution in which the will of the people is harmoniously combined with the authority of a real governing power.

Elimination of Oppositional Elements. The Government of the National Revolution, conformably with the confidence expressed in it by the electorate, considers it to be its fundamental duty *to prevent any influence being exerted on the shaping of the national existence by those elements which, consciously and intentionally, repudiate such a collective German life.* Theoretical equality before the law must not be allowed to degenerate into tolerance of those who, on principle, despise both law and equality, since this could only result, in the long run, in surrendering to them the liberty of the nation on the pretext of some democratic doctrine. But the Government will grant equality before the law to all those who are prepared to defend the national interests and to support the Government.

It goes without saying that it will be the duty of the Government to call to account the spiritual leaders of this destructive movement and thus to save the victims seduced by them . . .

The Question of a Monarchical Restoration. In all the measures taken by it, the National Government is solely inspired by the idea of preserving the German nation, and especially the masses of its working population, from dire distress and misery. For this reason the Government regards the question of a monarchical restoration as indiscussable at the present time. The Government would consider any efforts made by any individual German States to solve this problem for themselves as an attack on the unity of the Reich and would shape its attitude accordingly.

Culture. Simultaneously with this political disinfecting of our public life, the National Government will proceed to a complete moral cleansing of our social organism. For this purpose the Government will regard all educational institutions in the widest sense of the term—the theatre, the film, literature, the Press, the radio—as means for attaining this end. All these must contribute to the maintenance of the eternal values incorporated in our ethnical personality. Art must be the constant expression and the mirror of the aspirations and of the reality of an epoch. The world of bourgeois passiveness is rapidly disappearing. On the other hand the heroic ideal is becoming more and more the ideal destined to shape the destinies of nations, and it is the task of Art to become the expression of this characteristic spirit of our times.

Blood and *Race* will again become the source of artistic intuition. It will be the duty of the Government of the National Recovery to see that, precisely at a time when the scope of political power is restricted, the vital internal value and the self-assertive will of the nation shall find a correspondingly energetic cultural expression.

Religion. The National Government regards the two Christian confessions as *the most important factors for the maintenance of our ethnical personality.* It will carry out the agreements concluded between them and the German States, and their rights shall be fully respected. But at the same time the Government hopes and expects that the task of national and moral reconstruction which it has set itself will be duly appreciated. The Government will adopt a just and objective attitude towards all other religions. But the Government will never admit that the *fact of belonging to any given religion or race can dispense an individual from fulfilling the general obligations imposed on him by law or can constitute a charter of impunity for committing certain crimes.* The only aim of the Government is to guarantee a sincere collaboration between Church and State. The struggle undertaken by the Government against materialism and the effort to create a really national community serve at the same time the interests of the German nation and those of the Christian religion.

Law. The primary object of our legal organisation is to serve to maintain the existence of the national community. The legal status of judges, which excludes their removal from office, must correspond to an elasticity of jurisprudence with the object of protecting the existence of society. Not the individual, but the whole nation, must be the principal concern of the law. Crimes of treason must, in future, be punished with the utmost severity. The only possible basis of law can be the existence of the nation.

Economy. A heavy task awaits the National Government in the domain of economic life. One single principle must determine all its acts: namely, that the nation is not made for economy, that economy is not made for capital, but that *capital serves economy, and economy serves the nation.* On principle, the Government will abstain from the creation of an economic bureaucracy organised by the State and will energetically assist all individual initiatives, whilst respecting private property. But a reasonable equilibrium must be established between productive intention, on the one hand, and productive labour, on the other; and the duty will be incumbent on the State of respecting the results achieved alike by intellectual and manual labour. In other words, the State must itself practise thrift.

Finances. The inevitable reform of our fiscal system must aim at simplifying taxation and the methods of tax collection, consequently at reducing expenses. The tax-mill must be placed on principle in midstream and not at the source. The general simplification of our administration must go hand in hand with a decrease of public expenditure.

The Government will on principle avoid any *currency experiments.*

Food Supply and Agriculture. Two economic problems of capital importance predominate. It is above all things necessary *to save the German peasant*, for the destruction of that social class could but produce the most dangerous consequences imaginable. The restoration of the profitableness of agricultural holdings may possibly be painful for the consumer, but the fate which would befall the whole nation in the event of the shipwreck of the German peasantry would be incomparably more tragic than any passing hardships. The question of protecting the peasant against forced sales and of alleviating his burden of debt cannot be solved otherwise than in connection with the restoration of the profitableness of agriculture. Unless we succeed in making agriculture a profitable industry, the destruction of the peasant class is inevitable and would equally inevitably result in the collapse not only of German economy, but of the whole German organism. Agricultural prosperity is the primordial condition of industrial prosperity and development, of Germany's home trade and of her trade with foreign countries. Hence the greatest importance must be attached in future to the settlement of people on the land.

The Suppression of Unemployment. The National Government is, moreover, perfectly aware of the fact that the only definite remedy for the unsatisfactory condition alike of our rural and urban economy, can be found in *the reincorporation of the host of unemployed in the normal process of production.* This is the second greatest economic task confronting the Government. The problem can be solved only in connection with the general political appeasement, with the re-establishment of the authority of a régime capable of applying economic principles which are sound because they are natural—capable also of adopting necessary measures even if they are unpopular under existing circumstances. The creation of work and the compulsory labour service form, in this respect, only a small part of a general programme.

The attitude of the National Government towards the middle classes is a corollary of its attitude towards the peasants. The middle classes, no more than the peasants, can be saved from destruction otherwise than by a general economic action. The National Government is determined to bring about a fundamental and radical solution of these problems. In doing so it recognises the historic duty incumbent on it to assist the millions of German workers in the struggle waged by them for their right to existence. Alike as Chancellor and as National Socialist I feel myself bound to them as to the former companions of my youth.

Foreign Trade. We know that the geographical situation of a country like Germany, which lacks raw materials, does not permit us to adopt a régime of complete autarchy. We must never cease to insist on the fact that *nothing is further from the intentions of the German Government than hostility in foreign trade.* We know that we need to entertain relations with the world, and we know that the work destined to enable German goods to be sold in all corners of the globe feeds millions of our compatriots.

But we know also the indispensable conditions of a normal exchange of commodities between nations. For many years Germany was forced to export goods without receiving anything in exchange. The result to-day is that the task of ensuring Germany's continued participation in international trade raises a problem of financial rather than of commercial policy. So long as we shall not have been granted a really practical method of settlement of our foreign debts, a method adapted to our capacity to pay, we shall unfortunately be compelled to maintain our régime of currency regulations.

For the same reason the German Government is obliged to prevent the exportation of capital to foreign countries. The maintenance of the value of the reichsmark is one of its most important duties.

Transport and Communications. The development of transport entails the necessity of realising a reasonable equilibrium between the various means of communication. A first step in this direction will already be made at the beginning of next month by the reform of the tax on motor-cars. The preservation of the German Railways and their return—which we desire as rapid as possible—to the Reich is not only an economic, but also a moral duty. The German Government will ardently encourage the development of air traffic as a means of peaceful communication between the nations.

National Defence. The National Government sincerely desires to be able to abstain from increasing the German Army and German armaments, *in so far as the other Powers are disposed to also fulfil their obligation to disarm.* Germany does not aspire to anything more than to equality of rights and freedom. In any case, the National Government will seek to bring up the German nation in the spirit of this will to liberty. The honour of the nation, the honour of our Army, the ideal of liberty, must again become sacred for the German people.

Germany desires Peace. The German people wish to live at peace with the world. But precisely for this reason the Government is determined to do what it can to bring about the definite disappearance of the division of nations into two categories. The conception of "victors" and "vanquished" cannot form the basis of friendly relations between nations. To keep this wound open engenders distrust in the "victors" and hatred in the "vanquished", and creates in consequence a general feeling of insecurity.

The National Government is ready, in the interest of a sincere understanding, to stretch out its hand to all those who desire to close, once and for all, this sad chapter of past history. The world crisis can only be brought to an end on condition that confidence be re-established, not only within the various nations themselves, but also in their mutual relations.

Disarmament. We are unfortunately faced by the fact that, despite prolonged negotiations, the Geneva Conference has so far failed to reach any practical result. A decision concerning any real measures of disarmament has been constantly delayed owing to technical questions of detail being raised and because problems which have nothing to do with disarmament have been incessantly introduced into the debate. *The situation, contrary to all notions of Right, created by unilateral disarmament, and the resulting condition of national insecurity for Germany, cannot be indefinitely prolonged.* . . The German Government will support every effort tending to effectively contribute to general disarmament and to thus satisfy Germany's demand for parity of rights.

The Four-Power Pact. The plan proposed by the Head of the Italian Government, who, generously and farsightedly, is endeavouring to ensure the peaceful and logical development of European policy viewed as a whole, is inspired by broader conceptions. We attribute the greatest importance to this plan. On its basis we are prepared to sincerely collaborate with the effort which aims at uniting England, France, Italy, and Germany in the research of a peaceful political cooperation which will allow them to courageously and resolutely tackle the problems on the solution of which the destiny of Europe depends.

Relations with Italy. We take this opportunity of welcoming with particular gratitude the cordial understanding shown in Italy for the national reawakening in Germany. We hope and desire that the similarity of ideals will serve to increasingly consolidate the friendly relations between the two countries.

Relations with the Vatican. The German Government, which regards Christianity as the unshakable foundation of the ethical life of the German nation, attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance and development of friendly relations with the Holy See.

Relations with Austria. As regards the sister nation in Austria, we most sincerely share its cares and tribulations. The German Government, in all its acts, will be inspired by the clear conviction of the *solidarity uniting all branches of the German family.*

Relations with other Nations. What I have previously said suffices to explain the nature of our relations with foreign Powers. Even in those cases where the establishment of mutually satisfactory relations still encounters difficulties, we will sincerely endeavour to find a basis for agreement. But in any case we will never admit, as foundation for an understanding, the maintenance of a distinction between vanquished and victors.

As regards our relations with France, we are convinced that an agreement is possible provided the two Governments tackle the problems concerning them in a really broad-minded spirit.

As regards the Soviet Union, the German Government wishes to entertain friendly relations, profitable to both parties, with it. The German Government considers, precisely because it is itself born of a national revolution, that it is capable of pursuing a positive policy towards Soviet Russia. The struggle against Communism in Germany is an internal affair which concerns us alone and in which we shall never tolerate any foreign intervention.

Our relations with other Powers with whom we are united by common interests will not be affected thereby.

Our relations with other countries will demand our most serious attention—especially our relations with those great oversea States with which Germany has long been united by ties of friendship and by important economic interests.

The Germans abroad. The fate of those Germans who live outside the frontiers of the Reich, and who by reason of their existence as specific ethnical groups in the midst of foreign nations are struggling to preserve their language, their culture, their customs, and their religion, can never fail to interest us. With all the means at our disposal we shall always intervene to defend the rights guaranteed to German minorities by international conventions.

The Proposed World Economic Conference. We welcome the plan of an international economic conference and we trust that it will meet soon. The German Government is prepared to cooperate in order to finally reach some definite result.

Germany's External Debt. A most important question is that of our private debts, whether short-term or long-term, abroad. The complete modification of the relation between the respective values of goods demands a readjustment of private debts conformably with this modification in the interests alike of creditors and debtors.

International Cooperation. Only by a cooperation based on confidence can the cares which now oppress the world be effectively removed. Ten years of real peace will contribute more to the prosperity of all nations than an obstinate adhesion during thirty years to the theory of victors and vanquished.

By 441 votes to 94 the Reichstag passed the bill partially modifying the Constitution. The minority consisted exclusively of Social Democrats, but even if the Communist deputies had been present the requisite majority of two-thirds would have been easily obtained. The bill in question authorised the Government to take all measures which it might deem necessary, even though they should be contrary to the Constitution, provided such measures should not entail the abolition of the Reichstag or the Council of Empire ("Reichsrat"). The rights of the President of the Reich remained unimpaired. The new law was to be automatically abrogated in the event of the existing Government being superseded by another, and, in any case, on April 1, 1937, at the latest.

The Hitler Cabinet was thus legally granted the time which it had solicited for the carrying-out of the *first Four-Year Plan* destined to achieve a new organisation of the German Reich and the German nation.

II.

Order, Unity, and Reorganisation at Home

Internal conditions in Germany at the end of January, 1933, such as we have briefly described them, render it comprehensible that the problems which most urgently demanded a solution at the hands of the new Government were those connected with home policy.

Hence it was natural that Hitler should have confided this formidable task to one of his most devoted collaborators, Dr. Wilhelm Frick, who was among the earliest apostles of National Socialism and who had taken part in the famous and abortive uprising in Munich on November 9, 1923, as a result of which he was also sentenced to a term of imprisonment. An official by profession, Dr. Frick was not only one of the first representatives of the National Socialist Party in the Reichstag, but was also the first adherent of Hitler to become a Minister in the days preceding the advent of the National Socialist Party to power. As such he attracted general attention by his firm and resolute attitude in his capacity as Minister of the Interior in Thuringia, and by his resistance at the time to the threats and other means of pressure brought to bear on him by the Marxist Reich Minister of the Interior Severing.

Backed by over twenty years experience in the administration of State business, Dr. Frick may be rightly regarded as Hitler's trusted and trustworthy counsellor and collaborator in the work of legislation in the new Germany. Another collaborator conspicuous for the exceptional energy and rapidity of his acts in the first difficult months was the new Prussian Premier Hermann Göring, of whom Hitler himself has said that the word "impossible" is unknown in his vocabulary.

The policy of the National Socialist Government followed four main lines of development, which found their expression in a series of fundamental laws and decrees: namely, the suppression of Marxism, the creation of a real national community, the unification of the Reich, and the protection of the race—i.e. the assurance of hereditary fitness and of the purity of German blood. To these fundamental tasks, others, not less vital, were added, such as the reconstruction of the body of professional functionaries, the reorganisation of the police, the creation of a new communal life, the building-up of the Reich labour service, the development of public hygiene, sports etc.

The Suppression of Marxism

When Hitler announced to the Reichstag that the first task of his Cabinet would be the suppression of Marxism and Communism, certain preparatory steps had already been taken.

On February 2, 1933, three days after the National Socialist Party had taken office, the Reich Government deemed it necessary, in the interest of public security and order, to prohibit all demonstrations of the Communist party (KPD.). This prohibition was followed after the fire in the Reichstag on February 27 by a decree of the President of the Reich "for the protection of the nation and the State", destined to prevent acts of violence on the part of the Communists. These measures were completed on March 1, 1933, by the prohibition of all Communist propaganda.

The Decree in question stipulated that the liberty of the individual, the right of free expression of opinion (including the liberty of the Press), as well as the right of assembly and association could be curtailed; and that a number of measures—for instance the abolition of the secrecy of mails, telegrams, and telephonic conversations, limitations of the right of property, domiciliary visits and confiscations—might be enacted without regard to ordinary legal restrictions. All German States and municipalities were obliged to carry out these orders by the Reich Government. If any State neglected to take the necessary steps for the re-establishment of public security and order, the authorities of that State forfeited their constitutional rights which were then to be provisionally vested in the Reich. Severe penalties were enacted against all persons guilty of resisting the application of these regulations, or of inciting others to resist. High treason, attempts on the life of the President of the Reich or of members of the Governments of the Reich and States, conspiracy or incitement to murder, and grave breaches of the public peace were rendered punishable by death. The death penalty was also incurred by those guilty of kidnapping in order to obtain a hostage, of causing explosions, of floods, of wilful damage to railways, and of other serious crimes.

The action against Communism was led by Hermann Göring in his capacity as Prussian Minister of the Interior. In a broadcast speech delivered on the occasion of the publication of certain documents seized in the course of domiciliary visits to various offices and apartments occupied by Communists, Göring justified the measures taken:—

"Investigation of the confiscated Communist documents" (he said) "proves that the Communist party intended to continue its activity and that various Communist centres exist throughout the Reich. Measures have been taken at the frontiers to render impossible any communications of the Communists in Germany with foreign countries. On February 15, it was discovered that the Communists were forming terrorist groups up to 200 men strong, clad in uniforms of Storm Troopers and Steel Helmeters. Thus camouflaged, and in lorries, they were to attack shops, department stores, and branch offices of the National Socialist Party. Forged orders of leaders of the Storm Troopers and Steel Helmeters enjoined them to make use of their arms without the slightest hesitation and to incite to revolt. Other forged orders contained instructions to obtain armoured cars from the police. The wives and children of prominent personalities and of police officials were to be arrested as hostages.

On February 23, instructions were issued to arm the workers and apply the methods of terrorism under all their varied forms. One of these instructions, bearing the significant

title 'The Art of Armed Insurrection', postulates that terrorist groups in rural areas should set fire to farms and country-houses in 8,000 different places simultaneously in order to lure the police outside the towns. At the same time, in 8,000 other places, railways and bridges and other undertakings of public utility were to be blown up. Everything was provisionally to serve as arms, from the simple knife and the knuckle-duster to boiling water and bricks. No mercy was to be shown, even towards women and children. Other instructions for poisoning food served in restaurants frequented by supporters of the Government, and for attempts on the lives of leading personalities, have also been discovered."

In consequence of an injunction of the Reich Government, all the Governments of the various federative States immediately prohibited pamphlets, posters, and meetings of the Communist party and also the existence of the party itself. Prussia took the lead in forming an auxiliary police force consisting of members of National Socialist groups and Steel Helmeters. The various German States followed this example. Thousands of Communist agitators were arrested in all parts of the Reich. All Communist deputies and functionaries were likewise taken into custody. Domiciliary visits to offices of the Communist party led to the confiscation of large quantities of material destined to serve the purpose of propaganda.

A detachment of Storm Troops took possession of the "Karl Liebknecht House" in Berlin, in which were the central offices of the German Communist party, and the building was henceforth renamed "Horst Wessel House", in memory of the martyr whose name symbolises the National Socialist faith summarised in the hymn which he composed and which is now one of the two official German national anthems.

The payment of their fees to the Communist deputies of the Reichstag was stopped. Several prominent Communists including Münzenberg, who was regarded as the ringleader of the terrorist groups, were compelled to take refuge abroad.

After the elections on March 5, 1933, the Reich Minister of the Interior announced at the opening meeting of the Reichstag that the Communist deputies would be prevented by more urgent and useful work from taking part in the sittings of the House, since the opportunity would be furnished them of performing a fruitful task in concentration camps. If this training should prove successful in rendering them useful and law-abiding citizens, they would be welcomed on their return, otherwise the Government would have ways and means of rendering them inoffensive.

The Diets of all German States except Prussia were dissolved, and were reconstituted on the basis of the proportion of votes cast at the Reichstag elections on March 5. The seats which would have otherwise been allotted to the Communist deputies remained vacant.

Thus did the new Government deliver political life in Germany within a few weeks from Communist pressure and terrorism. Order and peace reigned once more in Germany.

The National Community

The measures taken by the Government against Social Democracy, the other branch of Marxism, were less rigorous and less energetically carried out. True, in the pursuit of the policy of eliminating Marxist elements, the principle was adopted of assimilating the functionaries of the Social Democratic party to the Communists, whilst leaving the rank and file of the former unmolested. The Social Democratic party was not dissolved until July, 1933, in consequence of the hostile intrigues of certain leaders who had sought refuge abroad, notably in Czechoslovakia.

The suppression of Social Democracy must nevertheless be regarded as an integral part of the National Government's programme, the aim of which was to abolish the innumerable parties and groups in order to make room for a real community of the whole German nation.

Conformably with that programme the Press, the propaganda, and the organisations—including the "Black-Red-Gold Reichsbanner" and the "Iron Front"—of the Social Democratic party were henceforth prohibited, and State and municipal officials were forbidden to adhere to the party. In view of the numerous cases of malversation brought to the light of day when the new regime took the so-called Free Labour Syndicates (i. e. the Social Democratic Trades Union) under its control, the Director of Public Prosecutions ordered the confiscation of all the assets of the party as well as of its newspapers and organisations. Some of the leaders of the party who had gone abroad decided to remove the headquarters of the party to Prague. Those leaders, however, who remained in Germany and who on their own testimony formed the majority, with the former President of the Reichstag Herr Löbe at their head, declared that the seat of the party could not be elsewhere than in Germany. The National Socialist Press emphasised that this duplicity could deceive nobody, whereupon in June, 1933, a decree was issued expelling the Social Democratic deputies from all elective assemblies in the Reich.

Hitler's action against the Social Democratic party was considerably facilitated by the passive attitude of its leaders and by the positively indecent haste shown by some of them to cross the frontier. The result was that the working masses lost the confidence which they had hitherto had in those leaders. If one scans the newspapers of those days one will find daily reports of disillusioned Social Democrats who went over to the Brown Shirts. Large numbers of Marxists severed their relations with their party organisations and refused any further subscriptions. In industrial undertakings the Marxist representatives on the "workers' councils" voluntarily resigned in favour of the National Socialist working groups' leaders[1].

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[1] The Swedish Social Democratic organ "Socialdemokraten" in Stockholm wrote on March 29, 1933, "the German Trades Union movement is adapting itself to the new political conditions. Its leaders are not only prepared to tolerate, but also to co-operate with, the new Government. We deeply regret this servile attitude and this zeal of the German Trades Union to serve their political opponents."

Thus deprived of the support of the working classes, the Social Democratic party lost its own inherent strength and was necessarily condemned to disappear from the political scene in Germany. A curious fate reserved for it in the country of its origin, whence it had spread to nearly all the countries in the world.

It was only consistent with the programme which aimed at the creation of a national German community that the definite suppression of the Social Democratic party in July 1933 should have been followed by the voluntary self-dissolution of all the other parties.

From the very beginning the German Nationals and the Steel Helmeters had rallied to the Hitler movement. Later-on it turned out, however, that some organisations connected with the German National movement had absorbed a number of Communist elements. Those organisations were prohibited, whereupon the leaders of the German National party in full agreement with Chancellor Hitler took the initiative of dissolving the party. The members of the former German National front were recognised by Hitler as "champions entitled to equal rights with all others in National Germany".

The Centre party, the hitherto impregnable fortress of Catholic Germany, which had voted in favour of the Enabling Law at the sitting of the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, followed the example thus set by the German Nationals—inspired, possibly, by the traditional care of confessional interests.

The smaller parties followed suit. After the dissolution of the Marxist trades unions came that of the other trades unions and also of the Employers' Associations, and finally the concentration of all German workers, whether brain or manual workers, in the newly-founded "German Labour Front".

A law of July 14, 1933, prohibited the formation of new parties. And on December 1, 1933, the Cabinet enacted a law "to ensure the unity of Party and State". The first paragraph of this law proclaims the National Socialist State to be the result of the National Socialist revolution. Under the terms of this law "the National Socialist Party (NSDAP.) is the incorporation of the German conception of the State and is indissolubly bound up with the State".

The moral and political unity of the German nation was thus re-established. From an internal point of view this unity was regulated two years later, in September, 1935, on the occasion of the annual congress of the National Socialist Party at Nürnberg, by the "Civic Law of the Reich" with the supplementary clauses destined to facilitate its application. The law in question stipulates that a citizen of the Reich is alone capable of enjoying full political rights; that citizenship is conditioned by race; and that the citizen must have proved that he is both capable and desirous of faithfully serving the German nation and the Reich. German nationals, in contradistinction to German citizens, are all persons who enjoy the protection of the Reich and are consequently under special obligations towards it.

The most important complement of this law was constituted by an executory decree of November 14, 1935, under the terms of which no Jew could become a citizen of the Reich. Jews are therefore deprived of the right to vote on political

questions and to fulfil any public functions. Paragraph 5 of the decree defines exactly what is a Jew in the legal meaning of the term. (1) Everyone is considered a Jew who has at least three purely Jewish grandparents; (2) under special circumstances a half-breed who descends from two purely Jewish grandparents may be placed in the category of Jews if the person in question belongs to the Jewish religious community or is married to another person of Jewish race.

The solidarity of the German nation thus realised has found its clearest and most unmistakable expression in the various plebiscites which have taken place since the advent of the National Socialist Party to power. The most notable of these plebiscites was that taken on March 29, 1936, when 99% of the German nation recorded by their votes their support of Hitler and his policy.

Unification of the Reich

The reform of the German constitution was one of the first tasks set itself by the National Socialist Government, and one of those most energetically carried out. The carrying out of this task began with the despatch of Reich commissars to those German States where no right-wing Government yet existed. The mission was entrusted to these commissars of assuming all necessary authority for the preservation of public security and order, consequently of taking command of the police. All this happened without the slightest friction, with the result that the formation of an auxiliary police corps was everywhere rendered possible. The Governments of all the States, with the exception of those in South Germany, which refused to capitulate, were dismissed without difficulty.

In order to understand the situation in South Germany it should be recalled that after the elections of March 5, 1933, General Göring categorically declared that the tremendous victory gained by the National Front had as a result to withdraw from the Governments in Southern Germany the right to claim to rule in the name of the people. Negotiations followed between the Governments in question and various leaders of the National Socialist Party, in consequence of which the former agreed to resign their functions. The submission of the Bavarian Government, which for 43 years past had represented the Bavarian People's party, was particularly dramatic. The Bavarian Premier, Dr. Held, had been in office since 1924. This capable and eloquent parliamentarian, who was also a clever and highly skilled political tactician, had frequently declared that he would never tolerate any interference in Bavarian affairs, and his devoted collaborator, Dr. Schaeffer, publicly stated that any Reich Commissar who might venture to enter Bavarian territory would immediately be arrested.

Rumours were current that Dr. Held and Dr. Schaeffer were conspiring with Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria and Baron Guttenberg, the Chairman of the Monarchist association "Königsbund", to restore the Wittelsbach dynasty. An autonomous Bavarian Monarchy, however, would have been a danger for the unity of the Reich, and a rapid intervention was indispensable. Efforts to reach an understanding having failed, an ultimatum was presented, and after

a few hours the National Socialist formations occupied the streets and public buildings in Munich. The same evening President von Hindenburg appointed General von Epp Reich Commissar for Bavaria and a new Bavarian Cabinet consisting of the National Socialist deputies Wagner, Frank, and Siebert was constituted.

The Swastika henceforth flew over the entire territory of the Reich, whether in big cities or in the smallest villages.

As has already been mentioned, the Reichstag passed the Enabling Law on March 23. Hereafter the task of unifying the Reich made rapid progress.

Only one week later the law providing for "the uniformity (*Gleichschaltung*) of the States and the Reich", destined to ensure similitude of policy in the Reich, the States, and the municipalities on the basis of the results yielded by the elections to the Reichstag was enacted. This was followed a week later, on April 7, 1933, by the so-called *Reichsstatthalter-Gesetz* (Law concerning the Reich Governors), which constituted a decisive step in the reorganisation of the constitutional relations between the Reich and its component States. By the institution of Reich Governors as men enjoying the special confidence of the Chancellor, the realisation of the ideal of unity in the political leadership of Reich and States was brought considerably nearer.

Under the provisions of this law the task is incumbent on the Reich Governors of ensuring that the directive principles enunciated by the Chancellor are applied in the various States. The Reich Governors are empowered to appoint and to dismiss the Prime Ministers and other members of the Governments in their respective States, to dissolve the State Parliament and order new elections, to enact laws for the State of which they are in charge, to appoint and dismiss judges and other State functionaries. They also exercise the prerogative of mercy in capital cases. In Prussia the Chancellor is himself Governor, and the Ministers of the Prussian State can also be Ministers of the Reich.

"What would have happened to Germany", Hitler asked at the National Socialist Party Congress in 1935, "if an end had not been made generations ago to the permanent scandal presented by the spectacle of a number of miniscule German States, whose existence was never profitable to the German nation but invariably advantageous to Germany's enemies? A nation which speaks a common language, which has inherited a common civilisation, a common history, and a common destiny, cannot but seek unity in its leadership. If it does not do so, it must inevitably lose the advantage conferred on it by numerical superiority, which will then operate solely to its detriment.

The events that took place in January, February, and March, 1933, showed clearly the degree of degradation to which such a state of affairs could reduce our nation, when narrow-minded, egotistical party politicians were able to associate their miserable party interests with the individualistic traditions of the various German States and thus imperil the unity of the Reich. The *Reichsstatthalter-Gesetz* has been the German nation's first reply to the adversaries of its unity and its strength".

On April 7, 1933, the law for the "Reconstruction of the Body of Public Functionaries" was promulgated, under the terms of which all Communist and Jewish functionaries, and also all those who were either insufficiently trained

or notoriously incompetent, were dismissed. This law was indispensable to ensure the stability of the new State, since only after the elimination of questionable elements could the Reich Government rely on the support of a thoroughly trustworthy body of officials.

A second great step in the direction of the unification of the Reich was accomplished on the first anniversary of the advent to power of the new régime—namely, on January 30, 1934—when the "law relating to the reconstruction of the Reich" was promulgated. The elective bodies of the various German States were abolished; the sovereign powers of those States were transferred to the Reich; and the Governments of the States were rendered subordinate to the Government of the Reich, whose Minister of the Interior henceforth controlled the activities of the different Reich Governors. This law may legitimately be regarded as the fulfilment of the century-old aspiration of all Germans, since it marked the disappearance of the last traces of autonomous federative sovereignty within the Reich. Henceforth there existed but one single authority in Germany, namely, that of the Reich. Divergencies between Reich and States no longer existed. Power was in future concentrated solely in the Reich, which in its turn was built up on the principle of leadership incorporated in the will of the Führer.

With the enactment of this law, the political revolution achieved by Adolf Hitler was definitely closed. The unity of the State foreseen by his programme had been consummated. All foreigners who lived in Germany in recent years and had the opportunity of observing the immense difficulties which would otherwise, in view of the highly complicated political structure of the Reich, have been encountered by any proposal dealing with the Reich as a whole, can measure the extent of the progress accomplished.

The work thus undertaken was completed little by little by a number of other laws. The law concerning *the Head of the State*, promulgated on August 1, 1934, on the occasion of the death of President von Hindenburg, confirmed for the future the legality of the position already assumed by Hitler in his capacity as "Führer". According to this law the two functions of President and Chancellor of the Reich, which had hitherto been distinct from each other, were merged in the person of the "Führer and Chancellor". The historic importance attributed to this law by Hitler himself is evidenced by his message to the Reich Minister of the Interior on August 2, 1934, in which he emphasised that the greatness of Hindenburg's personality had bestowed on the title "President of the Reich" a unique prestige, and that this title would consequently be inseparably bound up henceforth with the name of the illustrious Field Marshal. Hitler proceeded, in his message, to recommend that his nomination as Supreme Head of the Reich, already decided by the Cabinet and therefore constitutionally valid, should be submitted to a free plebiscite of the entire nation. The plebiscite approved the nomination of Hitler to that supremely responsible post by 38,362,760 votes to 4,294,654. In expressing his thanks to the Party for the efforts which had contributed to bring about this result, Hitler voiced the opinion that if it had thus been possible for the Party to mobilise 90% of the

German nation in support of the cause of National Socialism, it should surely also prove possible to eventually win the support of the remaining 10%.

That this opinion did not err by an excess of optimism was proved on the occasion of the Reichstag elections on March 29, 1936, when 44,412,000 affirmative votes (i. e. in favour of the Führer and his policy) were recorded as against only 543,000 negative ones. The proportion of electors who went to the polls reached the extraordinarily high level of 99%; and the majority in Hitler's favour was also 99%—a truly decisive result.

On January 30, 1935, the third anniversary of the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, the "Second Law concerning the Reich Governors" (*Reichsstatthalter-Gesetz*) was promulgated. This law provided that the Reich Governors should be included in the administrative organisation of the Reich. Subordinated, on the one hand, to the Government and the various Ministers of the Reich, the Governors are on the other hand at the head of the administration of their respective regions.

At the same time a law concerning municipal life in Germany guaranteed a close and harmonious collaboration between the municipalities, the National Socialist Party, and the State.

The legislation which we have endeavoured to concisely describe was accompanied by other measures of not less fundamental importance. Among the latter were those which provided for the substitution of "Reich nationality" for "State nationality", for the abolition of the diplomatic missions hitherto accredited to the Reich by the various States, for the transmission to the Reich Government of the administration of the law, for the amalgamation of the Reich and Prussian Ministries of the Interior, for the centralisation of the police under the sole control of the Reich, for the creation of a Reich Ministry of Education, and—last but not least—the law relating to the reconstruction of the body of public functionaries.

All these measures, taken together, synthetised the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*: "one Nation, one Reich, one Führer." This ideal had now become a concrete reality.

Laws enacted on December 1, 1936, concerning the "status and administration of the capital of the Reich," and on January 26, 1937, concerning "the territory of Hamburg", defined the territorial limits of the two cities in question. These measures, as well as certain minor modifications of frontiers in North Germany, were the first practical steps taken in view of the definite suppression of the German States and of the redistribution of the Reich into homogeneous political and administrative districts.

No account of this internal reconstruction of Germany would be complete without a mention of the discipline which from beginning to end invariably characterised the National Socialist revolutionary movement.

In his speech before the Reichstag on January 30, 1937, in which Hitler summarised the events of the preceding four years and the task achieved by

his own Government, he defined, from the point of view of the maintenance of strict discipline, the National Socialist revolution as "the revolution of revolutions," and added that he was proud to have been able to carry out the greatest transformation in the history of the German nation with a minimum of sacrifice and loss. The Chancellor went on to say:—

"We have replied by force, and of course with lightning-like rapidity, only in those cases when, even after January 30, 1933, the Bolshevist lust of hate still believed itself capable of preventing by violence the triumph of the National Socialist ideal. As for the elements, whose resistance appeared to us to demonstrate their absolute lack of political acumen, we contented ourselves with taking them into custody, whilst reserving our right to liberate them after a short time. There were some whose political activity was only a pretext for the commission of crimes, whose records bore testimony to the numerous sentences of imprisonment or penal servitude passed on them, and whose work of destruction we brought to a standstill by giving them—probably for the first time in their lives—an opportunity to perform useful work . . .

The total number of victims of the National Socialist revolution has been less than the number of National Socialists who were murdered in pre-revolutionary Germany by our Bolshevist opponents in the single year 1932.

This has only been rendered possible by the application of a principle which has not only dictated our activity in the past, but which will continue to guide us in the future—namely, it cannot be the aim of a revolution to engender chaos: its aim must be to substitute something better for something inferior" . . .

Those who happened to be in Germany at the time when the National Socialists came into power can conscientiously affirm that, contrary to reports current abroad, the revolution was carried out practically without bloodshed or material damage. Sensational rumours of pogroms and wholesale massacres can only be attributed to delirious excesses of phantasy or to calculated propaganda.

Collisions inevitably occurred between numerically insignificant groups of political opponents, but such clashes were the exception and not the rule. Chancellor Hitler himself, in a broadcast communication, gave the order that strictest discipline should be observed and that no isolated action should be undertaken. Since executive power was henceforth vested exclusively in the National Socialist Government, such individual actions could only be attributed to petty personal spite and would be calculated to discredit the new regime in the eyes of the world. As a matter of fact, various members of National Socialist groups found guilty of misbehaviour were expelled from the party in addition to incurring other penalties.

III.

Parity of Rights between States. Policy based on Freedom and Peace

The ideological revolution which found expression in the transformation of the internal structure of the Reich inevitably exerted its influence on the development of the relations of the Reich with foreign Powers, and also on the solution of those problems of home policy connected with Germany's international obligations.

In order to understand Germany's attitude towards the outer world—an attitude which was invariably criticised abroad and produced diplomatic reactions whenever Hitler placed foreign countries before new accomplished facts and new "surprises"—it is necessary to understand the aims of Hitler's foreign policy, as well as the demands, based on international law, put forward by him, and also the results effectively obtained.

The Aims of National Socialist Foreign Policy

The principal aims of the National Socialist Government in the domain of foreign policy were clearly delineated in the programme developed by Hitler in his speech to the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, and in numerous subsequent utterances by the Chancellor. The aims in question may be summarized as follows:—

(1) The suppression of all discrimination which is degrading for Germany in her relations with other States; that is to say, the establishment of an *effective and unconditional parity of rights* for the Reich in its international relations and the definite suppression of the distinction between victors and vanquished on which the Treaty of Versailles was based and which has unfortunately still continued to prevail since the War in the public mind, thereby preventing the return to peace in the true sense of the word. This demand implies, in other words, the abrogation of all clauses of the Treaty incompatible with the honour of Germany and with her prestige as a great Power—first and foremost the abrogation of those clauses concerning unilateral disarmament, the demilitarised zone in the Rhineland, and the attribution of war-guilt exclusively to Germany.

(2) The re-establishment of friendly relations with all nations who are willing to break, once and for all, with the past; this would entail the recognition of the vital rights of all nations, just as the Reich itself is prepared to recognise them, and would thus serve the cause of peace. It must, however, be recalled that Hitler made one exception to this general principle, namely, in the case of Bolshevist Russia, whose policy invariably tends to fan the flame of revo-

lutionary Communism in all States. From the National Socialist point of view, the Soviet Union is not a State to which the ordinary rules of international intercourse can be applied, since the Soviet Union is the inspirer of a universal movement, the aim of which is the destruction of Western civilisation.

Let us now examine the significance of these two main objects of National Socialist Germany's diplomatic activity.

Hitler takes the view that all the problems which create to-day a feeling of insecurity have their origin in the defects of the Treaty of Versailles, which failed to bring about a reasonable solution of the most important and decisive national and economic questions arising in consequence of the Great War. The first of those problems was that of the formation and organisation of European States conformably with the principle of nationality evolved in the course of the past century. An ideal settlement would have been that by means of which the frontiers of nationalities coincided with frontiers of States; such a settlement would have avoided a long series of future possibilities of friction. Far from envisaging a settlement along these lines, the statesmen who drew up the Treaty of Versailles—whether their motives were ignorance or partisanship—decided on solutions which necessarily contained the seeds of future conflicts owing to their lack alike of logic and equity.

The solution of economic problems by the Peace Conference was not less unsatisfactory. A real pacification of Europe could only have been obtained by statesmen convinced that difficulties impeding national existence have invariably been, and will always remain, a fertile source of international conflicts; it could not be realised by statesmen holding notions of expiation, punishment, reparation, etc. Instead of preaching destruction it would have been necessary to create a new order of things, a new of system of political and economic relations between nations, which would have taken account in the largest possible measure of the conditions of existence of the different nations.

The theory that the economic destruction of a nation of 67 million souls could usefully serve the interests of other nations is too absurd for anyone to be able to take it seriously to-day. It was, if possible, still more absurd to attempt to carry out this destruction by methods which by virtue of a natural law of cause and effect were inevitably bound to result in a similar catastrophe for the victors themselves. Among those methods, that of reparations was especially remarkable. By demanding from Germany payments in cash, the Allies compelled her to resort to an abnormal development of her export trade in order to procure the necessary amount of foreign exchange. This had the unavoidable result of inflicting economic loss on other nations. But the consequences to the Allies would have been not less detrimental if they had confined their demands to reparations in kind, since the fulfilment of this demand would have ruined their own production.

The Treaty of Versailles further failed to recognise the importance of re-establishing an international sense of law and legality, since all its provisions were based on the assertion that Germany alone was responsible for the World War. This method of proceeding simplified the lessons of history by teaching that

the vanquished are invariably the guilty party in all wars, which has the advantage of enabling the victors to dictate the conditions of peace accordingly.

Such a method of proceeding, however, has a terrible and farreaching significance since it serves to transform into a permanent rule of international law relations which, accidentally or otherwise, existed at the end of any given war. The discrimination between victors and vanquished was thus raised to the level of a principle of a new international code of law and of a new social order, the consequence being that a great nation was relegated to the rank of a second-rate and inferior State at the very moment of the creation of a League of Nations.

The treatment meted out to Germany at Versailles could not in the long run lead to the consolidation of the world's peace. The reduction of the vanquished to absolute impotence was not calculated to allay international tension or to diminish the number of likely sources of conflict. On the contrary it led to endless demands accompanied by menaces and sanctions, the result being to generate a general feeling of unrest and insecurity and to threaten the economy of the entire world with destruction. Treaties destined to consolidate peace between nations and render it durable must be based on the fundamental principle of the real equality of all nations.

As regards the question of the unilateral disarmament imposed on Germany by the Treaty, the opinion of the National Socialist Party from the moment of its advent to power was perfectly clear and unambiguous: namely, that the intention to permanently maintain a nation of 67 million inhabitants in a condition of military inferiority was not only an act of flagrant injustice, but also constituted a serious danger to peace. As Chancellor Hitler's deputy, Reich Minister Rudolf Hess, said: "The military impotence of a nation only too often awakens in foreign armies the desire to undertake a military 'promenade' without any risk to themselves. The military impotence of a single nation situated amidst strongly armed nations can only incite ambitious men to conquer laurels cheaply; it can only incite Governments to distract the attention of their own nations from their internal affairs by launching them in the perilous adventures of war."

Why, for many years, did Germany never cease to demand general disarmament? According to the precise declarations of Chancellor Hitler, (1) this demand corresponded to an elementary exigency founded alike on morality, on law, and on reason—an exigency admitted, moreover, by the Treaty of Versailles which expressly declared that the disarmament of Germany was only to be the prelude to general disarmament; (2) the disqualification of a great nation cannot be perpetually maintained.

Germany had disarmed under rigorous international control. An immense quantity of war material had been destroyed, innumerable barracks and factories demolished, the Rhineland demilitarised, fortresses levelled to the ground; almost all her warships and thousands of airplanes had been surrendered. Germany had been forced to abandon her entire historic system of defence, consequently also the formation of military reserves. The little army of 100,000

men left to Germany by the Treaty was, into the bargain, not even allowed the use of some of the most essential arms.

A striking contrast was furnished by Germany's neighbours who without exception increased their armaments to a truly formidable extent during the years following the War. Whereas Germany was not allowed to possess a single airplane, France counted 3,046 in active service, Belgium 350, Poland 700, Czechoslovakia 670. To these should be added a vast number of reserve planes-thousands of tanks, heavy artillery, and other war material. Under these con, ditions was it unnatural that Hitler should have asked whether disarmed and impotent Germany had not the same right to demand security as all the other heavily armed States united by coalitions between themselves?

Germany was nevertheless prepared at all times to renounce the little military organisation and to destroy the small amount of arms still left her, provided the other nations consented to a similar unrestricted disarmament. If, however, those nations were not willing to carry out the obligation to disarm incumbent on them under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was entitled to persist in her claim to parity of rights.

The Reich was inspired solely by the desire to maintain its independence and to be able to protect its frontiers. It was prepared to renounce the right of possessing any arms destined for the purpose of attack provided the other nations did the same. The Reich was prepared to declare its agreement with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's scheme for disarmament then being debated in Geneva. It was also prepared to adhere to every pact of non-aggression, since it did not itself dream of attacking anyone, but only of ensuring its own security.

We now come to the second principle aim of National Socialist Germany's foreign policy, namely, the establishment of friendly relations with other nations—in a word, its policy of peace.

This policy of peace was emphasised in nearly all the speeches delivered by Hitler and his collaborators. Already in his speech before the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, Hitler had stressed this aspect of his policy. Much more important, however, was the speech delivered by the Chancellor on May 17, 1933, which, in his own words, was addressed not only to the German nation but to the whole world.

After having given the assurance that "no European war could ameliorate the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs," the Chancellor continued:

"Speaking as a conscientious National Socialist I wish to proclaim alike on behalf of the National Government and of the entire movement of National Reawakening that the young Germany is inspired by the profoundest understanding for the feelings and convictions of other nations, as well as for their justifiable claims to existence. The young German generation which had hitherto known nothing but the distress and the misery and the humiliation of its own nation has suffered too much to be able to dream of inflicting a similar fate on other peoples.

Inspired by boundless love and fidelity towards our own country, we respect the national rights of others exactly for the same reason, and from the bottom of our hearts we desire to live in peace and friendship with them.

We reject the idea of 'Germanisation'. The mentality of the last century which believed it possible to convert Poles or French into Germans is incomprehensible for us—so incomprehensible that we are passionately opposed to any attempt which might be made in a contrary sense."

The Reichstag welcomed these declarations with enthusiasm and thus gave unanimous expression to the will for peace of the whole German nation.

At the Party Congress in Nürnberg in September, 1933, Herr Alfred Rosenberg emphasised that a true National Socialist must also be a true advocate of peace, since for him the blood of his own nation is the most precious possession which should only be sacrificed in case of extreme necessity.

One month later, when Germany withdrew from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference, Hitler found it necessary to publicly explain the reasons for this important and farreaching step. He did so in his broadcast speech of October 14, 1933, in which he dealt particularly with the question of Franco-German relations, basing his own utterances on certain declarations of the French Premier M. Daladier. The Chancellor said:—

"I consider as a proof of a noble sentiment of justice the words pronounced by the French Premier, M. Daladier, in his recent speech and which are evidently born of a spirit of reconciliation for which countless millions of Germans are grateful. National Socialist Germany has no more ardent desire than to bring back the competition of European nations into the sphere in which, animated by the most noble of rivalries, it enabled humanity to partake of the riches of culture and art which have contributed in an inestimable degree to the beauty of the world.

We also note, with an emotion sustained by hope, that the French Government presided over by M. Daladier has no intention of offending or humiliating the German nation. We are moved by the reference to the sad fact that these two great nations have so often in the course of history sacrificed the blood of their best manhood on the battlefields. I speak in the name of the whole German nation when I give the assurance that we are all inspired by a sincere desire to put an end to an enmity, the sacrifices entailed by which bear no proportion to any possible advantages.

The German nation is convinced that its military honour has been preserved pure and immaculate in a thousand battles, just as we see in the French soldier our ancient but glorious adversary. The whole German nation would be happy at the thought of being able to spare to its children and grandchildren the sufferings which we had to endure during many years of bitterest experience. The history of the last 150 years, with all its changes and chances, should surely have taught the two nations the impossibility of accomplishing important and lasting transformations by the sole means of the shedding of blood. But as a National Socialist I refuse to endeavour to win over the citizens of a foreign nation, who will not love us the more on that account, at the expense of lives that are dear to us.

What a wonderful event in the eyes of the whole world would it be if the two nations were to definitely banish violence from their mutual relations? The German nation is ready to do so.

Whilst frankly affirming the rights enjoyed by us under the terms of the Treaties themselves, I wish to declare with equal frankness that, so far as Germany is concerned, no territorial dispute any longer exists between the two countries. After the return of the Saar region to the Reich, only a lunatic could conceive the possibility of a war between the two countries, which could not be justified by any moral or other plausible motive. Nobody could possibly contemplate the loss of millions of flourishing human lives for the sake of a rectification of existing frontiers—a rectification which would remain problematic alike as regards its extent and its value."

In order to prove to foreign countries the complete agreement of the German nation with the step taken by the German Government in leaving the League, Hitler requested President von Hindenburg to order a new General Election for the Reichstag, combined with a plebiscite—both of them to take place on November 12. In an appeal to the nation to support its policy, the Government stressed its readiness to pursue a policy of peace, reconciliation, and understanding, and to reject the use of force as a means of settling existing divergencies between the various States forming part of the European community. The appeal went on to say:—

"The German Government and the German nation are united in the sincere wish to examine and solve dispassionately, by means of negotiations, all pending questions with all other nations, including Germany's former adversaries. The German Government and the German nation are prepared to conclude long-term Continental pacts of non-aggression with the object of assuring the peace, the economic prosperity, and the general cultural reconstruction of Europe."

Of a total of 43,491,575 votes recorded, 40,632,628 were cast in favour of the Government, this being a majority of 95%.

On October 18, 1933, Hitler granted an interview to the special correspondent of the "Daily Mail", Mr. Ward Price. In reply to a question referring to a recent speech of the British Under-Secretary of State for War, Mr. Duff Cooper, the Chancellor replied:—

"To assert that the German nation is enthusiastically preparing for war is to wholly misconceive the significance of the German revolution. The leaders of the National Socialist movement, almost without exception, are soldiers who were in the trenches during the War, and I should like to know any such soldier who would 'enthusiastically' prepare for a new war . . . We love our nation as fervently as every respectable Englishman loves his. We seek to bring up German youth and prepare them for the struggle against internal evils, first and foremost for the struggle against the Communist peril, concerning the extent of which the English appear to be misinformed. Our revolutionary songs are in nowise directed against other nations; they are exclusively destined to glorify the ideas of national fraternity, of work for our daily bread, of national honour, and to denounce class warfare and class egotism."

In an appeal to the war veterans of the whole world, launched from Königsberg on July 8, 1934, by the Führer's deputy Rudolf Hess, it was stated: —

"It is the good fortune of our nation that the majority of its present leaders are ex-servicemen who apply the spirit of the trenches to the management of the State and

who have reconstructed the Reich in that spirit. For it is to the spirit of the trenches that National Socialism owes its existence . . .

Everyone who took an active part in the World War can easily imagine what a new war, with all the perfected instruments of destruction at the disposal of humanity would mean. I address myself to all comrades of the world war, whether on this side of the frontier or beyond it."

After recalling in impressive words what life in the trenches was, Rudolf Hess continued:—

"Let us be quite frank: Has not everyone of us occasionally asked: What was the reason for all this? Was it necessary? Can such a catastrophe not be spared to humanity in the future? Nevertheless we all endured it. Our endurance was that of men inspired by the sense of duty, of discipline, of loyalty—of men who abhor cowardice. Again to-day, speaking as an ex-serviceman to other ex-servicemen, as a leader of my nation to the leaders of other nations, I repeat the question: is it necessary? Given mutual good will, is it not possible by our common efforts to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe for mankind? . . .

The ex-servicemen desire peace. The nations desire peace. Germany's Government desires peace . . . I appeal to the ex-servicemen in all countries, and also to the men of good will in the Governments of all countries, to help us to realise this aim."

On August 26, 1934, a week after the German nation by its plebiscite had approved the nomination of Hitler as successor of President von Hindenburg, a great manifestation for the reunion of the Saar region with Germany, attended by upwards of 600,000 persons, was held at the ancient fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, on the Rhine. In a speech emphasising the indissoluble unity of the Reich and the Saar region, Hitler—this time in his capacity as Head of the Reich—declared:—

"The question of the Saar is the only territorial question still dividing us from France. Once it has been solved there will be no visible or reasonable cause of conflict between two great nations in the future. Germany hopes that France will then show increased readiness to conclude a sincere and durable peace with Germany. Hence the inhabitants of the Saar will have a great peaceful mission to accomplish on January 13, 1935."

It will be recalled that the plebiscite in the Saar resulted in a majority of 90,5% in favour of reunion with Germany—i. e. 477,119 affirmative votes out of a total of 528,005.

It was also on August 26, 1934, that the Reich Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels, in opening the Saar exhibition in Cologne, stressed the peaceful intentions of the Third Reich. "Germany", said Dr. Goebbels, "only claims her right and nothing more . . . The German people go about their daily work without any thought of *revanche*". The Saar delegate, Herr Bürckel, on the other hand, assured in a speech at Coblenz that "on January 13 the inhabitants of the Saar, conscious of their historic mission, will send out this message beyond its frontiers: "the road to understanding is now free".

The Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron von Neurath, likewise stressed Germany's peaceful intentions in a speech delivered on September 17, 1934,

on the occasion of the International Road Congress, when, referring to certain assertions in foreign newspapers, he said:—

"After all our declarations and proposals on the question of disarmament, after all that we have said and done in the cause of European peace, we can only regard as a malignant calumny the reproach levelled against us of wishing, by the proclamation of our peaceful intentions, merely to gain a breathing space in order to realise aggressive plans once we consider ourselves strong enough to do so."

On February 28, 1935, the Committee of Three appointed by the League of Nations remitted the powers vested in it to the representatives of the Reich. Three days later Hitler declared in a speech that the reunion of the Saar with the Reich was not only a source of intense satisfaction for Germany, but that it was also of good omen for the whole of Europe, since it rendered possible a definite improvement of the relations between France and Germany. He expressed the same idea in his proclamation issued on March 16, 1935, on the occasion of the reintroduction of compulsory military service. Chancellor Hitler added:—

"The Reich Government has given the solemn assurance in Paris that after the settlement of the Saar question Germany has no further territorial claims on France. The Reich Government believes that, by a heavy political and material sacrifice, and in the most solemn form, it has thereby realised the indispensable condition for putting an end to a century-old strife between two great nations."

The same view was expressed by Chancellor Hitler in his speech to the Reichstag on May 21, 1935, and also in subsequent statements on Germany's policy of peace. In February 1936, a few days before the ratification of the pact of assistance between France and the Soviet Union, Hitler had a conversation with the well-known French journalist M. Bertrand de Jouvenel. In reply to questions concerning the policy which he intended to pursue towards France, the Chancellor said:—

"I wished to prove to my nation the folly of the idea of an hereditary enmity between France and Germany. The German nation understood me. In fact, the German nation followed me when I undertook a much more difficult work of reconciliation, namely, that of a reconciliation between Germany and Poland.

I am speaking in the name of the whole German nation when I declare that France, if she desires it, could put an end for all times to the alleged German peril, for the German nation has the most complete confidence in its Führer and the Führer desires friendship with France."

In his address to Reichstag on January 30, 1937, the Führer insisted that he had repeatedly expressed the wish to establish friendly relations with all neighbouring countries. He solemnly declared that there could be no earthly reason for the existence of any humanly conceivable points of dissension between France and Germany.

It is not surprising that the Führer should thus insist on the necessity of a definite friendship with France. It would certainly afford him the greatest satisfaction to live in history as the statesman who, in the interest of peace, successfully accomplished a most difficult and vital task which a number of

his predecessors had sought in vain to achieve. Since the tranquillity and prosperity of Europe depend on a satisfactory solution of the Franco-German problem it is only logical to conclude that Hitler's desire to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the two countries is inspired by a sincere love of peace.

Berlin—Moscow

We have already seen that there is one exception to the Third Reich's declared policy of endeavouring to establish friendly relations with all other nations, the exception being Bolshevist Russia. It is easy to understand why this should be so.

The National Socialist movement had inscribed on its banner the motto "War on Communism" and had invariably proclaimed its determination to deliver the German nation from this "contagious disease". After taking office Hitler succeeded in fully realising this aim. Bolshevism in Germany was rapidly extirpated thanks to the application of a series of energetic measures, and the effort to "bolshevise" Germany undertaken by Moscow signally failed.

The National Socialist Party might have contented itself with its success, and maybe this was the case during the opening months of the new régime[1]. It soon, however, became evident that the rulers of the Soviet Union, despite their defeat, were bent on renewing their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Germany. The National Socialist régime was consequently compelled to regard Bolshevist Russia as its mortal enemy. Hence the speakers at the annual Congress of the National Socialist Party in 1935, denounced not only the Third International but also the Soviet Government—between which, moreover, Germany does not make any distinction, since they both incorporate in an equal degree the doctrines of Bolshevism.

A particularly vehement and outspoken speech was delivered on this occasion by the Reich Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, who is the most fertile orator in new Germany, a master of the art of polemics and endowed with a rare gift for irony, and whose persuasive eloquence played a decisive part in the development of the party, especially in Berlin. In the speech in question Dr. Goebbels cited an article in a leading London newspaper which pointed out a certain analogy between the Russian and German systems. With the help of extensive statistical and other material, Dr. Goebbels showed that the author of the article had not taken the trouble to study the fundamental and essential principles either of National Socialism or of Bolshevism; and that he was consequently not qualified to appreciate the differences which separate them.

One of the main differences, according to Dr. Goebbels, lies in the fact that Bolshevism deliberately aims at revolutionising all nations and that it is cha-

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[1] In the course of his exposition of his programme to the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, Hitler said: "The German Government wishes to entertain with the Soviet Union friendly relations profitable to both countries. The German Government considers, precisely because it is itself born of a national revolution, that it is in a position to pursue a positive policy towards Soviet Russia. The struggle against Communism in Germany is an internal affair which concerns us alone and in which we shall never tolerate any foreign intervention."

racterised by an aggressive internationalist tendency. National Socialism, on the other hand, is restricted to Germany and is not an "article of exportation", either ideologically or practically.

Whereas National Socialism aims at paving the way for a new conception and a new form of European culture, Bolshevism is the avowed enemy of that culture. The ultimate consequences of Bolshevism would be the destruction of all the economic, social, political, and cultural achievements of the Western world for the benefit of an international clique of nomadic conspirators, among whom Jews occupy the most prominent place.

This last argument put forward by Dr. Goebbels reveals one of the main reasons of the hostility to Bolshevism manifested by the new Germany—namely, the predominance in the development of the Bolshevist creed of Jewish elements similar to those which National Socialism considers to have been the chief cause of all the evils that befell Germany after the World War, and which have now been completely eliminated from German public life. Hitler combats Russian Bolshevism for the same motive which dictated his hostility to Marxism in Germany, which was likewise dominated by Jewish influence.

From an international point of view it is interesting to note that for the first time an allusion was made in the speech of Dr. Goebbels to the "world mission" of Hitler as champion in the struggle against Bolshevism outside the German frontiers. "If" (said Dr. Goebbels) "Germany which has been redeemed and united in the spirit of National Socialism takes the lead, at the head of all those groups which are animated by a similar spirit, in this struggle against international Bolshevism, she is convinced that over and above her national aims she has a world mission to fulfil, on the successful issue of which the fate of all civilised nations will depend."

This world mission appears particularly necessary to Dr. Goebbels, since in his opinion the so-called peaceful policy of the Soviet Union finds expression in revolutionary intrigues in all countries, in the unscrupulous incitement to international hatred and in colossal armaments for the purpose of wars of aggression. Dr. Goebbels concluded his speech with expressing the hope that not only future generations, but also the present one, will recognise the greatness of this historic mission and act conformably with the lesson which it conveys.

Hitler himself discussed this subject in his speech to the Reichstag in Nürnberg in September, 1935—in the memorable sitting in which the law adopting the swastika as national flag of the Reich, the "Civic Law of the Reich" mentioned in the previous chapter of the present book, and the Law concerning the protection of the German race and German honour (of which more shall be said later on) were adopted.

Hitler voiced his regret that precisely at a time when an international understanding was more necessary than ever, Moscow should continue to systematically pursue a revolutionary propaganda, the aim of which was a general upheaval. The Chancellor went on to say that the recent congress of the Comintern in Moscow, at which it was openly declared that the aim of the formidable armaments of the Soviet Union was *to open, if necessary by force, the road to*

revolution in other nations, fittingly illustrated the sincerity of the policy of "non-intervention" advocated by the Soviet Government.

The Civil War in Spain broke out in July, 1936, and the atrocities with which it was accompanied could not but strengthen the conviction of the National Socialist Government of its world mission against Bolshevism. A proof of this was furnished on the occasion of the annual Congress of the National Socialist Party in the same year, when the struggle against Bolshevism considered in the light of an European peril formed the political thesis of the speeches alike of Hitler and other orators. Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess, Dr. Goebbels, and Alfred Rosenberg expressed themselves very clearly on the subject by holding up the events in Spain as a warning to the whole world.

Hitler himself stated: "We have been obliged to combat Bolshevism in Germany as a doctrine which tends to poison the mind of our nation and consequently to destroy it. We shall not hesitate to combat Bolshevism as a world power in its efforts to inflict on Germany the same fate as has been reserved to Spain, if possible by still more violent methods. We shall not be led astray by the prattle of pusillanimous persons who never believe in the imminence of danger until they have been engulfed by the catastrophe. I continue to denounce to-day this Bolshevist peril in the world, exactly as I saw it infecting our own people years ago despite my warnings."

After having exposed the political, economic, social, and cultural divergencies separating National Socialism from Communism, Hitler emphasised that these divergencies were irreconcilable. Two worlds, said the Chancellor, were facing each other, between which any pact was unthinkable.

The best proof of the impossibility of any compromise between National Socialism and Bolshevism was furnished by the indignation of the German Press when some time later foreign newspapers published the tendentious report of a *rapprochement* between Moscow and Berlin. The German Press ascribed this campaign to the influence of the Soviet Government, anxious to consolidate the Franco-Russian entente, the popularity of which was rapidly waning in France. The German Press insisted in this connection that the treaties between Germany and the Soviet Union signed at Rapallo in 1922 and renewed at Berlin in 1926 did not present the aspect of contracts of mutual assistance, but were purely and simply pacts of neutrality. It was further pointed out that the treaties in question were concluded by the German Republican Government and that everything—except Germany's invariable aversion for Bolshevism and its doctrines—had meanwhile been changed.

These protests of the German Press should be more than sufficient to remove any doubt as to the absolute incompatibility of ideas between Germany and the Soviet Union.

Hitler's Foreign Policy

The main lines pursued by Hitler's foreign policy and the methods envisaged by him to attain his aims can only be understood if we recall certain postulates which complete each other[1].

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[1] This subject is clearly treated in the book *Hitlers Friedenspolitik und das Völkerrecht*, by

The first of those postulates is that international relations should be based on the fundamental principle of *national honour*, since it is only on this condition that such relations can be perfectly clear, durable, and profitable to the cause of peace.

A Peace Treaty must not imply merely a cessation of actual hostilities; it must regulate the future relations between the adversaries of yesterday in the interest of both parties, and it must consequently represent an agreement dispassionately concluded in the light of reason and justice. Hence it is absolutely indispensable that such a treaty should not be a cause of humiliation for the vanquished by impressing a mark of inferiority on him, for this must inevitably result in the long run in creating an intolerable situation and in breeding the germs of new conflicts.

In this connection it may be well to recall the standpoint adopted by Bismarck after the wars of 1866 and 1870/71. The peace treaties concluded by that great statesman took account alike of the vital requirements and of the honour of the vanquished. In his speech to the Prussian Diet on September 1, 1866, the Iron Chancellor said:—

„A peace treaty will rarely realise its object if one of the parties is required to begin by avowing that it was in the wrong."

In his *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, Bismarck wrote:—

"Having regard to our future relations with Austria, I was chiefly concerned to prevent as far as possible any recollections calculated to cause humiliation, in so far as such a policy was compatible with our own interests. The triumphal entry of our troops into the enemy's capital would naturally have been a flattering recollection for our Army, but it would have been contrary to the requirements of our policy. Without being an imperious necessity for us it would have wounded the *amour propre* of the Austrians and have necessarily increased the difficulties of our future mutual relations. In any case it was of vital importance that the state of mind created by our victory should not be such as to render our former adversaries irreconcilable. It was our duty not to inflict an incurable wound on their *amour propre*."

Thanks to Bismarck's prudent policy it was possible later on to convert Austria, the ex-enemy, into an ally of Germany.

On October 25, 1871, in a speech to the Reichstag on post-war relations between France and Germany, Bismarck declared:—

"We do not consider it our duty to inflict more injury on our neighbours than is absolutely necessary to ensure the carrying-out of the Peace Treaty. On the contrary, we regard it as our duty to be useful to them and to place them in a position to repair the disaster which has overtaken their country, in so far as this may be possible without imperilling our own interests."

A German diplomatist having advised Bismarck to impose exceptionally severe peace conditions on France, the Chancellor replied that it was necessary that France should remain a great nation in the interests of the European

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Dr. Heinrich Rogge, Lecturer on International Law at the University of Berlin (Schlieffen, Berlin, 1935). The lines traced by Hitler find, moreover, their expression in the semi-official organ of the German Foreign Office *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz.*

Concert of Powers. It is, moreover, known that Bismarck was opposed to the annexation of Lorraine and that he only gave way against his will to the demand of the military leaders who insisted on the cession of Metz. To sum up in a few words Bismarck's policy after the wars of 1866 and 1870/71 it may be said that by paying a high tribute of esteem to vanquished adversaries he sought to stifle within the latter all desire for *revanche*, and that he simultaneously endeavoured to prevent the growth of a spirit of arrogance among the victors. He did so in the consciousness that both these factors are equally prejudicial to the cause of peace.

This breadth of mind was conspicuously absent among the statesmen assembled at Versailles after the Great War, whose sole preoccupation was to guarantee their own future security by the ruthless material and moral subjugation of Germany.

The second postulate at the basis of Hitler's foreign policy is that durable treaties concerning security and the limitation of armaments can only be founded on the *legitimate and equal right of national defence*. Germany is prepared to take her share of all the limitations of armaments accepted by other Powers, but nevertheless insists on her right to organise her own defence conformably with the necessities of her own situation.

The principle thus enunciated is by no means without precedent in history. In his message of June 22, 1932, to the Disarmament Conference President Hoover emphasised that the armaments of all States must be regulated by the necessities of their own self-defence. On March 16, 1935, by the law concerning the reorganisation of the Army, the German Government announced its intention of taking the necessary measures for putting an end to the military impotence to which a great nation had been condemned—an impotence as humiliating for the German people as it was dangerous for the peace of Europe. The German Government, in so doing, was inspired by the same considerations as those which had motivated the rearmament of Great Britain and which Mr. Baldwin had defined in the words:—

"A country which is unwilling to take the precautionary measures necessitated by its own defence will always lack both material and moral power in this world."

The necessity of national defence was dealt with in detail in the British White Book of March 4, 1935, which sought to justify the British programme of rearmament. National Socialist Germany could, moreover, cite the words of General Weygand: "we wish to be strong, not in order to threaten anyone, but in order to defend ourselves."

Exactly the same idea inspired the proclamation of the Reich Government to the German nation announcing the reintroduction of compulsory military service:—

"The desire of the Government, as guardian of the honour and interests of the German nation, is to provide the necessary means whereby not only the integrity of the territory of the Reich, but also the international prestige of Germany as one of the guarantors of European peace, may be assured."

Hitler considers that the scale of armaments must be proportionate to the dangers to which a country is exposed. It is the exclusive right of every nation to decide this question for itself. Hitler said:—

"If Great Britain decides to what extent she must rearm, this decision will be readily understood by everyone in Germany, since it is evident that only the British Government can decide what protection is necessary for the British Empire. But it is also evident that only the German Government can decide what protection is necessary for the German nation."

A third postulate on which Hitler's foreign policy is based is that *direct understanding* constitutes the best means of ensuring peace.

The Chancellor has endeavoured to explain this principle in a number of speeches and other utterances, notably in an interview granted to Mr. Lochner, the Berlin correspondent of the Associated Press on April 4, 1934, in which Hitler stressed that his most cherished wish would be to have a *tête-à-tête* discussion with the Heads of other States.

The desire for a direct understanding has already been realised in several cases. That its realisation has borne fruit is evidenced in the relations established by the Reich with Poland, Italy, and Austria, in the compromise reached concerning the Saar, and in the Anglo-German naval convention. All these diplomatic agreements were concluded independently of the League of Nations. Hitler draws the conclusion that bilateral pacts of security or non-aggression or neutrality are preferable to multi-lateral pacts drawn up between a greater number of participants.

National Socialist Germany has become convinced of the accuracy of this point of view by observing that the League of Nations has failed to achieve either "collective understandings" or "collective security"—a failure which has led to a general demand for the reform of the League. Hitler does not believe in the impartiality of the Geneva institution. Already in October, 1933, he expressed in an interview with Mr. Ward Price his scepticism regarding the future of the League if the latter should continue to develop into an organisation for the furtherance of the interests of a few States to the detriment of those of the others.

The Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron von Neurath, in his previously mentioned speech at the International Road Congress on September 17, 1934, emphasised that fundamental reforms would be necessary to transform the League into a real instrument of peace, which it ought to be according to its covenant. Baron von Neurath went on to deal with the method of collective action inaugurated at Versailles, saying:—

"I must admit that the various theories of pacts put forward in recent years, that this 'pactomania' as it has justly been called, do not appear to me a favourable symptom of the spirit in which in many cases European policy is conducted. The salvation of Europe cannot reside in alliances or groupings of Powers liable to be constantly changed according as transitory conditions may seem to demand. Such political tendencies are only a proof of the defects of the political system imposed on Europe by the Treaties of 1919—defects which manifest themselves more clearly every day.

In the long run it would be dangerous and even puerile to shut one s eyes to those defects and to refuse to admit them candidly. As long as statesmen have not the courage to sincerely face facts and to endeavour to reach a settlement of antagonistic interests by means of frank discussions between States on the basis of mutual consideration and parity of rights, it is useless to expect an improvement of the general political situation."

In those cases where interests do not always harmonise, Hitler considers that the best course for a nation to pursue consists in contenting itself in each specific case with the minimum represented by a bilateral agreement, so as to prevent the task of cooperation being rendered impossible by the unrealisable exigencies of collective pacts. An understanding in view of far-reaching aims can only be arrived at piecemeal and gradually.

National Socialism nevertheless does not refuse to admit the principle of collective security provided such security be obtainable conformably with the methods adopted at Locarno, or if security is considered as combining a pact of mutual assistance with a possibility of its revision. In his speech of May 21, 1935, in which he enunciated thirteen points, the adoption of which would be calculated to prevent war, Chancellor Hitler stated:—

"The German Government is at all times prepared to participate in a system of collective cooperation for ensuring the peace of Europe, but at the same time considers it indispensable to take account of the eternal laws of development by admitting the possibility of a revision by mutual consent. The German Government sees in the possibility of a regular development of contracts one of the elements of a guarantee of peace. It sees, on the other hand, in the prevention *a priori* of such possibility a grave risk of future explosions."

What may be called the centre of gravity of multilateral treaties should, from the German point of view, be sought, not in an automatic obligation to render military assistance in the event of war, but in the obligation of *non-aggression* and in the duty incumbent on all Powers interested in any given conflict to resort to an exchange of views with the aim of settling the difficulties.

Obligations of this sort might become efficient guarantees of peace without creating the danger of complications inherent to certain pacts of assistance (such as the so-called East European pact) proposed by certain Powers.

Regarding another principle enunciated at Geneva, that of the indivisibility of peace, Hitler considers it regrettable that this principle should form the pretext for theories which, in the Chancellor's view, "are less calculated to serve the cause of collective security than that of collective preparation for war, whether such preparation be voluntary or involuntary. The World War ought to furnish us with a serious warning in this respect."

Hitler was alluding to certain military alliances which, according to him, were contrary to the spirit of the League Covenant, since the latter imposes a duty of mutual assistance on each individual member State solely on condition that the State in question shall submit to the control of the League. In the speech cited above Hitler continued:—

"I do not believe that Europe could be exposed a second time to such a catastrophe without the direst effects. But such a catastrophe could be facilitated by the fact that a network of international obligations diminishes the possibility of localising small conflicts and increases the danger that numerous States and groups of States may be involved in a dispute . . .

We believe that we are thereby serving the cause of peace better, for the necessary sentiment of responsibility of each individual State can only be enhanced if it does not know beforehand that it will be backed, in the event of a conflict arising, by powerful military alliances."

From the National Socialist point of view, the theory of the indivisibility of peace affords the great Powers the possibility of intervening in all political events the world over from the standpoint of their own egotistical interests under the pretext of "collective security."

Hence Germany sees no guarantee of peace in uncontrollable collective pacts. Germany, in the words of Ambassador von Ribbentrop, considers that the pompous phrases "indivisibility of peace" and "collective security" mean in reality "indivisibility of war" and "collective insecurity."

The Results Obtained

1933.

The first important event in this year was Germany's adhesion to the *Four-Powers Pact* proposed by Signor Mussolini. Already on March 21, Hitler described it as "a farreaching and farsighted attempt to assure the peaceful and consistent evolution of European policy." The pact was signed at Rome on June 7 by the four Powers France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. It included in its scope all questions concerning them, as well as all questions of economic or general interest for Europe. The Contracting Powers undertook to concentrate all their efforts to develop, within the framework of the League of Nations, a policy of active collaboration between all States in view of the maintenance of peace and in order to ensure the success of the Disarmament Conference. With regard to the League Covenant—particularly Article X (respect for the territorial integrity and the political independence of all member States), Article XV (sanctions), and Article XIX (revision of treaties)—the four Powers declared their intention of examining among themselves, subject to any decisions which might be taken by the competent organs of the League, all proposals relating to methods and proceedings calculated to increase the efficacy of the said articles.

Germany's participation in this pact, which was concluded for a term of ten years, was rendered particularly significant by the fact that for the first time since the World War she was invited to sign an international convention in her capacity of Great Power possessing equal rights with all other Powers and without being obliged to make any concessions as a condition of the privilege of being admitted to participate in the agreement. Moreover, the pact, by its reference to Article XIX of the Covenant, opened-out the possibility of

a revision of certain clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, the application of which experience had shown to be inapplicable.

Political circles in Germany were rightly satisfied with the result, although they stressed that the value of this new diplomatic document necessarily depended on future negotiations. They also entertained the hope that France would find in the Four-Powers Pact—following as it did the agreements of Geneva, Locarno, and Paris—a new guarantee of security which would permit of her gradual disarmament.

The German Government was convinced of having furnished a proof of its sincere love of peace precisely at a moment when public opinion outside Germany attributed sinister and bellicose intentions to Hitler. In the opinion of German political circles, Germany proved by signing the Four-Powers Pact her readiness to cooperate in the work of preserving European peace and also to contribute to the economic reconstruction of Europe.

At the same time, the Four-Powers Pact afforded the National Socialist Government the possibility of a *rapprochement* with Rome, a policy eventually destined to lead to the creation of the Berlin-Rome axis. This policy of *rapprochement* between the two authoritarian States has been a continuous one and was only temporarily interrupted in 1934/35 owing to incidents in Austria.

The visit of General Göring to Rome was followed by that of Vice-Chancellor von Papen, and opportunities were furnished for conversations with the Vatican. The result was the conclusion of the Concordat on July 20. Under its terms the Reich guaranteed to the Catholic Church full liberty of conscience and public worship. It recognised the right of the Church to the independent administration of her own affairs within the limits of existing legislation, and also the right to enact regulations binding on members of the Catholic community.

This diplomatic success appeared all the more remarkable since the National Socialist movement had in former days been condemned by several German Bishops, who had gone so far as to excommunicate professed National Socialists in their respective dioceses. The Concordat was destined to pave the way for a harmonious cooperation between Church and State. Despite a number of serious incidents which occurred subsequently, the Concordat still constitutes the basis of the relations between the State and the Catholic Church in contemporary Germany.

In July the Chairman of the Disarmament Conference, Mr. Arthur Henderson, paid visits to Berlin and Munich; and in September Dr. Goebbels attended the plenary assembly of the League. On this occasion Dr. Goebbels delivered a speech to the representatives of the world Press in which he exposed the German point of view and justified Germany's struggle for parity of rights.

"It is in the interest of nobody" (said Dr. Goebbels) "that Germany should be treated as a second-rate nation and that she should be deprived of the possibility of providing for her defence, which is indispensable for her national security. To conclude from this that she desires war is in view of the fact that other countries, far from disarming, are rearming, is to take a view which is as narrow-minded as it is discouraging . . .

Let it be hoped that all men of good will may unite in the noble intention of dissipating the anxieties of the nations and of serving the general welfare. As far as Germany is concerned, she is sincerely desirous of contributing to the peace of Europe."

This speech constituted the final warning uttered by the National Socialist Government to the League of Nations before its withdrawal from that institution on October 14, 1933. Both the Chancellor and the Reich Government exposed to the German nation the reasons motivating Germany's withdrawal. In a broadcast speech of the same date, Hitler resumed those reasons as follows:—

"Inspired by a sincere wish to accomplish the peaceful internal reconstruction of the German nation, and to reorganise its political and economic existence, German Governments, relying on the promise to grant Germany that parity of rights corresponding to her dignity, had declared themselves prepared to enter the League of Nations and to participate in the Disarmament Conference. But Germany soon experienced bitter disillusions.

Despite her willingness to carry to the farthest possible limits her own disarmament, which had already been practically completed, the other Powers found themselves unable to fulfil the obligation imposed on them by the Peace Treaty. The German nation and its Government were constantly humiliated by a persistent refusal to admit that Germany possessed a real parity of rights.

After the German claim to parity had been expressly recognised on December 11, 1932, the Reich Government intimated its readiness to resume its participation in the negotiations of the Disarmament Conference. Nevertheless the official representatives of the other Powers not only publicly stated that such parity of rights could no longer be granted to Germany under existing circumstances, but also directly informed the German Foreign Office and the German delegates in Geneva of this fact.

The German Government sees in this proceeding a discrimination between Germany and other countries as unjustifiable as it is insulting. Under these conditions the German Government considers that it is no longer in a position, as representing a nation deprived of its rights and relegated to an inferior level, to take part in negotiations which can only result in a new *Diktat*. Whilst again proclaiming its unshakable will to peace, the German Government, in view of demands incompatible with its dignity and its honour, announces with profound regret its decision to abandon the Disarmament Conference. The German Government announces at the same time its withdrawal from the League of Nations. But it reiterates its unshakable will to peace and affirms its willingness to take its share, outside the League, of all efforts which may be made between the various States with the aim of assuring the peace of Europe."

Four days later the German Government published a memorandum containing the proposal to create a German Army limited to 300,000 men, on condition that the other Powers should not increase their armaments beyond their existing level.

Almost unanimously, and for the second time within eight months, the German nation manifested its unreserved approval of the policy of the National Socialist Government, thereby demonstrating to the world that it had recovered its national pride and its full freedom of action.

While the world was still under the impression created by the energetic step of the German Government and by the German plebiscite, much attention was

aroused by a brief *communiqué* of November 15, concerning a conversation between Chancellor Hitler and the newly appointed Polish Minister in Berlin, M. Lipsky. It was announced that this conversation regarding the relations between Germany and Poland had confirmed the complete agreement between the Governments of the two countries. All questions interesting the two countries were to form the subject of direct negotiations between their respective Governments. Both Governments, in the interest of European peace, renounced all intention of having recourse to force as a means of settling divergencies.

A few days later Hitler received the French Ambassador, M. François-Poncet, and had a cordial conversation with him on the problems of disarmament and the Saar. On December 11, the Italian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Signor Suvich, arrived in Berlin.

The first year of office of the National Socialist Government was thus characterised by remarkable activity in the domain of foreign affairs with the object of restoring Germany's honour and establishing parity of rights for her.

1934.

From a political point of view, this year was inaugurated, on January 26, by the conclusion of a Pact between Germany and Poland, of which the three principal clauses were as follows:—

(1) The two Governments declare their intention to come to a direct understanding on all questions affecting their mutual relations, of whatever nature these questions may be;

(2) Should divergencies arise between them which cannot be settled by direct negotiations, the two Governments, in each specific case and on the basis of mutual understanding, will envisage a solution by other peaceful means without, however, excluding the possibility of resorting if need be to the means provided for in such cases by agreements already concluded between them. But under no circumstances will they have recourse to force for the settlement of such divergencies.

(3) The guarantee of peace furnished by these fundamental principles will facilitate for both Governments the difficult task of finding solutions, based on a just and equitable adjustment of mutual interests, of political, economic, and cultural problems.

This agreement was accompanied by an economic protocol concerning the suppression of the Customs war between the two countries and the establishment of a basis for their future trading relations.

Four days later Chancellor Hitler, in his speech to the Reichstag, recalled that when he took office the relations between Germany and Poland were extremely unsatisfactory. There had been a danger that the tension between the two countries, the origin of which must be sought in the territorial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, would develop into an hostility which in course of time might become the source of "mutual hereditary enmity."

Hence it was urgently necessary to transform the relations between the two countries in such a manner that both could derive the greatest possible profit

from them. Hitler took the occasion to show by this concrete example how divergencies between nations should not exclude the possibility of establishing such mutual relations as are conducive to peace and consequently to the general welfare.

According to Hitler, it would invariably be better in such cases to endeavour to find, thanks to a frank and loyal explanation between the two parties, a solution of the problems interesting them both, rather than seek refuge in the arbitration of a third party.

This standpoint of the German Government was shared by Marshal Pilsudski, and ultimately found expression in a Treaty which was not only useful to the German and Polish nations, but which also contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of European peace.

The Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Colonel Beck, voiced the opinion that with the signing of this treaty a new and happier era in the relations between Poland and Germany had begun. It gave him, he said, particular satisfaction to see in this agreement an example of constructive work which contrasted with the constantly increasing pessimism that characterised international relations.

The German-Polish Treaty, which took the whole world by surprise, confirmed Hitler's view that bilateral pacts are preferable to collective agreements.

Among other events in 1934 we may mention the agreement reached at Geneva concerning preparatory measures in view of the plebiscite in the Saar scheduled for January 13, 1935; and the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini in Venice.

1935.

Among the numerous political events of this year, which began with the quasi-unanimous plebiscite in the Saar, some are deserving of special mention owing to their being peculiarly characteristic of the foreign policy of the Reich.

On March 15, the French Chamber passed the Two Years Military Service Act. Immediately on receiving the news at his villa at Berchtesgaden, Hitler left by air for Berlin and summoned a Cabinet Council which was held in the afternoon of the next day. The Cabinet decided to enact a law "concerning the organisation of the Army." This law consists of only three articles, which, however, possess historic importance. They are as follows:—

(1) Military service is based on compulsory service;

(2) The German Army in time of peace, including the Police groups, comprises twelve Army Corps and 36 divisions;

(3) Supplementary laws regulating the details of compulsory military service will shortly be submitted by the Minister of War to the Reich Government.

By taking this step, Germany recovered her military freedom and re-entered the ranks of the military Powers. At the same time she broke the strongest fetter forged by the Treaty of Versailles. (See Pict. 44.)

The significance of the decision thus taken was explained to the German nation and the world in a manifesto issued by the German Government. It was

in vain that the other European Powers protested, and that the League of Nations adopted a resolution stating that Germany had violated her obligations towards the community of nations. The German Government, in its turn, protested against this resolution of the League which it regarded as a further discrimination between Germany and other countries, and it denied to the members of the League the right to sit in judgment upon Germany.

In the meantime the British Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, accompanied by the Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Anthony Eden, paid a visit to Berlin. A joint *communiqué* issued at the termination of this visit affirmed that "a complete elucidation of the views held on either side" had resulted from the conversations. The *communiqué* further stressed that "both Governments pursued the common aim of assuring and consolidating the peace of Europe by encouraging international cooperation."

In the course of these conversations Chancellor Hitler exposed the German view of the scheme of an East European pact proposed by the French Foreign Minister M. Louis Barthou, a scheme favoured by Sir John Simon. The scheme in question provided for a pact of the five East European Powers—namely, Russia, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Balkan States—with the aim of furnishing a mutual guarantee for the inviolability of their respective frontiers; and for a corresponding pact between France, Germany, and Russia to come mutually to each other's assistance against any "aggressor".

The Chancellor declined to adhere to a pact which would entail automatically an obligation of military assistance. He declared that he saw in such a pact a menace to peace rather than a guarantee of peace. For the first time Hitler also raised the questions, during these conversations, of the restoration of the former German colonies and of a naval agreement with Great Britain. (See Pict. 47.)

On May 21, in his previously mentioned speech to the Reichstag, Hitler enumerated the following thirteen points destined in his opinion to form the basis of a comprehensive peace proposal:—

(1) No return to Geneva without parity of rights.
(2) Revision of treaties by means of peaceful understanding.
(3) No treaties considered impossible to carry out shall be signed.
(4) A normal evolution of treaties must be rendered possible.
(5) No new attempt to organise European cooperation in the shape of unilateral decisions.
(6) Germany is prepared on principle to conclude non-aggression pacts.
(7) Germany is prepared to complete the Locarno Pact by a pact relating to aviation.
(8) Germany is prepared to make known the extent of her military reorganisation.
(9) Germany is prepared to accept a limitation of armaments.
(10) Suppression of all arms destined for the purpose of aggression.
(11) Limitation of the calibre of artillery guns.
(12) A systematic effort to neutralise public opinion.
(13) Elucidation of the theory of interference in the internal affairs of foreign States.

Hitler concluded by saying:—

"We all know how many millions of bold and valiant adversaries we had to face during the World War. History will surely testify that the Germans have less understood the art of living a reasonable life than the art of bravely laying down their lives . . . I cannot better terminate my speech to you, my comrades, than by reiterating our unshakable faith in the cause of peace . . . He who would set alight the torch of war in Europe can only desire chaos. We, however, are firmly convinced that our era, far from witnessing the ruin of Western civilisation, will witness its rebirth. It is our proud hope and our steadfast belief that Germany will make an imperishable contribution to this great task."

Four days later the Reich Government addressed to the signatories of the Locarno Pact a memorandum setting forth the incompatibility of the said Pact with the Franco-Russian Pact of May 9, 1935. The Reich Government maintained that the Locarno Pact could not be modified by any of its signatories by a treaty with a third party.

The German Government further stressed that Article I of the Franco-Russian Pact stipulated that mutual assistance should be rendered independently of any recommendation by the Council of the League of Nations or of any unanimous decision of the League itself.

Pourparlers in view of a Naval Agreement between Great Britain and Germany were commenced in June and concluded on the eighteenth of that month. An exchange of notes defined the points in which agreement had been reached.

The Anglo-German Naval Convention provided that the strength of the German fleet should be in the proportion of 35:100 of that of the British fleet. This proportion will not be affected by the naval programme of other countries, but in the case of exceptional measures regarding naval constructions Germany is entitled to request Great Britain to reexamine the situation.

Under the terms of the Convention the British and German Governments consented to apply the aforesaid proportion to each category of warships, both Governments declaring themselves in favour of this system of a limitation of naval armaments—a system which provides a maximum of tonnage and a maximum of calibre for each category of vessels.

As regards submarines, the Convention accorded Germany the fundamental right to possess 100% of the submarine tonnage of the British Commonwealth; at the same time Germany undertook that the total tonnage of her submarines should never exceed 45% of that of the British fleet. If, owing to extraordinary circumstances, the German Government should deem it necessary to extend this limit, Germany would be obliged to inform the British Government of the fact and to enter on a friendly discussion on the subject.

The conclusion of this naval agreement, signed on behalf of the Reich by Ambassador von Ribbentrop, had, on the one hand, the effect of circumscribing the possibilities of the development of the German Navy, but, on the other, it presented undeniable advantages for Hitler's foreign policy, advantages which may be summarised as follows:—

(1) A formal recognition of the legality of Germany's rearmament was thereby obtained for the first time, and any protests by third Powers were consequently rendered inoperative;

(2) suspicion of a new naval rivalry between Germany and Great Britain, which was one of the main causes of the World War, was dissipated;

(3) a new proof had been afforded to the world that direct bilateral agreements are easier to realise than collective pacts;

(4) a concrete example had been furnished of a treaty concluded outside the framework of the League of Nations concerning the limitation of armaments—a treaty which had appreciably contributed to the stabilisation of peace.

Although the Anglo-German Naval Convention incontestably imposed certain sacrifices on the Reich, the German nation understood the necessity of those sacrifices which it readily accepted in the interest of friendly relations between the two countries. The necessity of cordial relations between London and Berlin had, moreover, been clearly exposed by Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf* and continues to form one of the bases of his foreign policy.

1936.

On February 27, the French Chamber ratified the Franco-Russian Pact by 353 votes to 164. On March 7 German troops occupied the demilitarised Rhineland zone, and Germany informed the signatories of the Locarno Pact—i. e. France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain—that in consequence of the ratification in question "Germany had reestablished, conformably with the primordial right of a nation to the security of its frontiers and the maintenance of its defence, the full and complete sovereignty of the Reich in the demilitarised Rhenish zone." (See Picts. 45, 46.)

The memorandum remitted by the German Government to the signatories of the Locarno Pact emphasised that the pact concluded between Paris and Moscow had practically resulted in putting an end to the Locarno agreement. Hence Germany did not consider herself bound any longer to that agreement. The memorandum added that the Franco-Russian Pact had meanwhile been completed by a parallel treaty between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

In order to prevent any misinterpretations of its intentions and of the purely defensive nature of the measures taken by it; in order, further, to confirm again its immutable aspiration towards a real pacification of Europe; the German Government declared itself prepared to submit the following proposals destined to ensure lasting peace in Europe:—

(1) Mutual delimitation of a demilitarised zone between France and Germany;
(2) conclusion for a period of 25 years of a pact of non-aggression between Germany, France and Belgium;
(3) guarantee of this pact by Great Britain and Italy;
(4) the Netherlands to participate in this pact;
(5) conclusion of an air pact between the Western Powers;

(6) conclusion of a non-aggression pact similar to that between Germany and Poland with all the other States bordering Germany in the east, including Lithuania;

(7) re-entry of Germany into the League of Nations on condition that within a reasonable time and by means of amicable negotiations the question of parity of rights in respect of colonial possessions and the question of the detachment of the League Covenant from the Treaty of Versailles shall be settled.

Hitler thus broke the second strongest fetter imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and presented the world with a new "surprise." Unfortunately his suggestions have hitherto failed to elicit any response in other countries. On the contrary, just as was the case a year previously on the occasion of the reintroduction by Germany of compulsory military service, a diplomatic campaign was started against Germany. Contrary, however, to her attitude in 1935 Italy only took part in the initial stages of the new campaign. Germany's neutrality in the Abyssinian war was destined to produce its effect.

A decision of the Council of the League taken at a special session in London on March 19, condemned Germany for her violation of Article 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. Ambassador von Ribbentrop immediately protested against this decision, and on April 3, Mr. Eden stated in the House of Commons that "although it had only had time for a preliminary study, the British Government nevertheless considered Herr Hitler's proposals to be of great importance".

The German nation again proved, on the occasion of the elections to the Reichstag on March 29, that it was in complete agreement with the decisions of the Führer.

The diplomatic wrestle between the signatories of the Locarno Pact led to conversations between the General Staffs of France, England, and Belgium, the result of which has hitherto not been made known. The controversy was finally terminated on June 23 after a conference in London in which Italy did not take part. At the conference in question it was decided to convoke a Five-Power Conference, which has not met owing to the fact that two events of the greatest importance have meanwhile occurred—namely, Italy's triumph in Abyssinia and the outbreak of civil war in Spain.

Germany's neutral attitude towards Italy during the Abyssinian war and the vexed question of sanctions naturally led to a *rapprochement* between Rome and Berlin. The first symptom of this decrease of tension was shown by a relaxation of Italian intransigence in the question of Austria, a relaxation which permitted Germany to conclude with the Vienna Government the Agreement of July 11. Under the terms of this Agreement, the two Governments declared their desire to resume normal and friendly relations in the hope of thereby serving not only the interests of the two countries, but also the common interest of European peace. Germany recognised the integral sovereignty of Austria and the latter, on her part, declared her readiness to adapt her policy to her admitted position as a German State.

This agreement did not affect the Rome protocols of 1934 and 1936, nor the position of Austria towards Italy and Hungary as partners to the aforesaid

protocols. The German and Austrian Governments further declared that the internal political régime in either country, including the question of National Socialism in Austria, was a matter solely concerning each State.

The agreement put an end to discussions which had produced the effect of estranging the two German States. Precisely the fact that the two partners to the agreement were German States justified mutual sacrifices, since the tension between them had imposed a heavy, and in the long run unbearable burden on the inhabitants of both countries, not only from a political, but also from a moral point of view.

Following the convention between Germany and Poland and the Anglo-German naval pact, the Austro-German agreement furnished a new proof of the advantages of the method of direct bilateral pacts.

The Austro-German agreement did not imply a new "constellation" in the European political world, since it expressly stipulated that the Rome protocols of 1934 and 1936 between Austria, Italy and Hungary would not be affected thereby. The Austrian Government is consequently in nowise obliged to abandon the political line traced by those protocols. Germany, on the other hand, was under no necessity of modifying the policy hitherto pursued by her—namely, the policy of establishing friendly relations with all her neighbours, of successively removing all causes of quarrel, and thus realising a collective peace in the true sense of the term.

Another consequence of Rome's change of attitude towards Germany may be seen in the visit paid on October 19 by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Ciano, to Berlin, where he had long conversations with Baron von Neurath and other leading German personalities. Count Ciano was also received by Hitler at Berchtesgaden, who informed him that Germany was prepared to recognise the newly-created Italian Empire. (See Pict. 48.)

Receiving representatives of the Press Count Ciano took the opportunity of explaining the tenor of his various conversations. He stated that among the subjects discussed had been the negotiations with a view to a new Locarno pact; that various aspects presented by the problem of the League of Nations had been examined; and that both Governments had decided to keep in close contact in all further negotiations regarding these questions. Count Ciano added that his conversations had also extended to the situation created in the Danubian region by the Rome protocols and the Austro-German agreement of July 11, 1936.

Count Ciano further stated that Germany and Italy were firmly convinced that the National Government founded by General Franco responded to the unanimous will of the Spanish nation in the greater part of Spanish territory. Both Italy and Germany were inspired by the wish to see Spain recover the situation to which she was entitled in respect of the integrity alike of her national and colonial territory.

It had also been decided to intensify cultural relations between Germany and Italy. A settlement of the economic relations between the two countries in

regard to Ethiopia had also been effected in connection with Germany's recognition of the new Italian Empire[1].

Count Ciano took part in a review of the Hitler Youth in which the creation of an Italo-German Institute for the Leadership of Youth with headquarters in Rome and Berlin was announced.

Count Ciano's journey was the starting-point for a number of visits paid each other reciprocally by prominent personalities in the two countries.

In his speech in Milan on November 1, Mussolini explained that "the vertical line Berlin-Rome is not a dividing line, but an axis to which all European States animated by the will to collaboration and peace can adhere."

A wish expressed by Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf* was thus fulfilled—namely, his wish to realise an *entente cordiale* with Italy.

November was marked by three important events in regard to German policy. The first was the reestablishment of the supremacy of the Reich over the German rivers.

On November 15, the German Foreign Office addressed a Note to the Governments which under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were represented on the International River Commission for the supervision of the Rhine, the Danube, the Elbe, and the Oder. The Note stated that the provisions of the Treaty in question were contrary to the notion of parity of rights as regarded inland shipping and were detrimental to the interests of Germany. Since Germany's efforts to modify this intolerable situation had hitherto proved unsucesful the German Government considered itself unable to admit the existing situation any longer. Hence the German Government declared its inability to recognise the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles regarding the German inland waterways and the administration of the Kiel Canal. At the same time the German Government denounced the agreement signed on May 4, relating to shipping on the Rhine.

Germany thus ceased to collaborate with the Commission for surveying traffic on German rivers created by the Treaty of Versailles. Henceforth, by the decision of the German Government, navigation on the German inland waterways was open to all States without distinction, on condition of reciprocity.

A second important event was the visit to Berlin of the Austrian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Guido Schmidt, where he had lengthy conversations with Baron von Neurath and Chancellor Hitler, in the course of

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[1] The foundation of the *Società Anonima Mineraria Africa Orientale Italiana* (Italian East African Mining Company) in Milan with a capital of 50 million lire, with powers to increase to 200 million lire, was announced in January 1937. The aim of the newly founded company was the exploitation of the treasures of the soil of Ethiopia. Germany is largely interested in this undertaking and her investors have a preferential right of 25% on all profits of the company. The company intends especially to exploit the districts of Wollega and West and East Harrar, which are reputed rich in coal, iron, copper, and lead. The technical work of this new enterprise will be directed by the well known German geologist Prof. Leo von zur Mühlen.

which political, economic, and cultural problems were discussed. One of the results was the development of the commercial relations between the two countries, and it was evidenced on this occasion that the agreement of July 11 furnished the opportunity of fruitful cooperation in many domains.

The third important event of the year was the agreement concluded on November 25 in Berlin between the Japanese Ambassador and Ambassador von Ribbentrop against the Communist International. Under the terms of this agreement both States having recognised (1) that the aim of the Communist International is the dismemberment and disintegration of all existing States; further, (2) that an intervention by the Comintern in the internal conditions of their respective nations would not only menace the peace and welfare of the latter, but also the peace and welfare of the world in general: the two States in question have resolved to inform each other mutually concerning the activities of the Communist International and concerning the necessary defensive measures against such activities, which must be taken in close cooperation between Germany and Japan. Other States, whose internal peace may appear menaced by the work of systematic disintegration undertaken by the Communist International, are invited to participate in the aforesaid convention the duration of which is fixed for a period of five years.

A supplementary clause provided for the constitution of a Permanent Two-Powers Commission between the two signatories of the treaty. The clause in question also provided for severe measures to be taken against all persons found guilty of working either directly or indirectly for the interests of the Third International.

The theories expressed by Chancellor Hitler and other speakers two months previously on the occasion of the annual congress of the National Socialist Party in Nürnberg thus found their first practical application.

Among other noteworthy occurrences in this year should be mentioned the "Convention relating to the Exchange of Goods and Payments with Lithuania," concluded on August 5, and which was contracted with the aim of reducing the tension between the two countries and improving their political relations. The same peaceful policy of Germany towards all neighbouring States found its expression in offers of guarantees of neutrality to Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and Switzerland.

1937.

The year began with the journey of the Prussian Premier General Göring to Italy. On this occasion General Göring was accorded an audience by the King and had several conversations with Mussolini and Count Ciano on the subject of pressing international problems, especially of that presented by the civil war in Spain. In a discussion in Capri with representatives of the Press General Göring stated that the Berlin-Rome axis would prove a valuable instrument in the consolidation of peace. General Goering added that Germany wished to contribute to strengthen European peace, which was again jeopardised.

The practical results of General Göring's conversations was shown in the concordant reply given by Italy and Germany on January 25 to the British Government's Memorandum concerning the prohibition of a despatch of volunteers to Spain.

Already in former months both Governments (namely, those of Italy and Germany) had themselves proposed a prohibition of intervention in the Spanish civil war by such means as financial assistance, propaganda, or the expedition of volunteers; these proposals had, however, not been taken into consideration. In view of the danger of growing complications all interested Powers now declared themselves prepared to forbid the entrance into Spain of persons desirous of taking an active part in the civil war.

The aforementioned replies given by Italy and Germany contributed to calm public opinion which had been alarmed by reports in the foreign Press concerning the presence of German troops in Spanish Morocco. It should be mentioned that the German Government's reassuring reply followed a conversation between Chancellor Hitler and the French Ambassador M. François-Poncet after the customary New Year's reception of the Diplomatic Corps in the Presidential Palace in Berlin. There can be no doubt that this conversation contributed no less than the objective attitude of the French and British Governments to the settlement of an incident which might possibly have had otherwise serious international consequences.

The first four years of the National Socialist régime in Germany were concluded on January 30, 1937, with a speech by Chancellor Hitler before the Reichstag in which he rendered account of the results obtained in the meantime in all domains of German national life. The Chancellor observed that the National Socialist upheaval had realised a miracle since it had afforded the German nation, alike as regarded its internal reconstruction and the reorganisation of the German Army, the possibility of stripping off those chains which Germany necessarily considered as the most infamous ever imposed on any nation.

On the same occasion the Chancellor announced his intention of settling once and for all the question of the parity of Germany's rights, which, however, could only be realised as a result of two other preliminary decisions, namely:—

(1) the German Railways and the Reichsbank must be replaced without any restrictions whatsoever under the full and unlimited suzerainty of the Reich.

This decision had the effect of abolishing the last international limitations still binding the German monetary system and the legislation bound up with it. A period of dismal recollections for the Reichsbank thus came to an end, since every dependence of a State Bank on a foreign country must be considered as humiliating.

(2) The avowal of Germany's war-guilt, wrested by force from a weak and defenceless German Government, must be definitely withdrawn.

Although this declaration of Hitler's had no practical significance, its moral effect was in so far important since according to Article 231 of the Peace Treaty,

Germany "recognised her sole responsibility for the War and her consequent responsibility for all the damage caused by the War which had been due to her aggression." This accusation has always weighed heavily on the national feeling of the German people. German historians have consistently endeavoured, on the basis of documents published since the War—especially those emanating from the Russian secret archives—to show the manifest error of such a partial judgment. But although similar investigations, with similar results, have been undertaken in foreign countries, it has not yet proved possible to obtain from the League of Nations a revision of Article 231.

In his aforementioned speech, Chancellor Hitler declared that the era of so-called "surprises" has now been closed. Germany, now again in possession of her parity of rights, will in future contribute loyally to the solution of problems which affect her as much as other nations.

These words of Chancellor Hitler marked the conclusion of an epoch which began on June 28, 1914, and which had spelt great distress for the whole of Europe. A new epoch, in the belief of Chancellor Hitler, was to commence—an epoch opening vistas of better times.

As far as the German nation itself is concerned, it cannot be denied that Chancellor Hitler had fulfilled his promise of giving back to the German nation its parity of rights, its international freedom, and its impeccable honour.

It is interesting to recall that in this speech of his already cited, Hitler said the German Government had assured Belgium and Holland that it is prepared "at any moment to recognise and guarantee the inviolable territorial integrity of these states." This German assurance evoked a warm echo in the Upper House of the Dutch Parliament where the Dutch Government declared that Holland fully acknowledged these good intentions.

It was officially announced on February 12 that in a conversation between Joachim von Ribbentrop, German ambassador in London, and Lord Halifax, Acting British Foreign Secretary, lasting two hours, various questions affecting the interests of the two countries had been discussed. This conversation was designed to prepare the way for the subsequent visit of Lord Halifax to Germany.

Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Minister, who arrived in Vienna on February 22, for a visit lasting two days, had a series of conversations with Chancellor von Schuschnigg and Dr. Schmidt, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs. According to an official communiqué, it was with satisfaction established that the Agreement of July 11, 1936 had proved to be a suitable basis for the restoration of an amicable and trusting relationship between the two countries and is likely to warrant a further successful cooperation in this sense. The hope was expressed that the beginning of a lively exchange of goods and the inauguration of tourist traffic between the two countries, as foreseen in the Trade Agreement of January 27, would have a favourable effect upon the general development of relations. Outstanding questions connected with the mutual promotion of cultural relations were discussed in detail. It was decided that the

Committee for the Promotion of Cultural Relations between Germany and Austria, whose formation had been planned on the occasion of the visit of Dr. Schmidt to Berlin, should take up its activities on February 25.

Shortly after this, the Swiss Federal President announced to the Federal Parliament that Ex-President Schulthess had, with his knowledge and consent, been received by Chancellor Hitler whilst on a private visit to Germany. After stressing his love of peace, Chancellor Hitler had stated that the existence of Switzerland was a European necessity. He had not made special reference to Switzerland in his speech of January 30 in connection with the declaration of neutrality in respect of Belgium and Holland for the simple reason that the neutrality of Switzerland had in no way been questioned by the powers and by Germany. The inviolability and neutrality of Switzerland will be at any time, and come what may, respected by Germany. The Chancellor then authorised Schulthess to inform the Swiss government and the Swiss people of this unequivocal and solemn declaration. The Swiss Parliament expressed its gratification at receiving this declaration.

The Spring of 1937 was notable for a series of events which bore the character of an attempt to improve international relations.

In the first place, Dr. Rust, German minister for Education, left for Greece to inaugurate the excavations at Olympia made possible by the Führer's appropriations as announced on the occasion of the Olympic Games in Berlin. Later on, Dr. Schacht visited Brussels to return the visit paid by Governor of the Belgian National Bank to Berlin. He was received on this occasion by King Leopold. Interviewed by newspaper correspondents, Dr. Schacht expressed the view that a reorganisation of the trade relations between the various countries would depend solely upon whether these relations could be freed from political prejudices. As nobody wanted war, an understanding of this sort was now possible. German re-armament did not constitute a stumbling-block in the way of this understanding, on the contrary, it would help to make it possible seeing that Germany was not respected as long as it was powerless. There followed the visit to Germany of Signor Ricci, Italian Youth Leader. He came to study the organisation of the German youth movement. An important visit was that of Field Marshal Hermann Göring to Rome, where he was received by the Duce.

According to an official pronouncement, the conversations which Baron von Neurath had in Rome with Mussolini and Count Ciano served to reinforce the determination of both governments to pursue a common policy on the basis of the Italo-German protocols of October 1936 and to continue in future to strive for a far-reaching collaboration with other powers. Later on, Baron von Neurath paid visits to Belgrade, Sofia and Budapest with the object of strengthening and deepening the good relations existing between the Reich and these countries.

It is worth noting that, in the meantime, the Belgian Foreign Minister had declared that his country was conscious of the importance of the willingness of the German Chancellor to recognise and guarantee the neutrality of Belgium.

It had served to indicate possibilities which the Belgian Government could not afford to ignore.

On May 24, four Italian warships which were lying at anchor in Palma de Mallorca, were damaged by bombs dropped by aeroplanes belonging to the Valencia government. Two days later, an aerial bomb hit the Italian cruiser "Quarto", killing six officers and wounding several others. On May 29, the German battleship "Deutschland" which had put in at Ibiza, was likewise hit by bombs dropped by machines sent out by the Valencia government.

A statement broadcast by the German Government said that the warship was in the service of the international sea control but was off duty at the time of the outrage. This accounts for the fact that the crew was assembled aft in the unprotected mess-rooms. A bomb hit the mess-room, killing twenty of the ratings and wounding seventy-three others. Not a single shot was fired at the attacking aeroplanes. The declaration then went on to say that the Valencia government had twice been warned by the Non-intervention Commission and by the German Government of the danger of carrying out aerial attacks on warships acting in the service of the International Control.

As a reprisal for the "Deutschland" outrage, the German naval forces shelled the fortified port of Almeria. After the dockyards had been destroyed and the enemy batteries silenced, the action was terminated and the affair considered settled. Further German naval units were sent to reinforce the German naval forces stationed in Spanish waters.

Joachim von Ribbentrop, who was at that time German ambassador in London, handed in to the Non-intervention Committee a note in which the outrage was described as another link in a chain of similar incidents whereby, at the beginning of April red warships had threatened the battleship "Graf Spee" and, on May 11, the cruiser "Leipzig." The German Government has therefore decided to withdraw from the Control System and from the deliberations of the Non-intervention Committee until full assurances are forthcoming against the repetition of incidents of this sort. In the meantime, the German warships have been ordered to fire upon every Spanish aeroplane or warship that approach them.

In this way, Adolf Hitler saved German dignity in the face of this incident. He also saved the prestige of the International Forces operating in Spanish waters.

The Anglo-German quantitative Naval Agreement of 1935 provided for agreements of a qualitative character only in the event of an understanding being reaching in this matter between Great Britain, France, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. As an agreement of this kind had now been concluded, a further Anglo-German Naval Agreement was signed. It will remain in force until December 31, 1942.

A safeguarding clause provides for the revision of the treaty in the face of special circumstances. Furthermore, provision has been made for the holding of discussions with regard to a prolongation or revision of the treaty in the third

quarter of the year 1940. The treaty establishes a formula for determining when battleships, aircraft carriers, light surface craft, submarines and small war vessels should be considered in need of replacement. Moreover it establishes the following maximum values in a qualitative sense (size of ship and calibre):

For battleships: 35,000 tons and 40.6 cm. guns. For aircraft carriers: 23,000 tons and 15.5 cm. guns. For light surface craft, namely, for big cruisers: 10,000 tons and 20 cm. guns, for small cruisers, 8,000 tons and 15.5 cm. guns and for a further subdivision (destroyers, flottilla leaders): 3,000 tons and 15.5 cm. guns. Furthermore, for submarines: 2,000 tons and 13 cm. guns. It is agreed to discontinue the building of big cruisers from now until January 1, 1947. Should, however, the Soviet Union carry out its intention of building such cruisers during this period, this respite from building may be curtailed. It is expressly stated that Germany cannot be held responsible for such an eventuality. It is also agreed that there should be an exchange of information between the contracting parties with regard to building plans. A supplementary agreement in the form of a declaration contains provisions regarding the application of the 35 to 100 strength relation of the German and British navies to the specific categories of vessels and the possibility of the transfer of tonnage from one category of ships to another, as well as special stipulations concerning the replacement of those German warships built in accordance with the provisions of the Versailles Treaty. An exchange of notes embodied in the agreement as a third section deals with the possibility, already mentioned, of curtailing the building respite for large cruisers.

The German Official News Agency announced at the beginning of September that in the second half of the month the Duce would visit Germany at the invitation of the Führer. This was universally regarded as an event of outstanding importance. The meeting was intended to reaffirm the close ideological ties uniting the revolutionary movements which had brought about a complete transformation and reorganization of social and state life in both countries.

The Italian Chief of State arrived in Germany accompanied by Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, Signor Starace, Minister and Party Secretary, Signor Alfieri, Minister for Propaganda, and a large suite. He was welcomed at the Austro-German frontier by Rudolf Hess, Führer's Deputy, who accompanied him to Munich. After being received by Chancellor Hitler, the Duce deposited a wreath in the Temple of Honour on the Königlichen Platz and then paid visits to the Administrative Offices of the National Socialist Party and to the Führerhaus where he was introduced to leading Party members (see Picts. 51 to 56).

Following the parade organised by the Party and a visit to the House of German Art, Mussolini left Munich in company of the Führer for the purpose of attending the German Army Manoeuvres in North Germany. Prior to leaving Munich, Mussolini and Hitler had several lengthy conversations. Mussolini conferred upon Hitler the title of Honorary Corporal of the Fascist Militia, which is the highest title awarded by the Fascist Party. Hitler, for his part, awarded the

Duce the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the German Eagle as well as the Golden Badge of the National Socialist Party, hitherto worn only by the Führer himself.

The appointment of Hitler as Honorary Corporal of the Fascist Militia was explained as follows: "Adolf Hitler, the Führer of the German People, gave Germany back its faith in its new greatness. The restorer of state, social and political order, he leads the German nation with firm hand towards the fulfilment of its high mission. As upholder and defender of European civilisation against every attempt at disruption, he gave to Italy, at a period of its struggle, testimony of his loyal solidarity and friendship."

At the conclusion of the German Army manoeuvres, Führer and Duce departed for Essen for an inspection of the Krupp Works. Upon his return to Berlin, the Duce made a triumphal entry into the gaily decorated German capital. The day was declared a general holiday.

A gala reception was given in the Reich Chancellery on the evening of the same day. In his toast, Adolf Hitler paid high tribute to his guest, referring to him as the creator of Fascist Italy and the founder of a new Imperium:—

"On your journey through Germany you will have appreciated from the great enthusiasm with which you were received by all classes of the German nation that your visit meant more to us than a merely diplomatic event and a purely conventional meeting. At a time in which the world is full of tensions and alarming confusions, in which the most dangerous elements attempt to attack and destroy the civilisation of Europe, Germany and Italy have found themselves in sincere friendship and common political cooperation. This cooperation rests not only on the same indestructible will to live and assert themselves, but, in addition, on related political ideals which we are convinced are a basis of that internal strength and firmness of our States. These common fundamental political principles constitute a tie binding our peoples, and there operates in the same direction the fact that in the real vital interests of Italy and Germany there are no factors separating them, but only factors of a complementary or unifying nature. We believe that the safeguarding of peace and of the most precious flowers of European civilisation are not to be attained by the creation of a bloc directed against other European States. We are, on the contrary, convinced that through our common work we serve best not only the interests of our two countries but, in addition, the objective of a general international understanding, which lies close to our hearts. In this spirit, Germany and Italy will examine and deal side by side with the political tasks, so as to oppose every attempt to separate the two nations or even play one off against the other."

In his reply, Mussolini said that since he had been on German soil he had felt everywhere around him the spiritual atmosphere of a great, friendly people. He greeted the Führer as the man who had restored to the German nation the consciousness of its greatness, as the re-creator of the nation with which Fascist Italy is allied by so many ties of spirit and achievement. The Fascist and the National Socialist revolution were and are creative revolutions. Germany and Italy have created on their soil great works of culture and progress. New and not less great works will rise in the future.

On the second day of his sojourn in Berlin, Mussolini visited the Armoury, Potsdam and the headquarters of the Berlin Fascio. He paid a visit to Field-marshal Göring at Karin Hall in the Schorfheide. Later in the day, a big demonstration was held on the Reichs Sports Field. It was attended by about a million persons, whilst a further two millions lined the route.

Adolf Hitler, who spoke first, said that the deepest significance of this demonstration of peoples was the sincere wish of their countries to guarantee that peace which was not the reward of a cowardly abdication but the result of a responsible securing of their natural, spiritual and moral welfare as well as of their cultural substance and values. In this way they were serving not only their own interests but those of all Europe. No nation can desire peace more than Germany but no people have learned to know better the fearful results of weak confidence than ours. The ideals of liberalism and democracy had not saved the German nation from the worst kinds of political rape. In that time of bitter trial Italy, and especially Fascist Italy, did not join in the humiliations imposed upon Germany. Italy showed in those years understanding for the claims to equality of a great nation. It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction that an hour has come in which Germany could remember that and has remembered it. Out of the similar nature of the Fascist and National Socialist revolutions there is arising to-day not only a community of views but of action. Fascist Italy through the genius and work of one creative man has become a new Empire. The German Empire had also regained its military strength. The power of these two Empires forms today the strongest guarantee for the safeguarding of a Europe which still possesses a sense of its cultural mission and does not intend to fall a prey to destructive elements. Every attempt to divide such a unity of peoples by playing off one against the other, by casting suspicions or alleging untrue aims, will fail before the wish of the 115,000,000 taking part in this demonstration, as also before the wills of the two leading men.

Mussolini then addressed the gathering. He said that his visit should not be measured by the same standard as the usual diplomatic political visits. The fact that he had come to Germany today did not mean that he would be travelling somewhere else to-morrow. He had come not merely as the head of the Italian government but above all in his capacity as the head of a national revolution, which thereby wishes to give a proof of its close connection with the German revolution. The course of both revolutions may have been different, but the goal they had wished to reach and have reached is the same: the unity and greatness of the nation.

There were no secret intentions hidden behind his visit. Nothing would be planned in Berlin to divide a Europe which is already divided enough. The solemn confirmation of the fact and stability of the Berlin-Rome axis was not directed against other States. National Socialists and Fascists wanted peace and are always ready to work for peace, a real, fruitful peace which does not silently ignore, but solves the questions arising from the life of the peoples. To the whole world, which is asking tensely what the result of this meeting will be, war or peace, he could answer with a loud voice: Peace. Germany and Italy follow the

same goal in the sphere of economic autarchy. Without economic independence the political independence of a nation is doubtful, and a nation of great military power may become the victim of an economic blockade. The community of ideas in Germany and Italy had found expression in the struggle against the Third International, the modern form of darkest Byzantinian arbitrary force. After the war, Fascism fought with the utmost energy this form of human degeneracy, fought it with word and weapon. The same course has been adopted towards Spain, where thousands of Italian volunteers have fallen to save. European culture, the culture which may experience a re-birth when it turns its back upon the false, lying gods of Geneva and Moscow, and turns towards the luminous truths of the German and Italian revolutions.

This danger was experienced in all its directness when 52 nations assembled at Geneva decided upon criminal economic sanctions. Germany did not take part in the sanctions, despite all inducements. Italy will never forget that. That is the point at which, for the first time, the existence of a necessary cooperation between National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy appeared. What the world now knows as the Rome-Berlin axis arose in the autumn of 1935, and has worked in the first two years for the ever stronger rapprochement of the two peoples to each other, as for the growing political strengthening of the peace of Europe.

He said that he did not know when Europe would awaken, for secret, but to him well enough known, forces are at work to turn a civil war into a world conflagration. What is important is that Italy and Germany—who in human beings make the immense mass of 115,000,000—stand together in a single unshatterable determination.

On September 29, a big military parade was held in Berlin before the Duce and the Führer. There took part in it 590 officers, 13,100 non-commissioned officers and men, 1,890 horses, 145 horse-drawn vehicles, 613 motorised vehicles and 144 motor bicycles. On the same day, Mussolini concluded his three day visit to Berlin. He was accompanied to the Reich frontier by the Führer's Deputy. As the German News Agency announced at the time, the Duce invited the Führer to make a return visit to Italy. This invitation was gladly accepted.

On November 6, the German, Italian and Japanese Governments signed in Rome a protocol in which they expressed their considered opinion that the Communist International had become a dangerous menace to civilised world in the East and in the West, as it disturbed and disrupted peace everywhere, and that this menace could be faced and overcome only through the close collaboration of all those countries interested in the preservation of peace and order. In view of the fact that Italy, which has combatted this danger ever since the beginning of the Fascist régime and has extirpated all influences of the Communist International in its own territory, had now decided to face the common enemy side by side with Germany and Japan, who are likewise inspired by the desire to defend themselves from Communist International, the three governments are agreed that, in accordance with Article II of the Agreement of

November 25, 1936 between Germany and Japan, that Italy should join this agreement.

Lord Halifax, Lord President of the Privy Council, arrived in Berlin on November 17. According to an official statement, it was a private journey with the object of visiting the Hunting Exhibition. On the first day of his visit, however, Lord Halifax had opportunity for a lengthy conversation with Baron von Neurath, who was then still in charge of the German Foreign Office. Later on, Lord Halifax was received by the Führer at Obersalzberg, where in a talk lasting five hours, problems were discussed affecting Germany and Britain. Prior to his return to London, Lord Halifax declared that although he had nothing to say about the subject of his talks, these had been frank, open and informal. He hoped, he said, that the door to a clarification of the atmosphere between Germany and Britain had been slightly opened. He mentioned the cordiality and friendliness of his reception in Germany, especially by the Führer. He was glad to have had the opportunity of establishing contact with the leading men of Germany (see Pict. 49).

Dr. von Daranyi, Hungarian Prime minister, and Dr. von Kanya, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Berlin on November 21 as the guests of the German Government. On the occasion of the official reception in the Presidential Palace in the Wilhelm Strasse, Baron von Neurath recalled the traditional friendship existing between Germany and Hungary. Both countries had passed through years of suffering and were now engaged in the laborious task of national reconstruction. The Third Reich was following, he said, the powerful resurgence of the Hungarian nation with the warmest sympathy. In the future, as in the past, German settlers in Hungary who had long since become loyal Hungarian citizens would contribute part towards consolidating this friendship. The unshakeable relationship of mutual trust, now existing between the two countries, offered a warrant for the political future. In his reply, Premier von Daranyi expressed his admiration for the infectious virility displayed by the German people upon being liberated from their fetters. He recorded his satisfaction at the thought that Hungary would continue, by virtue of common interests, to live in friendly relations with Germany. This friendship, which had always served to promote peace and which had been consolidated through the World War, would continue to be directed towards the attainment of pacific ends (see Pict. 50).

On a motion introduced by the Duce himself, the Grand Fascist Council unanimously decided on December 11 on the immediate withdrawal of Italy from the League of Nations. An official German pronouncement on this move declared that Germany had taken note of this step with the fullest understanding and warmest sympathy. The League of Nations had thereby received its deserts for the political blunders it had committed. It had never proved itself capable of making a useful contribution towards the surmounting of current problems of international politics. It had invariably exerted a harmful even dangerous, influence upon the entire political development. Beneath the cloak of pre-

conceived ideals it had become more and more a federation serving the interests of those who had profitted by the Versailles arrangement. The complete failure of the League of Nations has to-day become a fact which needs no further evidence or explanation. Even the smaller countries have brought themselves to renounce all hope in the League of Nations upon realising that the Geneva policy of collective security had, in truth, led to a collective insecurity. It is now only from Moscow that one hears an avowal of belief in the Geneva ideals. Those big powers which have remained in Geneva have, however, no longer the right to represent the League of Nations as being the supreme organ of international cooperation. The German Government is convinced that the political system of Geneva had not only ended in abortion but had become a harmful influence. For this reason, a return of Germany to the League of Nations would never more come into consideration.

This solemn declaration, which put an abrupt end to the hopes of many adherents of the Geneva League, supplied the curtain to what, from a diplomatic viewpoint, was a very eventful year and the herald of happenings of supreme importance.

1938 (down to the Führer's visit to Italy).

The visits of foreign statesmen to Germany continued to remain the order of the day. In the middle of January, Colonel Beck, Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, broke his journey to Geneva at Berlin where he spent a few days. He was received by the Führer and also took this opportunity to conduct an exchange of views with Baron von Neurath and other leading German personages.

There followed the visit of M. Stoyadinovitch, Yugoslav Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He had a series of political conversations with the Chief of the Foreign Office as well as with General Göring and the Chancellor himself. It was announced subsequently that these talks had been conducted in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and with complete understanding on both sides of the reciprocal viewpoints, whereby it was re-affirmed that the preliminary conditions are given for an enduring friendship and a collaboration in all domains in the interest of European appeasement. Both sides pledge themselves to promote in every way the favourable development of German-Yugoslav relations. As regards press relations, it was fully agreed that the press in either country should devote itself to a greater extent than in the past to the task of fostering the good, friendly relations existing between the two countries. Finally, with the object of dealing, under State guidance, with all matters relating to the timber trade between Germany and Yugoslavia, it was decided to form a joint Forestry and Agricultural Committee composed of experts from both countries and entrusted with the task of fostering relations in this domain.

With the object of being able to inform the Reichstag of important measures and events which had not yet been fully materialised, Adolf Hitler refrained from making his traditional review of the situation on the occasion of the anniversary

of the advent of National Socialism to power. In the early part of February, Baron von Neurath was, at his own request, relieved of his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs and, at the same time, appointed Chief of the Privy Cabinet Council, retaining the title of a Cabinet Minister. The title "Minister without Portfolio" has been definitely dropped. In a letter addressed to him on this occasion, the Führer intimated that he was unable to comply with his request to be permitted to go into retirement as his advice and insight had become indispensable to Adolf Hitler. His appointment as President of the Privy Cabinet Council had been made in order to retain his services as an adviser in the direction of the affairs of State.

Joachim von Ribbentrop, hitherto German Ambassador in London, was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in succession to Baron von Neurath.

The deliberations of the Privy Cabinet Council, which has thus been formed to advise on matters of Foreign Policy, are conducted by Dr. Lammers, Reich Minister and Chief of the German Chancellery. Members of the Privy Council are: Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, Field Marshal Göring, Rudolf Hess, the Führer's Deputy, Dr. Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda, Dr. Lammers, Chief of the German Chancellery, General von Brauchitsch, Commander-in-chief of the German Army, General-Admiral Raeder, Commander-in-chief of the German Navy, General Keitel, Chief of the Supreme Army Command.

Adolf Hitler made further sweeping changes in that he ordered the recall of the German ambassadors in Rome, Tokio and Vienna. These three members of the German diplomatic service, Herr von Hassell, Herr von Dirksen and Herr von Papen were retained for further disposal of the foreign Office.

On the same day, Field Marshal von Blomberg resigned his position as German War Minister and Commander-in-chief of the Army, for reasons of health. In a letter addressed to him, the Führer recalled that General von Blomberg, as the first officer of the New Reich, took the oath of allegiance to the National Socialist régime on January 30, 1933 and had since then carried out the remarkable work of completing the entire military re-organisation of Germany's Armed Forces. Chancellor Hitler expressed his profound gratitude for the services rendered by General von Blomberg.

At the same time, the Führer decreed that the entire armed forces of Germany shall from now onwards be placed under his direct personal control. The former Military Office of the Minister of War comes under the direct control of Chancellor Hitler as his own Military Staff whilst continuing to act in its capacity as "Supreme Command of the Armed Forces." Head of this Staff of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces is General Keitel, formerly Chief of the Military Office. His title becomes Chief of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces and he has the rank of a Cabinet Minister. The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces also attends to the affairs of the German Ministry of Defence, and the Chief of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces exercises on behalf of the Führer those powers formerly held by the German Minister for Defence. The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces is entrusted with the task of carrying

out, in accordance with the directives of Adolf Hitler, the unified preparation of national defence in all domains.

General von Fritsch, who prior to these changes had held the post of Commander-in-chief of the German Army, also retired for reasons of health. The Führer wrote him a letter thanking him for the outstanding services rendered in re-organising the German Army. A successor was appointed in General von Brauchitsch, formerly in command of the Fourth Army Group. The Commander-in-chief of the German Air Force, General Göring was at the same time given the rank of Field Marshal.

These sweeping changes of a political and military character, together with the re-organisation of the German Ministry for Economic Affairs, were for the most part completely misunderstood or misinterpreted abroad. Actually, two palpable facts emerge from these changes: a greater share of responsibility in the conduct of the affairs of the nation devolves upon the Party, and, secondly, a stronger concentration of the Wehrmacht and economic policy in the hands of the Führer. This has led to a strengthening of the national unity, a tendency which, incidentally, has made itself apparent in several other countries.

Before turning our attention to the events which resulted in the re-incorporation of Austria into the German Reich, it seems to me necessary to deal with another important happening, namely, the journey of Adolf Hitler to Italy in response to an invitation from the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia and to return the visit made by Mussolini to Germany (see Picts. 69 to 76).

The Führer, accompanied by a big entourage which included Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, Rudolf Hess, Dr. Goebbels, Dr. Frank, Dr. Lammers, Dr. Messner, General Keitel, Commander-in-chief of the German Armed Forces, and Herr Himmler, Chief of the German Police, and the State Secretaries Weizsäcker and Bohle, arrived at the Brenner Pass on the morning of May 3 where he was welcomed by the Duke of Pistoia and Minister Starace, Secretary of the Fascist Party. The Führer then experienced a veritable triumphal journey on his way to Rome where he was greeted upon arriving the evening of the same day at the Ostia Station, especially constructed for the occasion, by King Victor Emanuel and Benito Mussolini at the head of a big entourage of state dignitaries. Responding to an appeal made by the Governor of Rome, the inhabitants of the gaily-decorated capital gave an enthusiastic reception to Chancellor Hitler as, having taken his seat in the Royal landau next to his host, the King of Italy, he was driven along the newly-named Viale Adolfo Hitler to the Quirinal where he took up residence during his stay in the Italian capital. At the Paul's Gate, the Governor of Rome, Prince Colonna, welcomed the Führer on behalf of the City of Rome.

On May 4, Mussolini paid an early morning call on the Führer at the Quirinal. There followed the ceremonies of depositing wreaths in the Pantheon, on the tomb of the Italian monarchs, at the shrine of the Unknown Warrior and at the Fascist Memorial. The Führer then paid a return visit to Mussolini whereby the first opportunity was created for political conversations. In the afternoon,

the Führer and the Duce went out to Centocelle to attend a military display of 50,000 members of the Italian Youth Organisation drawn from all parts of the Empire and accommodated in a huge camp composed of 14,000 tents. Later on in the day, the Führer attended a gathering in the Basilica of Maxentius of the organisation of the Germans living in Italy and to whom he delivered an address. The day concluded with a gala banquet given by the King of Italy in honour of his guest and at which toasts were exchanged. The same evening, the Führer left for Naples.

On the morning of May 5, the Führer arrived in Naples and was welcomed at the station by the King of Italy and the Crown Prince of Italy. The party then went abord the flagship "Cavour" where they were received by Mussolini in his capacity as Minister of Marine. There followed naval manoeuvres which concluded with an imposing naval review in which about 200 war vessels took part. A big gathering of the Fascist Party, attended by about 600,000 persons who gave the Führer a rousing ovation, was followed by a visit to the Opera and a gala banquet given by the Crown Princess of Italy. The Führer then returned to Rome.

On the morning of May 6, a big military review on the Via dei Trionfi in which about 50,000 troops representing all the services took part. In marching past the stand on which the King of Italy, the Führer and Mussolini had taken up their positions, the troops performed the "Passo Romano", newly introduced into the Italian Army. There took part in the parade about 600 army lorries, 400 armoured cars, 200 morsers, 320 motor cycles as well as special formations of the Fascist youth and militia. The afternoon was devoted to a visit to the Augustus Exhibition and to a sightseeing tour of the city and environs. The next item on the diary was the official welcome of the Führer in the Capitol by the Governor of Rome, Prince Colonna. A popular festival, arranged by the "Dopolavoro" was held in the Park of the Villa Borghese and attended by about 100,000 persons. The attractive programme included folk dances performed by some 10,000 couples.

The Army manoeuvres which had been scheduled for May 7 had to be postponed owing to the bad weather conditions. The climax of the Führer's Italian visit was reached the same evening, when, after a sumptuous State banquet at the Palazzo Venezia, the two statesmen reaffirmed the pledge of friendship between their two countries. Mussolini, in his speech, said:—

"Führer, it is with the most cordial joy that I, the Government, and the Italian people welcome you in this Rome which to-day receives you in the twofold nimbus of her tradition and her power. Your visit to Rome fulfils and seals the understanding between our two countries. This understanding, which we have firmly desired and tenaciously constructed, has its roots in our two Revolutions, its strength in the ideal fellowship which binds our two peoples, and its historical function in the permanent interests of our two countries. One hundred years of history—from the time when first Germany and Italy raised themselves by Revolutions and by arms to claim their right to national unity—bear witness to the parallel nature of these positions and the solidarity of these interests. In the same faith and with the same will Germany and Italy have fought to build their unity, have worked to make it sound and compact, and have redeemed

themselves in recent times from the corruption of destructive ideologies in order to create the new régime of the people which is the characteristic of this century. Along this path, traced by history, our two peoples are marching, united with loyal intentions and with the convinced trust which has been tested by the events of these years of peace and understanding between the two nations.

Fascist Italy knows only a single ethical law in friendship: that which I recalled before the German people on the Mayfield. It is this law which the collaboration between the National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy has obeyed, obeys, and will obey.

The premises and the objectives of this collaboration, consecrated in the Rome-Berlin axis, have been repeatedly and openly reaffirmed by us. Germany and Italy have turned their backs on the Utopias to which Europe had blindly entrusted her fate in order to seek between them and with others a régime of international comity which may restore equally for all more effective guarantees of justice, security and peace.

This goal can only be reached when the elementary rights of our people to live, work and defend themselves are loyally recognised and the political equilibrium corresponds to the reality of the historical source which constitute and determine it. We are convinced that it is along this path that the European nations will find that tranquillity and peace which are indispensable for the preservation of the very foundations of European civilisation.

Führer, I still retain a deep impression of the admirable spectacle of work, peace, and strength which last autumn was offered me by your country, refreshed by you in those fundamental virtues of discipline, courage and tenacity which create the greatness of peoples. I have not forgotten, nor will I forget, the reception that was accorded me by yourself, by the authorities and by the people. The most fervent wishes of myself and of Fascist Italy are extended to your mighty work of reconstruction. I raise my glass to your health, and I drink to the prosperity of the German nation and the unchangeable friendship of our two peoples."

The Führer replied in the following words:—

"Duce, with deep emotion I thank you for the moving words of the greeting you have addressed to me in the name both of the Italian government and of the Italian people. I am happy to be here in Rome, in which the powerful manifestations of young Fascist Italy are united with the evidence of its incomparable glorious past.

Since the moment when I first set foot on Italian soil I have been conscious everywhere of an atmosphere of friendship and sympathy which rejoices me deeply. With the same heartfelt emotion the German people greeted last August in your person the creator of Fascist Italy, the founder of a new Empire, and at the same time a great friend of Germany.

The National Socialist Movement and the Fascist Revolution have created two new and powerful States which today stand for order and healthy progress in a world of unrest and decay. Germany and Italy have thus similar interests and are closely bound to one another by their common ideology. In this way there has been created in Europe a bloc of 120 million people who are resolved to safeguard their eternal right to live and to defend themselves against all forces which might venture to oppose their natural development.

Out of this fight against a world of misunderstanding and opposition which Germany and Italy have had to wage shoulder to shoulder a hearty friendship has gradually grown up between the two peoples. This friendship has proved its strength during the

events of the last few years, which have also shown the world that it is necessary to take some account of the rightful and vital interests of great nations.

It is therefore quite natural that our two peoples should in the future continue to develop and extend in constant collaboration this friendship, which in these last years has repeatedly proved its value.

Duce, last August on the May Field in Berlin you quoted as an ethical principle, sacred to you and Fascist Italy, these words: "Speak plainly and frankly, and if you have a friend march with him right to the end." In the name of National Socialist Germany I, too, acknowledge this rule. To-day I give you this answer. Two thousand years have now passed since Romans and Germans met for the first time in history as we know it. Standing here on this, the most glorious spot known to humanity, I feel it was a tragedy of fate that for a time no clear frontier was drawn between these great and gifted races. It caused untold suffering for generations. Now, after almost 2,000 years, thanks to your historic efforts, Benito Mussolini, the Roman State rises from its remote traditions to new life.

To the north of you a new German State has grown up from countless tribes. Now that we have become immediate neighbours, taught by the experience of 2,000 years, we both acknowledge those natural frontiers which Providence and history have visibly drawn between our two peoples. They will give Italy and Germany not only the possibility of peaceful and permanent collaboration through a clear division of their spheres of activity, but will provide a bridge for mutual help and support. It is my irrevocable will and my bequest to the German people that the frontier of the Alps, which Nature has erected between us, shall be regarded for ever as unchangeable. I know that thus a great and prosperous future will ensue for Rome and Germany.

Duce, just as you and your people kept friendship for Germany in a moment of crisis, so I and my people are ready to show Italy the same friendship in times of stress. The magnificent impressions I have just received of the youthful strength, the will to work, and the proud spirit of the new Italy will remain imperishable in my memory. Unforgettable, too, was the sight of your soldiers and Blackshirts, fresh from their recent victories, your well-tried Fleet, and the prowess of your magnificent Air Force. They give me certainty that your admirable constructive work, which I follow with sincerest good wishes, will lead to further good results.

I raise my glass and drink to your health, to the good fortune and greatness of the Italian people, and to our unchangeable friendship."

A military display, in which all services took part and in the course of which live ammunition was used, was held on May 8 in the presence of King Victor Emanuel, the Führer and the Duce, in the neighbourhood of the coastal town of Santa Marinella. The invited guests were then driven out to Furbara aerodrome to attend the Air Display. Squadrons of the Italian C. R. 32 pursuit machines carried out some very high-class aerobatics in formation, including the famous double roll. In the evening, the Führer visited the Colosseum and then dined with Count Ciano at the Villa Madama, which overlooks the Mussolini Forum. The last spectacle of his Rome programme was a military and gymnastic display, followed by a performance of the second act of Lohengrin in the Olympic Stadium of the Mussolini Forum. After the display, which included evolutions by 3,000 young Fascists carrying torches, the lights were dimmed, leaving only the

gigantic stage illuminated, and the operatic performance began. The evening ended with a firework display along the banks of the River Tiber.

At nine o'clock Monday morning, May 9, the Führer accompanied by King Victor Emanuel and the Duce left Rome for Florence. He arrived there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and immediately proceeded to inspect the sights of the city. At midnight, he boarded his special train to return to Germany.

The Führer crossed the Italo-German frontier at the Brenner Pass in the early hours of May 10. He had been accompanied to the frontier by the Duke of Pistoia and Minister Starace. Upon his leaving Italian soil, farewell messages was exchanged between him and his host, King Victor Emanuel, as well as with the Duce and the Italian Crown Prince. Adolf Hitler arrived in Berlin on the evening of the same day and was given a rousing ovation by the population. Fieldmarshal Göring, in an address of welcome, said that the German people had felt itself honoured by the way in which its Führer had been received in Italy. It was no accident that the two outstanding statesmen that this century had produced had become linked in friendship. This friendship was at the same time the friendship of nations which should be just as enduring as the eternal peace which the Führer had proclaimed between the two peoples.

In the face of a number of incorrect and, in part, malicious accounts of the significance of the new German-Italian meeting, the more serious section of the foreign press was able to take an objective view of the stability and purpose of the Berlin-Rome axis so clearly manifested on this occasion. The days spent by the Führer in Italy have served to convey the most profound impression of the restored greatness of the Italian people. Those who, like the author of these lines, were allowed to participate in these events, cannot doubt for one moment that this Italy in its armoured might and with the magnificent elements of its cultural traditions is a power which cannot be excluded from international cooperation and which constitutes a valuable partner for Germany.

On the other hand, Adolf Hitler's solemn assurance with regard to the inviolability of the Brenner frontier has banished the last doubt which might have cast its shadow upon the relations between these two nations, so that we can safely predict permanency for this friendship created by two of Europe's leading statesmen.

IV.

The "Anschluss"[1]

On February 12, 1938, the Austrian Chancellor Dr. von Schuschnigg, accompanied by his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Dr. Guido Schmidt and by the German Ambassador in Vienna Herr von Papen, arrived at Chancellor Hitler's house at the Obersalzberg near Berchtesgaden, in response to an invitation sent to Dr. von Schuschnigg by Hitler. The German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop was also present at the conversations, during which, according to the official version, the relations between Austria and the Reich were discussed in detail. The object of these conversations was to remove difficulties which had arisen in the carrying-out of the Austro-German agreement of July 11, 1936. Both parties were agreed to adhere to the principles embodied in that pact and to regard the latter as a suitable basis for the satisfactory development of their mutual relations. Both parties further agreed to apply without delay a series of measures destined to consolidate the links of friendship uniting the two countries in a manner conformable with the racial and historic ties between them and with the collective interests of the German people as a whole. The official *communiqué* added that Hitler and Schuschnigg shared the conviction that the policy adopted by them would effectively contribute to the peaceful evolution of Europe.

The Federal Commissar for Home Service, Colonel Adam, who broadcasted the official *communiqué* from Vienna, stated that he was empowered by Chancellor Schuschnigg to say that the principles of the Austro-German agreement of July 11, 1936, remained unchanged. The same, Colonel Adam added, was the case with the Austrian Constitution adapted in May, 1934, and with the position of the "Fatherland" Front. Under the terms of the Constitution and of the law concerning the formation of the Fatherland Front a restoration of the former political parties was out of the question. It would, however, henceforth be possible for those sections of the population which had hitherto stood aloof from the Fatherland Front to take their share in its work of national reconstruction.

A reshuffling of the Vienna Cabinet took place and was announced early on the morning of February 16. The Chairman of the German-Austrian Volksbund, Dr. Seyss-Inquart, as representing the National Socialist Opposition, was appointed Minister of the Interior with full control of the Security Service, which had previously belonged to the domain of the Federal Chancellor. Dr. von

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[1] See Picts. 57 to 68.

Schuschnigg also ceded the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to his Secretary of State Dr. Guido Schmidt. A number of other changes in the composition of the Cabinet also took place.

Following the changes in the Cabinet the new Ministry decided on the initiative of Chancellor Schuschnigg to grant an amnesty for political offences committed before February 15, 1937, provided the delinquents had not gone abroad.

The two signatories of the Berchtesgaden agreement did not tarry in pronouncing their respective views on the subject. Whereas, however, Hitler's speech in the Reichstag on February 20 clearly showed a determined will to adhere to the obligations subscribed by him, Schuschnigg's utterances, delivered four days later at a meeting of the Austrian Bundestag specially convened for the purpose, created the impression that the Austrian Chancellor interpreted the agreement differently to the Reich Chancellor. Hence it is necessary to compare the text of the two declarations.

Chancellor Hitler said notably:—

"The difficulties presented by the fulfilment of the pact of July 11, 1936, had compelled us to make an attempt to clear away misunderstandings which were so many impediments to a mutual understanding. It was clear that the intolerable situation which had arisen would inevitably have led one day to a catastrophe, the consequences of which could not be measured. Under such circumstances it is generally beyond the power of any individual to arrest a process of development which has been started owing to negligence or imprudence. I am glad to say that this view is shared by the Austrian Chancellor, whom I had invited to visit me. The idea and intention inspiring my invitation were to bring about a decrease of tension in the relations between our two countries by granting to the National Socialist elements of the population in Austria, within the framework of the existing constitution, the same rights as those enjoyed by all other citizens. In connection herewith a great action for appeasement is to be undertaken in the shape of a general amnesty. It is to be hoped that this will lead to a better understanding between the two States who will henceforth be linked-up by closer and friendlier relations in political, economic, and also personal domains. All this represents a completion of the agreement of July 11, 1936. I should like to take the opportunity of expressing before the German nation my sincere thanks to the Austrian Chancellor for the great and heartfelt willingness with which he accepted my invitation and has endeavoured, in cooperation with me, to find a course of action conducive to the interests of both States and to those of the whole German people whose sons—wherever our cradle may have stood—we all are. I believe that we have thereby made a contribution to the cause of European peace."

The views expressed by Chancellor Schuschnigg were perceptibly different when he said in his above-mentioned speech:—

"The German Peace, as I should like to define the agreement just made, renders it possible for all those who adhere to National Socialist ideas to cooperate with the other citizens provided the confession of political faith of the National Socialists shall conform clearly and unambiguously to the principles of the Constitution which, according to the will of Engelbert Dollfuss, created the independent, German and Christian, professionally organised, and authoritarian Austria. Provided also the

confession of political faith in question shall conform to the fundamental principles of the Fatherland Front besides which there can be no political party or organisation in Austria, and within which the equality of all is assured on condition of unshakable adhesion to those fundamental principles. This will be the task of the Fatherland Front during the next few weeks. The observation of the laws of Austria, hence also of the law concerning the Fatherland Front, and the recognition of the Austrian Constitution, form the basis of the latest agreement and the expressly defined condition precedent of cooperation with the Reich.

At the same time the Reich Government renewed the promise to take the necessary measures to prevent any intervention in Austria's internal affairs . . . It has been agreed that illegal actions in Austria can under no circumstances reckon either on the connivance of a foreign State or on the tolerance of the Austrian Federal Government, and that such illegal actions will incur the penalties provided for by the law. This is my concluding remark on this subject, which for various reasons seems to be deserving of special attention.

I have spoken of an honourable peace. No peace would have been honourable if it had justified those elements in Austria who but a short time ago spoke of the illegality of the Austrian Constitution and of the perjurers in the Austrian Government, who had preached violence and terrorism, and who had announced the recommencement of party controversies. But it was an honourable peace, because based on the immutability of the principles which we have always defended respecting our Constitution and the Fatherland Front, hence concerning the foundations on which our State has been built up. We were well aware that we could go *thus far but no farther*. We did not fear to go thus far because, confiding in the word and the personality of the Führer and Chancellor who has successfully conducted the destinies of the great German Reich confided to him, we determined to adopt a course which if it be consistently followed must in our conviction conduce to the welfare of the Austrian Fatherland and of the entire German people, and must therefore serve the interests of European peace.

I particularly desire to stress that, fully conscious of my responsibility, as well as of the vital interests and the peaceful development of our Fatherland, I intend to fulfil without reserve the undertaking given by me on behalf of Austria. We shall all rejoice if after difficult times which demanded many sacrifices and were brought to a conclusion by the negotiations of February 12, 1938, we have found the way to a real German peace—to a peace, the maintenance and consolidation of which will justify the concessions made in order to realise it.

I now turn to the purely internal Austrian aspect of the problem. The principles underlying the building-up of the Austrian State and associated with the name of Dollfuss have been so clearly and frequently defined that it would be superfluous at this moment to repeat or emphasise them. I would take this opportunity of inviting all Austrians who are alive to the requirements of the present day to inaugurate a new era of real political cooperation in which, conformably with our principles, every citizen shall enjoy the greatest possible freedom *in so far as such freedom is not limited by the regulations governing the organisation of the Fatherland Front*. Under these circumstances nobody need fear any restriction of his personal liberty, provided he does not take advantage of the latter to conspire against the foundations and the fundamental laws of the State.

I would especially appeal to the old and loyal standard-bearers of the Austrian ideal, whose task it must be now more than ever to rally around the flag of the

Fatherland and to carry it forward with unflinching energy. On their labours it will depend first and foremost that the activity of the Fatherland Front be extended to all corners of our country, that all Austrians without exception be unshakably convinced of what is at stake. It is high time that the catchwords of a vanished era should be definitely put on the shelf. Clericalism and Anti-Clericalism are conceptions which have long since ceased to have any meaning. The words Liberal and Revolutionary should only be used by those, if there are any such persons, who are capable of defining what they understand by them. To the adherents of National Socialism, however, I would recommend the following considerations: namely, that neither Nationalism nor Socialism, but Patriotism, should be the watchword in Austria. All that is really sound in the various ideals and programmes will find its place in the Fatherland Front, *which is the one great national and social movement in our country.*"

Whereas the hope was entertained in Berlin that parity of rights had been secured for the National Socialist Party in Austria, the Vienna Government manifestly nourished the illusion of breaking the resistance of the National Socialists by absorbing them in the Fatherland Front whose motto was that of a so-called "independent Austria". Hence Chancellor Schuschnigg's speech met with a comprehensible cool reception in Germany. Political circles in the Reich nevertheless saw a certain guarantee for the fulfilment of the Berchtesgaden Agreement in the fact that the control of Austria's internal policy had been confided to the National Socialist Dr. Seyss-Inquart.

But the misunderstanding—to put it mildly—was not long in producing its inevitable results.

On the occasion of a meeting of functionaries of the Fatherland Front in Innsbruck on March 9, Chancellor Schuschnigg announced that a plebiscite would be held on the following Sunday, March 13, with the watchword: "For a free, German, independent, social, Christian, and united Austria! For Peace and Work and Parity of Rights of all who are prepared to rally to the ideals of Nation and Fatherland!"

As was subsequently ascertained, Chancellor Schuschnigg had taken this momentous decision without the knowledge of the Cabinet or even of the Minister of the Interior on whom in all countries the duty is incumbent of making the necessary technical preparations for the elections. According to reports the Chancellor's advisers on this occasion were the Minister of Education, Herr Perntner, the former Minister of Commerce, Herr Stockinger, the Chief Burgomaster of Vienna, Herr Schmitz, and the Governor of Lower Austria, Herr Reither.

The step announced by Chancellor Schuschnigg created unveiled astonishment in Berlin, which found its immediate expression in the Press. The Reich newspapers pointed out that the watchword under which the plebiscite was to be organised contained implications incompatible with the Berchtesgaden Agreement. Indignation was increased when the methods of voting became known, which had been decided upon by Chancellor Schuschnigg's Deputy in the leadership of the Fatherland Front, Herr Zernatto.

The regulation issued by Herr Zernatto provided that in every constituency an election committee consisting of a chairman and from two to four assessors, including one representative of employers and one representative of employees, should be formed. The members of these committees were to be selected exclusively from registered adherents of the Fatherland Front. A card of membership of the Fatherland Front, of the Peasants' Union, or of other similar organisations, was regarded as the equivalent of an elector's card. No further documents of identification were necessary. In fact, citizens who were personally known to one or more members of the election committee were to be admitted to vote without being in possession of any document at all. The official elector's card bore on one side the word "Yes", and those persons who wished to record a negative vote were obliged to bring with them a sheet of paper of exactly the same dimensions (namely 5×8 centimeters) whereon they would have personally to write the word "No." All voting bulletins could be handed in either open or in a closed envelope.

There were no lists of electors and there was no control. Every elector, provided he was in possession of different documents of identification—that is to say, if he was at one and the same time a member of the Fatherland Front or of one or other similar organisation—would have had the possibility of going from one polling booth to another and of thus casting several votes. Since in the polling booths only elector's cards inscribed with the words "Yes" were available, electors desirous of casting a negative vote would have been compelled to bring their own cards—*nota bene* of the same size—with them and to personally and publicly write the word "No." Consequently all pretext of anything resembling a secret ballot would have been cast aside. This absence of secrecy was still more markedly characterised by the fact that in all public offices and undertakings, the plebiscite was to begin already on Saturday, March 12, within the premises.

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the Reich Press should have described this so-called plebiscite as a farce and as irreconcilable with the most elementary democratic principles—a view shared by several foreign newspapers. Disturbances occurred in Vienna and the provinces on March 10 and 11. Detachments of the Federal Army were lined-up in Graz in order to prevent National Socialist demonstrations. Tension rapidly increased and the menace of civil war loomed on the horizon.

As a result of influence brought to bear on President Miklas, the Austrian broadcasting stations officially announced at 6.15 p.m. on March 11, that Dr. Schuschnigg had decided to postpone the plebiscite. One hour later the Federal Chancellor himself broadcast the announcement of his resignation in the following terms:—

"We have been confronted to-day by a difficult and decisive situation. I am empowered to inform the Austrian people of the day's events. The German Government presented the Federal President with an ultimatum requiring him to appoint a candidate proposed by the German Government as Federal Chancellor and to constitute a new Austrian Cabinet conformably with proposals made by the German Government, failing which German troops would march into Austria. I wish to observe before the whole world that the sedulously propagated reports that labour

disorders had broken out in Austria, that streams of blood had flowed, that the Austrian Government no longer controlled the situation and was unable to maintain order, were maliciously invented from beginning to end.

President Miklas has authorised me to inform the Austrian nation that we shall yield to force. Because under no circumstances, not even in this supreme hour, do we intend that German blood shall be spilt, we have instructed our Army to retreat without offering any resistance in the event of an invasion and to await further decisions. The Federal President has entrusted General Schilhavsky with the command of the Army and further orders will be issued by him. I thus take leave of the Austrian nation with a German farewell greeting which likewise expresses my heartfelt wish: God save Austria."

The official German news agency broadcasted the following reply to Dr. von Schuschnigg's speech:—

"Chancellor Schuschnigg asserted that the Reich Government presented an ultimatum to Austria demanding the formation of a new Federal Cabinet. This assertion is untrue. The Reich Government never presented such ultimatum. On the contrary, Austrian Ministers themselves in view of the rapidly growing tension in Austria presented these demands to the Federal President. Chancellor Schuschnigg further asserted that the Reich Government demanded in ultimative form that a new Austrian Cabinet should be constituted on the basis of certain proposals of the Reich Government. This assertion does not correspond to the facts. Austrian Government circles, recognising the real nature of the situation in their country, had presented those demands to the Federal President. The Austrian Chancellor likewise declared that reports of disorders in Austria and of the incapacity of the Austrian Government to control the situation were mendacious fabrications. It may be pointed out that reports published throughout the world stressed the occurrence of innumerable clashes and resulting disorders. Communist hordes in Wiener-Neustadt had already organised an armed march on Vienna at the very moment when Chancellor Schuschnigg made his inaccurate assertions."

At 8.18 p.m. the newly appointed Austrian Minister of the Interior Dr. Seyss-Inquart issued the following broadcast appeal:—

"In connection with to-day's events and having regard to what may be expected in the immediate future, I would stress the fact that I am still in office as Minister of the Interior and of Public Security, and that I consider myself responsible for the maintenance of order throughout the country. I request all to maintain discipline which will be especially necessary within the next few hours and days. If demonstrations should take place, they must not be of an excessive nature. Hence I expect all the security formations of the National Socialist Party to take the necessary steps to maintain order and discipline everywhere and to bring their influence to bear on their own party comrades for that purpose. I expect them to give unconditional support to the Executive and to place themselves at the latter's disposal. I would especially emphasise that there must be no resistance to the German Army which may march into Austrian territory and that the most important duty incumbent on everyone is the maintenance of calm and order. Show endurance and fortitude, join your efforts, and let each one of us help to march towards a happier future!"

At the same time Minister Seyss-Inquart sent the following telegram to Chancellor Hitler: "The Provisional Austrian Government, which after the

resignation of the Schuschnigg Government regards as its duty the reestablishment of order in Austria, urgently requests the German Government to assist its efforts to prevent the shedding of blood. It asks the German Government to despatch German troops for this purpose as soon as possible."

In the middle of the night, at 1.30 a.m., the appointment of a National Socialist Government by the Federal President was announced. The new Cabinet was composed as follows: Federal Chancellor and Minister of Defence, Dr. Seyss-Inquart; Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Glaise-Horstenau; Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Wilhelm Wolf; Minister of Justice, Dr. Franz Hueber; Minister of Education, Dr. Oswald Menghinx; Minister of Social Welfare, Dr. Hugo Jury; Minister of Finance, Dr. Rudolf Neumayer; Minister of Agriculture, Anton Reinthaller; Minister of Commerce, Dr. Hans Fischböck. The Prefect of Police in Vienna, Dr. Michael Skubl, was appointed Secretary of State for Public Security.

Dr. Goebbels, at noon on Saturday, March 12, read to representatives of the German and foreign Press the following proclamation of Chancellor Hitler:—

"Germans!

It is with deep concern that for several years we have followed the fate of our compatriots in Austria. Austria has shared the destinies of the German people for many centuries, an association which was dissolved in 1866 but which was sealed anew in the World War. The sufferings inflicted on that country, whether from without or from within, were felt by us as our own, just as we on the other hand know that the misfortune of the Reich was the reason for similar sorrow and sympathy on the part of millions of German Austrians.

When in Germany, thanks to the victory of the National Socialist idea, the nation again found its way to the proud self-consciousness of a great people, a new era of bitter affliction was inaugurated in Austria. A régime bereft of any legal basis endeavoured, although rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people, to maintain itself by the most brutal methods of terrorism, both physical and economic. Thus the great German nation was a witness of the oppression of more than 6,000,000 persons of its own race and blood by a numerically insignificant minority which had succeeded in obtaining possession of the necessary means of power. Political oppression went hand in hand with an economic decline which contrasted tragically with the renascence of the German Reich. How could anyone take it amiss that these unfortunate German-Austrian citizens should have looked yearningly towards the Reich—towards Germany, with whom their ancestors were for centuries so intimately bound up, with whom they had only recently fought once more shoulder to shoulder in the greatest war of all times, whose culture was their own culture, and in common with whom they had contributed so greatly to the creation of their own highest values in all domains? The suppression of such elementary feelings implied the condemnation of millions of human beings to incalculable moral and mental misery. But if it had been possible in former years to bear this oppression with patience, the spirit of resistance had naturally increased in course of time with the growth of prestige of the Reich.

Germans! During the past few years I have repeatedly endeavoured to warn the Austrian Government of the eventual consequences of this policy. It was madness to believe that it would be possible by methods of oppression and terrorism to per-

manently deprive a vast body of citizens of their natural attachment to a nation of their own flesh and blood. European history proves that in all cases where such a policy is pursued the only result is to increase fanaticism. This fanaticism compels the oppressor to resort to constantly more violent measures of repression which, in their turn, have the inevitable result of augmenting the hatred of the oppressed. I endeavoured to convince the responsible Austrian statesmen that in the long run it would be impossible for a great nation, because unworthy of it, to remain a passive spectator when citizens belonging to the same race and culture as itself were persecuted on account of their devotion to that race and culture and to a certain political ideal. Germany had been obliged to give hospitality to over 40,000 refugees. Some 10,000 others had been imprisoned or interned in Austria, while hundreds of thousands had been reduced to beggary. No nation in the world could in the long run tolerate the continuation of such conditions on its frontiers, or, if it did, it would deserve to be despised.

In 1936 I set myself the task of trying to find a way which opened-out a possibility of relieving the sufferings of our kinsfolk in this German sister country, and of thus arriving at a real reconciliation. But the agreement of July 11 had hardly been signed when it was already broken. The overwhelming majority were still denied their rights, were still maintained in a position of inferiority as pariahs. Persecution was the fate of everyone who openly declared his allegiance to the German nation, whether he was a National Socialist navvy or a distinguished veteran commander of the World War.

This year I endeavoured again to bring about an understanding. I tried to make it clear to the representative of that régime—who confronted me, the elected leader of the German nation, without himself possessing any valid mandate—that such a state of affairs was impossible in the long run, since the growing indignation of the Austrian people could not be eternally repressed even by methods of constantly increasing violence, that a moment would inevitably come when it would be impossible for the Reich to contemplate such a situation with impassibility. If the solution of colonial questions is to be made dependent on the right to self-determination of primitive peoples, it cannot be tolerated that 6½ million citizens of a great and ancient civilised nation should be denied that right. Hence I desired to conclude a new agreement, under the terms of which all Germans in Austria should enjoy full parity of rights and duties. Such an agreement was destined in my mind to complete that of July 11, 1936.

Unfortunately, only a few weeks later we observed to our regret that the former Austrian Government did not contemplate fulfilling our latest agreement in the spirit in which it had been conceived. But in order to seek to justify its incessant violations of the right of Austrian Germans, the Austrian Government hatched the plan of a plebiscite destined to definitely deprive the majority of the Austrian population of those rights. A plebiscite was scheduled to take place within barely 3½ days in a country in which no elections had been held for several years and in which no up-to-date lists of electors existed, hence no valid electors' cards were available. Moreover no control even of the existing lists was possible, there was no guarantee of the secrecy of the ballot, there was no security as regards the counting of the votes.

If a régime is entitled to base its claim to legality on the employment of such methods, we National Socialists in the Reich were simply fools during fifteen years! We fought hundreds of elections and by dint of patient labour gradually won the confidence of the German nation. When the late President of the Reich finally sum-

moned me to form a Government, I was already the leader of by far the strongest party in the Reich. Since then I have invariably endeavoured to have the legality of my actions confirmed by the German nation, and they have always been confirmed. If the methods which Herr Schuschnigg wished to apply are the right ones, then the plebiscite in the Saar region was only a chicane by means of which the return of the Saar population to the Reich was to be rendered more difficult. We hold a different opinion. I think we can all be proud of the fact that precisely on the occasion of the plebiscite in the Saar we were given such an unimpeachable vote of confidence by the German people.

The Germans in Austria themselves rose against this unique attempt of an election swindle. Had the Austrian Government endeavoured to stem the rising wave of protest by force, civil war must inevitably have resulted. But the Reich Government cannot admit that Germans should any longer be persecuted on Austrian territory on account of their adhesion to the German nation or to certain ideals. The German Reich requires peace and order. I therefore decided to place the resources of the Reich at the disposal of the millions of Germans in Austria. Since this morning soldiers belonging to the German fighting forces are marching across the Austro-German frontiers. Mechanised troops and infantry, German airplanes in the blue sky, summoned by the new National Socialist Government in Vienna, are the guarantors that the Austrian nation shall at an early date be afforded the possibility of determining its future destinies by a real plebiscite.

Behind our troops are the will and the resolution of the entire German nation. I myself as Führer and Chancellor will be glad to be able to tread, as a free German citizen, the soil of the country which is my home. The world may convince itself that the Germans in Austria are these days living hours of sacred joy and emotion and that they see in the brothers come to their aid helpers in greatest distress.

Long live the National Socialist German Reich! Long live National Socialist German Austria!"

In the afternoon of the same day, March 12, Chancellor Hitler left for Austria after appointing Field Marshal Göring to act as his representative during his absence. He crossed the Austrian frontier at Braunau-on-the-Inn, where he had been born 48 years previously, and arrived in the evening at Linz-on-the-Danube. Here he was welcomed by the new Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Seyss-Inquart, with the following speech:—

"In an hour of momentous importance not only for the German nation but also for the shaping of European history I welcome you, my Führer and Chancellor of the Reich, and with me the whole country, for the first time on your return to Austria. The time has come when the various branches of the German nation have again and definitely found their way to each other despite the Treaty of Versailles, despite compulsion, despite the ill-will and lack of comprehension of the outside world. To-day the German nation is unanimous in its will to stand shoulder to shoulder in struggle and suffering. The road along which we have travelled was a difficult and thorny one, marked as it was by the catastrophic defeat of our nation. But it was this catastrophe which gave birth to the magnificent idea of our intangible solidarity, to the consciousness of the common destiny of a united people, in other words to the idea of National Socialism.

You, my Führer, as a son of these frontier Marches, have personally experienced the distress of its inhabitants. This experience inspired your determination to leave

no stone unturned to lead the German people out of the slough of despond. And you have succeeded. You are the leader of the German nation in its struggle for the recovery of its honour, its freedom, and its right. We Austrians have now of our own free will as an independent German people openly rallied for all times to this ideal, and at the same time we have solemnly declared that Article 88 of the Peace Treaty no longer possesses any validity. The troops of the powerful Army of the Reich are entering our country amid the acclamations of our people. Austria welcomes the German soldiers, not in a spirit of defiance, but with the object of showing the whole world that the entire German nation has joined hands in order to protect the united German Reich. The creation of this united German Reich, in which are incorporated the ideals of order, peace, and liberty, is our aim, and the Führer of this Reich is Adolf Hitler. As a simple man I can only say in simple words, but which reflect the heartfelt feelings of millions of Austrians: we thank you—we have always fought with you for the preservation of these frontier Marches and I am convinced that we have fought a good fight. We now greet you with a joy that fills all German hearts. Hail, my Führer!"

Chancellor Hitler replied as follows:—

"I thank you for your words of welcome. I am especially grateful to all those who are assembled here to bear testimony to the fact that it is not only the will and the desire of a small minority to create this great united German Reich, but that its creation is willed and desired by the German nation itself. It would be desirable that some of those international searchers after truth who are so familiar to us could be here to-day so that they might be able, not only to witness real facts, but to admit them later-on.

When, many years ago, I left this city I carried with me the same indefectible conviction which inspires me to-day. Hence you may imagine my emotion on witnessing after so many years the realisation of my fervent yearning. If it was Providence which at that time called me away from this city in order to entrust to my care the destinies of the Reich, it must have been part of the mission confided to me to reunite my beloved country with the German Fatherland. I believed in that mission, it is for that mission that I have lived and fought, and I am conscious of having now accomplished it. All of you are witnesses and guarantors thereof.

I hope the day is not far off when you will be called upon to decide your future. And I am convinced that on that day I shall be able to point with pride to my native country. For your decision must be such as to prove to the world that any further attempt to tear the German people asunder will be in vain. Together with you, the whole of Germany will be prepared to contribute to the shaping of the future of the German nation. You must regard the German soldiers from all parts of the Reich who at this very hour are entering Austria as men who are ready and willing to sacrifice everything for the unity, freedom, power, and greatness of the German nation, now and for all times."

The British and French Governments strongly protested in Berlin against the intervention of the Reich Government in Austria, basing their protests on information supplied to them by their respective Legations in Vienna. The Reich Government rejected these protests as unjustified, stressing at the same time the inaccuracy of the information given.

On March 11 Chancellor Hitler's special envoy the Prince of Hesse handed

to Mussolini a letter from the Chancellor containing a summary of the most recent events in Austria and in which the Führer motivated his attitude.

The Fascist Grand Council met on March 12 with Mussolini in the chair. At the conclusion of its sitting the following *communiqué* was issued:—

"After hearing the report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning events in Austria, and after having taken cognisance of the detailed reports of the Italian representatives abroad thanks to which the Grand Council has been kept fully informed from day to day of all the developments of the situation, the Grand Council wishes to emphasise that the Austrian Federal Government only informed the Italian Government *a posteriori* of the results of the meeting in Berchtesgaden and of the initiatives which followed it. The Italian Government was in any case determined for evident reasons not to intervene in the internal policy of Austria or in a national movement resulting from it, the final success of which was a logical necessity and could easily be foreseen. The Grand Council desires especially to emphasise that the Italian Government had not only not advised the holding of the plebiscite so suddenly announced by Chancellor Schuschnigg, but had on the contrary discountenanced it as soon as the Italian Government had been informed of Chancellor Schuschnigg's intentions.

The Grand Council regards the events which have taken place in Austria as the consequence of a previously existing state of affairs, and as the expression of the sentiments and the will of a nation.

The Grand Council has taken cognisance with the greatest interest of a letter addressed by Chancellor Hitler on March 11 to the Duce, in which the events in Austria were dealt with in their connection with the relations between Germany and Italy.

The Grand Council has also taken cognisance of the refusal of the Fascist Government to accept an invitation of the French Government to undertake a common action, since such an action would have been devoid alike of motive and aim, and would only have still further complicated the international situation. The Grand Council approves the policy adopted by the Fascist Government towards events in Austria, a policy inspired by a realistic conception of the situation and of Italy's national interests."

On being informed of this resolution of the Fascist Grand Council, Chancellor Hitler telegraphed Mussolini as follows: "Mussolini, I shall never forget this. Adolf Hitler." The Duce replied as follows: "My attitude is determined by the friendship of our countries allied in the axis. Mussolini."

On March 13 the new Austrian Government enacted a constitutional law concerning the reunion of Austria with the German Reich and the forthcoming plebiscite. The articles of the law were as follows: 1. Austria is a province of the German Reich. 2. A free and secret plebiscite of all German men and women in Austria over 20 years of age concerning the reunion of Austria with the German Reich will take place on Sunday, April 10, 1938. 3. The result of the plebiscite will be decided by the majority of the votes recorded. 4. The necessary regulations for the carrying-out and completion of this constitutional law will be enacted by a special decree. 5. (*a*) This constitutional law comes into force on the day of its promulgation; (*b*) the Federal Government is entrusted with the execution of the constitutional law.

The Reich Government for its part enacted a law concerning the reunion of Austria with the German Reich, the terms of which were as follows:—

1. The Federal Constitutional Act relating to the reunion of Austria with the German Reich adopted by the Austrian Federal Government on March 13, 1938, shall henceforth form an integral part of the legislation of the Reich. 2. The laws at present in force in Austria will continue to be applicable until further notice; the right of introducing Reich legislation into Austria appertains to the Führer and Chancellor or to the Reich Minister to whom he may delegate his powers. 3. The Reich Minister of the Interior is empowered to enact the necessary regulations for the carrying-out and completion of the present Act. 4. The present Act comes into force on the day of its publication.

Chancellor Hitler as Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht issued the following decree concerning the incorporation of the Austrian Federal Army in the Army of the German Reich:—

1. The Austrian Federal Government has passed a law enacting the reunion of Austria with the German Reich and the Reich Government has recognised the validity of this decision. 2. I decree in consequence that the Austrian Federal Army shall to-day be placed under my command as an integral part of the fighting forces of the Reich. 3. General von Bock, Commander of the 8 Army, is appointed General Officer Commanding the German fighting forces within the Austrian frontiers. 4. All members of the heretofore Austrian Federal Army must immediately take the oath of fidelity to me as their Commander-in-Chief. The requisite measures will be taken at once by General von Bock.

Late in the afternoon of March 14 the Chancellor, accompanied by the Austrian Chancellor Dr. Seyss-Inquart, arrived in Vienna from Linz. Hitler delivered the following address to the citizens of the Austrian capital:—

"During the past few days I have been profoundly stirred by the same emotions as you. We are at a great turning-point in history, and what you felt to-day is felt by the entire German nation in communion with you. Not only the two million inhabitants of this city, but the 75 million inhabitants of what is now our common Reich are inexpressibly moved at this historic moment, and all of them, without a dissentient voice, swear the oath: whatever may happen, nobody will be able in future to tear asunder or destroy the German Reich as it exists to-day! No distress, however great, no threats, no force can break this oath which is sworn to-day by all Germans from Königsberg to Cologne, from Hamburg to Vienna."

The leaders of the Protestant Church in Austria decided that the latter should henceforth form a part of the German Protestant Church, and that the necessary measures to give effect to this decision should be taken without delay.

Regional leader Bürckel, who had organised on behalf of the German Government the plebiscite in the Saar in January, 1935, was instructed by Chancellor Hitler to reorganise the National Socialist Party in Austria and to prepare the plebiscite there on April 10.

Dr. Hermann Neubacher was appointed Burgomaster of Vienna, while Herr Otto Steinhäusl was appointed Prefect of Police. Steinhäusl had already been

Chief of police in Vienna, but had been dismissed after the attempted National Socialist *coup d'Etat* in July, 1934.

Since his arrival on Austrian soil Chancellor Hitler had everywhere been accompanied by the enthusiastic cheers of the population, and great demonstrations had taken place in his native town of Braunau, as well as in Linz and Vienna. Popular enthusiasm attained its culminating point in a gigantic demonstration on the Heroes' Square in Vienna on March 14, when a vast crowd numbering many hundreds of thousands acclaimed the Chancellor.

The Reich Governor of the Province of Austria, Dr. Seyss-Inquart, as the last remaining representative of the former Austrian Federal State, opened the proceedings by announcing that Austria was henceforth an integral part of the Reich conformably with the will of the German people and of its leader. The speaker announced to the German nation and the whole world that the Führer and Chancellor Adolf Hitler had made his entry in to the Castle of the ancient capital of the Reich and that "the Eastern Marches of the Reich had returned home."

Chancellor Hitler then addressed the crowd. He began by pointing out that a revolution had taken place within the German community, the extent and importance of which could only be properly appreciated by future generations. The Chancellor went on to say that the former rulers of Austria had often spoken of the special mission incumbent on her. One of the leaders of the Legitimists had defined the mission of Austria, who depended for her very existence on the good will of foreign countries, as that of preventing the formation of a Greater German Reich and of blocking the way for a return of Austria to the common Fatherland.

Chancellor Hitler continued: "I now proclaim a new mission for this country conformably with the commandment which once upon a time summoned here the German settlers from all parts of the old Reich. The oldest Eastern March of the German people shall be henceforth the newest bulwark of the German Nation and consequently of the German Reich."

The Chancellor said he could assure the other 68 million inhabitants of the Reich that this was a German country, that it understood its mission, and was resolved to fulfil it. Austria's loyalty to the great community of German peoples would never be exceeded elsewhere.

After the Chancellor had expressed his thanks to the members of the National Socialist Government in Austria, and especially to the Reich Governor Dr. Seyss-Inquart, and also to the numerous party functionaries and the innumerable unknown idealists who had worked in view of the accomplishment of this aim, he concluded his speech with the words: "I can now make to the German nation the greatest announcement that I have ever made in my life. As Führer and Chancellor I announce to history the return of my native land to the German Reich."

Following the celebrations a parade took place in which Austrian troops who already wore on the right-hand lapel of their uniforms the badge of their new

allegiance, participated side by side with those German troops who had already arrived in Vienna.

In addition to the air force squadrons which had been the first to reach the Austrian capital in the morning of March 12, various others detachments of the German fighting forces had been despatched at the request of Dr. Seyss-Inquart in his capacity of Federal Chancellor. These included the eighth Army under the command of General von Bock, the second armoured division, a column of Storm Guards, and 16,000 men of the German Police. During their march through Austrian territory the Germans had everywhere been cordially received by the inhabitants.

The Austrian troops took the oath of allegiance to the Führer and Commander-in-Chief. As has already been mentioned, the last Austrian Federal Chancellor, Dr. Seyss-Inquart, was appointed Reich Governor of the newly created Province of Austria.

The German Government communicated to all other States the fact of the reunion of Austria with the Reich and informed them at the same time that the Austrian diplomatic representatives abroad had received instructions to place themselves at the disposal of the German Embassies and Legations. The last Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Wolf, surrendered the Austrian Foreign Office to the Reich Foreign Minister Herr von Ribbentrop.

Mussolini delivered a speech in the Italian Chamber in which he dealt with recent events in Austria. He drew a parallel between the reunion of Austria with the German Reich and the Italian efforts at unification in 1859 and 1870. The Piemontese troops at that time, like the German troops to-day, did not come as enemies into conquered, but as friends into reunited, territory. The Duce proceeded to give a review of Italy's policy towards Austria since 1929. When Chancellor Dollfuss saw himself compelled, in February, 1934 to crush a Social Democratic insurrection, four Italian divisions were despatched to the Brenner. This was an elementary precaution. It is true that no Austrian statesman had requested that such a step should be taken, but, on the other hand, no Austrian statesman had ever expressed any gratitude for it. From 1934 till 1936 Italy's policy had been dictated by the Rome protocols. When the Rome-Berlin axis was formed in October, 1936, Mussolini had called the attention of the Austrian Cabinet to the fact that this axis could not be expected to permanently serve a cause which might be legitimately hostile by the Reich. Mussolini went on to say that on the occasion of a meeting with Chancellor Schuschnigg in April, 1937, he had exposed to the Austrian Chancellor that the independence of Austria was a question that concerned the Austrians alone. On March 7, 1938, a representative of Chancellor Schuschnigg had visited Mussolini in order to ask his opinion concerning a plebiscite. Mussolini stated that he had replied deprecating the idea which he had described as "a bomb likely to explode in Schuschnigg's own hand." If Italy had refrained from intervening, this was due to the fact that she had undertaken no obligation whatever, either direct or indirect, in this respect. Italy's interest in the independence of Austria was dependent on the

condition that at least the majority of Austrians themselves desired the maintenance of that independence. There could be no question of any "German peril" on the Brenner, since the Germans had been stationed there for centuries past.

In a democratic era it was not so much political geography embodied in transitory buffer States that counted, as national geography. Happenings on Italy's north-eastern frontier were all the less calculated to disturb her equanimity as it was a frontier between two friendly nations and, moreover, intangible. Italy had the fullest confidence in Hitler's assurances respecting that frontier. The enemies of Fascism had hoped to play off the two totalitarian countries against each other. But this calculation of Democrats, Freemasons, and the Third International had proved erroneous. On the contrary the hour had come for the axis to prove its vitality. Everyone now knew that the axis was not a mere diplomatic construction, but a solidly forged instrument capable of proving its value in critical times.

Reich Governor Dr. Seyss-Inquart announced that all persons of either sex born at the latest on April 10, 1918, who enjoyed Austrian citizenship, would be entitled to take part in the plebiscite of April 10, 1938. The Jews were excluded from all participation. The lists of prospective voters would be open to public inspection from March 27 till March 31 inclusively.

The Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Innitzer, visited Chancellor Hitler on the occasion of the latter's stay in the Austrian capital and expressed his joy at the reunion of Austria with the Reich. His Eminence declared at the same time that the Austrian Catholics would be glad to take their share of reconstruction.

It was enacted that the reichsmark should henceforth be legal tender in Austria, together with the shilling. The value of the reichsmark was fixed at 1.50 shillings.

The Reichstag assembled in Berlin on March 18, 1938, to listen to Chancellor Hitler's report on events in Austria. Hitler began by recalling that already in the last century the new principle of nationality had began to replace the dynastic or confessional conception of the State. Before the twentieth century dawned, a number of peoples had succeeded in realising their national unity. The only people whose right to do so was contested, were the Germans. At the end of the Great War the most brutal compulsion, as regarded millions of Germans, was substituted for the much vaunted principle of self-determination enunciated by President Wilson. Even if it be admitted that it is scarcely possible to attain a universally satisfactory settlement of ethnical and territorial conditions in Europe, it must nevertheless be recognised that certain States have been constructed, the nature of which bears such evident traces of conscious and premeditated national injustice that the maintenance of the existence of such States can in the long run only be ensured by force.

A typical example of the violation of the right to self-determination of 6.5 million people was furnished by the creation of the Austrian Republic. When, shortly after the War, a plebiscite had been organised in Austria regarding the

question of the Anschluss, and had yielded a majority of 95% in its favour, this peaceful demonstration was not only ignored, but future similar demonstrations were prohibited. The tragic factor of the situation, namely, that Austria was incapable of existence as a self-sustaining State was completely overlooked. An inconceivable economic distress was the natural consequence of this mistake. Hence it was not surprising that a terrible bitterness of heart should have been engendered, coupled with a fanatical determination to put an end one day or another to such a state of affairs. But the more these oppressed people endeavoured to cast off their chains, the more terroristic were the measures employed to hold them in check. It was inevitable that the resuscitation of the German Reich should have awakened the yearnings of oppressed Germans outside the frontiers of the Fatherland. On the other hand, indignation within the Reich grew constantly at the spectacle of the incessant persecution of Germans living beyond its borders.

For this reason, said Chancellor Hitler, he had decided to bring about the famous interview with the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg at Berchtesgaden. Most earnestly had he pointed out to Herr Schuschnigg that a régime lacking any legal basis would in the long run inevitably become involved in constantly more dangerous conflicts with a majority of the nation diametrically opposed to the tendencies of that régime. The ultimate result must be the creation of a condition of affairs which would render it impossible for a great Power to remain any longer a mere passive spectator.

Chancellor Hitler continued: "I left Herr Schuschnigg in no doubt whatever about the fact that every honourably and nationally minded Austrian desired with all his heart the reunion of his country with the German Reich. I begged him, alike in the interest of Austria, of the German Reich, and himself personally, to avoid creating a situation which sooner or later must have led to the most serious controversies. With this object in view I proposed a solution calculated, in my view, to prepare the way for a gradual relaxation of tension in Austria herself, and over and beyond that to a reconciliation of the two German States. At the same time I pointed out to Herr Schuschnigg that this was my final offer, and that I was determined, should this final effort to reach an understanding fail, to defend the rights of the German inhabitants of my native country with all those means which are admissible when human understanding remains blind to the imperative necessities of elementary justice.

Already in his first speech, Chancellor Schuschnigg repelled the hand thus stretched out to him. There could henceforth be no doubt that he was determined to break the word given by him at Berchtesgaden."

Referring to the proposed plebiscite, Chancellor Hitler described it as a violation of the agreement reached at Berchtesgaden and as directed against the majority of the Austrian nation. This breach of trust was calculated to lead to the gravest disorders, which in their turn might have produced a catastrophe.

Chancellor Hitler continued: "I was resolved to put an end to this régime of violence in my native country. I ordered the necessary measures to be taken to save Austria from the fate of Spain. The ultimatum which the world criticises

so bitterly contained, as a matter of fact, nothing more than the unambiguous assurance that Germany could no longer tolerate the oppression of German citizens in Austria. It was consequently a warning not to pursue a policy which must have inevitably led to the shedding of blood. That my attitude was right is proved by the fact that within three days the entire population of Austria welcomed me with open arms without a single shot having been fired or a single victim having to be deplored. If I had not responded to the wish of the Austrian people and its National Socialist Government, it is certain that conditions would have arisen which would in any case have rendered my intervention inevitable at a later date. My aim was to save this wonderful country from untold suffering. Herr Schuschnigg and his adherents can be thankful for my decision which has had the result of sparing his life and the lives of many thousands of others. It affords me a proud satisfaction to be able to bring back to the Reich a land which is not only unscotched but whose inhabitants are also full of joy at the fulfilment of their destiny."

Chancellor Hitler then dwelt on the reaction to the Anschluss in foreign countries. The Western Democracies, he said, had been totally unable to understand these events; a number of other countries had declared themselves disinterested; a few had expressed their warm approval and in this connection Chancellor Hitler especially mentioned Poland and Yugoslavia. With regard to Italy, Hitler recalled his letter to Mussolini and stressed in this connection that Germany entirely appreciated the Duce's attitude which more than anything else had contributed to consolidate the relations between Italy and Germany. Indissoluble friendship had succeeded the ideological community of views which had hitherto united the two countries. So far as Germany was concerned, Italy and her frontiers were inviolable. The Rome-Berlin axis had rendered a tremendous service to the cause of world peace.

Chancellor Hitler concluded his speech by pointing out that for the first time in history the whole German nation, in so far as it was incorporated in the Greater Germany of to-day, would go to the polling booths on April 10 in order to testify to its allegiance. The Chancellor further announced that the Reichstag would be dissolved and that a new General Election would take place simultaneously with the plebiscite on April 10. Just as the Chancellor in 1933 had requested the German nation to give him four years' time in which to solve the great task confronting him, he would now request it to give him another four years' respite in order to consolidate internally the reunion which had already been accomplished externally. It was his unshakable conviction that at the end of this period the indissolubility of the new and extended German Reich would have become an incontestable fact.

The decree concerning the plebiscite and the Reichstag elections read as follows: In order to give the German nation the opportunity of expressing its view regarding the reunion of Austria with the Reich, a plebiscite will be organised in all parts of the Reich including Austria on April 10, 1938. The present German Reichstag is herewith dissolved and elections for the new Reichstag will take place on the aforesaid day in order to furnish the German citizens in Austria

with the opportunity of electing their representatives in the Greater German Reichstag.

On March 26 Field Marshal Göring, addressing a mass meeting held in the large hall of the Vienna Northwest Railway Station, explained the reconstruction programme drawn up for Austria. The following is an outline of the speech.

It was perhaps more than a mere accident, the speaker said, that the Führer himself was Austrian-born. He certainly had been entrusted with a mission, and that mission was to re-incorporate Austria in the Reich. In that, he had succeeded; Austria had been liberated and was again part of the Reich. Herr Göring then described the events that had taken place subsequent to the conclusion of the Agreement of July 11, 1936, and said that the election preparations made by Herr Schuschnigg were a huge fraud that would still have a sequel in the courts. It would be shown that the representatives of democracy had been cheated and that the results of the voting (supposed to be conducted on democratic principles) had been agreed upon beforehand. Documents had been found in which it was stated that 97 per cent of the electors had voted for Herr Schuschnigg. Thereupon the German troops of liberation for which the Austrian Government had asked entered Austria—not as enemies or conquerors, but as friends and kinsmen—and received an enthusiastic welcome on the part of the Austrian people.

Herr Göring then gave a summary account of the successes achieved by the National Socialist Government in Germany, both at home and abroad. He emphatically warned his audience against thinking that the men from the Reich had come to do all the work and that they, the Austrians, could sit down and just watch them doing it. Things would take a directly opposite course: The Austrians themselves would have to work as hard as possible to restore normal conditions, and the Reich would confine itself to the issuance of the general directions, because the same legislative and practical measures that had proved so successful in the old Reich would be applied to Austria also. Their main object must be to eradicate unemployment. Deeds, and not words, were what was mostly needed.

The economic reconstruction of Austria would comprise the following:—

(1) The fixing of a definite ratio for the conversion of schillings into reichsmarks. (This had already been done, so that all payments could now be made in reichsmarks.)

(2) The immediate payment to manufacturers of the whole Clearing balance, thus enabling them to re-convert this money (60,000,000 schillings) into work.

(3) Abolition of customs.

(4) Measures directly concerned with rearmament: Erection of barracks and aeroplane factories; opening of the Wiener-Neustadt aeroplane factory; development of the armament industries.



The shape of the German Reich after the Anschluss

(5) Measures indirectly concerned with rearmament: the opening-up of all production reserves and the erection of additional works for production.

(6) Utilisation of water-power: the immediate erection of a power station in the Hohen Tauern mountains and one (already projected) near Grein-on-the-Danube; several smaller projects of similar kind; improvement of shipping conditions on the Danube.

(7) Increased exploitation of the country's mineral resources: Extension of the *Alpine Montanwerke* and doubling the volume of their production; exploitation of additional ore deposits by the *Reichswerke Hermann Göring*. The smelting works projected for Franconia are to be erected near Linz. Plans are to be completed by the end of April, and building work is to start in May. Extended working of the copper mines in the Tyrol and in Carinthia and of the copper, lead, magnesite, manganese, etc., mines generally.

(8) Extension of mineral-oil production in the Vienna area, the necessary derricks to be conveyed from the Reich.

(9) Development of the chemical industries, Austrian coal lending itself particularly well to the manufacture of petrol (gasoline) and light oils.

(10) Immediate erection of a factory for the production of cellulose on a basis of hard timber.

(11) Better utilisation of the forests through improved organisation and the use of greater care in cutting down the timber.

(12) Immediate construction of 1,100 kilometres (700 miles) of Reich motor-roads, comprising a road from the former frontier to Salzburg and on to Linz and Vienna, a road from Passau to Linz, and a road from Vienna to Salzburg *via* Radstatt with a branch to Graz. In addition, the existing network of roads is to be further developed.

(13) Construction of two bridges across the Danube, one of them to be near Linz. Two other bridges across the Danube to be built later on.

(14) Construction of new railway lines and conversion of narrow-gauge lines into standard-gauge lines.

(15) Speeding-up the work of building the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal.

(16) Drawing-up the plans for a big river-port in Vienna to be constructed later on.

(17) Measures in connection with agriculture: Large-scale melioration work with regard to mountain streams; reclamation of high-altitude valleys and swamps; drainage work; use of low-priced artificial fertilisers; advances on the work of modernising farmsteads, barns, stables, and silos; re-adjustment and improvement of the agricultural credit system.

Hand in hand with the carrying-out of this programme, Herr Göring proceeded, the standard of living for all categories of workers, more especially the manual workers, would have to be improved. It had therefore been decided to resume the payment of unemployment benefits to persons who had already

lost their legal claim to them by utilising the funds held by the Reich Institution for Unemployment Insurance. The legislation governing the dismissal of workers would be developed and regulations would be issued for the payment of wages on public holidays and for ensuring that the rates of salaries and wages, the terms of work, etc., could not be altered to the detriment of the workers. It was also laid down that the Reich legislation relative to the system of annuity insurances (disablement insurance, etc.) for workers would be extended to Austria also. A Reich Trustee of Labour would be appointed with headquarters in Vienna. The erection of workmen's dwellings under the settlements scheme would be taken in hand, and the advantages offered by membership of the "Strength through Joy" (*Kraft durch Freude*) organisation, would, of course, be available for Austrian workers also. As regards public servants, the State was not interested in those of them who had to be pensioned off because of their unreliability. None of those, however, who were ready to serve under the new régime, need have any fear of losing their means of subsistence, as there would be work for all of them.

The city of Vienna, with its Jewish population of about 300,000, could not very well call itself a 100 per-cent, German town at present. He, the Minister, had therefore instructed the Reich Governor to take all the steps necessary to lead to the "Aryanisation" of its public and business activities.

Herr Göring then dealt with those critics who asserted that religious persecution would be the next item on the programme. In Germany, he said, no churches had been burnt down and no priests had been ill-treated or debarred from carrying out their ecclesiastical duties. It was necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation. The Church had its own mission to fulfil and the State and the Party had theirs. True, the Centre Party had been made illegal and the clergy had been prohibited from mixing themselves up with politics, but there was no truth in saying that the Catholic Church had been attacked. National Socialists had not a word to say against the Church and still less against religion, even though it could not be said that they identified themselves with any particular denomination. Far from persecuting true religion, National Socialists had been instrumental in making the people religious once more. They wanted the people to be religious. They would continue to give to the Church all the protection to which it was entitled, but the Church must abstain from interfering in matters outside its competency. No compromise was possible on these questions.

Another allegation, Herr Göring continued, was that a campaign of vengeance would be started after April 10. No doubt, he said, some members of the Party had a right to feel vindictive, and a good many of their former opponents had deserved the death sentence. There was only one man in Germany who was the supreme arbiter of life and death, and that was the Führer. So there would be no retaliation, but a firm will to forgive those who had been led astray and a desire to understand their motives. They had no use for common informers and would deal with them as they deserved. The Legitimist cause was dead. Those who still looked forward to the possibility of a Habsburg restoration,

would have to bury their hopes. If they continued to take active steps in that direction, they would make themselves liable to the charge of high treason and to very severe penalties.

The Archbishop of Vienna (Cardinal Innitzer) delivered to *Gauleiter* Bürckel, the Commissar of the Führer for the Plebiscite, a declaration made by the Austrian bishops and dated March 18th, in which the signatories gratefully acknowledge that the National Socialist movement had rendered—and was still rendering—eminently valuable services to the German Reich and the German people, more especially the poorer classes, in the domains of racial and economic reconstruction and social policy. The bishops express their conviction that National Socialism is a strong bulwark against all-destroying and godless Bolshevism. They will admonish their flock in this sense and confer their blessings on its activities. Being of German stock, they look upon it as their natural duty to identify themselves with the German Reich on the day of the Plebiscite and they expect that all faithful Christians will know what they owe their nation. The declaration bears the signatures of the Archbishop of Vienna (Cardinal Innitzer), Prince Archbishop Waitz of Salzburg, Prince Bishop Hefter, Prince Bishop Pawlikowski, Bishop Gfollner, and Bishop Memelauer.

A few days later, the Archbishop addressed a letter to *Gauleiter* Bürckel in which he referred to reports published by some foreign newspapers alleging that the afore-mentioned declaration was made in connection with a visit which the Papal Nuncio had paid to Herr von Ribbentrop, the Foreign Minister, and that it was merely a gesture. He (the Archbishop) desired to affirm that the declaration was made spontaneously and was drawn up in view of the historic importance of the reunion of Austria with the Reich. He considered it below his dignity to make mere gestures at a moment of such importance. The declaration expressed the true conviction of the signatories and was prompted by the ties of blood that united all Germans. He hoped that it would inaugurate a new era in the religious and cultural life of the whole nation and that the great work of appeasement and conciliation as regards the Church, the State and the Party could now begin.

Prior to the elections for the first Reichstag of Greater Germany the Führer delivered a number of speeches in Königsberg, Danzig, Leipzig, Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfort-on-Main, Stuttgart, Munich, Graz, Klagenfurt, Innsbruck, Salzburg and Linz. Speeches were also made in various towns by Reich Ministers and other prominent personages. At 12 o'clock on April 9, the day preceding the elections, Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels addressed a mass meeting from the balcony of the Vienna Town Hall, in which he proclaimed that day to be specially dedicated to the cause of Greater Germany. Mass meetings of a similar kind were simultaneously held on the premises of all German factories and other undertakings.

In the evening of that day, and therefore on the verge of the elections, the

Führer delivered the final speech to the electors. It was relayed by wireless to all parts of the Reich. The following is a brief outline of what he said.

He emphasised that he was addressing himself to all those who, despite the truly decisive events that had happened, believed that they could still hold themselves aloof. He reviewed his past political career and disclaimed responsibility for any developments that had taken place before he had entered the political stage. After the War, the nation was divided into two camps—that of the *bourgeoisie* and that of the proletariat. The former hoped for assistance from the *bourgeoisie* outside the national boundaries and the latter pinned their faith on Moscow; but neither the one nor the other section was able to save the country by means of its own strength. More than thirty-six parties were competing with one another. They had unsuccessfully argued their respective cases for years and decades, from which it might be inferred that all their programmes were all useless. The programme, however, which had been evolved by him, had conquered the whole nation within a relatively short time. He had come to the conclusion that the salvation of each country must be brought about exclusively by itself and that, in order to achieve it, the national ideal must be blended with the social. The consolidation of the German people was not a ripe fruit that had just dropped into his lap. For several years he had to fight for the souls of his countrymen, his only weapons in this struggle being his conviction and his appeals to their patriotism. No unbiassed observer could deny that he, the unknown front soldier, had fought his fight successfully.

The Führer then briefly related the following epoch-making events that had taken place in Germany since he had taken up office: In 1933, Germany withdrew from the League and left the Disarmament Conference. A twelvemonth later, the country's defence forces had grown into a powerful instrument. The liberation of the Rhineland followed next. A year later, Germany's absolute equality of status was secured; and now, again a year later, he was speaking in Vienna, addressing the whole nation. This political renaissance had had for its counterpart a far-reaching economic reconstruction. He reminded his hearers, in this connection, of the attainment of social peace at home, the great achievements of the Labour Front, and the "Strength through Joy" organisation.

All these achievements were evidence of a genuine national consolidation. All their efforts had been inspired by a wish to make it unnecessary for Germany to surrender to her enemies abroad. If they thought that they could force her to capitulate to them, he (Hitler) would mobilise her inventors, her engineers, and her chemists, and then she would achieve her independence in that domain also. There could be no doubt that Germany had developed into a real Great Power within the space of a bare five years. Her strength lay in her national consolidation, symbolised by an ideal and a great national movement. This movement, as well as the new Germany herself, had been called into existence by him.

If anyone should ask him what gave him a right to speak to the people of Vienna, his answer would be: (1) This is German soil and these people are

German people. (2) Economic reasons and reasons of population policy have proved beyond contradiction that Austria cannot, in the long run, live apart from the Reich. (3) The German people of Austria had no wish to be separated from the Reich, and even the ill-treatment and terrorising indulged in by a small minority could not suppress the ties of racial kinship. (4) If neither of these reasons should be sufficient, he would say: "This is my homeland." When still a boy, he went from Linz to Vienna, and thence to the Reich; and it made him happy to think that he had been able to risk his life in fighting for Germany. When all others had given themselves up to doubt and dismay, he had struggled for the people's confidence and he had gained it. (5) He was standing where he stood because he thought he could do better than Herr Schuschnigg. He sincerely believed that Providence had blessed his work of re-uniting his Austrian homeland to the Greater German Reich and he appealed to all of them to endorse the peaceful work of re-incorporation by their votes.

On April 10, 1938, the Plebiscite and the elections for the Reichstag of Greater Germany were held, the results being as follows:

Plebiscite in Austria.

The figures are exclusive of the votes of Reich nationals resident in Austria, but inclusive of those of Austrian nationals resident in the Reich.—Total number entitled to vote: 4,474,138; total actual vote: 4,460,778 (99.7%); total valid votes: 4,455,015; votes in favour of reunion: 4,443,208 (99.73% of valid votes); votes against reunion: 11,807; spoilt papers: 5,763.

Plebiscite in the Old Reich.

The figures are inclusive of the votes of Reich nationals resident in Austria.—Total number entitled to vote: 45,073,303; total actual vote: 44,872,702 (99.55%); total valid votes: 44,803,096; votes in favour of reunion: 44,362,667 (99.02% of valid votes); votes against reunion: 440,429; spoilt papers: 69,606.

Elections for the Reichstag of Greater Germany.

	Territory of Old Reich	German nationals resident in Austria	Austria (excluding soldiers)	Austrian nationals resident in the Old Reich	Totals
Total numbers entitled to vote	45,016,612	56,691	4,300,177	119,548	49,493,028
Total actual vote (including spoilt papers)	44,816,553	56,149	4,287,431	118,971	49,279,104
Spoilt papers	69,462	144	5,651	90	75,347
For Herr Hitler's list	44,306,994	55,673	4,270,517	118,403	48,751,587
Do., percentage share of valid votes	99.02%	99.41%	99.74%	99.60%	99.08%
Against Herr Hitler's list	440,097	332	11,263	478	452,170

See also the foot-note[1].

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[1] The foregoing figures showing the results of the elections for the Reichstag of Greater Germany

The result of the Plebiscite in Austria was communicated to the Führer by *Gauleiter* Bürckel at midnight from the Vienna *Konzerthaus* by wireless. In his reply, the Führer said that the overwhelming vote cast for reunion constituted the most impressive endorsement of his entire political activities. This was the proudest hour of his life.

The newly elected Reichstag will have a membership of 813 as compared with 741 before the elections. The difference, of course, is accounted for by the members elected in Austria.

In view of the large-scale election propaganda carried out for several weeks under the direction of Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels it had been expected that the results of the Plebiscite would be very satisfactory. The actual outcome, however, far surpassed the most optimistic forecasts. It clearly proved that there is no opposition to the new régime in Germany and that the German people have an unbounded faith in the Führer. Never before had the German nation expressed itself with a similar unanimousness; and it is unlikely that any other nation has ever done so either.

It has to be remembered, of course, that the propaganda was completely onesided and that no Opposition had been given a chance to organise itself. But the representatives of the foreign Press were able to convince themselves personally that the balloting was conducted with absolute secrecy, so that the opponents of the régime could express their disapproval of the list by entering a cross in the proper place. The results show that about 450,000 electors (or less than one per cent of the total) availed themselves of this possibility.

Objection might likewise be taken to the fact that the text of the voting papers covered the Plebiscite as well as the Reichstag elections. But as it was hardly probable that anyone in the territory of the Old Reich would vote against Austro-German reunion, an affirmative reply to the second question was the natural corollary. In regard to Austria, however, the position was quite different, as it was conceivable after all that part of the population might vote against reunion; and as there is no sign of that having been done except to a negligible extent, the inference is that all parties accepted the situation created by Herr Hitler.

At any rate, it is evident that April 10, 1938, saw the curtain drop on what Mussolini has picturesquely described as "the fifth act of the Austrian drama," so that we are now in a position to examine without prejudice and without illusions the course of the historic development which, before the eyes of an astonished Europe, quickly transformed the "independent" Republic of Austria into an administrative unit of the German Reich, enjoying the same status as Bavaria, Saxony, etc.

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comprise those for the Plebiscite in the territory of the Old Reich and in Austria, but are exclusive of those for the Austrian soldiers, as these latter—although entitled to take part in the Plebiscite—were not entitled to take part in the Reichstag elections. The voting of the soldiers was as follows:—Total number entitled to vote—54,413; total actual vote—54,376; total valid votes—54,354; votes in favour of reunion—54,288; votes against reunion—66; spoilt papers—22.

The Führer, in the course of the first speech he made at Linz after the reunion said: "It was in this city that Providence called upon me to take over the leadership of the Reich. This call, therefore, implied a mandate to work for the reunion of my beloved homeland with the Reich. I had faith in that mandate; I lived and struggled for it, and I believe I have now carried it out." These words make it clear that the solution of "the Austrian problem" has always been one of the chief aims of the Führer's policy and are a direct confirmation of what he wrote in the first chapter of *Mein Kampf* about his intention to work for the re-incorporation of his native country in the Reich.

The steps subsequently taken were the logical outcome of this determination: National Socialist propaganda became active in Austria; the Party was organised and founded; thousands of political refugees were given support and shelter in the Reich; an attempt was made to convince ex-Chancellor Schuschnigg of the equal status of all Austrian citizens irrespective of their political views, and diplomatic action was taken to secure the tacit assent of certain governments interested in the peace and prosperity of Central Europe.

The realisation of the Führer's wish to effect the *Anschluss* by the progressive development of the situation, without running the risk of civil strife in Austria and without involving international complications was facilitated by Herr Schuschnigg's own imprudent action in announcing a plebiscite that was to be held within three days. No voting lists had been prepared, no public control was provided for, and the circumstances were not favourable to the chances of the Patriotic Front. Indeed, a serious conflict between the National Socialist majority and the Government minority would have been the inevitable result.

In his farewell speech (which was broadcast by the Austrian stations) Herr Schuschnigg affirmed that he was master of the situation. That, however, was an illusion. The Hitler movement had numerous adherents, not only among the police forces, but also in the Army. But even assuming that he was right, the question must be asked: Under what conditions would the elections have been held and what would have been their effect upon the country's internal peace? All who were aware of the state of public feeling—and I believe I am one of them—were certain that civil war would have been the outcome.

The Führer had plainly stated in his Reichstag speech of February 20, 1938, that he would protect the thousands of Germans whose homes were outside the frontiers of the Reich. He regarded it as his duty to intervene, made up his mind and crossed the Rubicon. The National Socialist Party in Austria was instructed to act. Herr Miklas, the Federal President, had to countermand the elections and, shortly afterwards, to dissolve the Schuschnigg Cabinet. Its place was taken by a Government under the leadership of Herr Seyss-Inquart—himself a 100-per-cent National Socialist, who immediately applied for the armed intervention of the Reich and thus provided the legal basis for the occupation of Austrian soil by German soldiers. The further developments are familiar to everybody. They took place with a mathematical precision and a rhythmical perfection which astonished the world.

The spontaneous enthusiasm with which the German troops—and, subsequently, the Führer himself—were welcomed by the Austrian people proves beyond doubt that the "independent" republic of Dr. Dollfuss and Herr Schuschnigg was dead and that a miracle would have been required to instil new life into it. There is no need, therefore, to deal with the arguments of those who—for some reason or other—are dissatisfied with the course of events. The general feeling, however, is typically illustrated by the following anecdote then much heard in Germany.

A young Austrian girl from the Führer's own home-town—so the story goes—one day knocked at the door of his Berchtesgaden summer house. Herr Hitler's sister opened the door and admitted her, but when the visitor announced her intention of speaking to the Führer, she thought that her brother would not like to be disturbed and said to the girl that he was asleep. As it happened, Hitler had just then entered the reception room and, hearing what his sister had answered, said to his visitor: *Der Führer schläft nicht.* He thereupon took the autograph album which the girl put into his hands and wrote into it: *Der Führer schläft nicht.—Adolf Hitler.*

As regards the politicians of the non-German countries, they will have to reconcile themselves to the *fait accompli* and to take note of the change in the map of Central Europe and in the international situation. It is certain that a potential cause of war has been eliminated. Once people have recognised this, they ought to concentrate their minds upon the new methods necessitated by the new conditions. The old prescriptions recommended by the physicians at Versailles, Geneva and elsewhere are of no use any longer; but efforts should be made by the Powers to arrive at a policy of mutually understanding each other's requirements.

It may have taken a long time to solve "the Austrian problem," but the solution now found definitely settles it, as it is based upon the most elementary and absolutely inalienable right of every nation—that of determining its own destinies. The authors of the events that led up to April 10 and to the creation of the Greater German Reich have triumphed over the selfish and shortsighted policy of those who wanted to obstruct this, the only possible, solution.

Certain developments—notably those rooted in racial kinship and a common historical tradition—cannot be prevented by outside interference. All attempts made to counteract them are bound to fail and may cause much suffering, much bloodshed, and much enmity. The history of Italian irredentism and that of many other struggles for national independence may be cited in proof of this assertion. Seeing that a number of European problems are still awaiting their solution, the Powers should carefully study the lessons of past experience and apply them to their settlement by diplomatic methods.

If they do so, they will confer great benefits upon the world.

V.

Population and Race

After having discussed the internal and foreign policies of National Socialist Germany, I intentionally turn for two reasons to the racial problem: firstly, because the solution of this problem is one of the most important from the standpoint of National Socialist ideology; and, secondly, because it has called forth passionate discussions in Press and literature throughout the world.

That such discussions should have been awakened is not surprising, since the new Germany is pursuing a course in many respects without precedent and her aims are in pronounced contradiction to those of other Western Powers. The latter are consequently inclined to regard developments in Germany with suspicion—nay, with hostility—which has invariably been the case with all revolutionary innovations, the veritable nature of which, not less than the motives dictating them, have generally been profoundly misunderstood by their contemporaries.

The reaction produced abroad by National Socialist policy in this respect was all the stronger since it affected first and foremost those Jewish elements in Germany which are united by links of consanguinity and by powerful business interests to extremely influential circles abroad. Thus the fate of the German Jews could not but arouse a feeling of solidarity in international Jewish quarters. Nor must it be forgotten that numerous Jewish elements emigrated from Germany and organised a systematic propaganda against the National Socialist Government. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that world public opinion should not always have been correctly informed concerning the nature and motives of National Socialist policy, nor concerning the situation of the Jews still remaining in Germany.

It is therefore necessary to give here a brief exposition of the matter, where by we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain facts which have been duly established, whilst abstaining from the expression of any personal opinion in this question that has aroused so many controversies, alike from the social and from the human point of view.

The National Socialist Theory of Racial Hygiene

According to the National Socialist theory a race represents a human group distinguished from other groups by physical, moral, and intellectual characteristics *sui generis* resulting from consanguinous relations between its members.

The nearness of the physical relationship between different races appears the more clearly in the proportion in which their respective characteristics harmonise with each other. Thus the various races living in Europe possess certain physical and intellectual characteristics.

Whereas a *race* has a purely biological basis, a *nation* has an historical and cultural significance. From the National Socialist point of view a nation is a group of human beings united by ties of blood, by a common destiny, by common ties of migration and language and tradition. Hence nobody can be considered to belong to a national community if he or she belongs to a race which has no consanguinous, or cultural, or other relations with the community in question.

Within historical times the unity of race and nation has no longer existed. The German nation, no more than any other, represents a homogeneous race. Yet although all European ethnological elements are to be found in Germany, the common fundamental basis of the German people is constituted by the "nordic" race, which has determined the German national, distinctive character. The notion of "nordic" race is not to be understood in a geographical sense, but only by reference to the "nordic" home of the race. If we accept this interpretation, Scandinavian, Dutch, English, and North Americans may be taken as representing other types of the "nordic" race, which may be designed as "Germanic."

The Germanics, in their turn, belong to the great Indo-Germanic family known also as Aryans, just as do the Romanic, Greek, Slav, and Celtic peoples.

According to the accepted teaching of biologists, the qualities of the parents are susceptible of being transmitted by heredity to their offspring. Hence children born of parents of the same race will continue to manifest the qualities inherent to that race — i. e. physical and intellectual qualities which are the natural source of their strength. The same holds good for children born of parents belonging to biologically closely related races. In this case, also, there is a homogeneity of hereditary transmission which cannot but be conducive to the harmonious and consequently complete development of the descendants.

It goes without saying that hybridism, resulting from a mixture of different bloods, must necessarily produce diametrically different consequences since the products of such heterogeneous unions inevitably bear the organic traces of incompatible contradictions, both physical and moral. This essential disharmony will have the result of depriving them of that energetic will to action, the lack of which, from the standpoint of the interests of the community, cannot but constitute a grave, and, indeed, fatal drawback, whatever the capacities of such persons in isolated details of social existence may be.

From the National Socialist point of view the maintenance of racial purity was consequently a *conditio sine qua non* of the renascence of the internal strength of the German nation. The primordial duty of maintaining these fundamental conditions, in order to reconstitute a new Germany, was clearly defined by Hitler in the words: "the original sin against racial purity marks the end of a human society resigned to its fate." In his book *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote:—

"Hybridism, with the resulting degradation of the biological level of the race, was the sole reason of the decadence of all old civilisations. For it is a fact that nations do not perish in consequence of lost wars, but in consequence of the loss of that force of resistance which has its only origin in the preservation of racial purity. For everything which is not racially pure is mere chaff. All events of historical importance have, whether in a good or an evil sense, been the outward and visible expression of the instinct of races either for their self-preservation or their self-destruction."

It appeared necessary to Hitler to take legislative measures in view of the numerical decrease of the German nation, reflected in the diminution of the birth-rate.

Erroneous ideas have, to a certain extent, prevailed in this respect in foreign countries. It is true that the population of Germany from 1870 till 1937 had increased from 42 to 67 millions. But, on the other hand, the birth-rate had constantly diminished, so that an excess of births could only be maintained by a reduction of the mortality-rate—i. e. by a prolongation of the life of the individual. Since, however, the mortality-rate could not be everlastingly reduced, the time would necessarily arrive when the continuously sinking birth-rate would no longer suffice for a relative increase of the population, or even for the maintenance of its numerical level.

In 1900 Germany's birth-rate amounted to two millions in round figures, or about 30 per thousand of the total population; in 1933 to less than one million, or less than 15 per thousand. In France, which is reputed to be a land of diminishing birth-rate, the number of births still amounted at the date in question to 17.3 per thousand of the total population.

Comparing the figures for the birth-rate with those for the mortality-rate during the period in question, it will be seen that already since 1926 Germany had no longer an excess, but in reality a deficit, of births. In 1933 the birth-rate was about one-third inferior to that which was necessary to maintain the numerical level of the German population. If the necessity of increasing that level were to be taken into consideration, the inadequacy of the birth-rate appears still more pronounced.

Should this evolution of the birth-rate have continued, it must inevitably have resulted in a noticeable decrease of the population of Germany. According to careful, and indeed cautious, calculations of the Reich Statistical Bureau, the population of Germany would under those conditions have been reduced to 47 millions in the year 2000.

Energetic measures thus appeared necessary in order to effectively counteract the influence of one of the main biological causes of the gradual destruction of racial strength and consequently of the sapping of the very foundations of the State—namely, of racial intercrossing.

Since the Jews are the only non-Aryan race inhabiting Germany, the racial question in that country is synonymous with the Jewish question. Hence the National Socialist Government adopted a programme which provided for a number of measures destined to separate the Aryan from the Jewish elements of the population so as to prevent an intercrossing of the two races.

This racial, i. e. Jewish, question found a definite solution in the Law enacted at Nürnberg on September 15, 1935, known as "the Law for the Protection of the German Race and German Honour." This Law, which was preceded by a circular issued by the Reich Minister of Education concerning the opening of special Jewish schools, prohibited marriages between Jews and persons of German or other Aryan race. Marriages contracted abroad for the purpose of circumventing this law are declared null and void in Germany, and the contracting parties are liable to severe penalties.

Sexual intercourse between Aryans and Jews, apart from marriage, is likewise prohibited and the male partner in such cases is liable to similar penalties. The Law further provides that no Jewish family may employ Aryan female domestic servants under the age of 45. A special authorisation is compulsory for the marriage of "half-blood" Jews and Germans, whilst "quarter-blood" Jews are henceforth only allowed to marry Germans.

Children born of marriages between Germans and "half Jews" are considered to be "quarter Jews"; the children of such "quarter Jews" (who, as already mentioned, may only marry Germans) are defined as "one-eighth Jews," who will be regarded as of German race conformably with the "Civic Law of the Reich," to which reference has been made in the second chapter.

When the National Socialists took power at the beginning of 1933 there were in Germany 500,000 Jews, 200,000 half Jews, and 100,000 quarter Jews. These figures prove how frequent intercrossing between the two races had become within recent years.

Reich Minister Dr. Frick, who took the initiative in drawing-up the provisions of the law in question, stated before the Committee of Experts that educated German youth must be trained to consider as its highest duty to become conscious of the value of the German race and therefore to contribute, by the choice of suitable marriage partners, to a higher development alike of the German individual and of the German family. Mixed marriages with persons of alien race must in future be clearly recognised as the source of moral and intellectual degeneracy, as an abjuration of national dignity. Respect for family and race must be developed in such a manner that the prosperity of the family, which is the elementary social cell, should appear as an infinitely more desirable ideal than material comfort and riches. The Germans should have the courage to shape the biological structure of their nation in accordance with the hereditary value of that structure, and thus to prepare, for the State, leaders worthy alike of its traditions and its future.

Decisive measures were thus taken with the object of separating the two heterogeneous races living on German soil.

Sanitary Organisation

What may be called the "racial policy" of the National Socialist Government has not been confined to the prevention of racial intercrossing. That policy has also taken account of the necessity of creating conditions favourable to

the production of healthy and numerous families. The creation of such conditions implies going to the roots of two other causes of the destruction of racial strength—namely, the increase of hereditary defects and the decline of the birth-rate. With this object in view Dr. Frick has progressively applied various measures, of which we will proceed to recall the most important.

Since, according to Dr. Frick, a new era and a new constructive "demographical and racial policy" can only be inaugurated on condition that the State takes due account of generations yet unborn, the so-called "Law relating to Matrimonial Hygiene" was promulgated on October 18, 1935. This Law prohibits marriages between persons in cases where admitted infirmities of one or other or both partners hold out the certain prospect of future unhappiness for parents and children. The law consequently provides that in future no marriage may be contracted without the production of a medical certificate attesting the biological fitness of both parties.

In order to reduce expenditure caused by the care of hereditarily degenerate persons, and to prevent the reproduction of such persons, a law for the "Preservation from hereditarily diseased posterity," enacted on July 14, 1935, provided for the possibility of sterilising individuals afflicted with specific hereditary diseases. The operation can be performed either at the request of the patient or on the proposal of the competent medical authority.

This law was severely criticised in foreign countries, where, owing to ignorance of the condition expressly stipulated in it that no decision relating to sterilisation could be taken without the concurrent judgment of the Court and of the medical experts, grave abuses were feared from its application. Objections were also raised to the claim of the State to intervene in so decisive a manner in the private life of the individual. To this objection the National Socialists reply that sterilisation of an hereditarily diseased person spares the latter the tragedy of seeing his own unhappy destiny reproduced in his children. It was further pointed out that the overwhelming majority of persons who have been sterilised conformably with this law have submitted voluntarily and without any constraint whatsoever to the operation.

Speaking at the International Congress on Population in August, 1935, Dr. Frick stated that "this law has for its aim to relieve not only the present generation, but also future ones, of the heavy burden of disease with its resulting sufferings. Hence the law, considered from a moral standpoint, is superior to the law of Christian charity which is restricted in its operation to the living generation."

Dr. Frick continued:—

"We are reproached with inaugurating a 'racial religion' and with violating by these eugenic measures the Christian commandment of charity. If, however, it was not too venturesome to modify the original system of Nature by enabling, thanks to the progress of science, a large number of sick persons to prolong their lives, it cannot be unjust to prevent the benefit which has thus accrued to sick persons from becoming in its turn an impediment for those who have the privilege of enjoying health."

The science of eugenics was, moreover, founded some fifty years ago by the illustrious English biologist Sir Francis Galton.

At the International Eugenics Congress in Zurich in 1934, the following resolution was passed after a debate lasting four days on the German law:—

"The delegates present, representing the most varied countries, declare that despite the divergencies between their political or ideological points of view they are united in the firm conviction that the study and application of the principles of racial hygiene are of vital importance—nay, indispensable—for all civilised countries. The Congress recommends all Governments throughout the world to study the problems of biological heredity, population, and racial hygiene, thus following the example already set by certain countries in Europe and America, and to apply for the benefit of their respective nations the results yielded by such a study."

German statistics estimate at about 400,000 the number of persons who ought to be sterilised conformably with the law under discussion. The various categories of hereditarily transmitted diseases from which these persons suffer are given as follows: congenital feeble-mindedness (200,000); schizophrenia or dementia praecox (80,000); maniacal depressive dementia (20,000); epilepsy (60,000); chorea (600); congenital cecity (4,000); congenital deafness (16,000); serious physical deformities (20,000); hereditary alcoholism (10,000).

These purely precautionary eugenic measures were completed on November 24, 1935, by a law directed against *sexual and other dangerous habitual criminals* and provided for the *castration of sexual criminals.*

The fact that the preamble to this law stressed "the expenditure incurred by the State for the maintenance of asocial, degenerate, and incurably diseased persons" is easily comprehensible when it is remembered that the State was obliged to spend upwards of a milliard marks annually for that purpose, at a time when innumerable German families did not know where or how to procure bread for their own healthy children[1].

It should be noted that whereas the entire German nation increased by 50% from 1870 till 1936, the number of hereditarily diseased and otherwise degenerate persons increased during the same period by 450%.

But such purely negative measures by the State had necessarily to be completed by positive ones.

The State loans to newly married couples provided for by the "Law for the Reduction of Unemployment" constituted such a positive measure. A loan is only granted to citizens of German blood who are healthy, and only on condition that the future wife, having hitherto been a wage-earner, relieves the labour market by her marriage. No interest is payable on the loan, which varies from 600 to 1000 marks according to circumstances and which is redeemable at the rate of 1% per month. 25% of the loan is considered redeemed for every child born, and amortisation payments may be postponed for a period of one year after the birth of every child born alive. The result of these measures was an

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[1] In Germany there are 44 homes for cripples, 42 homes for general paralytics, 123 homes for incurables, 243 mental homes, 74 homes for mentally defective persons, 57 homes for nervous cases, 19 homes for inebriates. 300,000 persons suffering from physical degeneracy in one form or another are interned in homes belonging to the State. The number of aged and infirm persons in 1936 amounted to 713,571.

immediate rise in the birth-rate. 925,000 newly married couples had received loans up till June 1938, and they had produced 825,000 children.

The taxation of families, especially of those with numerous children, has been noticeably decreased at the expense of unmarried persons and of married couples without children. Similar aims are pursued by the reduction of taxes on newly built small flats and houses for owner-occupiers. Another decree has rendered possible the granting of pecuniary assistance to large families.

It was in the interest of maintaining the peasantry as one of the essential foundations of the German nation that the law concerning the *hereditary tenure of farms* was enacted. This law, which reintroduced the ancient German custom relating to inheritance, will be dealt with in detail in the chapter on agricultural policy. It may suffice to say here that its object is to relieve rural property of the ever increasing burden of indebtedness and to prevent the excessive parcelling-out of estates. It is well known that in other countries the division of rural property on the death of the owner is one of the main causes of the decrease in the number of marriages.

Legislation concerning *home settlements* and *working men's dwellings* aims at assuring to families with small means the property of their home amid healthy surroundings outside the crowded areas of big cities.

All the above-mentioned measures found their completion in a decree providing for the unification of the German organisation of hygiene and for the extension of the duties of medical men. In every urban and rural administrative district, a Health Office has been established on which the following tasks are incumbent: the teaching of the principles of hygiene; the medical care (independently of regular treatment) of all citizens; the treatment of all questions relating to heredity and race, including advice to persons intending to marry. In this way, the usefulness of the Health Offices extends beyond the present to future generations conformably with the doctrine of National Socialism which combines solicitude for the sick with racial hygiene in the permanent interests of the entire nation.

The decree relating to the medical profession of December 13, 1935, completely modified the former basis of the profession. Under its terms both the individual doctor and the entire profession are placed in the service of public hygiene, without the freedom of professional activity being affected thereby. The doctor is henceforth to regard himself as being in the service alike of the individual patient and of the entire nation, and as fulfilling a legally regulated public duty. The doctor is transformed into a State functionary entrusted with the task of looking after the general health of the community.

One of the duties of the newly founded Reich Medical Chamber consists in providing for the existence of a medical corps of the highest moral and scientific value. The Chamber is also the custodian of professional honour and exercises the oversight of the discharge of professional duties. It superintends the professional education and training of medical men, ensures the maintenance of good relations between them, provides for their suitable distribution throughout

the territory of the Reich, creates and controls professional welfare organisations. The Director of the Reich Medical Chamber is appointed, and may also be dismissed, by the Chancellor. The Director is assisted by an Advisory Council.

The hygienic care of the German to-day begins in the earliest stages of his life. The Hitler Youth has introduced the system of health certificates, and admission to membership depends on the result of a preliminary medical examination. All the members of the Hitler Youth are under constant medical supervision, which is continued later in the Labour Service and the Army. In the Hitler Youth, in the Labour Service, in the Storm and Defence Detachments, in the Reich Association for Physical Training, special attention is paid to physical fitness.

Special importance attaches to the medical supervision of workers in the factories, which is entrusted to the Office of Public Hygiene organised by the German Labour Front in conjunction with the Head Office of Public Hygiene of the National Socialist Party. In the course of 1936 over 3000 factories were medically inspected, with the result that a number of more or less serious defects in respect of hygienic conditions could be remedied in more than 2000 of them. During the same year upwards of two million individual workers were medically examined.

According to the National Socialist programme it is not necessary to wait till the worker becomes ill; elementary foresight demands that measures should be taken to prevent illness. The duty of taking such measures is incumbent in the first place on the social insurance organisation, the task of which is completed by the various institutions created by the Party and by the Labour Front. One of the preventive measures against sickness consists in sending through the agency of the National Socialist Popular Welfare Organisation tired workers (whether brain or manual) to suitable homes for rest and recuperation. Other measures are the holiday journeys prepared by the great organisation "Strength through Joy" and the development of sport in all industrial and business enterprises under the aegis of the Sports Office of the Labour Front. 660,000 investigations took place in 1936 with a view to enabling workers to enjoy a rest conformably with the above-mentioned scheme of the National Socialist Popular Welfare Organisation.

One of the principles of social legislation in the new Germany has been to remove women from work in industries to which they are not adapted. The National Socialist State refuses to admit female labour in factories merely because such labour is cheap. There is, of course, a certain amount of industrial work which can only be performed by women, but an essential condition is that this work should not be injurious to their health. According to National Socialist ideas the primordial duty of a woman is to beget and educate children and manage the household.

Youth is the object of special care and attention in all industrial undertakings. The guiding principle here is that what matters most is not the actual amount of work performed by young persons, but their spiritual and bodily development with the object of enabling them to become really useful members of the community after reaching maturity.

In his speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1937, Chancellor Hitler said: "in addition to the accomplishment of the Four-Years Plan we shall devote all our efforts to rendering the German nation healthier and to increasing its joy of life." There can be no question that the surroundings in which the German worker carries out his daily task to-day are more congenial, because more pleasant, than they were formerly. The German worker is conscious that his labour is an essential part of his country's wealth, and he is also aware that State and Party have set themselves the task of preserving that wealth. Whereas in former days only persons enjoying a certain income could allow themselves the luxury of a holiday in bathing resorts, to-day ships transporting simple German workers cross the ocean, or the worker can travel by rail to the seaside or the mountains or the forest. Whereas in former days the majority of children of great cities never had a breath of fresh country air and their horizon was limited by walls of brick and stone, they can now enjoy Nature in all her beauty. To-day German mothers know that they can give birth to healthy children.

According to the doctrine of National Socialism it is precisely the existence of healthy and merry children which constitutes the best guarantee of the future of the German nation.

Statistics show the favourable results already achieved by the policy we have endeavoured to outline above. The number of marriages increased from 516,793 in 1932 to 740,165 in 1934. It is true that the number fell to 650,851 in 1935, to 611,114 in 1936 and to 618,971 in 1937, but even the latter figure was higher than that for 1929, which had shown the most favourable results since the War prior to the advent of the National Socialists to power. The birth-rate rose from 971,174 in 1933 to 1,198,350 in 1934; 1,261,273 in 1935; 1,279,025 in 1936 and 1,275,212 in 1937—an uninterrupted increase. The surplus birth-rate, which was 233,297 in 1933, amounted to 482,020 in 1937, that is to say more than double.

The National Socialist Racial and Ethnological Policy

The Germans masters in their own house under German leadership: such is the spirit inspiring the home policy of the Third Reich. The German intends henceforth to be the master of his own house to the exclusion of all alien elements. In the words of Frederic the Great, the German wishes "to be happy in his own way." Hence, in Hitler's view, the German Government must see to it that only persons of authentic descent are admitted to exert an influence on the destiny of the German people.

Conformably with this principle, it was necessary that the laws on racial hygiene directed against the Jews should be completed by corresponding measures in the political domain. These measures, of an indubitably revolutionary nature, have been severely criticised abroad, and the hostility aroused by them has not been without entailing perceptible consequences for Germany.

When describing in a previous chapter the general situation in Germany at the time of the advent of the National Socialist Party to power, we pointed out the rôle played by the Jews in the cultural life of the nation. But Jewish

predominance was not less pronouncedly marked in politics, in the economic and financial spheres, in the Administration and the liberal professions—a predominance that contrasted strangely with the proportion of Jews to the total population of Germany, which was about 1%. An idea of the preponderance of Jewish influence may be gathered from the number of deputies and functionaries of the Social Democratic and Communist parties belonging to the Jewish race; and the strength of the Jews in those parties, in its turn, was reflected not only in the appointment of Jewish Ministers in the Reich and the constituent German States, but also, and perhaps even more, in the composition of the various Administrations. As for the big financial houses, they were more or less completely in Jewish hands, and the vast majority of the members of the boards of directors of the leading banks were Jews. Of the 16 members of the Committee of the Produce Exchange in Berlin, 12 were Jews. In the medical profession 42% of the total number of its members and no less then 52% of panel doctors belonged to the Semitic race. In the legal profession 48% of the barristers and 50% of the notaries were Jews. Of 1000 Jews engaged in business life in Prussia, 315 occupied commanding positions, whereas of 1,000 Aryans similarly engaged, only 37 were admitted to such a privilege.

These few figures may suffice to impart an idea of the extent to which Jewish influence had penetrated into all domains of life in Germany, whether political or financial or economic or cultural or professional. In this connection the hostility aroused in Germany by the activities of immigrated East European Jews, notably from Poland and Czechoslovakia, must be stressed.

According to Article VI of the programme of the National Socialist Party of February 25, 1920, "every public function, of whatever nature it may be—whether in the Reich, in the States, or in the municipalities—should be confided exclusively to German citizens."

On the other hand, according to Article IV of the said programme, a "citizen" is a member of the German race (*Volksgenosse*), i. e. a person of German blood and descent without any reference to his religious faith. Hence, says the article in question, "no Jew can be a member of the German race."

It is on these principles that the entire jurisprudence of the National Socialist State, in so far as its racial and ethnological policy is concerned, is based.

Paragraph III of the "Law reestablishing the Status of Public Functionaries" of April 7, 1933, provides that functionaries who are not of Aryan descent shall be placed on the retired list. An exception is made in the case of officials who had been appointed previously to August 1, 1914, or who had seen active service in the Great War, or whose father or children had fallen on the battlefield. A similar exception was made in favour of widows of ex-Servicemen. A complementary law of June 30, 1933, prohibited the marriage of a public functionary with a Jewess, under penalty of dismissal in the event of disobedience.

Other laws and decrees regulated the number of lawyers and doctors admitted to practise in their respective professions. The previous enactments, applicable

to public functionaries and relating to Aryan descent as well as to marriage to an Aryan wife, were extended to all members of the Fighting Forces; they were also extended to journalists, artists, musicians, authors, who were henceforth compelled to join the Chamber of Culture[1].

The law of July 14, 1933, concerning "the withdrawal of naturalisation rights and the denationalisation of German citizens" rendered it possible to eliminate from the German national community a certain number of persons who had emigrated after the advent of the National Socialist Party to power and who conducted an active campaign against the Third Reich. Another law modified the prescriptions hitherto in force regarding the acquisition of naturalisation in Germany.

The "Civic Law of the Reich" adopted at Nürnberg on September 15, 1935, of which mention has already been made in the second chapter, while admitting the Jews as German nationals, denies them the status of German citizens and thus excludes them from all participation in the political life of the Reich. Under the terms of this law Jews may in future only hoist the Jewish flag and are excluded from military and labour service, as well as from the National Socialist Party, from the Labour Front, and from all similar associations and institutions.

On the other hand the economic activity of the Jews has only been affected in so far as they have ceased to exert any political influence. Otherwise the rights of Jewish business firms have in nowise been curtailed. The first National Socialist Minister of Economy, Dr. Schmitt, in a speech on commercial morality in the Third Reich declared that a differentiation between Aryan and non-Aryan firms is not realisable in the ordinary course of business.

The Jews have retained not only their schools, but also every other possibility of cultural development. On the initiative of the Director of the Reich Chamber of Culture, Hans Hinkel, the Jewish *Kulturbund* was founded four years ago as an organisation of Jewish artists. Already at the beginning of the winter season 1933/4 the Kulturbund Theatre was installed in the building of the former Berliner Theater, where it gave a series of operas, operettas, and plays, in which a number of prominent Jewish artists took part. Within a short time this Jewish cultural movement spread to other cities in Prussia, and a year later about two dozen local groups of the Kulturbund had come into existence and were displaying marked activity. In Berlin alone upwards of 500,000 Jews visited the theatrical performances, concerts, and lectures organised by the Kulturbund. The latter, together with all affiliated associations, was subsequently merged in a "Reich Union," the control of which has tended more and more to pass into the hands of leading personalities connected with the Zionist movement. The Reich Union counts many thousands of members and gives

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[1] It is, perhaps, well to point out that the practical application of these laws has largely taken account of special cases. Thus, in Berlin, 1158 Jewish barristers out of a total of about 3500 (or approximately 30%) and 2549 Jewish doctors out of a total of 6203 (or 41.2%) still continue to exercise their profession.

employment to numerous Jewish artists. In addition, itinerant Jewish troupes and orchestras travel from town to town. Every opportunity is also afforded to Jews of cultivating their artistic tastes and capacities as *conférenciers*, musicians, dancers, etc., in variety theatres and cabarets. Thus a large sphere is open to the development of Jewish art.

The Jews enjoy absolute religious freedom, and the resolution passed by the Zionist Congress in Prague in which the German Government was accused of pursuing a policy of religious persecution towards the Jews was entirely unfounded. The resolution was probably motivated by the fact that the "Law for the Protection of Animals" prohibited the slaughter of animals according to Jewish rites. This, however, does not imply a restriction of the religious freedom of the Jews, who enjoy in this respect the protection of the Third Reich in exactly the same way as every other religious body.

The National Socialist attitude towards the vehement criticisms voiced abroad of the policy of the Reich Government as regards the Jews, may be resumed as follows:—

1) If the National Socialist State has taken certain measures to deprive persons of alien race of equal rights with German citizens, this does not signify contempt of that alien race or an attempt to depreciate it. Differentiation of treatment is not motivated by the difference of *value* of the two races, but of the fundamental difference of their *respective natures*. The new Germany is inspired solely by the desire to purify its own people, to liberate them from the political domination of an alien people, and to develop German national life under German leadership.

2) The immigration laws of the United States are based on an evaluation of the different qualities of immigrants according to the countries from which they come, such immigrants being classified as "desirables" or "undesirables." The Immigration Restriction League, clearly recognising the importance of the racial problem, has demanded the prohibition of the immigration of certain specified ethnological elements. Australian legislation provides for similar restrictions.

3) Other countries have frequently set themselves the same aim as Germany, i. e. the aim of eliminating Jews or other aliens from public life, and have sometimes succeeded in realising it by different methods, without having recourse to legislation. Germany has preferred to accomplish this aim by legislative measures.

Individuals affected by these enactments may in some cases be deserving of sympathy, but the sacrifices entailed were, according to National Socialist principles, indispensable and unavoidable in order to maintain the health and strength of the nation and to ensure its future. *The interest of the community takes precedence of that of the individual:* this is the moral principle at the basis of the National Socialist ideal, and the racial legislation of the Third Reich conforms to that principle.

VI.

The State and the National Socialist Party[1]

Chancellor Hitler has not yet given a definite constitution to the German nation. But by virtue of the laws hitherto enacted certain constitutional rules have been laid down. In this connection it may, perhaps, be recalled that England has no written constitution either. The state of things now prevailing in Germany is based on those National Socialist principles which dominate the entire structure of German life as it exists *de facto*.

The basis of the constitutional rules thus established is that the political and ideological direction of nation and Reich is confided exclusively to the Party, which as constituting a political and ideological community and consequently a source of spiritual strength and an instrument of material power is in its turn subject exclusively to the will of the Führer. Whereas, on the one hand, the Party elects the Führer, who is at the same time Commander-in-Chief of the Fighting Forces; on the other hand, the Führer, in consequence of his election, exercises absolute authority over the Party, the State, and the Fighting Forces, all three of which are indissolubly united without, however, losing their personal identity. All three—Party, State, and *Wehrmacht*—have their roots in the united German nation; and their apex, so to speak, is the Führer, who thus becomes the centre of the entire political life of Germany.

The primacy of the Party and its indivisible union with the Reich were proclaimed by Hitler on April 8, 1933, and this principle was subsequently incorporated in the law destined to ensure "the unity of Party and State" of December 1, 1933. In the preamble to this law it is said:—

"After the triumph of the National Socialist revolution, the National Socialist Party has become the representative of the German political idea and is indissolubly bound up with the State. The Party consequently becomes a public corporation, the statutes of which are drawn up by the Führer . . . In order to ensure the closest possible co-operation between the Party and the S.A. (Storm Detachments), on the one hand, and the State and the municipal authorities, on the other, the Führer's Deputy and the Chief of Staff of the S. A. are *ex officio* members of the Reich Government."

Hitler's intention in thus recognising the primacy of the Party was to remove all suspicion of a personal dictatorship. In his afore-mentioned proclamation of April 8, 1933, he expressly declared: "We have deliberately built up an

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[1] See also the portraits of some leading men of the new *régime* in the Supplement, *The New Germany in Pictures* (Picts. 2—43).

organisation counting many thousands of adherents, in which there is no dictator. And when our adversaries say: 'It is easy for you to assert this, since you are yourself the dictator,' we reply: no, gentlemen, you are mistaken. There is no question of a single dictator, but of ten thousand dictators, each of them in his place."

Hitler had no intention, at any rate at that time, of establishing a difference in rank between Party and State. On the contrary, his one idea was to assure unity of action and fruitful co-operation between the two. In practice, however, a certain amount of friction has been revealed, which has not been favourable to the prompt transaction of State business required by the public interest.

During the first years of the new *régime* the Party constantly asserted its claim to sovereignty and became more and more merged with the State. It is probable that this development is not yet terminated. The developmental process in question has found its outward and visible expression in various enactments. A Decree of March 12, 1933, provided that, pending a definite settlement of the question of the national flag of the Reich, the Swastika should be hoisted side by side with the old Black, White, and Red colours. The decree in question was completed by the law of September 15, 1935, which made the Swastika the sole flag of the German Reich and nation.

Next to the Party, which incarnates the National Socialist ideal as the indestructible pillar of the Reich, is the *Wehrmacht* (i.e., the united fighting—military, naval, and air—forces), which represents the nation in arms. Both, Party and *Wehrmacht*, are the foundations of the National Socialist Third Reich.

According to the National Socialist theory, the nation itself constitutes the basis alike of Party, Reich, and *Wehrmacht*. These can only accomplish their respective tasks and attain the goal set them by the National Socialist programme on condition that the entire nation has absolute and unrestricted confidence in its leadership. For this reason, Hitler considers the National Socialist *régime* to be essentially democratic.

In a speech to the Reichstag, he stressed that whilst people outside Germany are perpetually talking of democracy and dictatorship, "they have not understood that the result of the revolution in Germany has been to establish a democracy in the best sense of the word. We are steering towards an order of things guaranteeing a process of natural and reasonable selection in the domain of political leadership, thanks to which that leadership will be entrusted to the most competent, irrespective of their descent, name, or fortune. The memorable words of the great Corsican that every soldier carries a Field Marshal's baton in his knapsack, will find its political complement in Germany."

National Socialism clearly differentiates between Democracy and Parliamentarism, two conceptions which are often confounded with each other on the false assumption that the Parliamentary régime is the only possible or legitimate expression of democracy. The aim of National Socialism is, by suppressing all political parties, to bring back democracy to its form of "community of the

people" which it had at the time of Pericles. This conception of democracy as an expression of the popular will was confirmed, in the National Socialist *régime*, by conferring on the nation the right of organising plebiscites in order to give utterance to its desires.

Hitler, who is himself of humble origin, leans for support on the masses; and among all European Governments, the Government founded by him is probably that which seeks most to maintain an indissoluble contact with the vast masses of workers and peasants. On various occasions he has consulted the broad masses of the population concerning the policy pursued by him, and has obtained their approbation.

The New Order of the National Socialist Party

The sovereignty of the German nation is henceforth incarnated in the National Socialist Party, as identified with the nation itself. The will of the nation finds its expression in the Party, which is its homogeneous political organisation.

The period of political struggle having been terminated by the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, the latter found itself confronted by new tasks which, according to the definition given them by Hitler, may be resumed as follows:—

(1) Internal organisation in view of the creation of a stable, indestructible "cell" for the propagation of the National Socialist doctrine;

(2) Education of the whole nation in this sense;

(3) Appointment to the conduct of the business of the State of those best fitted for it.

The fulfilment of these various tasks required a reorganisation of the Party, especially as regarded the training of the future leaders, conformably with the principle enunciated by Hitler: "that the best National Socialists must begin by becoming simple members of the Party, and that the best members must ultimately be called upon to lead the State."

In respect of training great progress has meanwhile been achieved. A Reich Training Organisation was founded with Dr. Ley at the head; at the present day training schools exist in all parts of the Reich with the aim of completing the psychological and technical education of the future leaders of the National Socialist Party, and of deepening and widening their ideological convictions.

An important step forward in the training of future leaders has, from the National Socialist point of view, been realised by the foundation of special "seminaries" (*Ordensburgen*) at Crossinsee, Vogelsang, and Sonthofen, where carefully selected pupils from all parts of Germany undergo a minutely prepared course of moral, physical, and intellectual education stretching over a period of from two to three years.

After its accession to power the Party necessarily found itself compelled to contribute the best part of its active forces to the service of the State. Even if the men who entered the service of the State still continued to occupy leading positions in the Party, they could evidently no longer place their whole time at

the disposal of the latter. Hence the Führer's Deputy, Rudolf Hess, was obliged to reorganise the Party and to mobilise new elements to ensure the continuity of its development.

Past experiences not having proved invariably successful, a number of reforms had to be introduced, and a general clean-up was carried out. A system of division of labour was organised corresponding to the main tasks of the Party with the object of suppressing previously existing rivalries and assuring a greater measure of cohesion to the Party as a whole.

The construction of the Party resembles that of a pyramid. At the head of the Party is the Führer, who designates the heads of the various departments charged either with the business of the Reich or with the conduct of the multifarious activities of the Party. Since the Party is destined to determine the political principles which form the basis of the policy of the Reich, its activity inevitably extends to all domains of public life. Thus an "Office for Foreign Affairs" (independent of the Reich Foreign Ministry), a Reich Propaganda Office (personally directed by the Reich Propaganda Minister), a Reich Office for questions of agrarian policy, a Reich Law Office, an Office for the study of colonial problems, an Office of Public Hygiene, an Office for Racial Policy, an Office of Technical Science, an Office for Public Welfare, and various others had to be called into existence. To these various organisations should be added the National Socialist Women's Association (*Frauenschaft*), together with the Union of German Women (*Deutsches Frauenwerk*); the Union of National Socialist Students; the Union of Professors; and the groups charged with the formation, the administration, and the *personnel* of the Party.

According to the latest regulations every respectable German citizen who has completed his eighteenth year, who is of pure German racial descent, and who does not belong to any Masonic lodge or any similar organisation, is entitled to become a member of the National Socialist Party.

The newly received adept of the National Socialist Party is not thereby admitted to any special organisation, but becomes, by virtue of his reception, a "soldier of the German Liberty Crusade." On this occasion he renounces all egoistical considerations and undertakes to sacrifice all his personal interests for the well-being of the nation. Only under these conditions can he be admitted as a member of the National Socialist Party.

Aptitude and preparedness for struggle, the spirit of sacrifice, strength of character, are the essential moral requisites of a National Socialist. What he is able and willing to perform for Germany is the sole criterion by which he is judged, whereby it must be borne in mind that good is *ipso facto* separated from evil provided the *will to good* is proved by conduct and its resulting activity. Hence it is not adhesion to old-fashioned bourgeois customs and ways of thinking, but soldierly virtues, the essence of which is the attitude which an individual may be relied upon to adopt in the presence of an enemy, which form the condition *sine qua non* of admissibility to membership of the Party.

The Party must always constitute the *élite* of the nation. Hence great care must be exercised in the choice of its members. In order to prevent as far as possible the introduction of undesirable elements, a candidate can be admitted into the Party only through the group of the locality where he resides.

The card of membership is remitted to the new adherent by the local group leader at a general meeting of the group. In a short address, the leader stresses the duties incumbent on every member of the Party and also the significance of the oath to be taken by the novice. The latter then takes the oath in front of the swastika flag, his right arm raised in the German salute. The oath reads as follows:—

"I swear fidelity to my Führer Adolf Hitler. I promise to respect and obey him in all things. I promise the same respect and obedience to all leaders whom he may appoint."

Apart from death, membership of the Party can only be terminated by voluntary resignation or by dismissal. Dismissal, which is the gravest penalty known to the Party, can only be pronounced by one of the recognised Party tribunals.

The Commandments of the National Socialist Party

The Führer is always right.

Never infringe discipline.

Waste no time in vain gossip or in irrelevant criticism. You must, on the contrary, act and create.

Be proud, but without presumption.

Let the programme of the Party be your dogma. It demands your entire devotion to the movement.

You are the representative of the Party and must behave accordingly.

Your highest duty is fidelity and self-abnegation.

Be a loyal comrade; thus you will also be a true Socialist.

Treat your fellow-citizens as you would be treated by them.

Be tenacious and discreet.

Remember that courage does not mean coarseness or brutality.

That which serves the cause of the movement, and consequently of Germany and the German people, is right.

All those who think and act conformably with these Commandments are, according to the National Socialist doctrine, champions in the truest sense of the word of the ideal of the new Germany.

The Storm Detachments (SA.)

The advent to power of the National Socialist Party necessarily transformed the original mission of the Storm Detachments. The latter had been created

in the earliest days of the Party with the object of protecting Party meetings from Communist aggression. Under the leadership of Hermann Göring, the first Storm Detachments bore the brunt of an unequal struggle in 1922 and 1923, but were finally dissolved after the suppression of the National Socialist Party in consequence of the *putsch* of November 9, 1923, in Munich.

The re-foundation of the National Socialist Party on February 25, 1925, after Hitler's release from the fortress in Landsberg, entailed automatically, so to speak, the reconstitution of the Storm Detachments. In view of the experiences acquired, it was indispensable to give these newly formed Storm Detachments not only a clearly defined aim, but also an organisation adapted to all the requirements of the coming struggle. Hitler deliberately set these Storm Detachments the task of producing fighters fanatically devoted to the propagation of the National Socialist ideology—fighters equally capable of propagating that ideology by intellectual means, and of defending it, if necessary, by sheer muscular force.

The admirable spirit inspiring the Storm Detachments was proved by the fact that upwards of four hundred of their members were killed and forty thousand injured in the course of innumerable clashes in streets and assembly halls during a bitter struggle lasting over twelve years. But the advent to power of the National Socialist Party did not mean rest for the Storm Detachments. Henceforth the duty was incumbent on them of securing the position of the Führer by the complete overthrow of his adversaries. The Storm Detachments developed into an Auxiliary Police Corps with new political obligations; and it was thanks to their spirit of discipline that the National Socialist revolution, conformably with Hitler's orders, was accomplished practically without bloodshed.

According to Hitler's instructions to the Party Congress in 1935, the Storm Detachments are to be regarded as the "Volunteer Army" which guarantees the stability of the National Socialist revolution. Ideology and personal character of the young German citizen are strengthened by his adhesión to the Storm Detachments, whose mission it is to make of him a champion of the National Socialist ideal. The Storm Detachments had the further task of encouraging among their members all soldierly qualities and of developing physical fitness by means of every kind of sport.

No less importance must be attributed to the educational mission of the Storm Detachments in respect of those of their members who have already accomplished their period of compulsory military training. The duty is prescribed to the Storm Detachments of preserving as long as possible the moral, intellectual, and physical strength of those members for the benefit alike of the Party, the nation, and the State. The spirit of comradeship and discipline is destined, within the framework of the Storm Detachments, to overcome all divergencies which might possibly arise between their members from economic, educational, professional, or other reasons. Hence the Storm Detachments constitute a decisive factor in the realisation of the ideal of a national community.

A corps of leaders specially selected by their education and professional

training assures the capacity of the Storm Detachments for action under all circumstances. This corps is also called upon to furnish suitable candidates for the leadership of the various political organisations of the Party.

The activity of the Storm Detachments extends to the entire territory of the Reich. They are divided into 24 groups, each of which comprises (1) active units composed of men from 18 to 35 years of age, (2) reserve units consisting of men of over 35 years.

A group of the Storm Detachments comprises from 2 to 7 brigades, each brigade being formed by several active and reserve regiments (or *Standarten*). These regiments have the same numbers as former active and reserve regiments of the pre-War Army. Storm Detachment units belonging to the Navy are named by the numbers of marine regiments or by the names of submarines and destroyers famous in the history of the Great War. Thus the Storm Detachments perpetuate the traditions of the German Army and Navy of pre-War times.

Every regiment consists of from three to five units, each of which is subdivided into three to five sections.

In order to satisfy the numerous demands made upon them in the event of public celebrations, processions, catastrophes, accidents of all kinds, etc., the Storm Detachments have constituted a number of special technical units (scouts, engineers, cyclists, ambulance corps). A cavalry corps (NSRK.) has also been created.

In April, 1937, the *Deutscher Luftsportverband*, including all its sections and sub-sections, was dissolved and superseded by the National Socialist Air Service (*Nationalsozialistisches Fliegerkorps* or NSFK.), which enjoys the status of a public corporation. Its leader is subject to instructions received from the Air Minister. Membership is voluntary. It is provided that no member of the NSFK. can simultaneously belong to the SA., the SS., or the NSKK.

The Defence Detachments (SS.)

On January 30, 1933, the day of the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, some 100,000 men belonging to the *Defence Detachments* took part in the celebrations in their quality as the Party's crack formation. From that day dates the development of the Defence Detachments, which were originally a section placed under the High Command of the Storm Detachments. They have since assumed dimensions which render them capable of fulfilling the task specially assigned them by Hitler of "guaranteeing internal security" in Germany.

An important milestone in this development was a decree issued in July, 1934, enacting that the Defence Detachments should be henceforth constituted as an autonomous formation of the National Socialist Party.

The 200,000 men forming the Defence Detachments are divided into principal sections, simple sections, and regiments (*Standarten*). Besides these, there are auxiliary units and guards.

The regulations concerning the recruitment and discipline of the Defence Detachments are very strict, conformably with requirements of a body of men specially selected with regard alike to their intellectual and physical qualities. From a physical point of view the type of man is preferred who most resembles the characteristic Nordic type. Another important element in the selection of members of this "Black Corps" is their comprehension of the significance of the two factors "race" and "soil," since, as their leader Heinrich Himmler said, the ideal of racial purity represented by the SS. would be incomplete if it was not indissolubly bound up with the conviction of the sacredness of the native soil. Selection of members of the SS. is not limited to the men alone; an indispensable condition for admission is that no candidate should marry a woman of non-Aryan race. No SS.-man may marry or get engaged without special permission.

Another virtue which it is sought to inculcate in all members of the SS. is the "combative spirit." The school through which they have to pass is a hard one, and the performances required year by year are calculated to put to the severest test the courage and endurance of each individual, and especially of the leaders. One of the principal aims of this training is to prevent a spirit of "softness" from penetrating into the ranks of the SS. to the detriment of the aforesaid combative spirit.

A third quality required of a candidate for membership of the SS. is the sense of fidelity and honour, regarded as inseparable. The dagger presented to each SS.-man on his admission bears the inscription, which was suggested by Hitler himself, "My honour is fidelity." The SS.-man is taught that much may be forgiven, but not disloyalty. For loyalty and fidelity proceed from the innermost depths of the soul and not from the intellect. If he obeys only his intellect, a man may stumble; and this, however regrettable it may be, is pardonable. But the impulsions of the soul are immutable.

Loyalty, in the mind of the National Socialists, means loyalty to the Führer, to the nation, to the race, to one's own comrades, and to the unchangeable laws of honour embodied inthe conceptions of moral cleanliness and chivalry. Absolute obedience is required of all members of the „Black Corps", but it is an obedience based on free and voluntary acceptance of orders. All personal inclinations and opinions must be sacrificed to the sacred ideal of duty.

One of the laws regulating the organisation of the SS. imposes on every member the duty of defending his honour by arms if need be, but also the duty of respecting the honour of others. Every member is bound to be generous and broad-minded in all his dealings, whether with his own comrades, with his fellow-citizens, or with his fellow-creatures in general.

In a booklet entitled "Fifty Questions and Answers for Members of the SS.," the first question and answer read as follows: "What is the tenor of thy oath?"— "We swear to thee, Adolf Hitler, Führer and Chancellor of the German Reich, to be loyal and brave. We swear to thee and to the leaders whom thou mayst designate obedience unto death. So help us God!"

The second question: "Dost thou believe in God?"—Answer: "Yes, I believe in an Almighty God."

These two replies characterise the attitude of the SS. in regard to religion. Political activity, whether on the part of Jews or Freemasons or of the clergy of Christian denominations stands, in the view of the SS. as of the entire National Socialist Party, condemned.

Since one of the main tasks of the SS. is to guarantee peace and order within Germany, a Secret Police Service has been created under the control of the organisation, which likewise places its members at the disposal of the State Secret Police (*Gestapo*). The leader of the SS., Heinrich Himmler, was originally appointed Head of the Gestapo, and has since been promoted Head of the entire German Police Force.

The National Socialist Mechanised Corps (NSKK.)

An independent formation of the National Socialist Party, in addition to the SA. and SS., is its mechanised unit, known as the *National Socialist Mechanised Corps* (NSKK.). This formation, although the newest, has been the most extensively developed since the advent of the Party to power, for the reason that its development has corresponded to the progress of mechanisation in Germany, which will be discussed in a later chapter.

At the outset the NSKK. consisted of a little group of enthusiastic motorists; their leadership was confided by Hitler to Major Hühnlein, formerly of the General Staff, who is one of the oldest and most faithful of the Führer's comrades. Major Hühnlein took part in the famous Munich *putsch* on November 9, 1923, as a result of which he was sentenced to six months' detention in a fortress.

In the history of the National Socialist movement the NSKK. has earned particular distinction by its combative qualities which have cost it a large number of victims. The corps would, however, have lost a considerable amount of its importance if it had not been for Herr Hitler's programme destined to encourage the progress of mechanisation in Germany. Thanks to this programme and also to the energy and experience of his subordinates, Major Hühnlein was able to transform the comparatively primitive machinery of the NSKK. into a valuable instrument of German economy and German defensive power.

At the beginning of 1933, the NSKK. counted only some 30,000 members. To-day it comprises four superior mechanised groups, three other mechanised groups, and 21 brigades, i. e., approximatively 500,000 motorists. Hence it is not surprising that this colossal organisation should now occupy the third rank among the formations of the Party following immediately on the SA. and the SS.

One of the most important tasks of the NSKK. is the recruitment of young members of the Party and of the Labour Service, with the object of training them as capable motorists fully conscious of their responsibility. In a number of professional schools established throughout the Reich, the NSKK. has succeeded in creating a body of teachers who are themselves able to form, after a course of instruction lasting six weeks, contingents of motorists of absolute reliability, both from the technical and political points of view.

Endurance, courage, promptitude of decision, a "bump of locality," physical skill, and a sense of comradeship are developed in the tests organised by the NSKK. on their "testing tracks." The result has been a wonderful series of triumphs for the German motor-car industry, as exemplified by "The Day of the German Automobile," the 2,000-kilometre race through Germany, the International Six Days Race for Motor-Cycles in the Bavarian Alps, the competitions in East Prussia and in the mountains of Central Germany, without mentioning victories achieved in other international motoring fixtures.

These sporting successes constituted the most efficient propaganda for the German motor-car *per se*. The experience acquired by the leaders of the NSKK. in the course of innumerable meetings, whether at home or abroad, have proved invaluable for the German motor-car industry.

Jointly with the German Automobile Club, the NSKK. is endeavouring to familiarise public opinion in Germany with the idea of a more rigid road discipline. Voluntary compliance with this discipline as it is required by the NSKK. of all its members, can alone bring about a change for the better in the existing conditions of road traffic.

The Annual Party Congresses

It has always been the custom of the National Socialist Party to organise its demonstrations on a vast scale in order to create the strongest and most durable impression possible, alike on the crowds participating in them and on the members of the Party as a whole. In order to produce the desired effect special attention is paid to the methods by which the demonstrating masses are repartitioned and put into movement, to the contrasts of colour, to the harmonious symphony of speeches, songs, and musical recitals. The annual Congresses of the Party have assumed constantly increasing dimensions, with the object of presenting, not only to the members of the Party themselves but also to visitors from abroad, an impressive picture of the strength and organisation of the Party.

Hitler himself has appointed the ancient historic city of Nuremberg to be the seat of these annual Party rallies. Special buildings have been constructed on the vast plain surrounding the town. The immense amphitheatre formed by the "Zeppelin Meadow" affords room for upwards of 100,000 spectators to witness the gathering and the various displays of some 150,000 party adherents. On three sides the Zeppelin Meadow is surrounded alternatively by towers and stands for the public. On the fourth side is the Grand Stand for privileged visitors, immediately in front of which is a platform where Hitler himself speaks.

Not far from this meeting place is the far-flung Luitpold Arena, with the monument to the German soldiers who fell in the World War. 100,000 persons can assemble within this Arena.

Since the large hall destined for official meetings is inadequate to meet the demands made on it, a new spacious Congress Hall will be erected, capable of accommodating 60,000 persons. Adjoining it will be a concert hall and rooms

for special meetings. Included in the ambitious architectural scheme in view of the annual Party Congresses are the *Haus der Kultur* and the German Stadium. The latter, five times larger than the Zeppelin Meadow, will be the largest sports arena in the world, affording room for two million persons, and containing in addition vast camping grounds and a processional route over 300 feet wide (see Pict. 175).

These few details may suffice to give an idea of the enormous importance attached to the annual meeting of at least 500,000 National Socialists with all their various formations.

The annual Party Congress comprises open-air mass meetings in the aforesaid arenas and gatherings in the Congress Hall. The open-air mass meetings furnish an opportunity to the demonstrators to see their Führer; to listen to his programmatic speeches, and to convey to those at home an impression of everything they have heard and witnessed on these memorable occasions. At the meetings in the Congress Hall the cardinal questions of general policy, of social economy, of culture, and also those problems more directly concerning the Party, are discussed by the accredited representatives of State and Party. Account is rendered of the work accomplished during the past year, and the immediate and ultimate aims of the Party form the subject of debate. Summarising the result of all these debates, a statement made by the Führer, after concisely reporting what has heretofore been achieved, defines the duties henceforth incumbent upon State and Party.

The striking solemnity of the ceremonies with their impressive pageantry corresponds to the magnificence of the surroundings in which they are accomplished. In 1936, no fewer than 45,000 men of the Labour Service took up their position before the Führer after their march past (see Pict. 81). Most of the detachments wore uniforms, but some members were bare-chested, exactly as they were when at work in the country during the summer months. In their hands they held the spade, which is alike the instrument and the symbol of their work.

The leader of the Labour Service, Secretary of State Hierl, advancing towards the Führer who had taken his place on the platform reserved for him, announced the presence of a corps of Labour Service men recruited from all regions of Germany who had come to take part in this great ceremony. Evidently moved, Hitler grasped the outstretched hand of Hierl, and addressed the assembled men with the usual salutation: "Workers, Hail!" (*Heil, Arbeitsleute!*).

The response came unanimously with one single voice which resounded far and wide: "Hail, my Führer!" (*Heil, mein Führer!*) A sort of mystical ceremony then began, interrupted by the beating of drums, the sound of trumpets, the waving of flags, and the Song of the Labour Service, rising irresistibly and triumphantly into space, borne by the voices of 45,000 men.

The gist of the song is that the spade is the symbol of peace, of honour, and of faith; that the divisions which rent the German nation in the past have

been abolished and replaced by solidarity and common labour; that the ancestral soil must be rendered more fertile and productive.

The refrain at the conclusion of every strophe celebrates the virtues of loyalty to the Führer, of love of one's country, and of faith in the future of Germany.

The ceremony, grandiose in its simplicity, made a great and indelible impression on all those who witnessed it.

Another most impressive spectacle was that furnished by the swearing-in of the political functionaries of the Party. In the darkness of the night the Zeppelin Meadow stood out like a vast silvery lake in the floodlight of 150 powerful projectors which illuminated the entire countryside to a distance of several miles. It is difficult to describe the effect produced by the spectacle of these hundreds of thousands of brown-uniformed men parading in serried columns, the contours of the floodlit marble stands with their 25,000 flags forming an appropriate background (see Picts. 79, 80).

After a march past of all the Party's formations before the Führer (see Picts. 77, 78, 82), the annual Party Congress generally closes with a military display destined not only to show the excellent condition of the *Wehrmacht*, but also to illustrate the indissoluble unity of Party and *Wehrmacht* as the two indestructible pillars of the National Socialist State.

The Diplomatic Corps, as well as representatives of the German and foreign Press, are always invited to be the guests of the Chancellor at the annual Party Congress, and they have ungrudgingly recorded their appreciation of the perfect organisation and the incontestable political significance which characterise this annual festival of the new Germany.

The Foreign Organisation of the Party (AO.)

In addition to the 38 regional sections into which the Party is now divided within the Reich, there is another comprising German citizens living abroad and numbering some three million members, besides about 70,000 seamen belonging to the German merchant navy.

Just as National Socialism has realised the unity of the German nation at home by the suppression of political parties and class warfare, it aims at uniting German citizens outside the frontiers of the Reich in a common adhesion to the same ideal.

Already on May 1, 1931 — prior to the advent of the Party to power — the "Foreign Organisation of the National Socialist Party" was founded in Hamburg by a numerically small group of Germans who had formerly resided abroad. Shortly after its foundation it proved possible to create a number of local groups in foreign countries; and in 1932 the first groups embracing the German communities within the whole territory of a foreign State were called into existence.

After the advent of the Party to power the leadership of this foreign organisation was confided to Herr Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, who in October, 1933, was appointed a member of the staff of the Führer's Deputy, with the rank of regional

leader. The section of the Party entrusted to Herr Bohle was subsequently known as the "Foreign Organisation of the National Socialist Party." Under Herr Bohle's energetic leadership, the organisation rapidly developed, with the result that it counts to-day about 600 local groups which (with the exception of a certain number of independent ones) are divided into 44 national associations and 1100 seamen's groups.

The Foreign Organisation has issued the following Commandments, obedience to which has since 1937 been rendered obligatory for all its members:—

(1) Obey the laws of the country whose guest you are.

(2) Be careful never to interfere, even in conversation, in the politics of the country whose hospitality you enjoy. Remember that the internal affairs of a foreign country do not concern you.

(3) Remember that, wherever you may be, you are a member of the Party.

(4) Hence speak and act always in such a manner as to be a credit to the National Socialist movement, and consequently to the new Germany. In all your dealings be just and honourable, courageous and loyal.

(5) Regard every German abroad as your compatriot, as a person of your own race and blood. Grasp his hand without any afterthought as to his social position, mindful of the fact that we are all of us "creators" within our own nation.

(6) Come heartily and spontaneously to the help of your German compatriots whenever they are in difficulties which have not arisen through their own fault.

(7) Remember that you are not only a member of the Party, but also a front line fighter for its ideals. Hence the duty is incumbent on you to study carefully the principles and aims of our movement.

(8) Endeavour daily to secure the adhesion of every honourable German to our movement by convincing him of its righteousness and of the necessity of our triumph for the future of our nation. But wage the struggle only with spiritual weapons.

(9) Read the organ of our Party, as well as our books and periodicals.

(10) Associate with all our comrades in the place where you reside. If a local group exists, become its disciplined and active collaborator. Far from being an element of discord, try with all your might to appease any dissensions which may arise.

These ten Commandments reveal the new spirit which the Third Reich has sought to infuse into the German communities abroad; they also indicate the value which the Reich attributes to their activities. It is no longer merely a question of the care to be taken, by official representatives abroad, of German citizens living in foreign countries. Definite duties, definite efforts, and a definite line of conduct are now demanded from those Germans, who are henceforth required to recognise as supreme rule of life the laws governing the German nation, of which the Germans residing abroad form an integral part.

The results already obtained justify the assertion that the various groups of Germans living abroad have satisfactorily fulfilled the task assigned them. In 1934–35 these Germans subscribed Rm. 1,100,000 to the German Winter Relief Fund, and increased their subscriptions to Rm. 2,700,000 in 1936–37. The management of the Foreign Organisation supervises the distribution of the money thus subscribed and pays due attention to any special wishes which

may have been expressed by the donors. Thus one donor living in India had requested that his subscription should be applied to providing a properly heated room for an unemployed compatriot in East Upper Silesia or in Luxemburg. 880 German mothers living abroad were enabled to spend a month in their native country in 1936, and ten thousand German children from abroad were afforded the opportunity of spending their holidays in the Reich.

The Foreign Organisation is particularly concerned with the welfare of German seamen. The new scale of wages, the introduction of premiums for children, and of the system of Christmas presents, are largely due to its efforts. A further result of those efforts has been the establishment of the "Fund for the Victims of Duty at Sea" and the construction of owner-occupied cottages for families of sailors. An appeal by Herr Bohle on behalf of the Germans in Spain elicited a prompt response, Rm. 3,040,000 being subscribed within a few months.

The various groups adhering to the Foreign Organisation are familiarised by means of lectures with the ideals of the Third Reich, and are thereby also kept abreast of the latter's achievements. Lectures by prominent visitors from the Reich are also organised on the occasion of national festivals, such as the Harvest Thanksgiving Day. Some big national groups affiliated to the Foreign Organisation have their own papers and periodicals.

The publication of a central organ of the Foreign Organisation is planned. Meanwhile the organisation publishes a monthly periodical entitled *Der Deutsche im Auslande*, whilst its maritime section which deals specially with the interests of German seamen issues another one, entitled *Seefahrt ist Not*.

Radio and film are bridges connecting the Germans throughout the world with their native country. A special short-wave service furnishes Germans in the most remote countries with the possibility of listening to transmissions from the Reich. Moreover, the Foreign Organisation provides its various groups with gramophone records and with extracts from the weekly reviews of current events, which are shown exclusively to members of the groups.

One of the main objects of the Foreign Organisation is to develop cultural and economic relations between the nations. With this aim in view it has within recent years organised, with the assistance of the German Foreign Office, a number of journeys of South American students to Germany, as well as exhibitions in connection with "The Book Week," which have aroused much interest abroad.

The General Congress of Germans residing abroad, in which Germans from all parts of the world participate and which has become a unique expression of German solidarity, is held each year towards the end of the summer in Stuttgart under the protectorate of Herr Bohle. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Party's advent to power, in 1937, Chancellor Hitler created a new post in the German Foreign Office, namely, that of Head of the Foreign Organisation. Herr Bohle was appointed its first occupant with the rank of Secretary of State. Herr Bohle still remains at the head of the same organisation, which is considered a department of the National Socialist Party. In taking this decision the Chancellor desired not only to confirm once more the essential

unity of Party and State, but also to publicly acknowledge the value of the services rendered by one of his most active and intelligent collaborators.

Seeing that certain quarters abroad had misrepresented the aims of the Organisation, Herr Bohle availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the celebration of the Harvest Festival on the part of the German Colony in London (October 1937) of replying to those false reports. The following is a brief résumé of his speech:—

The Germans abroad, he said, have identified themselves with National Socialism exactly as closely as their countrymen at home—a matter which cannot surprise anyone, as all are members of the same race. This result was brought about through activities extending over four years and a half. The object aimed at by the Berlin headquarters of the Organisation was to encourage the formation of regional and local groups everywhere with a view to strengthening their members' love of the old country and promoting the sense of national solidarity. Hence, these groups in foreign countries were nothing but associations of German nationals abroad. No one wanted them to make propaganda for National Socialist ideals in the countries where they were domiciled. All they were expected to do was to ensure that the life of German nationals abroad was pervaded by the same National Socialist spirit as that of their compatriots at home. It was absurd, therefore, to describe the foreign members of the Party as "Nazi agitators" or "Gestapo agents." The truth was that they were strictly forbidden to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of foreign countries. The foreign residents of other countries, too, had their clubs, societies, and associations, and there was no reasons why German nationals abroad should be prevented from doing likewise, as their foreign groups did no harm to anybody.

His (Herr Bohle's) work as Head of the Foreign Organisation attached to the Foreign Office was concerned with all matters that affected the interests of German residents abroad. He desired to make it clear that he concerned himself neither with non-German nationals nor with German national minorities in foreign countries. No one expected that the leaders of the Foreign Organisation who held no position in the consular or diplomatic service should be granted any diplomatic or similar privileges on the part of foreign governments.

From time immemorial it had been customary for people to emigrate and to take up their places of residence in some foreign country. They should not, on that account, be looked upon with suspicion, but should be regarded as mediators between the different nations, as they were eminently qualified to restore mutual confidence and mutual esteem. People who knew the British nation could not help admiring them for their farsightedness and their imposing achievements. Should it not be possible for the two great and proud nations—who had so much in common—to come to a friendly understanding? The Führer had often given expression to that desire; and as far as the Foreign Organisation was concerned, everything would be done to promote that ideal.

VII.

Germany's Fighting Services

The reconstruction of the *Wehrmacht*[1] required remarkable statesmanlike qualities, including both tact and energy. The accomplishment of the task is one of Hitler's outstanding successes. The problem had to be envisaged from two points of view, for it was a problem alike of home and of foreign policy. From both points of view the problem was equally difficult to solve, which is easily understandable when the condition of Germany's Fighting Forces prior to 1933 is borne in mind.

At that time Germany possessed a *Reichswehr* (Reich Defence Force), the strength of which had been strictly limited by the Treaty of Versailles. It consisted of 100,000 men and a few warships, and entirely lacked an air arm. Manifestly this force, despite its excellent training and the admirable spirit animating it, was inadequate to the task of efficiently defending the German nation and Reich. Faithful to the traditions of the old German Army, the new professional Army occupied an independent situation *sui generis* in the German Republic, since the President of the Reich, who conformably with the Constitution remained outside the sphere of political controversy, was also Chief of the Reichswehr. The latter was also destined to play a *rôle* under the terms of Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, according to which the Constitution itself could under certain circumstances be suspended—as was the case, for instance, during the summer of 1932, when the Prussian Government was deposed *manu militari*.

It was on this twofold basis that the Reichswehr, during the years which preceded the National Socialist revolution, succeeded in preserving an attitude of complete political neutrality. This attitude had the signal advantage of guaranteeing the continuity of its own existence in the face of marked hostility on the part of some pacifist groups, and thereby protecting the permanent interests of the nation. History teaches us what deplorable consequences may result from the participation of soldiers in internal political struggles—consequences fatal alike to the Army and the nation. In this connection, Mussolini's energetic decision, taken by him on the day of the famous march on Rome, when, from the balcony of the Savoy Hotel he bade the officers retire who had assembled in the street to acclaim him, may fitly be recalled. The German Reichswehr, in accordance with the wish of its organiser General von Seeckt, became the "iron clamp" that fastened the Reich together. Thanks to its

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[1] The word *Wehrmacht* is used to designate the totality of Germany's fighting forces, i. e. Army, Navy, and Air Force. Each of these constitutes a branch of the Wehrmacht.

abstention from all political controversy the Reichswehr managed to maintain intact its essentially soldierly spirit, and in the words of Field Marshal von Hindenburg in his political testament, "to remain the symbol and the solid rampart of the State, at a time when it was necessary to lead the German nation, without endangering its existence, through an ordeal composed o oppression and humiliation, of dire distress and self-mutilation."

Hence it was not easy for Hitler, in his double capacity as Chancellor and leader of the National Socialist Party, to alter a condition of things which had inevitably led to the Reichswehr becoming a "State within the State" and to remove misunderstandings which had arisen between the Reichswehr and the National Socialist Party, although the aims of both—the preservation of the legacy of the German ex-servicemen, the struggle for emancipation from the fetters imposed at Versailles, and the abolition of the Weimar system—were in every respect identical.

It was clear that a fundamental *rôle* in the reconstruction of the German Reich had to be attributed to the Reichswehr, which, moreover, had to be transformed from a professional into a national Army. Adolf Hitler proved himself equal to this difficult task, which required quite unusual tact.

Already before taking power the future Chancellor, in a conversation with a high officer, observed that two main duties were incumbent on post-War Germany: namely, the organisation of the National Socialist movement and the recreation of Germany's fighting forces. In his efforts to gain the sympathies of military circles, his own position as an ex-serviceman undoubtedly proved useful. He endeavoured to assure himself of the support of the Reichswehr in carrying out his project of acquiring power by revolutionary, but none the less legal, means. Only a few days after attaining his object, he took the occasion of clearly explaining his political views to all the higher officers of Army and Navy, and of assuring them of his constant solicitude for the defensive forces of the Reich. Hence he could truly declare in September, 1933: "If the Army had not been on our side in the days of the revolution, we should not be standing here to-day." In his speech to the Reichstag in January, 1934, twelve months after his advent to power, he remarked: "It is a unique event in history that a cordial alliance should have been established between the forces of a revolution and the responsible chiefs of an Army in which strict discipline prevails. This, however, has been the case in the cooperation between the National Socialist Party, of which I am the Head, on the one hand, and the officers and soldiers of the German Army and Navy, on the other. The Army and its chiefs have assured the new State of their unconditional loyalty and support, and have thereby rendered possible the success of our endeavours."

This success is not surprising when it is borne in mind that Hitler is, and has always remained, essentially a soldier. In an article published by the *Völkischer Beobachter* on June 29, 1934, General von Blomberg, who was then Minister of War, wrote: "Closely associated with the entire nation, the Wehrmacht is proud of wearing on its steel helmets and its uniforms the outward and visible sign of the renascence of Germany, and of marching in discipline

and loyalty behind the Head of the State, the Field Marshal of the Great War, President von Hindenburg; and behind the Führer of the Reich, Adolf Hitler, who has come from our ranks and will always remain one of us[1]."

An indispensable preliminary condition of this harmonious collaboration will always remain that State and Party confine themselves to the tasks incumbent on them. The crisis of June 30, 1934, brought to light efforts which had been made to transfer to other organisations, i.e., the Storm Detachments, duties which should be exclusively reserved to the Army. Hitler promptly nipped those efforts in the bud.

The Führer has made of the Wehrmacht one of the two pillars of the National Socialist State and has solemnly proclaimed that it is the only representative of the armed power of the nation, whilst, on the other hand, the Party is the representative of the nation's political will. A definite constitutional basis was thus established for the Wehrmacht, and the separation of the mutual duties and responsibilities of Wehrmacht and Party was clearly and precisely defined.

This position of the Wehrmacht found its expression and confirmation in two fundamentally important documents. Firstly, in a decree by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, which the latter described as his testament, issued in May, 1934, entitled "Duties of the German Soldier," in which the "new duties of the German soldier" are succinctly and laconically exposed. Secondly, in the oath sworn by all members of the Wehrmacht on the evening of the day when the Field Marshal breathed his last.

The precepts enumerated by Field Marshal von Hindenburg should be compared with those enunciated in 1930. In 1930 it was stated that "the Reichswehr is the instrument for enforcing the legal power of the Reich; it protects the frontiers and the integrity of the Reich." In the President's decree we find the words: "The Wehrmacht is the mandatory of the German nation. It protects Reich and nation, in other words the German people united in the National Socialist Party, and the German territory."

Hence the legal power of the Reich, always subject to variations, was replaced by the legal power of the "German people, united in the National Socialist Party."

The wording of the two documents in question revealed other noteworthy divergencies. Whereas the military code of 1930 stated that "the Army serves the State and not any political party," the President, in his aforesaid decree, wrote: "Military service is a service of honour for the German nation." In 1930, all the articles of the military code were exclusively based on the traditions of the Army, which were unfamiliar to most persons outside its ranks. In 1934, in addition to those glorious traditions, the German soil and German labour were expressly mentioned as sources of Germany's military strength.

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[1] Since the beginning of 1934 the soldiers of the German Army have worn on their uniform the emblem of the National Socialist Party. In the same year large military contingents were seen for the first time taking part, side by side with Hitler's political adherents, in the annual Party Congress at Nuremberg.

The new oath sworn by the members of the Wehrmacht immediately after Field Marshal von Hindenburg's death reads as follows: "I solemnly swear before God absolute obedience to the Führer of the German Reich and nation, Adolf Hitler, Supreme Head of the Wehrmacht, and I am prepared as a brave soldier to devote my whole life to his service."

The taking of this oath marked the conclusion of the political development of the Wehrmacht, a development of which evident traces can be found before the advent of the National Socialist Party to power. It likewise marked the definite solution of the internal problem created by the position of the Wehrmacht. Henceforth there existed no contradiction between Wehrmacht and Party, but only a parallelism and an obligation of mutual assistance. In the words of General von Blomberg:—

"If the duties of the Party and those of the Wehrmacht are clearly distinct, their mutual confidence is none the less unshakable. We are all working towards the same end. The foundation of our common confidence can only be the National Socialist ideal, since we are all soldiers of Adolf Hitler. A good soldier must also be a good National Socialist . . . We honour our dead comrades by greeting and serving Adolf Hitler."

After the solution of the internal aspect of the problem of the Wehrmacht, Hitler was at liberty to devote himself to its other aspect—namely, to the problem of the organisation by Germany of her fighting forces according to her own requirements.

A few days after the announcement of Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations in October, 1933, the Reich Government proposed in a Memorandum that Germany should be authorised to maintain an Army of 300,000 men. On the basis of a British Memorandum of January 22, 1934, which was presented simultaneously in Berlin, Paris, Rome, Brussels, and Warsaw, direct negotiations in view of an agreement concerning armaments took place repeatedly. The British Memorandum welcomed Hitler's proposals on the ground that they not only dealt with technical questions of disarmament, but also with the question of political guarantees against aggression.

But already on March 17, the French Government, in its reply to the British Memorandum, expressed a number of reservations regarding Germany's proposal. A second note of the French Government of April 17 declared further negotiations on the subject to be useless.

Under these circumstances Chancellor Hitler, in agreement with the Reich Minister of War, determined to introduce the short-service system for the Army, combined with compulsory service. Hence the basis of a new national Army was created. The introduction of the Two Years Service in France hastened Hitler's decision, which was unexpectedly announced on March 16, 1935.

With lightning-like rapidity the German Cabinet enacted on that day the "Law for the Reconstruction of the Wehrmacht" and decided to issue a proclamation to the German nation. This proclamation began by recalling that in November 1918, Germany, confiding in the assurances conveyed in President

Wilson's Fourteen Points, and relying on a reshaping of international relations, had surrendered her arms after 4½ years of heroic struggle. The proclamation went on to recall how the German nation had been treated after the Treaty of Versailles, which had imposed on it complete disarmament as a preliminary condition of the solemnly promised disarmament of all other nations.

Germany, for her part, entirely fulfilled the obligations in respect of disarmament imposed upon her. This is proved by the following statistics of the Inter-allied Commission of Control. According to these statistics Germany destroyed the following war material: 59,897 cannon, 130,558 machine guns, 31,470 trench mortars, 6,000,700 rifles and carbines, 243,937 machine gun barrels, 28,000 gun carriages, 4390 trench mortar carriages, 38,750,000 rounds of artillery ammunition, 16,550,000 rifle and hand bombs, 60,400,000 priming cartridges, 491,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, 335,000 tons of artillery cartridge casings, 23,165 tons of rifle cartridge casings, 37,600 tons of gunpowder, 79,000 cannon bores, 212,000 telephones, 1072 flame throwers, 31 armed transport cars, 59 tanks, 1762 observation cars, 8982 portable wireless stations, 1246 field bakeries, 2199 pontoons, 981·7 tons of equipment for soldiers, 8,230,350 pieces of soldiers' canvas equipment, 7300 pistols and revolvers, 180 machine gun carriages, 21 portable workshops, 12 anti-aircraft cars, 11 artillery carriages, 64,000 steel helmets, 174,000 gas masks, 2500 engines formerly used in war industries, 8000 rifle bores.

The Air Arm were forced to destroy: 15,714 pursuit and bomber planes and 27,757 aeroplane engines.

The Navy had to destroy: 26 Dreadnoughts, 4 coastal batteries, 4 armoured cruisers, 19 light cruisers, 21 training and special ships, 83 torpedo boats and 315 submarines.

Destruction of the following was also ordered: Vehicles of every description, equipment for gas warfare and anti-gas measures, all kinds of explosives, search-lights, range-finders, scientific instruments and optical instruments of every description, horse harness, light railway equipment, field printing presses, field kitchens, workshops, sidearms, steel helmets, transport equipment, special war industrial machinery with accompanying plans, aerodromes etc.

After having thus fulfilled, in a manner almost without precedent in history, the obligations imposed on her by the Peace Treaty, Germany had a right to expect that the other parties to the said Treaty would likewise carry out the obligations incumbent on them in respect of disarmament. This expectation, however, was doomed to disappointment. On the contrary, it soon became evident that a number of States, far from disarming, were rearming. New instruments of destruction invented during the War were now perfected in time of peace according to the latest scientific methods. Powerful tanks and bombing planes were constantly improved, gigantic guns constructed, new bombs—explosive, incendiary, and gas bombs—manufactured.

Amidst these strongly armed States, the mechanisation of whose forces proceeded with ever increasing rapidity, Germany was reduced to impotence

and her security threatened on all sides. It was thus a vital necessity for Germany to insist on the carrying-out of the undertakings given by her former adversaries with regard to their own disarmament.

With this aim in view, efforts were made to realise by means of conferences a general scheme of disarmament. Various proposals to this effect were made, of which the plan suggested by the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, is especially worthy of mention. Germany expressed her readiness to accept this plan as the basis of an international agreement. But the plan in question was not destined to mature owing to the opposition of other Powers.

The solemn promise to grant Germany parity of rights, made at Geneva in December, 1932, was never implemented. Hence the German Government, as the guardian of the honour and vital interests of the German nation, saw itself compelled to abstain from any further participation in the Disarmament Conference and, finally, to withdraw from the League of Nations in October 1933.

But even after its withdrawal from the League, the German Government was prepared, not only to examine proposals which might be made by other States, but also to make its own proposals. The rejection of its proposals, as well as the rejection of proposals by the British and Italian Governments framed on similar lines, necessarily led to the conclusion that other parties to the Peace Treaty were not disposed to carry out their obligations under the Treaty. The German Government had consequently no other alternative than to take on its own initiative certain inevitable measures calculated to put an end to the defenceless condition of the German nation, a condition as humiliating for that nation's *amour propre* as it was dangerous for the peace of Europe.

In its proclamation to the German nation of March 16, 1935, the Reich Government stressed that its sole desire was the maintenance of peace. Proof of this had been furnished by the various steps taken by the German Government, such as the proposals concerning non-aggression pacts made to the neighbouring States, the agreement with Poland, and the solemn assurance given to France that, once the Saar question had been settled, Germany had no further territorial claims of any sort on her.

The German Government nevertheless observed to its regret that other Powers were continuously rearming. The proclamation affirmed that the German Government saw in the creation of a Soviet Army of 101 divisions on a peace footing, comprising 960,000 men, a danger which could not possibly have been foreseen at the time when the Treaty of Versailles was drawn up. The German Government further observed that the introduction of the Two Years Service in France had the result of substituting an Army based on a long-term, for an Army based on a short-term, system.

The proclamation continued by asserting the impossibility for the German Government of postponing the indispensable measures for ensuring the safety of the Reich. It was the duty of the German Government to assure to the Reich the necessary means for maintaining its integrity and calculated to contribute to ensure for Germany throughout the world the respect due to her

as one of the guarantors of international peace. The proclamation concluded as follows:—

"On this momentous occasion the German Government renews to the German nation and to the whole world the assurance of its firm determination that *the rearmament of Germany shall not be directed to the pursuit of any aggressive aims, but shall be exclusively a guarantee of the security of the German Reich and consequently of the maintenance of peace.* The German Government expresses its confident hope that the German nation, having regained its national honour and enjoying henceforth complete parity of rights, will make its contribution to world peace in frank and loyal collaboration with all other nations and their Governments."

The law of March 16, 1935, by re-introducing compulsory military service, constitutes the basis of the defensive power of the Third Reich. It was on this basis that the law of May 21, 1935, was promulgated, the principles enunciated by which were the following: (1) Military service should be regarded as an honour by every citizen called upon to accomplish it. (2) Every German man is liable to serve. (3) In the event of war every German man and woman is, irrespective of military obligations, bound to give his or her services to the Fatherland. (4) The Wehrmacht—comprising the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—not only represents the whole nation in arms but is also the great school wherein the soldierly virtues indispensable for the nation are taught. (5) The Führer and Chancellor is Commander-in-Chief of the Wehrmacht. (6) Under his orders, the Minister of War is invested with the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht.

On June 18, 1935, the German Government concluded the naval agreement with Great Britain, which, from the point of view of international law, abrogated the whole of Section V of the Treaty of Versailles. During the summer of the same year the first contingent of recruits was mustered; and in November the 1914 class (i. e., the young men born in the year in which the Great War broke out) took the oath to the Führer before the new War Standard of the Reich, which is at the same time the symbol of the unity of State and People, of Party and Wehrmacht.

Another important action was accomplished in the following year, 1936. By way of reply to the conclusion of a military alliance between France and the Soviet Union, German regiments entered the demilitarised Rhineland zone on March 7, thereby suppressing the last restrictions placed on Germany's military sovereignty. In August of the same year, when the Soviet Government further increased the strength of the Soviet Army by reducing the age at which persons are liable to be called to the colours, the German Government decided to introduce the Two Years active service.

Under the terms of a decree issued by Chancellor Hitler on February 26, 1935, the Air Force was definitely established as an integral part of the Wehrmacht, along with the Army and the Navy.

No account of Germany's Air Force would be complete unless it contained some reference to the general progress of German aviation.

It was after the promulgation of this decree, that the German Air Force —the creation of which was the work of Field Marshal Göring, the Reich Air Minister, who had already when the National Socialists came into power commenced the task assigned him, but who had succeeded in keeping its results secret till the end of February 1935—first appeared, openly and officially, on the scene. Herr Göring, who had earned the Order Pour le Mérite for his services as air pilot during the Great War, had, with the cooperation of his old war comrades, devoted himself for many years past to the organisation of groups of trained aviators among the SS. and SA. These groups, originally conceived as sporting organisations, were destined to keep alive and stimulate the "flying ideal" in Germany and to prepare pilots in anticipation of the day when German aviation would be liberated from the fetters of Versailles. After the advent to power of the National Socialist Party, the members of the groups in question were admitted to membership of the German Air Sports Association (*Luftsportverband*), the only great Air Association of the Third Reich, whence the majority of them were transferred to the military Air Service.

On March 11, 1935, some days before the announcement of the introduction of compulsory military service, Herr Göring informed the *Daily Mail* correspondent, Mr. Ward Price, that Germany had created a military air force because her national security implied also security against air raids. He then went on to say:—

"I have confined myself to the *minimum* required by the necessities of our defence. My object was not to create a weapon for offensive purposes against other nations but only to establish an air force sufficiently strong to ward off attacks on Germany at any time."

Herr Göring stressed that the new air arm had been established within the general organisation of Germany's defensive forces. Great Britain had subsequently invited Germany to adhere to an international air pact, and Germany had expressed her readiness to place her own air force at the disposal of any country which should be menaced. Hence, Herr Göring continued, it was essential to clearly distinguish between civil or sporting aviation, on the one hand, and military aviation, on the other. Therefore a number of civil aviators had been taken over by the military air force as soldiers or officers.

Herr Göring went on to say that the air force was placed under the supreme command of the Reich Air Minister in his capacity as Flight General[1]. The Minister also controlled civil aviation. The uniform of military aviators resembled that of the aviators belonging to the German Air Sports Association, but the former wore badges indicating their rank. The appointment of air attachés to the German Diplomatic Missions abroad was under consideration.

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[1] A year later Reich Air Minister General Göring having been promoted to the rank of Colonel-General, the Secretary of State in the Air Ministry Lieutenant-General Milch succeeded him as "Flight General."

Although, according to Herr Göring, no precise figures could yet be given regarding the new German air force, it must be clear to every reasonable person that Germany, whose geographical situation was particularly vulnerable, had the right to claim a sufficient air force to guarantee her absolute security. For the time being it was not possible to clearly define the part which the air arm would be called upon to play in the total defensive forces of Germany. But it was manifest that without the security afforded by the air force, Army and Navy would run the risk of being rendered powerless.

In reply to a question as to whether the German Air Force would be in a position to repulse attacks on Germany, Herr Göring said: "The German Air Force is just as passionately resolved to defend the Fatherland to the very last as it is firmly convinced that it will never be employed to threaten the peace of other nations."

A few days later, thanks to the introduction of compulsory military service, the Air Force was increased by the inclusion in its ranks of the anti-aircraft artillery. On May 21, 1935, the Air Force was definitely brought within the scope of the new Military Law. On July 17 of the same year the Air Ministry undertook the organisation of defence against air raids and thus assumed the supreme control of all branches of German aviation.

The building up of the German air arm constitutes one of the most astounding feats which National Socialist Germany has achieved. In effect, everything had to come out of nothing. The industry concerned had hardly the shadow of an existence; skilled labour and special mechanics had all been dismissed and the course of time completely divorced from their original calling. The question of a future generation for the industry had to be left open. There was absolutely nothing available in the way of testing gear, development or training. The 15 years start which the world had ahead of Germany in respect to the air arm had to be caught up, as it were, overnight.

But the task which the Führer set has been accomplished through the extraordinary energy of the Chief-in-Command of the Air Force. Today reliable defence squadrons fly over Germany, anti-aircraft guns protect the Reich from below, Information Services and the most extensive land apparatus for signalling and observation safeguard military air activity. At thc Party rally, on the Bückeberg, in various divisional as well as during the big autumn manœuvres in 1937, the air arm demonstrated its prowess with justified pride. It is an important factor of national security, to quote Adolf Hitler: "German towns and villages are protected; the strength of the Nation, of the air Arm watches over them."

It would lead too far if we were to attempt a detailed description of the German Wehrmacht in this book, the object of which is to give an idea of the total work accomplished by Hitler during his four years of office. Hence we must confine ourselves to a few indications calculated to give the reader a general view of the military organisation of the new Germany.

The Commander-in-Chief of all the Fighting Services—Army, Navy, and Air Force—is Adolf Hitler. As already explained, the former Wehrmacht Office—then affiliated to the Ministry of War—was made directly subordinate to the Führer and Chancellor in February, 1938. It is now known as the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht and acts as the military staff of the Führer. Its head is Artillery General Keitel, the previous head of the Wehrmacht Office, whose status is equal to that of a Reich Minister. His official designation is, "Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht." The High Command of the Wehrmacht also exercised the functions vested in the Reich Ministry of War. Under the new arrangement, its Chief acts as the Führer's deputy in carrying out the duties which used to belong to the Minister of War. In times of peace, the High Command of the Wehrmacht constitutes a coordinating body competent to attend to all matters concerning national defence, but subject to the instructions received from the Führer.

The Army

The Commander-in-Chief of the Army is Colonel-General von Brauchitsch.

His staff constitutes the Chief Command of the Army, which comprises five sections: Army personnel, General Staff of the Army, General Army Board, Army Administration office, and Army Equipment office.

The Army is divided into five Army Groups which, in their turn, are subject to the control of the Chief Command of the Army. At the head of each Army Group is a Group Commander-in-Chief (an Infantry, Cavalry, or Artillery General) assisted by a Group Command. The staffs of the Group Commands have their respective headquarters in Berlin (1), Francfort-on-Main (2), Dresden (3), Leipzig (4), and Vienna (5).

Each Army Group consists of several Army Corps (High Commands), and at the head of each Army Corps is a General Officer Commanding, who is at the same time the military executive within the Military District concerned. The staffs of the High Commands of the various Army Corps have their headquarters in Königsberg (I), Stettin (II), Berlin (III), Dresden (IV), Stuttgart (V), Münster-in-Westphalia (VI), Munich (VII), Breslau (VIII), Kassel (IX), Hamburg (X), Hanover (XI), Wiesbaden (XII), Nuremberg (XIII), Vienna (XVII), and Salzburg (XVIII), and those of the Corps Commands in Magdeburg (XIV) and Berlin (XVI).

Each Army Corps consists of several Divisions and certain special formations known as "Corps Troops." The smallest Army unit composed in such a manner as to make it suitable for independent operations is the Infantry Division. Each Division comprises: 3 infantry regiments, 1 reconnaissance section, 1 regiment of heavy artillery, 1 regiment of light artillery, 1 anti-tank section, 1 battalion of engineers, 1 intelligence section, and several additional units. In times of war, each Division is enlarged by the so-called "services in the rear," i.e., the reinforcement services with their detachments and parks, the ambulance services with their ambulance companies and sick-transport cars, the veterinary

services with the hospitals for horses, and the various kinds of administrative services.

In conformity with the needs of warfare, the Army is divided into various categories of arms, each of which is required to ensure the success of the military operations by cooperating with the others. Outwardly, they are distinguishable from one another by the specific colour of their equipment.

(1) *Infantry, including Chasseurs* (Colours: white and light green).—Each regiment consists of its staff with an intelligence section and a mounted or motor-cyclists' section, 3 battalions, 1 infantry ordnance company, and 1 motorised anti-tank company. In times of war, a detachment of light infantry is also added. Each battalion consists of its staff with an intelligence section, 3 companies of fusiliers, 1 machine-gun company, and a section of attendants. Each company consists of the company troop, 3 platoons, and 1 heavy machine-gun group. Its equipment includes 9 light machine-guns, 2 heavy machine-guns, and 6 light trench mortars.

The Chasseurs (except the regiments of Alpine Chasseurs) are no longer separate formations as they used to be in the pre-War Army, but are now part of the Infantry regiments, where they form one of the three battalions.

(2) *Cavalry, including Cyclists.* (Colour: a golden yellow).—As a result of progressive mechanisation, the numerical strength of the cavalry is now much less than formerly, and many of its units have been motorised. Each Army Corps has at its disposal one regiment of Cavalry, which is used for scouting purposes. Each regiment consists of its staff with an intelligence section, 1 mounted detachment, and 1 cyclists' detachment, and each of these detachments consists of several squadrons.

(3) *Artillery.* (Colour: bright red).—The Artillery arm is composed of light and heavy batteries, intelligence sections, surveying sections, etc., together with the stationary guns in the fortresses. Each Artillery detachment consists of 3 batteries, and each battery has 4 guns. Several detachments are combined to form a regiment. The batteries are either motorised or mounted on horseback.

(4) *Motorised Fighting Troops.* (Colour: pink).—The motorised fighting forces are the latest category of arms added to the Army. They comprise: the battalions of scouts on motor-cycles, the motorised regiments of fusiliers, the motorised reconnaissance detachments, the anti-tank sections, and the armoured-car regiments. They are either grouped together into Armoured Divisions (in which case they are supplemented by detachments of motorised Artillery, motorised Engineering detachments and Intelligence sections) or else they are incorporated in the Infantry Divisions and Corps. The units of scouts on motor-cycles and those of fusiliers are subdivided very much like the corresponding Infantry units. The motorised reconnaissance detachments consist of their staffs with the intelligence section and several companies of three or four platoons each. The tactical unit of the armoured cars, which latter are adaptable to the different kinds of ground surface, is the regiment with its usual subdivision into sections and companies.

(5) *Engineering Service.* (Colour: black).—Each Infantry Division is supplied with a partly mobilised battalion of Engineers composed as follows: Staff with motorised intelligence section, 2 partly mobilised companies on foot, 1 motorised company, 1 motorised carriers' detachment, 1 motorised bridge-building detachment, and 1 motorised light engineering section used for a reserve and for reinforcements. Besides the partly mobilised battalions of Engineers attached to the Infantry Divisions there are some that are fully motorised.

(6) *Intelligence Service.* (Colour: pale yellow).—In view of the decisive importance of a good Intelligence Service in times of war, the Army is equipped with separate Intelligence sections connecting the various higher commands down as far as the Divisions as well as with others which serve the purpose of establishing communication between the Divisional commands and the units subordinated to them. In addition to these, the various units are equipped with Intelligence sections serving their own particular requirements. Each regiment, each battalion, etc., has thus been provided with its own Intelligence detachment. The Intelligence Service proper, i.e., the sections of it attached to the Divisional and higher commands, consists of wireless and ordinary telephony companies. Each company comprises several platoons, and each platoon is composed of detachments whose strength ranges between one non-commissioned officer and four men and two non-commissioned officers and eleven men.

(7) *Transport Service.* (Colour: light blue).—The requirements of the Commissariat are looked after by the "rearguard services," including the Transport Detachments. These are either motorised or mounted on horseback. Each detachment consists of several transportation squadrons or motorised companies.

(8) *Smoke-Screen Service.* (Colour: claret).—The Fumigation Service as such has only been established for a short time so far. Each of its detachments is motorised and consists of its staff with an intelligence section and several batteries, subdivided into platoons.

(9) *Ambulance and Veterinary Services.* (Colours: dark blue and crimson).—The Ambulance Service attached to the Army attends to all matters concerning health and sickness, and extends to the Army reserves as well. Each Ambulance section is divided into a number of Ambulance companies, and each Army Division has its own Ambulance section, whose head is at the same time the Divisional officer of health. In times of peace, the Ambulance sections are subdivided into local groups, one for each garrison town. They are subject to the authority of the Army Corps officer of health, who—in his turn—is subordinated to the Army Inspector of Health.

The Veterinary Service plays about the same part in the treatment of animals, more especially horses, as does the Ambulance Service in regard to the human material. Veterinary officers are attached to the staffs of all regiments and other Army units. They are subject to the control of the Veterinary Inspector.

The training of Army officers is effected by the War Colleges and is supplemented later on by that received at the War Academies. The corresponding training institutions for Ambulance and Veterinary officers are the Army

Medical and Army Veterinary Colleges, the Army Medical Academy, and the Veterinary Academy. (See Picts. 84 to 88.)

The Navy

The Commander-in-Chief of the Navy is Admiral Raeder, who—at first in his capacity of Chief of the Admiralty Board—has been at the head of the country's naval forces for the past ten years.

Conformably with the multiplicity of the tasks incumbent on it, the High Command of the Navy is a complicated organisation comprising the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, seven principal offices, and various sections directly attached to the High Command. The Naval Control Board is competent in all questions of organisation and training. The Board gathers all the most important observations relating to operations and tactics in time of war, as well as all weighty information concerning naval warfare in general and the development of scientific training. The Naval Defence Bureau is concerned with questions affecting the *personnel* (such as discipline, leave, transfer, etc.). The General Naval Office is concerned with the material preparation of the naval forces. It directly controls the shipbuilding yards at Wilhelmshaven and the naval arsenal at Kiel. It is responsible for the necessary supplies of fuel and other material and also for the technical conditions in the shipbuilding yards. The competence of the General Naval Office likewise extends to questions of typography, naval charts, nautical books, etc., as well as to questions concerning the economic preparations for war, auxiliary ships, and the liaison with the merchant navy. The Naval Administration Department is concerned with questions of pay, food supplies, dress, and lodgings. The Naval Arms Department is concerned with the progress of arms construction, especially in regard to guns, torpedoes, mines, and munitions in general. The Office of the Naval Personnel is concerned with special missions, promotions, dismissals, and affairs of honour among officers. Not less important than the other departments is the Naval Construction Department, where the plans for the building of new ships are prepared.

In addition to the aforesaid offices and departments, other important sections are under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. The Naval Budget Section has the task of procuring and allotting the necessary funds, and of deciding all budgetary questions. The Military Section is responsible for the working of all technical apparatuses and machines on board the ships. The Naval Medical Section is charged with all questions relating to health and hygiene; and the Section for the History of War applies the teachings derived from the experiences of naval warfare in the past.

The naval forces—with the exception of training ships and of those vessels required by the authorities for their own experiments—are placed under the orders of the Naval Command, at the head of which is the Chief of the Fleet. His staff is occupied with all questions relating to the conduct of the naval forces, such as naval tactics, armament, instruction, the intelligence service,

the details of service on board, and many other things. The flagship is the battleship *Admiral Graf Spee*, stationed at Kiel, on board which the necessary rooms for the staff of the fleet have been prepared. The armoured ships are united under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief armoured ships. At present the division comprises the armoured ships *Admiral Graf Spee*, *Admiral Scheer*, and *Deutschland*[1].

Cruisers, destroyers, torpedo-boads, speed boats, and minesweepers are placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the reconnoitring naval forces. In addition to the flagship, the cruiser *Nürnberg*, the cruisers *Leipzig*, *Köln*, and *Karlsruhe* belong to this division, which also comprises the destroyer divisions on active service as well as several torpedo-boat flotillas.

Subject, as stated above, to the supreme authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the reconnoitring forces, the destroyers, torpedo-boats, and speed boats are placed under the command of the Chief of the torpedo-boats, while the minesweepers have their own Chief.

The submarines are commanded by the Chief of the submarines who in his turn is under the direct orders of the Chief of the Fleet.

The armoured ships and cruisers are distributed between the two principal naval ports of Kiel and Wilhelmshaven. The destroyers and torpedo-boats are stationed at Wilhelmshaven, Pillau, and Swinemünde, the minelayers and minesweepers at Kiel and Cuxhaven. The submarines also have Wilhelmshaven and Kiel as home-ports, whilst speed boats are stationed only at Kiel (see Picts. 91 to 94).

The entire coastal defence and the Land-Marines are placed under the control of the Naval Commands of the Baltic and North Seas at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven respectively. These two authorities correspond to the General Commands of the Army and have Admirals at their head.

The building of new units, which was started after the conclusion of the Anglo-German naval understanding on June 18th, 1935, was continued last year, and was provided with a new basis under the terms of the 1937 naval agreement.

The Anglo-German and Anglo-Russian bilateral agreements corresponding to the London naval treaty of 1936 concluded between Great Britain, the United States and France, came into force on July 17th, 1937, when the contracting parties signed the documents concerned. They constitute an important contribution towards the limitation of naval armaments. Germany, more particularly, gave evidence of her sincere desire to effect such a limitation, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by signing the 1935 naval understanding and the 1936 naval treaty.

On October 3rd, 1936, the battleship *Scharnhorst*, of 26,000 tons, was launched from the Reichswerft, to be followed on December 3rd, 1936, by the launching of

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[1] The vessels of the *Deutschland* class are officially known as "armoured ships," as they are not fast enough to be called cruisers and not robust enough to be called battleships.

her sister ship, the *Gneisenau*, from the Kiel yard of the Deutsche Werke. The first of the 10,000-ton cruisers to be built was the *Admiral Hipper*, launched from the yard of Messrs. Blohm & Voss, Hamburg, on February 6th, 1937, and named after the well-known war-time commander. The second unit of that class, the *Blücher*, was launched from the Kiel yard of the Deutsche Werke on June 8th, 1937, whilst the launching of the third unit will take place some time next year. It is not intended at present to build any more of these 26,000-ton battleships or 10,000-ton cruisers (see Picts. 89, 90).

The following additional units have been approved of or are now building: Two 35,000-ton battleships, two aircraft carriers of 19,250 tons each, six destroyers of 1,811 tons each, twelve torpedo boats of 600 tons, each, twelve mine sweepers of 600 tons each, and a few submarines and other small craft.

The two 35,000-ton battleships "F" and "G" now building will be equipped with eight 38-cm. and twelve 15-cm. guns, the two 26,000-ton battleships *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* with nine 28-cm. and twelve 15-cm. guns, in addition to their anti-aircraft equipment, and the 10,000-ton cruisers with eight 20·3-cm. guns and twelve 10·5-cm. anti-aircraft guns.

When the present programme of naval construction has been completed, Germany's naval forces will have made another important step forward in reaching the size contemplated under the terms of the various international agreements. In view of the considerable rearmament scheme adopted by Great Britain it will take a long time before the possibilities open to Germany under the terms of those mutual arrangements are exhausted; but even before that limit has been attained, Germany will possess a Navy capable of giving effective protection to her sea-coasts and her maritime interests.

The Air Force

The Reich Air Minister, Field Marshal Göring, is Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force, and Flight General Milch, the Secretary of State for Air, is his permanent deputy. The departmental heads are: Major-General Bodenschatz, Head of the Ministerial Bureau; Lieutenant-General Stumpf, Head of the General Staff for the Air Force; General Rüdel (of the anti-aircraft forces), Head of the Air Defence Section; Lieutenant-General Kühl, Inspector-General of the Air Force.

The further organisation is as follows:—

General Staff, comprising the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief; the Staff of the Organisation; the Quarter-Master General; the Head of the Intelligence Service; the Head of the Ambulance Service.—Affiliated institutions: Academy of Military Aviation and College of Military Aviation.

General Air Board.—Sections: Aerial transport, air control, Reich meteorological service, safety of flying, civilian air-raid precautions.—Directly affiliated: 15 local air boards.

Technical Air Office.—Sections: Research, testing, placing of orders, budget. —Affiliated: Testing stations of the Air Ministry.

Administrative Division.—Sections: General budget, pay office, clothing, accommodation.

Supply Office.—Sections: Flying machines, munitions, other implements.

Staff Office.—Deals with matters concerning the personnel (officers, privates, officials, clerical employees, workers).

Central Department.—Comprises: Legal section, protocol section, Press section, office of ministerial director, office of commander of the ministry.

Inspectorates dealing with the following: Air scouts, aerial surveying, fighting 'planes, pursuit 'planes, anti-aircraft artillery, safety of flying and dependability of implements, motor transportation, intelligence service, naval flying service, training schools for air pilots, education and instruction.

Organisation of Air Force.—General Officer Commanding First Air Force District (East), Berlin.—General Officer Commanding Second Air Force District (West), Brunswick.—General Officer Commanding Third Air Force District (South), Munich.—General Officer Commanding Air Force in East Prussia, Königsberg.—General Officer Commanding Naval Air Force, Kiel.—Air Force Command in Austria, Vienna.—General Officer Commanding the Air Force units attached to the Supreme Army Command.—Air Force Training Division. —Regional Commands, corresponding to the military commands into which the Reich is divided for Army, organisational purposes have also been established for the Air Force.

The Air Force is divided into the following three categories:—

(1) Flying squadrons (fighting, pursuit, and scouting formations).

(2) Anti-Aircraft Artillery (heavy and light artillery and search-lights).

(3) Air Information Service.

The "General Göring Regiment" and the Watch Battalion of the Air Force in Berlin constitute special formations (see Picts. 95 to 98).

Aeronautical Science.

The science of aeronautics was first provided with a home during the War. This was the German Experimental Institution for Aerial Navigation, at Berlin-Adlershof. In subsequent years, further provision was made by extending the range of work conducted by the Institution and by creating additional research stations, other institutions, and university chairs for aeronautics. On March 25th, 1936, the Lilienthal Society for Aeronautical Research was founded under the protectorate of the Reich Air Minister, with the result that aeronautical research in Germany has since been completely unified and coordinated. In addition, a decree issued by the Führer and Chancellor on June 24th, 1936, provided for the creation of a German Academy for Aeronautical Research—an institution placed under the control of the Air Minister.

Aircraft Manufacture.

The manufacture of aircraft together with its auxiliary industries has made great progress in recent years. Its output figures have risen very considerably

and the demands made upon it have been fully complied with. Its requirements link it up with the second of the great schemes entrusted by the Führer to Herr Göring, the Reich Air Minister, in connection with the Four-Years Plan. The important steps taken by the latter for the purpose of making Germany's supply of raw materials less dependent upon the resources of foreign countries will prove of great benefit to aircraft manufacturers also.

Air Raid Precautions.

The measures required in connection with A.R.P. have an important bearing upon all departments of public administration, upon town and country planning, the supply of water, gas and electricity, and the construction of traffic highways on land and water, as the Reich Air Minister has repeatedly stressed in his various public addresses. Accordingly, the Air Raid Precautions Law of June 26th, 1935, together with the regulations governing its practical application which were issued on May 4th, 1937, gives great prominence to the National Socialist axiom concerning the indissoluble community of interests between the nation and the State. It makes it incumbent upon all public administrations and undertakings that are in some way or another concerned with the matter, to cooperate with one another under the guidance of the Reich Air Minister, and it also provides that all German citizens are obliged to give whatever personal and material assistance may be necessary, "including all active and passive measures required to ensure the effectiveness of the A.R.P. schemes."

It is, of course, impossible to give precise figures concerning the strength of the Wehrmacht, with the exception of the Navy, the strength of which is known conformably with existing international agreements. But it is nevertheless possible to observe that, in the opinion of experts, the German Wehrmacht is undoubtedly equal to its task of guaranteeing the security of the nation and of warding-off any attack whether on land, on sea, or in the air, but that it is insufficient to embark on any war of conquest or any adventurous undertaking.

In 1914 Germany had the strongest Army in the world and a Navy capable of successfully encountering the most powerful fleets of other nations. But this vast military and naval organisation was the result of forty-three years of peace, which had brought prosperity to the country in every domain. To-day the new Germany has had only five years' time within which to create its defensive forces, a labour rendered all the more difficult by the almost total collapse which followed the World War. It is true that modern technical science renders it possible to construct arms much more rapidly than in former times, and that the capacity of production, whether quantitative or qualitative, of German industry is consequently much greater in this respect. But the moulding of human material, and notably of the corps of officers and non-commissioned officers, requires a certain time, especially if, as is the case in Germany, no trained reserves are available. In any event the astronomical figures published in a section of the foreign Press are exaggerated.

One thing is certain: the extent and rapidity of the reconstruction of Germany's military power during the past five years have been extraordinary. At the

beginning of 1933 the German Army of 100,000 men had to employ cardboard tanks and wooden heavy artillery. To-day a much larger Army is equipped with all the most modern arms. Five years ago the Army consisted of seven infantry and three cavalry divisions; to-day there are eighteen Army Corps, to say nothing of the necessary fortifications and well organised supplementary formations. Five years ago the German Navy boasted but very few ships and no submarines; to-day it already comprises, or will shortly comprise, all categories of warships. Five years ago Germany was exposed to the danger of air raids without any possibility of defence; to-day Germany possesses a powerful air fleet and adequate means of protection of her civilian population against aerial bombardments.

To-day the German nation knows that its frontiers are secure and that its Government is in a position to carry out a foreign policy on the basis of parity of rights with all other great Powers.

VIII.

Social Policy and Labour

The conception of a social policy, the aim of which is to ensure social peace within the entire nation—which is consequently not restricted in its application to the working classes only—has recovered its original meaning in contemporary Germany. From the National Socialist standpoint, this policy necessarily includes the peasantry, who had hitherto been left outside the scope of social reforms. Social policy as thus conceived is to a large extent determined by economic factors, since it is impossible to imagine satisfactory social conditions without the preliminary consolidation of the general economic situation.

The truth of this affirmation is proved by the fact that it has been possible in Germany to practically suppress unemployment by imparting a new impulsion to economic life. Complete harmony of aims of social and economic policy has been substituted for the antagonism which formerly divided them. The tendency of this harmonising of aims is to promote understanding between the different classes of the population and therefore to assure social peace.

All the former enactments of German legislation concerning workers and conditions of labour—a legislation which set an example to the world—have not only been retained under the National Socialist régime, but have been improved and brought up to date. Henceforth the State does not content itself with fixing a scale of wages or limiting the hours of work, but has extended the protection of the workers by a series of measures concerning hygiene, holidays, the rational utilisation of after-work leisure time, etc. In order to protect the health of the worker, a general programme including the creation of settlements and working-men's dwellings has been drawn up.

In his world-renowned book *Mein Kampf* Hitler has stated that Social Policy is not intended to grant favours, but to establish rights, so that it cannot put forward a claim to gratitude. He also says that the "nationalisation" of a people must include, as one of its essential features, the provision of healthy social conditions, because they alone are the foundation on which it becomes possible to educate the individual.

These remarks of the Führer are a measure of the greatness of the tasks which Social Policy has to fulfil in the National Socialist State. Its ultimate object is to make social justice prevail. Hence, it must start by creating a socially-conceived régime of Labour as the basis of the national régime as a whole. Such a régime of Labour must strictly conform to the supreme political aim, i. e. the maintenance of national solidarity.

There is no field of human activity in which the principle of solidarity is applicable with greater force than the social domain, as it is there that the mutual relations between the workers (using that term in its widest sense) and the relations between the workers and the community are given their practical shape. The ethical demand implied in this statement must find expression in every act of social legislation. The laws designed in conformity with the community ideal cannot be adequate nor can they be adequately administered unless they reflect that ideal without a compromise. The Führer has intuitively responded to the profound desire animating every German worker that the ethical aspect of Labour should at last receive due recognition and that all work—manual work and brain work alike—should be appreciated once more from the idealist's point of view.

One of the main reasons why the German workers gave their ready consent to the new Constitution of Labour—which, as we shall see, came into existence when the National Labour Act (*Gesetz zur Ordnung der nationalen Arbeit*) was promulgated by the Third Reich—was that it restored to them their human dignity and that it acknowledged the equality of their status with that of the other sections of the nation. Ever since the advent of the industrial age, manual labour had been looked upon as a commodity that could be bought and sold; but the introduction of the concept of "social honour" has done away with that illusion. Social honour recognises no distinction between the employer and the employed. All of them work for a common purpose and are entitled to equal honour and to equal respect. The provisions of the National Labour Act by which the employer is required to look after the welfare of the workers, whilst the latter are enjoined to be loyal to him, are a revival of a code of honour—not in a vaguely romantic sense, but with the force of a real obligation—that had long been forgotten. The decree issued on December 3, 1937, by Field Marshal Göring, the Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan, concerning holidays (i.e. public holidays) with pay, proves that the Government is fully conscious of the debt of gratitude it owes to the German workers and that it is firmly resolved to redeem it by its social legislation.

Many different tasks have to be accomplished which in practice are closely correlated because they all tend to a common object: namely, the welfare of the nation and of the State. It must not be forgotten that Germany is to-day a national State, founded on mutual relations of confidence and loyalty between citizens and Führer. The concepts of nation and State are merged in each other, since the existence of the State is conditioned by that of the nation. The duty is consequently incumbent on the State of ensuring a homogeneous development of its social policy and of all the other branches of national activity. It must not only seek to procure employment for the individual and regulate the conditions of this employment. It must also attend to the personal welfare of the worker and provide for his recreation.

The Reich Ministry of Labour is entrusted with the carrying out of these tasks jointly with the Reich Ministry of Finance, the Reich Ministry of Economy, and the German Labour Front. The Reich Ministry of Labour is the supreme

authority in all social matters and is divided into four principal departments with the following competencies:—

I. General matters; administrative organisation of the Ministry itself and its subordinate branches; relief work; medical work, more especially in connection with relief work.

II. National insurance; public welfare; international and foreign social policy; labour market and labour exchanges; distribution of labour; provision of labour; unemployment benefits.

III. Protection and supervision of labour, including factory hygiene and the medical supervision of factories; labour legislation; social constitution; economic policy, including wages.

IV. Settlements, housing problems, and town-planning.

In addition to the foregoing, the scope of the Ministry's activities extends to a number of other bodies and authorities connected with the administration of social matters, such as the Reich Insurance Board, the Reich Relief Court, the Reich Trustees of Labour, the Labour Protection Museum, the offices dealing with relief matters, the Reich Institution for Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance, the Reich Institution for Employees' Insurance, the Reich Institution of Miners' Pensions, the regional insurance institutions, the organisations of the Accident Insurance Board, the Seamen's Sickness Insurance Fund etc.

The Battle of Labour

When Hitler took office in January, 1933, the number of *employed* in Germany had fallen to 11·5 millions whilst the number of *unemployed* had risen to over seven millions—who, together with their families, represented nearly one-third of the total population. Unemployment relief cost the State 3·15 milliard marks *per annum*, whereas the revenue from taxation had been reduced to 6·6 milliards.

The last Governments of the old régime had endeavoured to combat unemployment by extensive measures destined to procure work for the masses. The Government programme of August 19, 1932, provided 2 milliard marks for this purpose, the programme of January, 1933 (immediately before the collapse of the régime) 2·7 milliards. The success of such an ambitious programme depended, however, on two things which the Governments of the Weimar régime conspicuously lacked: namely, a united leadership and the unanimous support of a broad mass of the nation. Without the organised concentration of all the national forces, which was first rendered possible by the new State, and without the absolute confidence of the nation in its leaders, no really comprehensive policy of social reform and amelioration could hope to be successful.

The measures taken by the National Socialist Government to fight unemployment can be conveniently catalogued under four headings:—

(1) Immediate procuring of work by the placing of supplementary orders in the domain of public works and undertakings;

(2) Indirect procuring of work with the help of public funds and by a reduction of taxation with the aim of encouraging private initiative;

(3) Encouragement to work by means of State contributions and reduction of taxation;

(4) Diminution of the offer of labour, consequently of competition on the labour market, by the incorporation of workers in the fighting and labour services, and their resulting withdrawal over a number of years from active economic life. Thus some 500,000 young men are at present mobilised in the labour camps alone. The performance of duties within the various National Socialist party organisations also accounts for the withdrawal of numerous potential competitors from the labour market.

The "Reinhardt programme" (thus named after its author, the Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry of Finance Fritz Reinhardt) of June 1, 1933, which provided for the emission of "Labour Treasury Certificates" to a total amount of one milliard reichsmarks for the carrying-out of various works of public utility, was destined to serve the first of the above indicated purposes. The Reinhardt programme had mainly in view the reparation or completion of public buildings and private houses, of roads and bridges; the regulation of rivers; the construction of ports and canals; and other works which, although chiefly profitable in the first instance to the building trade, would nevertheless have a stimulating effect on economic activity in general. This assumption proved correct. The reemployment of many thousands of jobless workers contributed to increase the purchasing power of the masses, thereby augmenting the sale of articles of food and other necessities of daily life. This, in its turn, afforded the possibility of creating further work.

When Hitler took office, only 302 million marks provided by the Government programme of August, 1932, and only 600 millions provided by the programme of January, 1933, had been spent. Hence by far the greater part of the sums appropriated by the two programmes in question was still intact and at the disposal of the new National Socialist Government. In addition, the new Government immediately issued bonds totalling 360 million marks to help carry out its social programme.

Then came the great programme of the Reich motor-roads, entailing an expenditure of 3·5 milliard marks distributed over a period of from six to seven years; a vast plan of railway construction, involving an expenditure of about one milliard marks; a Post Office Extension programme; and a programme of public emergency works urgently demanded by the Reich Institute for Unemployed Insurance. The total sum appropriated for the purpose of the direct creation of work amounted at the end of 1935 to 5,518 million marks.

The Reich motor-roads scheme provides for the construction of roads extending over a distance of 7,000 kilometres. Over 100,000 persons have thus found

employment for several years, whilst many thousands of others have also found work thanks to the various industries which have sprung up in connection with the gigantic undertaking. The whole scheme is due to the personal initiative of Chancellor Hitler, who only a few days after taking office in 1933, proclaimed the necessity of "mechanisation." A direct result has been an immense development of the motor-car industry in Germany.

Such large appropriations for the creation of work could not, of course, in view of the unfavourable situation of German economy, be obtained by means of taxes or loans. They had consequently to be raised by means of bills of exchange. Every firm which was in receipt of an order from the State was given a bill of exchange on a financial institute designed for this purpose by the Reich[1]. The Reichsbank, in its turn, expressed its readiness to re-discount these bills, whilst the Reich undertook the obligation of paying all the costs of the transaction and of gradually redeeming the bills.

This ingenious scheme, which had the advantage of taking into account the possibilities of the money and investment markets, and which adapted the indispensable extension of credit to the capacities of German economy, rendered it possible to avoid disastrous financial upheavals, despite the immense-scale displacements of money inevitably caused by the Reich's labour programme. As a matter of fact the amount of money in circulation was only increased to the extent of 250 million marks.

A second method for increasing the demand for labour consisted in its indirect creation. In this connection should be mentioned the encouragement given to private initiative in the shape of contributions towards the costs of reparation or reconstruction of houses, and the reduction of taxation in the case of new buildings.

All encouragements in the aforementioned shape of State contributions or reductions of taxation pursue the aim of creating work and developing the sentiment of cooperation. On May 1, 1933, the first National Socialist Labour Day, Hitler in a speech to the assembled multitudes on the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin, said: "German People, you may believe me that the problem of procuring work cannot be solved by mere star-gazing. You yourselves must contribute to its solution. Knowing the facts, and inspired by confidence, you must do everything possible to create work. Every employer of labour, every house-owner, every business man, nay, every individual has the duty of contributing as best he can to create work. And it is the duty of everyone to think, first and foremost, of the German workman."

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[1] The leading financial institute of this kind was the now dissolved "German Society for Public Works," at the disposal of which 1257 million reichsmarks were placed conformably with the Reich Government's labour programme. The granting of credits for agriculture was confided to the "Deutsche Rentenbank-Kredit Anstalt;" for dwellings and urban settlements, to the "Deutsche Bau- und Boden-Bank." Loans for rural settlements were made, on behalf of the Reich, by the "Deutsche Siedlungsbank."

The indirect creation of work, in the forms indicated above, likewise necessitated considerable expenditure. The second Reinhardt programme of September 21, 1933, provided for the appropriation of 500 million marks as a contribution by the State (limited, however, to one-fifth of the total costs involved) towards the expenses necessitated by the reparation and reconstruction of dwelling-houses. House-owners desirous of transforming big apartments or business premises into small flats were repaid half their costs by the Reich. On the other hand, the purchase of new material, of machines, of professional apparatuses, etc., was encouraged by reductions of taxation.

The encouragement of the sale of motor-cars by reduction of taxes for the benefit of buyers of new cars enters into this order of ideas, as well as the reduction of taxes on sales for the benefit of wholesale trade. This measure affords greater facilities for wholesale traders to replenish their stocks and enables them to regulate the distribution of their orders to industry. A similar aim is pursued by the exemption from taxation of small dwelling units and owner-occupied cottages.

The German Railways and German inland shipping declared their readiness to transport at reduced rates material destined for the creation of work.

The reproach of favouring private speculation was levelled against the Reich Government. Chancellor Hitler, who is exactly informed concerning the effects of his policy, declared in this connection that the National Socialist Government "was on principle determined to make no presents to industrial or other undertakings, but to take advantage of all available means solely with the object of adapting them to the purpose of a practical and positive creation of work . . . The initiative taken by the State pursues exclusively the aim of awakening private initiative and thereby of slowly restoring economic activity."

The National Socialist labour policy has never profited by any financial assistance from the State. If the State advanced a sum of 500 million marks, this advance had the result of mobilising two milliard marks of private capital for private enterprises, half of which took the form of wages to previously unemployed persons, so that the State finally economised 300 million marks on unemployment relief. On the other hand, the reemployed workers were able to pay taxes and their social contributions, thus enlarging the basis of taxation of their employers. The net result being to enable the State to recover the money advanced by it with a considerable profit.

It is curious that Germany—the land of machines *par excellence*—should have been reproached with "sabotaging" mechanisation because a law had been passed which provided that in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes "no more machines for rolling and enveloping purposes are to be installed henceforward and that disused machines of this description must not be put in service again." The range of this law was limited to production for the German domestic market. The inscriptions "Packed by hand" and "Packing-by-hand supplies bread for German workers" emphasised that the law had been instrumental in providing work for thousands of unemployed. Seeing that one h.p. equals four-and-a-half times the work done by one person, this return to a former

practice was bound to relieve the labour market. Other countries followed the German example; and some leading political economists stressed the view that excessive mechanisation may be responsible for some of the aspects of the world-wide economic crisis.

Since 1936, however, unemployment in Germany has been replaced by a certain shortage of labour, so that the temporary expedient just described has been abandoned again and machines are once more used for the purposes named. The speech delivered by Hitler on February 20, 1938, has an interesting bearing on this subject.

"The increase in births alone," he said, "will force us to augment the volume of our production, so that the nation as a whole can obtain the means it requires for its subsistence. In 1933/34 we found ourselves not infrequently obliged to resort to rather primitive methods of production, as this was then the only possibility of utilising the available supply of labour. Spades and shovels were the tools employed by hundreds and thousands of German men. But the more our economic activities expanded, the more could we adjust ourselves to other methods. To-day Germany suffers from a lack of skilled labour. Unemployment as such has practically disappeared. We now enter upon a new phase of industrial production. The time has come for gradually discarding primitive methods and having them superseded by improved ones, notably by those of greater technical perfection. Our goal must be to relieve the highly efficient German worker of the more primitive tasks and to set him to do work that makes higher demands on his skill. The more primitive processes can then be performed by the machines turned out by our high-grade labour."

As regards the third method for the creation of work mentioned above, i. e., the encouragement to work by means of State contributions and reduction of taxation, agriculture has greatly profited by the assistance temporarily furnished by upwards of 160,000 young unemployed persons from the big cities, who thanks to the advances made by the Reich Institute for Unemployed Insurance have been sent to work in the country, where they have become familiarised with the conditions of peasant life.

A large number of women and girls have also found employment in households, owing to the reduction of taxation granted to householders on this account. Domestic servants are exempted from contributing to the Unemployed Insurance Fund, and they further benefit by a reduction of their contributions to the Disablement and Old Age Insurance Funds.

We come now to the fourth point of the programme to combat unemployment—namely, the diminution of the offer of labour by the withdrawal of workers from active economic life. This aspect of National Socialist policy was not determined mainly by considerations relating to the creation of work but by considerations of a political, demographical, and educational nature. Nevertheless this policy has powerfully contributed to the suppression of unemployment.

An important measure from this point of view was the encouragement of marriages by the granting of loans to young married couples on the condition that

the wife should herself have been a worker prior to her marriage, and that by reason of her marriage she abandons her occupation. The result of this measure was that hundreds of thousands of female workers were restored to their proper sphere in the family, and were replaced by other unemployed women or by men. It should also be mentioned that the furniture industry received a great impetus thanks to the loans to newly married couples.

The Army and the Labour Service retain within their ranks many hundreds of thousands of young persons who would otherwise be competitors seeking work on the labour market.

Even the severest critics of Hitler's policy cannot deny the success achieved by the National Socialist Government in its fight against unemployment, which has been appropriately called the "Battle of Labour." In this respect, the figures are incontestable. The number of unemployed, which totalled 6,014,000 when he took office, has meanwhile been reduced to 338,000. Of these, over one-half is accounted for by the normal changing of jobs, whilst the remainder is more or less incapable of employment. Hence it can be asserted without exaggeration that the evil of unemployment has practically disappeared in the new Germany.

It is interesting to observe that since January, 1933, the number of employed workers has risen from 11,500,000 to 20,400,000, which means that, besides some 5,500,000 persons until then unemployed, more than 3,000,000 additional workers have been able to find employment. The average number of hours of work per day has increased from 7.26 to 7.86. The national income, which amounted to Rm. 45,300,000,000 in 1932, totalled Rm. 68,000,000,000 in 1937—an increase of more than Rm. 23,000,000,000. That part of this income which represents wages amounted to Rm. 5,900,000,000 in 1933, but exceeded Rm. 12,000,000,000 in 1937.

Expenditure on unemployment relief decreased from Rm. 3,200,000,000 in 1932/33 to about Rm. 300,000,000 in 1937/38, or by about 90 per cent. Revenue derived from taxes, excluding rates, amounted to Rm. 13,960,000,000 in the 1937/38 fiscal year, which is about Rm. 7,310,000,000 more than the figure for 1932/33—a result which was achieved despite the reduction of various taxes intended to promote the creation of work.

Number of Employed and Unemployed (1932/36)

(Mean Annual Figures)

Year	Employed	Unemployed
1932	12,580,000	5,602,000
1933	13,080,000	4,804,000
1934	15,090,000	2,718,000
1935	15,949,000	2,147,000
1936	17,190,000	1,550,000
1937	18,250,000	875,400

In view of these figures it is not surprising that even the most sceptical economists abroad should acknowledge that Hitler has won the "Battle of Labour." The scheme for the creation of work drawn up by the General Confederation of Labour in France is avowedly modelled on the German pattern, the adoption of which the Confederation recommends. Moreover, the Director of the International Labour Office in Geneva who in his report for 1934/35 expressed doubts regarding the efficacy of the measures taken by the German Government, has frankly admitted in a subsequent report the success of those measures.

Since the introduction of compulsory military service in March, 1935, the task of procuring work for the legion of German unemployed has been considerably facilitated, since the carrying-out of the new programme of national defence has exerted a favourable influence on a number of branches of economic life. Still more far-reaching effects have been, and will continue to be, produced in this respect by the Four-Year Plan announced by Hitler at the annual Party Congress in 1936, the object of which is to render the Reich independent of other countries as far as raw materials are concerned. The Four-Year Plan consequently opens out vast prospects of employment for the German worker, who may be sure of finding a job even when the great programme of rearmament has been completed.

Work is already today so abundant in Germany that a noticeable deficiency of specialised workers has arisen, especially in the building trade and the metallurgical industry. This deficiency has rendered necessary a repartition in space and time of the public buildings, the erection of which has been projected. It is estimated that the shortage of labour during the current year (1938) will exceed 500,000 hands.

Apart from drawing upon the number of unemployed still available, it will become necessary to make increased use of female labour. Even now, some 6,380,000 out of the 20,400,000 persons employed as manual workers or for clerical occupations are women. It is intended to make additional use of young women in those trades and occupations that are particularly suitable for female labour. For this reason a decree was issued in February 1938 which makes provision for "the increased utilisation of female labour in agriculture and for domestic service." It stipulates that, as a general rule, unmarried women below 25 cannot in future be appointed to positions in public or private undertakings unless they have been previously engaged in agriculture or domestic service for a certain period of time.

Another expedient is to withdraw workers from industries in which the degree of employment is below the normal and, after suppying them with adequate training facilities, to transfer them to those in which there is a brisk demand for labour. The same applies to persons engaged in such occupations as the itinerant trades (hawkers, pedlars, etc.), in home industries, or in very small undertakings where their labour—as see from the standpoint of national economy—is insufficiently utilised. Hence, the issuance of trading permits to itinerant vendors has been overhauled and checked in so far as it was found necessary to do so.

An important new step was taken at the end of June, 1938. It is a decree intended to ensure that labour is always made available where matters of especial importance to the State are affected. It subjects all German citizens irrespective of their age, both men and women, to "national service." Under its provisions, every citizen who is able to work may be required to carry out whatever work is entrusted to him or to undergo a course of special training. This decree is to be applied to such tasks only as are urgent national importance, in conformity with the decisions made by the Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan.

Wages and Salaries

The two questions of the creation of work and of the level of wages and salaries are closely related.

Already in 1933 the slogan was: *Maintain the level of wages*! If, on the one hand, this slogan implied the necessity of preventing a reduction of wages, it implied, on the other, the necessity for the wage-earners of subordinating their legitimate desire of improving their conditions of life to the vast tasks set by the new Government to itself and to the nation. Of those tasks, the principal were the suppression of unemployment and the restoration of Germany's military sovereignty. Today, although both tasks have been accomplished, the National Socialist Government resolutely sets its face against any rise of the level of wages which is not accompanied by a parallel increase of production.

Chancellor Hitler has often and unambiguously expressed his views on this subject. Speaking to an immense crowd of Berlin workers on the occasion of the National Labour Festival on May 1, 1937, he said:—

"Nothing would be more simple than to go today to the people and say: 'We increase all salaries and wages,' and then to increase prices tomorrow. Nothing would be easier than to proclaim that we intend to diminish the hours of work, that is to say production, and consequently to increase wages. Such a policy might possibly be popular for the moment. But collapse would inevitably follow, since the individual worker *does not depend on paper wages, but on the total amount of goods produced by his fellow-citizens* . . . National Socialist economy is based on the fundamental principle of creating productive work, the increase of work will bring about an improvement of the standard of life.

This may be unpalatable, I know it, but we cannot controvert the immutable law of Nature according to which a nation only possesses something if it works, if it is active, if it endeavours to develop its production, and if thereby the mass of production is counterbalanced by purchasing power. That is the decisive point. The truth of my words will be confirmed if you look at other countries where the contrary principle is applied: increase of wages, double increase of prices, threefold increase of prices, then a new and double increase of wages accompanied by a new rise in prices, followed by a devaluation of currency involving a new increase of wages and a corresponding rise in prices. If we wished, we could do the same. You may believe me that the application of our principle is more difficult; but the principle is more securely based and also more honourable."

In other words: Hitler wishes to avoid the vicious circle of a race between wages and prices, in which the latter are always sure of the ultimate victory.

He prefers to improve the conditions of life of the worker, not only by giving him employment, but also by ameliorating his general situation. Thus, under the Hitler régime, the worker gets more holidays and more leisure time, and he can reasonably hope to have his own home, for himself and his family. Hitler also desires that employers should be encouraged to supplement the fixed salaries and wages of their employees by voluntary contributions of various kinds, such as: allowances in special emergencies, e.g., in the case of deaths; sickness allowances; supplementary sick relief; lying-in and childbed allowances; marriage grants; anniversary gifts; facilities for coal and potato storage; end-of-year bonuses; share in profits (which may take the form of Christmas gifts); compensation payments for lost working hours and for public holidays exceeding the amounts fixed by law; allowances or wages adjustments to employees called up for service with the defence forces or for taking part in public celebrations, courses, etc., arranged by the Party or its organisations; encouragement of "Strength through Joy" tours or other KdF. schemes; holiday allowances; wages additions graded according to the size of the family; supplementary children's allowances; encouragement of educational opportunities, more especially for the children of employees, etc.

The stability of the wage level has been maintained throughout, in so far as the wages fixed by tariff regulations are concerned. In a few cases, however, an increase of the wage level was brought about owing to increased production, longer working hours, and higher pay for piece-work. The shortage of trained specialists and the increased demand for workers in general due to the operation of the Four-Years Plan are bound to exercise a similar effect for some time to come. Adjustments have also been made in some industries where wages were below the standard.

The partial differentiation made in the scale of wages has given rise to certain social tensions, the elimination of which is one of the objects aimed at by the second Four-Years Plan. Conditions being particularly buoyant in the building trade and in the metal-working industries, it has become necessary to impose a few restrictions upon the free flow of labour, but these are looked upon as being of a temporary nature only. In June 1938, the Reich Trustees of Labour were empowered to prevent an exaggerated or undesirable development in individual instances also. A much more effective method, however, of counteracting the tensions referred to is that of revising the works' regulations in conformity with the principle: "The better the work, the higher the wage."

The German Labour Front

In addition to the creation of labour, the National Socialist Government had another task to perform: namely, that of the organisation of the workers.

Just as from a political point of view the German nation was divided into a number of warring parties; a chaotic body of labour syndicates (trades unions) and other organisations of all kinds professed to represent the interests of the working classes. Such a situation was diametrically opposed to the National Socialist

ideal of national union and class solidarity. Hence the National Socialist Government, immediately after its advent to power, did not hesitate to take the necessary steps for the unification of the various workers' organisations. This decision was also inspired by political reasons, since the labour syndicates, three months after the National Socialist revolution, still represented an instrument—in fact, the only surviving instrument—at the disposal of the adversaries of the new régime. Consequently the leader of the Reich Labour Organisation of the National Socialist Party, Dr. Robert Ley, was entrusted by Hitler about the middle of April, 1933, with the duty of preparing the way for the absorption of the labour syndicates in the National Socialist organisation. Hitler reserved to himself the right of fixing the exact date of this event; and it was only on April 30 that he informed Dr. Ley that the absorption would take place on May 2, i. e., the day following the first National Labour Holiday. The various Party services were informed of this decision by special couriers.

On May 1, 1933, one of the greatest popular demonstrations ever witnessed in history took place in Berlin. Already at nine o'clock in the morning 120,000 young people in uniform, with their flags showing the National Socialist emblem, assembled in the Lustgarten to listen to the Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, who declared that for the first time the German nation was now celebrating the work accomplished by all classes of the population and by all professions. The Minister recalled that hitherto the explosion of bombs, the singing of songs of hatred, and violent clashes between antagonistic groups had almost invariably characterised the First of May. Today, on the first Labour Day since the Führer's accession to power, the whole German nation was assembled to affirm the unity of State and nation. Class warfare had come to an end and the idea of a veritable national community had been established on the ruins of capitalist liberalism.

During the afternoon upwards of one million workers, in columns of 100,000 each, marched from all parts of the capital to the Tempelhofer Feld (see Pict. 99). Here they were addressed by Hitler, whose speech, lasting about ninety minutes, was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic cheers.

The Führer announced that, in order to restore normal social conditions, it was first and foremost essential that the millions of Germans now artificially divided into classes, and hypnotised by caste prejudices, should learn to understand each other better. Today the slogan should be: *Respect the labourer and honour his work.* Such respect ought not to be conditioned by the nature of the work accomplished, but by the way in which it was performed. Factory workers, peasants, black coated workers, bourgeois, should form a single community. The loveliest spring day should not become a symbol of class struggle, of class hatred, of social dissolution and decomposition; it should, on the contrary, become the symbol of creative labour, of social solidarity, and therefore of social progress.

He then proceeded to define as follows the immediate aims of the new Government:—

(1) To rally the entire German people behind a single banner symbolising the new ideals and the new political faith of the nation.

(2) To reawaken and stimulate both the sense of duty and the self-consciousness of the nation. In the past, the German nation suffered from an inferiority complex which

had been artificially developed. Today it might still be possible to do violence to the German nation, but it was no longer possible to humiliate it, for the Germans no longer regarded themselves as a second-class people.

(3) The introduction of the compulsory labour service pursued the double object of teaching all younger persons manual labour and the duty of obedience. The labour service was destined to destroy the prejudice according to which manual labour was something inferior, something to be ashamed of. It was not sufficient to outwardly eliminate Marxism; it was essential to destroy its intellectual basis, of which a sentiment of arrogance was a factor. The ideal of National Socialism would be realised without delay, with the result that in forty years' time the meaning of the words "work" and "manual labour" would have undergone an evolution similar to that experienced by the terms "lansquenet" and "soldier."

(4) More important still was the task of liberating creative initiative from the untoward influence of majority decisions, not only in political, but also in economic, assemblies. No revival of economic activity was possible without a synthesis of the creative spirit and of the consciousness of responsibility towards the nation as a whole. Contracts would consequently retain their importance, but it should be borne in mind that the individual "was not made for contracts," but that the objects of contracts was to render social relations possible.

(5) During the present year, an effort would be made to cover the first lap of the difficult course leading to an organised management of the national economy. It was a fundamental and recognised fact that no economic revival would be possible which had not the peasant as its starting-point—since the peasant constituted the foundation alike of ethnical, economic, and national existence. The road to be followed led from the peasant to the factory worker, and thence to the black-coated and the brain worker. During the past fourteen years this elementary truth had been systematically ignored, with the inevitable result that neither the towns, nor the workers, nor the middle classes had been helped. On the contrary, they had all been ruined.

(6) The suppression of unemployment by the creation of work comprised two different categories of measures. Firstly, the creation of work by private initiative, that is to say by the building trade, but more especially by an appeal to the entire German nation. Mere star-gazing would not solve the problem; everyone must contribute to its solution. Reason and confidence must collaborate in a common effort to create work. Each individual has the duty of making his purchases immediately, without hesitation or delay. Secondly, the creation of work by the State will begin by the immediate application of a gigantic programme of road building. It was necessary for the State to start on a large scale, to overcome all resistance, and to inaugurate a series of works of public utility calculated to reduce the number of unemployed.

(7) The present intolerable rates of interest must be reduced.

(8) A commercial policy must be pursued which would ensure the stability of industrial production, without imperilling the interests of German agriculture.

The Chancellor concluded by alluding to the difficulties of realising these various tasks. The road to be trodden by the German nation in the future, he said, would be not less difficult than the road along which it had marched during the past fourteen years. If there is any hostility on the part of others, the nation must counter it by still further consolidating its unity. The German nation would, moreover, never cease to demand parity of rights.

Fireworks and other ceremonies concluded this historic day, which was celebrated in befitting fashion throughout the Reich.

Psychologically, the ground was thus prepared for the absorption of the former labour unions in the National Socialist labour organisation. On May 2, punctually at ten o'clock, the offices of the labour unions in the whole Reich were occupied by the SA., and the business of the unions was taken over by a "Committee of Action for the Protection of German Labour," formed under the auspices of the National Socialist Party. By eleven o'clock everything was finished, without a single incident having occurred. Describing these events, Dr. Ley said that "it seemed as if the Marxist leaders of the labour unions positively breathed a sigh of relief that the National Socialist Party had at last relieved them of their difficult functions and henceforth assumed the responsibility for the guidance of the German working classes."

On the same day the Christian labour unions voluntarily surrendered their various organisations, their leaders having already fled to the Saar. All other labour unions were duly taken over on the following day, so that already on May 4, Dr. Ley could announce to Chancellor Hitler that all the organisations of workers and employees, totalling 169, had been absorbed by the Party.

According to the testimony of eye-witnesses, conditions in the labour unions thus taken over were far from satisfactory. Lack of confidence appeared to be general. Of fifteen million workers, scarcely five million were organised and the payment of subscriptions was extremely irregular.

On the other hand, the administrative apparatus in nowise corresponded to this state of things. It had remained just as inflated as it was in the golden era of the labour syndicates in 1920, shortly after the War, with the result that a huge financial deficit had accumulated. The Public Works' unions, one of the largest and best organised, had contracted bank debts amounting to 3,000,000 marks, the interest on which was ten per cent. annually. Hence it was no longer in a position to fulfil its social obligations. Corruption on a large scale prevailed, and if legal proceedings had been instituted in every case of alleged irregularities, the courts would have been fully occupied for years to come. Despite the difficulty of carrying-out an exact control of the accounts of the various labour unions, it could be ascertained that within a few months preceding their dissolution some 600,000 marks had been embezzled.

Financial and moral bankruptcy, to say nothing of an evil conscience—this was all that was left of the erstwhile so proud German labour unions.

On May 10, 1933, the first Congress of German Labour was inaugurated in the Assembly Hall of the Prussian Council of State, on which occasion the foundation of the German Labour Front under the leadership of Dr. Ley was announced. Two main organisations were erected on the ruins of the numerous former professional associations—namely, the Union of German Workers and the Union of German Employees. Later on the employers also joined the Labour Front, of which it could truly be said that it constituted "the union of all Germans earning their living by their work, without distinction of economic or social position."

The Labour Front, thus constituted on a truly national scale, was affiliated to the National Socialist Party in 1935. In the meantime an organisation of

industrial interests had been formed to represent individual industrial undertakings. In order to prevent a clash between this organisation and the Labour Front, the former—without, however, forfeiting its autonomy—became a corporative member of the Labour Front as a result of negotiations between the Reich Minister of Labour Seldte, the Reich Minister of Economy Dr. Schacht, and Dr. Ley. A Central Council of Labour and Economics was established to represent the entire Labour Front organisation; at the same time, District Councils and about 3,000 local labour committees were formed throughout the Reich.

Chancellor Hitler himself described the scope and aims of the German Labour Front in a decree dated October 24, 1934.

"The German Labour Front is *the organisation of all German brain and manual workers*. It includes, in particular, the members of the former labour unions, of the unions of employees, and of the former associations of employers, which are united in the Labour Front on a footing of complete equality . . . The aim of the Labour Front is the formation of a real national community of all Germans. The Labour Front must see to it that every individual is able to take his place, both morally and physically, in the economic life of the nation in such a way as to enable him to give of his best for the greatest advantage of the national community . . . The duty is incumbent on the Labour Front of assuring social peace by bringing employers and employees nearer to each other; employers must have comprehension for the legitimate demands of their employees; the latter on the other hand, must have regard for the position and the possibilities of the undertaking . . . The Labour Front has the duty of adjusting the legitimate interests of all parties in a manner conforming to National Socialist principles . . . Attached to the Labour Front is the organisation "Strength through Joy." The Labour Front has the further duty of looking after the professional education of its adherents . . ."

"Thanks to the self-help organisation of the Labour Front, the maintenance of the existence of every member is guaranteed in case of necessity, in order to facilitate the ascent of capable citizens or to enable them to create an independent existence for themselves, if possible, on their own soil."

The duties assigned by Hitler to the Labour Front are thus alike of a social, an educational, and a political nature. The task incumbent on the Labour Front is to educate all German citizens in the sense of the National Socialist philosophy, to protect the social and economic rights of its own members, and to ensure the maintenance of social peace and harmony. Its tasks also include the creation of institutions destined to come to the assistance of its members, the organisation of their professional training, and the care of their welfare during their leisure hours and their holidays.

To a foreign observer it is surprising to see how the Labour Front has succeeded in uniting entirely different classes of Germans in a spirit of comradeship and national solidarity. Within its ranks the workers themselves formulate their

claims and define their social position. It may appear still more surprising that manual and intellectual workers, employees, and employers, march together behind the same flag. Class warfare, which forms the basis of Social Democratic teaching, has come to an end in Germany. Peasants and public functionaries (whether State or communal), however, still retain their own organisations.

In reply to a question put by me to Dr. Ley, the energetic leader of the German Labour Front, as to how such a rapid success was possible, he answered impulsively, with a smile: "Do you want to know the recipe? It is quite simple. It consists of two words: Adolf Hitler."

The organisation of the German Labour Front is both regional and professional. The regional organisation corresponds to the organisation of the Party, i.e., in regions under a regional leader, in districts under a district leader, in localities under local leaders. The most important auxiliaries of these leaders are the elected heads of the staffs in the various industrial and commercial undertakings. At the basis of this colossal edifice are those in charge of the "cells" and "blocks" —the latter being an extension of the "cells."

In respect of its professional organisation, the Labour Front is headed by an Administration Board, which has the supreme control over the various departments of the organisation—i. e., those concerned respectively with legal questions, personnel, organisation, Press, training, social problems, propaganda, health, professional education, works' management, youth, women, dwellings, economy, the *Arbeitsdank*, and technical science. Side by side with these Reich offices there are eighteen sections divided up as follows: (1) food supplies; (2) textiles; (3) clothing; (4) building; (5) timber; (6) iron and other metals; (7) chemicals; (8) printing; (9) paper; (10) traffic; (11) mines; (12) banks and insurance; (13) liberal professions; (14) agriculture; (15) leather; (16) stones and earths; (17) commerce; (18) handicraft. These sections are, moreover, divided into Reich professional groups in a hierarchy which reaches to the smallest local unity.

A more detailed description of the organisation of the German Labour Front would exceed the scope of the present book. It may, however, be stressed that the sphere of activity of the Labour Front is greater than that of any other similar organisation in the world.

A few figures may be given in support of this assertion.

The former trades unions required from their members a monthly subscription of Rm. 3.60. The total income of the Confederation of Labour unions (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*) amounted to roughly Rm. 120,000,000 *per annum*. The German Labour Front has now reduced the monthly subscription rate of its individual members to Rm. 1.52, so that its annual income (for a membership of more than 20,000,000) works out at Rm. 384,000,000. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that the Labour Front has not only assumed full responsibility for the former obligations of the unions towards their members in regard to disablement annuities, old-age pensions, unemployed relief, and indemnities in case of death, but has also paid all the

pensions which the former unions had neglected to pay during the last few years of their existence. The total sum expended by the German Labour Front on relief in one form or another since the commencement of the National Socialist régime amounts to Rm. 328,000,000.

It should be noted that the Confederation of Labour unions included in its "relief work" not only cash payments to its members, but also all the money spent on its own administration. This circumstance should not be lost sight of when a comparison is made between the annual expenditure of the unions (which amounted to Rm. 123,500,000 in 1930) and the amount of money actually spent on relief work by the Labour Front each year.

In addition to the sum of Rm. 328,000,000 already mentioned, the German Labour Front contributed Rm. 5,500,000 to the Winter Relief Scheme (apart from more than Rm. 850,000 contributed by its staff). About Rm. 22,000,000 was obtained through the street sales of some 70,000,000 badges in 1936 and 1937, the number of helpers from the Labour Front being about 2,000,000 in each instance. About Rm. 43,500,000 has been spent so far on the 371 consultation offices for gratuitous legal advice, which were made use of during the past three years by 10,000,000 members, whilst the number of legal advisers was 1,300. The total expenditure of the Labour Front on national hygiene amounted to about Rm. 12,800,000 during the period 1935–37.

In the efficiency contests of German works, 221 efficiency badges have been awarded up to now, and 103 of the competing undertakings have received the designation "National Socialist model undertaking." In 1937/38 some 84,000 works were competing for these distinctions. The badges are given for outstanding merit in respect of the following: vocational training facilities, promotion of national hygiene, settlement and housing schemes, and encouragement of KdF. schemes. Some 35,000 men and women look after the welfare of the young workers. In the past, only four or five days were set apart for holidays each year, and 45 per cent of the young workers received no holidays at all. To-day, however, practically all sets of tariff regulations fix the number of holidays at from 10 to 15 and practically all sets of works' regulations at from 12 to 18 days.

In 1934–37, the entries for the Reich vocational contests aggregated 4,100,000, comprising 2,800,000 young men and 1,300,000 young women. 550 competitors secured first places and were awarded scholarships to the value of Rm. 1,000 each, which enables them to continue their training. Some 2,100 firms have been singled out for supplementary vocational training, and about 110,000 persons have so far profited from the facilities thus offered. As regards vocational training in general, the following figures (which refer to the period 1933–37) may be of interest: Number of work schools and vocational training undertakings 225; total number of measures promoting vocational training 149,000; total number of participants 6,200,000; aggregate expenditure on vocational training, including that given to persons changing over from one vocation to another Rm. 36,700,000.

The special requirements of women employees have not been neglected either. Some 4,000 consultation bureaus have been opened for them, the annual number of consultants being about 300,000. There are more than 600 women's groups

attached to the works. About 200 social helpers and more than 250 women wardens look after women's interests in the undertakings. About Rm. 15,000,000 has been set aside from the funds of the German Labour Front for the creation of 3,000 homes of the "settlement" type. The 20,000 dwelling units erected by the building societies affiliated to the Labour Front out of their own capital represent a total value of Rm. 182,000,000.

Compared with the expenditure of the German Labour Front, and with the wide scope of its activities, the costs of its administration are small, amounting in 1937 to less than 20% of the total contributions of its members. These costs have constantly diminished within the past few years (36% in 1934, 23.7% in 1935). In this connection it should be recalled that the costs of administration of the former labour unions amounted to approximately 50% of the contributions received by them.

The result of the decrease in the costs of administration, and of other measures of retrenchment, has been to increase the monthly surpluses of the Labour Front from an average of Rm. 2,000,000 in 1935, to Rm. 7,500,000 in September, 1936, despite a marked rise of expenditure on social assistance of the most varied kinds. Thanks to the constantly increasing revenue, the total means at the disposal of the Labour Front have very considerably augmented. This financial development has permitted an expenditure of very large sums for purposes which are not included in the ordinary budget of the Labour Front—e. g., the establishment of new seaside bathing resorts, with all the necessary accommodation and other uptodate amenities, for its members; the construction of homes for rest and recuperation, of sailors' homes, of two large steamers for oversea holiday trips, of training schools for future party leaders, etc.

The National Socialist Organisation "Strength through Joy"

If the idea of procuring suitable physical and mental recreation for working people during their leisure hours is not new, since it had already been put forward on several occasions in other countries, prior to the advent of the National Socialist régime in Germany no serious attempt had anywhere been made to realise it except in Italy, where the Fascist Government introduced the system of *Dopolavoro*. But even in Italy the realisation of this idea has not attained the same dimensions as in the new Germany.

"Work entails physical and nervous strain liable to leave a feeling of bodily and mental exhaustion which cannot be eradicated by merely going to rest. Mind and body require new nourishment. Since during the hours of labour a *maximum* of effort and attention is demanded of the worker, it is essential that during the latter's leisure hours the best of everything should be offered him in the shape of spiritual, intellectual, and physical recreation, in order to maintain, or if necessary restore, the joy of life and work." Inspired by this idea, Dr. Ley founded the National Socialist organisation appropriately known as "Strength through Joy" (*Kraft durch Freude*, or, abbreviated, KdF.).

The secret of the incomparable success undeniably obtained by this organ-

isation resides in the application of the principle according to which every employer should admit the workers to participate in the development of the undertaking and thereby encourage the workers' creative power. All available resources—cultural and economic—are utilised by KdF. with the object of furthering the wholehearted collaboration of the masses in the great work of national production, and thus ensuring a feeling of true national solidarity. The result of its indefatigable efforts in view of the accomplishment of this aim has been to unite 20 million workers belonging to all professions, all classes, all sorts and conditions of people, in a vast national community enjoying together the beauties of Nature, as well as the benefits conferred by a common culture and by healthy physical exercise.

Every member of the Labour Front adheres *ipso facto* to KdF., the organisation of which is modelled on that of the Labour Front and of the National Socialist Party. At its head is Dr. Ley, who has under his orders a vast number of officials of various ranks, most of whom give their services gratuitously. The Central Administration of KdF. is divided into the following sections:—

(1) *Section for the Organisation of Leisure Hours.*

Before the advent of the National Socialist régime, millions of persons in Germany had never seen a theatre from the inside. An enquiry organised among the workers and employees of the Siemens Works in Berlin revealed the fact that 87.6% of the men and 81.3% of the women had never been to an operatic performance; whilst 63.8% of the men and 72.2% of the women had never visited a theatre. The following figures aptly illustrate the change introduced in this respect by the Nationalist Socialist régime and by the creation of KdF.:—

The number of persons who were able to visit theatres thanks to KdF. was 22,100,000, to which must be added 18,600,000 who visited film performances, 5,600,000 who attended concerts, 3,300,000 who went to factory exhibitions, and 50,000,000 who took part in cultural demonstrations. The National Socialist Reich Symphony Orchestra, which consists of ninety members, has given hundreds of concerts throughout Germany.

Film performances were given in 700 camps to over 100,000 workers employed in the construction of the Reich motor-roads. The establishment of popular libraries, the service of the gratuitous distribution of periodicals, must also be taken into account (see Picts. 102, 109).

(2) *Section for Popular Education.*

The object of this section is to contribute to the education of the nation in the sense of the National Socialist ideal. For this purpose, 230 establishments for popular education have been created, in which lectures on various branches of culture are given, and regular courses of study organised which embrace a variety of subjects including the German language, shortland, mathematics, etc. Special sub-sections exist imparting instruction in music, chess, painting,

photography, and other subjects. On the other hand, the organisation of visits to museums and of escorted excursions to places of interest affords the workers opportunities of obtaining first-hand knowledge of the cultural achievements of their nation. An extensive organisation of popular libraries serves the purpose of bringing books within the reach of the remotest workshops. 62,000 educational conferences of the most varied kinds were organised and were attended by 10,000,000 persons. Two Reich theatre trains, two soldiers' stages, one Reich motor-road stage, and fifteen sound-film travelling-theatres are available in connection with these purposes.

(3) *Section for Travel, Excursions, and Holidays.*

One of the main principles of the KdF. is that the German worker should travel during his holidays, since holidays without change of air are not really beneficial. Since 1934, a total of 384 sea voyages (490,000 participants), more than 60,000 excursions on land (19,000,000 participants), and 113,000 hiking tours (3,000,000 participants) have been organised by KdF., which has also started to build a fleet of ocean-going passenger ships of its own. Two of these vessels, aggregating 25,000 tons each and named *Wilhelm Gustloff* and *Dr. Robert Ley* respectively, were laid down on May 1st, 1936. The former has been in actual service for some time past, and the latter was launched a short while ago. A gigantic sea-side resort, capable of accommodating 20,000 persons, is in course of construction. Special KdF. trains are run whenever events of nation-wide importance take place in Germany (see Pict. 103 to 108). Out of the 9,000,000 persons who joined KdF. tours and excursions in 1937, just under 2,000,000 took part in hiking tours, and about 18,000 in the sea voyages to Norway, Madeira and Italy undertaken in the ships of the KdF. fleet.

The total number of persons who travelled under the auspices of KdF. during the years 1935–36–37 exceeded that of the population of the Scandinavian countries. During the same period the KdF. trains covered a total distance equal to more than fifty times the circumference of the globe.

(4) *Sports Section.*

The organisation of sport within the KdF. has opened a wide breach in the ranks of the "armchair heroes." Since 1934, some 21,000,000 persons have taken part in the sports practice organised by it, the number of hours thus spent exceeding 1,000,000.

Every big undertaking, of whatever nature it may be, is—or will shortly be—provided with its own sports grounds, its own swimming bath, and its own recreation grounds. A fleet of yachts is at the disposal of amateurs of aquatic sports, which are greatly in vogue at all bathing resorts. The constantly growing popularity of winter sports has received a new impetus thanks to the reduction in price of skis and skates. The development of summer sports has been similarly favoured by the introduction of cheaper tennis rackets (see Picts. 110 to 112, 114).

(5) *Section: "Beauty of Work."*

The first duty of this section is to ensure that the rules of modern hygiene and cleanliness are strictly observed in all factories, workshops, offices, stores and shops, and other places where manual or intellectual work is performed. Its second duty is to see that they are fitted-out according to æsthetic principles and in such a way as to render work therein a pleasure. The cost of the improvements thus made by the employers exceeds Rm. 600,000,000. As regards details, the improvements were concerned with the following: 23,000 work rooms, 6,000 factory yards, 17,000 eating rooms and common rooms (canteens, etc.), 800 comradeship houses, and 1,200 sports grounds. In addition, improvements of the kind named were made on board 3,600 ships. More than 5,000 villages took part in the campaign for improving the amenities of the countryside. By means of an illustrated periodical, of films and exhibitions, the section gives employers valuable hints concerning the possibilities of improving their premises (see Pict. 113).

(6) *Section for "Factory Troops" (Werkscharen).*

The name *Werkscharen* designates the special "shock troops" of the National Socialist Party in the various undertakings. These "shock troops" have received a special training in National Socialist ideology. They are recruited alike from the ranks of the Party and its different formations, and from a carefully selected *élite* of workers between 18 and 25 years of age. Every undertaking has its Factory Troops, whose total number is estimated at 300,000. It is their duty to participate in all popular demonstrations as representatives of the working classes, to defend the traditional customs existing in the various undertakings, to appear at roll-calls held within the undertakings on certain notable occasions, and in general to ensure the success of all public celebrations.

Since April 1, 1938, the whole of the ideological training has been entrusted to them. In future, the Factory Troops Bureau at the Head Office of the German Labour Front will be merged with the Training Bureau and will receive its instructions from the Party. The Factory Troops are required to ensure that the National Socialist spirit pervades the undertakings, every one of which must be organised in such a manner that, in the event of an economic breakdown, all the arrangements that may be necessary for coping with it can be made forthwith. (See Picts. 100, 101.)

(7) *Homes for Soldiers (Wehrmachtsheime).*

In consequence of an agreement between the Minister of War and Dr. Ley, all persons belonging to the fighting forces enjoy in their leisure time the advantages offered by KdF. This section has the duty of establishing Soldiers' Homes, of procuring suitable recreation for members of the fighting forces, and of ensuring the best possible relations between them and the nation.

An important "World Congress for Leisure and Recreation" met in Hamburg in July, 1936. Fifty nations were represented. Conformably with the suggestion

made by Dr. Ley in his speech that "joy is the most potent factor of international understanding," the Congress decided the foundation of a "Central International Office Joy and Work" under the presidency of Dr. Ley.

The recognition by competent foreign opinion of the value of the work accomplished by the KdF. naturally caused great satisfaction in Germany, all the more so since the Hamburg Congress had unanimously acclaimed the KdF. as an example of practical Socialism. This recognition afforded at the same time personal satisfaction to Dr. Ley by acquitting him of the charge levelled against him at the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1933 of having "enslaved" the German working classes by the suppression of the former labour unions and their incorporation in the Labour Front.

The New Labour Legislation in Germany

Prior to the advent of the National Socialist régime, labour legislation had been based on the collective system of tariff agreements, set up after the War. The whole system was inspired by the idea of class warfare, i.e., of an irreconcilable antagonism between employers and employed, which could possibly be diminished by means of an understanding between the two parties but which none the less remained the acknowledged foundation of their mutual relations. The creation of the Labour Front implied the birth of a new conception of the organisation of labour. This, in turn, implied a radical transformation of the principles of labour legislation.

Pending the promulgation of a Magna Charta of the new social order in Germany, a law enacted in May, 1933, provided for the appointment of so-called "Trustees of Labour." Under the provisions of this law the Reich was divided into fourteen economic regions, in each of which the trustees in question had the duty of maintaining industrial peace and of preparing the way for the new social order. The evolution thus indicated was completed nine months later by the fundamental law concerning "the regulation of national labour" of January 20, 1934. This law was subsequently completed by two other laws concerning work in public services and work at home respectively.

These laws may rightly be considered as forming a new Constitution of Labour. On the one hand, they abolished all forms of class warfare; whilst, on the other, they are based on the National Socialist principle of leadership and on that of honour and loyalty between employers and employed.

Under the terms of the new Labour Constitution the centre of gravity of work lies in the undertaking itself "where the employer as leader, the employees and workers, co-operate for the benefit of the undertaking and consequently for the welfare of nation and State." This first paragraph of the law of January 20, 1934, is one of the corner-stones of the new German labour legislation, and reflects the tremendous change undergone by the whole social system in Germany. Henceforth the antagonism between employers and employed is replaced by their co-operation for the benefit of the nation and the country. Employers and employed are, according to Hitler's definition, delegates of the whole nation,

and every single undertaking forms a link in the chain of the great German national community.

In every undertaking the final decision can only be taken by the employer, i. e., the leader of the undertaking. He alone has to decide the conditions of work. Far from implying a return to arbitrary rule or the "landlord" standpoint, the new law requires that the employer should only take his decisions after consultation with the delegates elected for this purpose by his employees and workers.

Discussions of this nature take place between the employer and a "council of confidential advisers" (*Vertrauensrat*) which must be clearly distinguished from a "workers' council" (*Betriebsrat*). The difference between the two is that the *Vertrauensrat* comprises not only representatives of the employees but also the employers themselves. The *Vertrauensrat* is thus an organ in which the employer and the delegates of the workers meet together in harmonious collaboration in order to discuss all questions relating alike to the interests of the undertaking and to the personal interests of the staff. Hence the former "workers' council" has been converted from an instrument of class warfare into one of social solidarity.

The members of the *Vertrauensrat* are nominated by the employer, but an opportunity is afforded to the employees to express by secret ballot their opinion concerning the "confidential advisers" thus appointed. In every undertaking in which at least twenty persons are employed, the employer must enact regulations for the general conditions of work. The scale of wages is determined by the Trustees of Labour after consultation with a committee of experts. With a view to ensuring that the conditions of work shall not fall below the minimum standard laid down by law, the Trustees have almost everywhere availed themselves of their right to issue tariff regulations.

Apart from fixing the wages and the regulations concerning the conduct of the undertakings, the rules prescribed by the Trustees of Labour pursue the aim of realising a uniform regulation of the conditions of work, in so far as such a regulation may be necessary. A uniform legal regulation of the conditions of labour has not yet been forthcoming, and has recently been the subject of interesting, and sometimes lively, discussions. The Academy for German Law, however, has prepared a comprehensive draft, which is the outcome of detailed consultations with the competent authorities and will shortly be submitted to the Ministries concerned. It will supplement the National Labour Act as regards the special relations between individual employers and employees on the basis of the employment contract and will supply the solid foundation of mandatory law for many of the social improvements recently effected in Germany.

The value of work and social relations in contemporary Germany can be correctly estimated only if it is borne in mind that respect for honour forms the basis of their evaluation. Conformably with this principle the aforementioned law of January 20, 1934, placed the honour of labour under the protection of a special court known as the "Tribunal of Social Honour," which has to decide

cases defined by Dr. Ley as involving "breaches of social honour." For the first time in the history of labour, its inherent honourableness becomes the common denominator of the work of employers and employed alike. No State in the world has any comparable legislation.

The Tribunal of Social Honour established by the National Socialist State sits in judgment on those who are charged with having offended against the "community spirit" and with having neglected the duties thereby incumbent on them. By implication, the institution of this tribunal aims at developing a sense of honour in all workers. The maxim: "Man does not live by bread alone" is also applicable to the workers.

The Tribunal of Social Honour is composed of a professional Judge as president, and of one representative each of the employers and the employed. The following cases may be defined as offences against social honour and as coming within the purview of the Court:—

(1) If employers or their representatives abuse their authority to unduly exploit the working capacity of any member of the staff or to tarnish his honour;

(2) if employees imperil the peace of the undertaking by malevolent agitation, especially if in their capacity as "confidential advisers" they deliberately interfere in an illegal manner in the management of the undertaking, or persistently seek to destroy the "community spirit" among the workers;

(3) if members of the *personnel* repeatedly submit unfounded complaints to the Trustees of Labour, or if they persistently refuse to obey their written orders;

(4) if members of the *Vertrauensrat* betray confidential information which they may have received in fulfilment of their functions.

The Tribunal of Social Honour may alternatively impose the following penalties: (1) a warning; (2) a reprimand; (3) fines to a maximum amount of 10,000 marks; (4) disqualification, either as employer or as member of the *Vertrauensrat*; (5) dismissal from the present employment.

On the competent Trustee of Labour the task is incumbent of enforcing the penalties, of examining appeals, and of transmitting them, if need be, to the Reich Ministry of Labour. A supreme Court of Social Honour in Berlin is empowered to deal with all appeals against decisions of the various Tribunals.

The severity of the penalties which the Tribunal of Social Honour is authorised to impose, notably in respect of the dismissal of an incapable employer or of the dismissal of an employee for "anti-social behaviour," surpasses everything which had hitherto been enacted for the protection of social order.

An important part of the law of January 20, 1934, relates to the protection of workers against wrongful dismissal. Under the terms of that law every worker who has been employed for at least twelve months in an undertaking must be as far as possible protected against dismissal, save, of course, for reasons of *force majeure*. Every worker who considers his dismissal to be unjustified is entitled to apply to the Labour Court for a repeal of that measure. If the appeal succeeds, the employer must pay the worker an indemnity, the amount of which

depends on the length of time of employment, but must not, as a rule, exceed one-third of the wages or salary for the past calendar year. If the dismissal was manifestly arbitrary, or based on absolutely paltry motives, or due to an abuse of the employer's position, the Labour Court can award an indemnity equal to the whole of the last year's remuneration.

The Trustee of Labour is empowered, in cases where several workers are simultaneously dismissed, to postpone their dismissal for two months. This provision is intended to prevent unforeseen disturbances on the labour market and to give the dismissed persons time to seek new employment.

Social Insurance, Unemployment Relief, and Protection of Labour

Social insurance is one of the oldest institutions of its kind in Germany. It was created by Bismarck on the basis of the idea of co-operative self-help—an idea which found expression already in the Middle Ages in the so-called "fraternal funds" and in the mutual aid organised by the guilds; later on in similar funds established by the corporations of miners. Nowadays the State organises this self-help and supplies funds out of its own exchequer in the event of adequate means for assuring the existence of those of its citizens who are threatened by the vicissitudes of life not being otherwise forthcoming. It is well known that the German system of social insurance has served as model for all other nations.

Nevertheless the development of social insurance in Germany during the years following the Great War proved far from satisfactory, various branches of that insurance having been placed in a most difficult position in consequence of currency inflation and the alarming growth of unemployment resulting from the War. Disablement insurance alone showed a deficit of 17,000,000,000 marks on the basis of a calculation of all future revenue and expenditure and of the payment of interest. The funds at the disposal of social insurance in Germany were reduced from 3,6 milliards which they totalled immediately after the War, to barely one milliard in 1924 after the inflation period. On the other hand, the number of unemployed had risen from 900,000 in 1924 to over six millions in 1933. It is thus easy to conceive the enormous difficulties with which all branches of social insurance were confronted at the latter date.

Hence the National Socialist Government rightly considered it to be an imperative duty to eliminate, by the utilisation of its available financial resources and the creation of a new order of things, the dangers menacing the existence of the entire edifice of social insurance.

Among the measures taken was the law of December 7, 1933, relating to the reform of pensions, under the terms of which the method of repartition among all the insured of the sums payable to pensioners was transformed into the method of the formation of mathematical reserves for every insured person. The premiums were fixed in such a way that the value of all future premiums, including the capital at the disposal of the social insurance fund and the contribution of the State with the interest, would guarantee the sum foreseen as necessary for covering all furure expenses. The favourable results produced

by this reform are already visible, and the German workers of all categories are to-day relieved of any anxiety for their old age or in case of accident. At the same time various decrees have aimed at reshaping sick insurance. Commissioners appointed by the Ministry of Labour have successfully set to work to suppress existing abuses and to create a more solid foundation for the sick insurance fund.

On July 5, 1934, a law was promulgated concerning the new organisation of social insurance. The idea inspiring this law was to put an end to the obscurity resulting from the excessive splitting-up of the Reich insurance system, and to increase its productive capacity by means of a process of unification. The law in question divides the Reich insurance into the following five branches: sick insurance, workmen's pensions insurance, employees' insurance, disablement insurance, and miners' insurance.

It is interesting to note that all proposals put forward with the object of transforming the institution of social insurance into one of universal insurance comprising pensions for all citizens of the Reich were firmly rejected by the National Socialist Government, which clearly expressed itself in favour of a return to Bismarck's principles, whilst adapting the latter to the guiding ideas of the new régime.

As the practical disappearance of unemployment made it possible to guarantee the financial stability of the annuity insurance schemes and to further develop the system of benefits, a law was passed on December 21, 1937, for the purpose of utilising these possibilities. Its provisions include the following:—

(1) In order to ensure that the disablement insurance scheme and the employees' insurance scheme are permanently placed on a sound footing, the following annual payments have to be made out of the unemployment insurance fund:—

(*a*) to the disablement insurance fund:—an amount equal to 18 per cent of its annual income from contributions;

(*b*) to the Reich Institution for Employees' Insurance:—an amount equal to 25 per cent of its annual income from contributions.

Moreover, the Reich Government will provide the money required to supplement the income of those two funds derived from contributions and other sources in order to ensure that the scales of insurance benefits can be maintained. The Government has thus assumed a legal guarantee for the satisfactory working of the disablement and employees' insurance schemes.

(2) In order to ensure that the miners' pension insurance fund is permanently placed on a sound footing, the mine workers' section of that fund is to receive the following annual payments:—

(*a*) Rm. 105,000,000 from the Reich Government;

(*b*) Rm. 50,000,000 from the disablement insurance fund.

In addition, the employees' insurance fund has to make an annual payment of Rm. 18,000,000 to the clerical employees' section of the miners' pension insurance fund. The law also provides that the contributions paid to the miners'

pension and sick insurance funds by the insured persons and by the employers are to be proportionally readjusted and that the mine workers' contributions to the unemployment insurance fund are to be reduced. This is equivalent to raising the gross wages of the insured persons by about 6 per cent. As a result, the contributions now payable by the mine workers in respect of their social insurance will be on the same level as those payable by other workers, whilst the benefits receivable by them will be greater. Mine owners, on the other hand, will have to pay an additional amount of Rm. 25,000,000 or Rm. 30,000,000 *per annum*.

(3) The benefits payable under the disablement and employees' insurance schemes will be readjusted as follows:—

(*a*) For purposes of population policy, insured women workers intending to get married will have refunded to them that portion of the contributions which represents their own payments. Orphans' annuities and children's allowances will be paid to the age of eighteen so long as the beneficiaries attend a school or are in receipt of vocational education or training. Children's allowances will be increased in respect of more children than two. Workmen's widows will be entitled to an annuity even though they may not be disabled, provided that they have to bring up more than three children.

(*b*) The time spent with the fighting forces or in connection with the Reich Labour Service will be counted part of the legal waiting time.

(*c*) Payments made to persons on active war service will be increased for the duration of such service.

(*d*) The dormancy regulations are mitigated in favour of persons disabled during the war.

(*e*) They will be mitigated all round wherever several annuities payable in respect of disablement insurance, employees' insurance and miners' pension insurance coincide.

(*f*) Reversionary rights will be simplified and any hardships in connection with them will be removed.

The law also contains a clause providing that an annual amount of from Rm. 270,000,000 to Rm. 280,000,000 has to be paid during the period 1938–41 out of the unemployment insurance fund in order to build up a special fund under the control of the Reich Government with a view to augmenting the children's allowances paid to persons having a large number of children. Finally, the law gives every German citizen below the age of forty the right to join the social insurance schemes. Up to now, this right (or duty) had been confined to workers and other employees. The new law, therefore, is actually the first step towards a national insurance scheme. Thanks to the improved benefits, the increased children's allowances, and the reduced contributions payable by miners, it improves the financial position of the working community as a whole to the extent of more then Rm. 500,000,000 *per annum*. At the same time it permanently safeguards the financial basis of the disablement insurance, the employees'

insurance, and the miners' pension insurance funds, without increasing the contributions payable by the parties (except, as stated, the mine owners).

The following figures for 1937 will convey a notion of the importance of social work in Germany: the sick insurance, with 22,300,000 insured, paid indemnities amounting to Rm. 1,423,200,000; the disablement insurance with 27,200,000 insured, Rm. 314,100,000; the old age insurance, with 19,200,000 insured, 1,209,100,000; the employees' insurance, with 4,400,000 insured, Rm. 333,500,000; the miners' pension insurance, with 700,000 insured, Rm. 206,300,000 This makes the enormous total of Rm. 3,486,200,000 paid for indemnities of various kinds in a single year.

The fact that despite this heavy expenditure the funds at the disposal of social insurance increased from Rm. 4,627,800,000 in 1932 to Rm. 7,439,200,000 in 1937, furnishes proof of the progress achieved in this domain under the new régime.

An institution, the activity of which had proved unsatisfactory during the years preceding the advent to power of the National Socialists, namely, the "Reich Institute for the Procuring of Work and for Unemployment Insurance," assumed a new importance in consequence of the almost complete suppression of unemployment in Germany. Instead of assisting the unemployed by an increase of the dole, the Third Reich has procured work for them. Hence the Institute in question, which in former times was well-nigh crushed by the burden of relief required by the unemployed and therefore condemned to an absolutely unprofitable activity, has meanwhile been put in a position to devote its resources to new constructive work. Its chief function now is to act as trustee for the Reich Government in connection with the systematic distribution and utilisation of the available labour. This means that the subject of unemployment insurance will henceforth be approached from a new angle, inasmuch as its benefits will not become operative until every other opportunity of assistance has been exhausted. In other words, the central idea underlying the unemployment insurance scheme is no longer the insured's claim to relief in return for his contributions to the fund, but rather his conscious support of the steps taken by the Government to properly distribute the sources of labour.

Although the subscriptions of the workers had been constantly augmented, the Institute, before Hitler's advent to power, found itself confronted by an enormous and continuously increasing debt—amounting in 1931 to about 1½ milliard marks—which frequently necessitated State intervention. To-day, however, not only is the Institute self-sustaining, but it is also able to relieve the State and the municipalities of a burden of emergency relief, which amounts to some Rm. 3,000,000,000.

The procuring of work constitutes an important factor in a country which counts over twenty million workers, in which new opportunities for work are not always available, but in which, on the other hand, a sufficient number of suitable workers exists. Hence the necessity of a certain equilibration. An equilibration is necessary between the different categories of age and the different

groups of specialised workers—and the necessity of bringing it about has become acutely felt since the reorganisation of the fighting forces of the Reich. It was in order to facilitate it that two laws were passed, namely, the law of May 15, 1935, authorising the Reich Institute to prohibit by a veto on migration within the Reich an undesirable accumulation of potential workers in districts particularly affected by unemployment; and the law of November 5, 1935, which centralised in the Reich Institute the functions of procuring work, of giving professional advice, and of procuring places for apprentices.

The Reich Institute is thus required to carry out certain functions, which are within the prerogative of the Government, at its own responsibility and as an independent organ of the latter. Hence, it is at the same time a Government authority consciously detached and separated from the framework of State administration as a whole. This particular legal status has been conferred upon it because of the need for an instrument capable of adjusting itself from time to time to the requirements of the labour situation without having first to overcome needless complications and difficulties. Moreover, this plan of constituting it is tantamount to the practical acknowledgment of the fact that the systematic distribution of labour as part of the general activities of the State is so important a matter that it demands a separate and always available apparatus which, although subject to State supervision, specialises in this particular domain. Without in any way questioning the need for uniformity in the whole field of State administration, it must be conceded that the principle of the division of labour—so potent in the domain of private economy—has a claim to recognition in the sphere of national economy also and that the administration of a modern State must pay due regard to the progressive development of economic conditions. At any rate, practical experience has shown that the setting-up of the Reich Institute as an independent organ of the Government has been amply justified by the results achieved.

The Reich Institute itself is domiciled in Berlin. Its subordinate organs are the thirteen Regional Labour Exchanges (including the special Saarbrücken branch of the Rhineland Regional Labour Exchange for the Saarland), and these in their turn have for their subordinate organs the 345 Local Labour Exchanges. The latter, together with their branches and other ancillary organisations, form a dense network spread over the whole territory of the Reich, so that close and direct contact with every economic undertaking and every employed or employable individual is immediately possible at any moment. The supervision of the Institute falls to the competency of the Reich Minister of Labour, so that the unity of State policy is always ensured.

On October 1, 1937, the Reich Institute could look back upon the tenth anniversary of its foundation. The experience collected in those ten years has confirmed its claim to existence. A national economy entrusted with so gigantic a programme as that of the Four-Years Plan cannot do without a State institution for the proper distribution of labour. The natural corollary of the right to work is the duty to give assistance to those who may be out of employment at any time. This, at least, is a moral obligation on the part of the national community

organised as a State. So far, the legislation governing unemployment insurance does not yet correspond in full with the importance to which the latter is entitled within the framework of the Reich Institute. A reform in this sense is bound to come, as there is an undoubted need for an institution capable of paying regard to the requirements of the labour situation as well as to those of the State more thoroughly than it has been able to do in the past.

The introduction of the "work book" for workers of all categories is of great importance for the control of the professional repartition of the German nation as well as for the rational distribution of labour.

Other important measures have been passed relating to professional education with the aim, not only of remedying defects caused by the shortage of specialised workers, but also of restoring the vigour of those workers whose capacity has been diminished in consequence of a long period of unemployment.

The protection against wrongful dismissal, of which mention has already been made, constitutes only one aspect of a legislation intended to protect the workers. Other measures have as their object the protection of wages and salaries, the regulation of hours of work for women (especially expectant mothers or women in childbed), the protection of young persons and children, protection against accidents and vocational diseases, etc. All these measures have been unified. The State organisation for the carrying-out and supervision of measures to protect the workers is concentrated in an organisation known as the *Gewerbeaufsicht*, the officials of which co-operate with the Trustees of Labour and with the disablement insurance authorities. A "Museum of the Protection of Labour" has also been opened.

On April 30, 1938, the Government promulgated a law (*Jugendschutzgesetz*) governing child labour and the hours of work for young persons, by which the existing legislation on these subjects was unified, with the addition of some important improvements. Its scope extends to all young persons gainfully employed or undergoing a course of apprenticeship, with the exception of a few occupations such as domestic service, farm labour, sea-going shipping, and river transportation. Child labour is prohibited on principle; but if adequate precautionary measures are taken, children (below the age of 14) may be employed to a limited extent. The new law also raises the age of protection from 16 to 18. The eight-hour day has been retained for young persons (between 14 and 18), but the hours of attendance at vocational schools are to be counted as working time. Overtime is prohibited for all young persons below 16, and night work is prohibited on principle for all young persons. The exemptions made in respect of hotels, restaurants, bakeries, etc., have been considerably narrowed down. An extended weekend comprising the time between 2 p. m. on Saturday and 6 a. m. on Monday has been introduced for all young persons. This interval is to serve the purposes of physical and mental relaxation and of training in the principles of National Socialism. The annual holidays are to be as follows: young persons below sixteen 15 working days; young persons above sixteen 12 working days. These periods are automatically increased to 18 days, without

regard to age, if a reasonably long part of the holiday time is spent in a camp or on one of the tours organised by the Hitler Youth.

Social welfare likewise forms a branch of social policy in the new Germany, and will be dealt with in the following chapter. It is another domain of national life in which the activity of the National Socialist Government has yielded remarkably fruitful results. Similar results have been obtained in respect of the solution of the housing problem, which goes hand-in-hand with the problem of urban settlements, the aim of which is to procure for the worker an owner-occupied home worthy of the name.

IX.

Social Welfare

The two fundamental principles of the new Germany can be defined as those of the "national community" and "leadership." In the National Socialist State, social welfare is not merely a matter of secondary importance, the corollary, so to speak, of more or less inevitable defects in the social organism; it is, on the contrary, a permanent duty towards the collectivity—in other words, a permanent social service in the highest sense of the word.

Thanks to the decrease of unemployment, the number of persons dependent on unemployment relief has greatly diminished since the advent of the new régime. Thus new possibilities were opened to the work of social welfare, which could henceforth, in addition to assisting necessitous persons, contribute to the furtherance of the general interests of the nation, to the maintenance and development of its vital forces, and to the upbringing of healthy youthful generations.

To fulfil this object, it was necessary to stimulate and concentrate the entire energy of the nation. Just as the State is completed by the Party on which it is founded and with which it is identified, the institutions of public assistance dependent on the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Labour are completed in an ever increasing degree by institutions of private assistance, the work of which is carried out under the direction of the Party for the common aim.

The principal institutions of private assistance are the National Socialist People's Welfare Organisation (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt, commonly designated by the letters NSV.); the Protestant Home Mission; the Catholic Caritas Union; and the German Red Cross. These four great organisations not only work hand in hand, but have become closely linked-up with the State institutions for public welfare throughout the Reich since 1933. This close connection between public and private assistance has found outward and visible expression in the foundation of the "Reich Union of Public and Private Welfare and of Assistance to Youth." The National Winter Help (*Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes*, commonly designated by the letters WHW.) and the Work of Assistance to Mother and Child (*Hilfswerk Mutter und Kind*) have furnished by their efforts, and by the results obtained by those efforts, that social welfare has become a matter for the entire German nation.

Public Assistance

A more precise delimitation of the powers of the State in this domain has been carried out since the beginning of 1936. The Reich Ministry of Labour

is now competent in all questions relating to the assistance of war invalids, of the families of those who fell in the war, and of old-age pensionaries, as well as in questions generally affecting assistance to the workers and for all special measures which may be taken on behalf of the indigent population. The Reich Ministry of the Interior, on the other hand, is responsible in questions of a general nature relating to social welfare, to the relief of necessitous persons, and to the activity of the institutions of private assistance.

Since the leading personalities in the National Socialist movement are, for the most part, veterans of the Great War, the "spirit of the trenches" prevails in the new German State. Care for war invalids and for the families of the victims of the War is a duty of honour in the Third Reich, which regards it as a sacred task to enable war invalids to lead a care-free existence. With this aim in view it has, since 1933, become an established principle to grant them a priority of right to employment. All undertakings are obliged by law to reserve a certain number of posts for disabled war veterans. Of some 47,000 disabled men who were without employment at the end of March, 1933, upwards of 27,000 had thus been able to find work within the next two years, and further progress in this direction has since been accomplished. Special agreements concluded in recent times between the social welfare centres and the medical associations have resulted in considerable improvements in the methods of assistance to persons who are blind or who suffer from skull injuries in consequence of the war. An annual supplementary allowance of 60 marks is accorded to 420,000 ex-servicemen already in receipt of their pension.

A notable amelioration in respect of assistance given to the families of war victims was introduced by a law under the terms of which widows were granted a pension of 60% of the full pension of their deceased husbands, in addition to a supplementary pension of 34 marks.

The gratitude of the new State towards those champions of the National Socialist movement who were wounded in the course of the struggle of the National Socialist Party for power has found expression in the fact that they have been placed on an equal footing with those who were disabled in the War. Chancellor Hitler has moreover decreed the appropriation of 500,000 marks yearly from the funds of the Party for the benefit of both categories of men, who have sacrificed themselves on behalf of the nation.

All workers and employees whose productive capacity has been seriously reduced in consequence of an accident are likewise entitled to the same treatment as the disabled war veterans. The spirit of national solidarity has resulted in the creation of a "Foundation for the Victims of Labour." Assistance for the blind has been greatly furthered by the establishment of a Reich Association for the Handicraft of the Blind.

Another important measure of social welfare has been the law concerning "assistance to small pensionaries," destined to come to the help of many thousands of persons who, owing to the depreciation of German currency in the inflation era, have lost their savings, and thus been deprived of the fruit of years of labour and of their means of support in old age.

German youth benefits to a large extent by a series of comprehensive measures taken by the Ministry of Labour in the domain of child welfare. Considerable sums are at the disposal of the Ministry in order to assure the development of a healthy generation thanks to timely care given to children whose health is delicate or precarious.

National Socialist People's Welfare Organisation

The most important organisation of private assistance in Germany to-day is the National Socialist People's Welfare Organisation (commonly designated by the letters NSV.), created by order of Chancellor Hitler on May 3, 1933, and inspired by the National Socialist principle: "the individual interest must be subordinated to the general interest."

Contrary to the welfare institutions of former times, the NSV. is a creation of the entire nation. Its guiding principle is that "claims on the community can never be greater than duties towards the community." Conformably with this principle, it demands from each individual the conscientious application of all his resources in the struggle for existence in the interest of the nation; and it likewise demands of the entire nation a similar sacrifice on behalf of those individuals "in difficulties and misery."

Hitler's *dictum*: "one for all, all for one" has found in the creation of the NSV. its loftiest expression. Help for the individual in distress is no longer considered as almsgiving, but as a manifestation of the will of the community to succour its necessitous members by all the means at its disposal and to encourage them to pursue their route as free and independent personalities capable of rendering service later on to the nation, each of them in his respective sphere.

Social welfare in the National Socialist State is inspired, first and foremost, by the idea of the welfare of the entire community. If, on the one hand, its mission is not to come indiscriminately to the help of every needy person regardless of circumstances, its duty is invariably to assist deserving persons who have been deprived by a cruel destiny of the means of raising themselves by their own unaided strength. To be effective, a truly social organisation of collective welfare must not delay its assistance until a person has become sick or been otherwise reduced to helplessness; its mission is to prevent such an eventuality. Hence "prevention rather than cure" is the motto.

Whereas in former times social welfare in Germany bore a mark of compassion and was only practised in individual cases; such welfare is to-day based on a spirit of sacrifice on behalf of the community at large. Without such a spirit of sacrifice there can be no spirit of comradeship, no real friendship, and no real national solidarity. This spirit of sacrifice alone guarantees the value of human personality and the possibility of survival of a national community.

A comprehension of these fundamental principles inspiring the NSV. likewise renders comprehensible the fact that the assistance given by it is essentially of a supplementary nature—i. e. that it in nowise dispenses either the State or the municipalities from their primordial duty of helping necessitous persons.

Two fundamental principles inspire the NSV.: 1) the obligation for the community to contribute to the maintenance, welfare, and assistance of the people; 2) the necessity of contributing by this work to the education of the German citizen in the sense of the development of his social sentiments.

Before discussing the two main institutions created by the NSV., namely, "Mother and Child" and the National Winter Help Work (*Winterhilfswerk*, commonly known for the sake of abbreviation as WHW.), it is well to refer to other branches of its activity which although not so well known are not less of considerable importance.

Among these minor organisations, mention should be made of the "Hitler Hospitality Fund" (*Hitler Freiplatzspende*) for the Führer's old comrades in the struggle for power. Thanks to this fund it has been possible to send no fewer than 532,328 members of the SA., SS. and NSKK., as well as other persons for a well earned rest in the country. Mention should also be made of the *Bettenaktion*, the object of which is to assure to each individual his own bed; the NSV. has distributed upwards of 900,000 beds, including the linen, at a cost of 30,000,000 marks. Another aspect of the activities of NSV. is the placing of hundreds of thousands of "Hitler youths" in camps, where they live in tents, with the aim of developing them physically and morally.

No account of the relief work undertaken in the Third Reich would be complete without a reference to the activities of the National Socialist Sisters of Charity; to the work of assistance for tuberculous persons; to the special aid furnished in the case of damage to harvests in certain regions; to the campaign against contagious diseases; to the assistance given in the event of catastrophes, etc. The bare enumeration of these various social activities suffices to impart an idea of the tremendous efforts on behalf of the national welfare which are being made in contemporary Germany.

"Mother and Child"

The family, as constituting the foundation of social life, is the starting-point of the activities of the NSV., and the nucleus around which those activities revolve. The great organisation known as "Mother and Child" was established in 1935. Its aims are alike of a hygienic and an educational nature. The following are the principal tasks assigned to the organisation:—

1) to contribute to suppress economic distress unfavourably influencing the health, consequently also the joy of life, of families who are otherwise physically fit. Among the means envisaged for this purpose are financial relief, the procuring of work and *Wohnungshilfe*.

2) To contribute to the progress of mother and child welfare from a hygienic standpoint, in the interest of the entire nation. This task comprises measures on behalf of expectant mothers and women in childbed, as well as the care of young mothers and children.

3) To look after children who have not yet attained the age for attending school. This duty is confided to the kindergartens in town and country, especially during harvest time.

The practical carrying-out of these tasks is, within each local group of the NSV., assured by an assistance office "Mother and Child," managed by a woman, which receives and studies the requests of the mothers and advises them accordingly. There are some 26,000 such offices; work in them is shared by communal sisters, matrons of homes, kindergarten governesses, and nurses. The total number of these helpers exceeds 227,000, of whom over 100,000 are voluntary workers.

The organisation is financed in the first place by subscriptions of the members of the NSV. The Führer has, in addition, provided for the financing of the big social schemes from surplus WHW. funds.

According to the statistical department of the organisation, 160 homes for children and 308 similar homes for mothers existed in 1936. The number of children who, in 1937, were enabled to enjoy a holiday in these homes or in the country was 480,000. Since the advent of the new régime the number of children who have benefited by such a change of air totals 1,800,000. 71,000 mothers and about 8,000 babies and toddlers found accommodation in the homes for mothers during the same year—making a grand total of 246,000 thus assisted since the creation of the organisation. In the summer of 1937 the NSV. ran 4,319 day nurseries and kindergartens in the country during harvesting in which an average of 103,000 children were looked after each month. So far, some 2,700,000 women have sought the assistance and advice of the "Mother and Child" offices. (See Picts. 119, 120.)

The National Winter Help (WHW.)

An appeal to the nation signed by Chancellor Hitler and the Minister of Propaganda Dr. Goebbels was issued on September 15, 1933, which under the watchword "War on Hunger and Cold" announced the creation of "Winter Help Scheme" (*Winterhilfswerk*) on a grandiose and hitherto unknown scale, in order to furnish the proof of the active solidarity of the whole German people. Contrary to similar schemes organised in the past, the carrying-out of the new plan was entrusted to the Government itself with the collaboration of the entire nation. The execution of the scheme was placed in the hands of Dr. Goebbels. All Party organisations, public authorities, industrial and commercial associations, were called upon to help in the good cause. A "Reich Committee of Organisation" came into existence, supported by provincial committees and by a Reich Advisory Committee consisting of Ministers and Reich Governors.

The question involved was one of supplementary assistance to millions of human beings. A difficult task, for the solution of which less than a fortnight was allotted, confronted the 36 men assembled three days later in Berlin, with Erich Hilgenfeldt, the leader of the NSV., in the chair, since the winter help work was scheduled to begin on October 1.

In a lecture delivered by Hilgenfeldt some time later on the occasion of a reception of the Diplomatic Corps and representatives of the foreign Press by

the Bureau for Foreign Affairs of the National Socialist Party, the lecturer described the difficulties encountered by him in carrying out the programme "no one shall suffer from hunger or cold." In order to apply the first part of the programme it was necessary to dispose of a sufficient quantity of the main articles of food to ensure that nobody in Germany need suffer the pangs of hunger. In the same way, in order to realise the second part, it was indispensable to obtain immense additional supplies of fuel, notably coal.

The accomplishment of this task was rendered all the more difficult by the fact that when the winter help work began its activity in 1933, not less than 17 million persons were in need of assistance, according to the definition of the word "necessitous" given by the WHW. (*Winterhilfswerk*). According to this definition a "necessitous person" is a person unable to maintain himself or his family by his own resources. The subsequent decrease of unemployment was accompanied by a diminution of the number of people belonging to that category, which during the second winter 1934/35 totalled 13.8 millions. The number sank further to 12.9 millions in 1935/36, to 10.7 millions in 1936/37, reaching 8.9 millions in the fifth winter, that is, 1937/38. In this connection it is important to observe that the number of persons who are cared for by the WHW. is greatly superior to the number of unemployed, since the WHW. embraces all old-age and other small pensionaries, as well as all persons of restricted means and those who had formerly been unemployed for a long period—in short, everyone who, although not included in the category of unemployed, is in need of supplementary help.

Another initial difficulty to be overcome arose from the fact that the WHW. did not, at the outset, possess any developed apparatus, which could only be completed in the course of time. Yet during the first winter 1933/34 the WHW. was able to collect a sum of over 350,000,000 marks, as compared with an average of 94 millions collected on behalf of winter relief during the two years immediately preceding the advent of the new régime. The WHW. furnished 350 million marks in 1933/34; about 360 million in 1934/35; 372 million in 1935/36; 408 million in 1936/37 and 410 million marks in 1937/38, that is, more than 1.9 billion marks altogether since its inauguration in 1933. These figures include both donations in cash and kind. In 1936/37, 550,000 tons of potatoes, 2,100,000 tons of coal, 4,000 tons of meat and 9,300 tons of fish were distributed among the needy.

How was it possible to obtain such results?

In order to answer this question it must be recalled that the WHW., which is henceforth constituted as a permanent institution of the German nation, is divided into district and local groups on the model of the National Socialist Party itself. The leader of the NSV., of which the WHW. forms a branch, is directly placed under the Ministry of Propaganda. All the formations of the National Socialist Party, as well as the fighting forces of the Reich, the police, the Labour Front, take part in the work, in addition to the various organisa-

tions for private assistance, such as the Protestant Home Mission, the Catholic Caritas, the German Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Technical Aid, etc.[1]).

All these achievements in the domains of organisation and finance would, however, risk remaining fragmentary without the active support of an immense number of voluntary members of both sexes. During the winter season 1937/38 over one million volunteers came to the help of the good cause. Thus is explained the small amount of the administrative cost of the WHW. Already in the preceding year 1937/38, the cost of administration amounted to only 1.8% of the total amount of donations.

The most varied means are employed to obtain the necessary funds. For instance there is the "one course Sunday," on which only a single course worth at the most sixpence per person may be served, whether in families or restaurants; the profits thus realised are handed over to the WHW. On other week-ends street collections are organised, on which occasions plaques and badges are sold. Supplies of food are furnished in the country by the peasants, in the towns by wholesale and retail dealers. A certain percentage is donated from all salaries and wages. Persons with current banking accounts, as well as all industrial and commercial firms, are invited to give a monthly donation. Lotteries, the tickets for which are sold for sixpence, are organised in the streets. Leading personalities in State and Party collect money in the streets on behalf of the WHW. Best known artists co-operate voluntarily in performances of the most varied kinds. All the sums thus collected are for the benefit of the WHW. (see Picts. 115, 116, 118).

The WHW. is not less important from the standpoint of national economy. The purchase of food supplies occupies the first place in this respect. The WHW. not only represents the largest potato and flour market in the world, but is also the biggest buyer of fish and other articles of food. The supply of fish to the WHW. amounts to 20% of the total supply to the whole of Germany. The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* observed that about 9,000,000 lbs. of fish were "filleted" for the account of the WHW. within two months, thus affording employment for many hundreds of workers of both sexes in Altona. Not only that; the big-scale action of the WHW. rendered possible for the first time, the maintenance in active service of the entire high sea fishing fleet in Altona even during those months which had hitherto been regarded as a period of inevitable stagnation for the fishing industry.

The purchases effected on behalf of the WHW. likewise exert a salutary effect on the regulation of the markets, by preventing sudden excesses of offers with their resulting fall in prices. When, during the drought in the summer of 1935, a shortage of fodder led to an increased slaughter of cattle, the WHW. expressed its readiness to take over large quantities of canned meat. In the same year the WHW. took the initiative of canning several hundreds of thousands of tons of vegetables. During the winter 1936/37 the WHW. bought up

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[1]) During the winter 1937/38 a Berlin lady, Frau Friedel Schumann, rode through East Prussia and collected in all 160,000 marks for the WHW.

some 19,000,000 kilograms of fresh vegetables, which in consequence of an exceptionally good harvest could not be sold on the open market and which would have otherwise have been lost.

It goes without saying that an adequate supply of coal is the main factor in the struggle waged against cold. During the winter 1937/38 more than 2,100,000 tons of coal were distributed, to say nothing of peat and wood. An idea of the extent of the work necessitated by such a demand, and of its economic value for the nation, can be obtained when it is borne in mind that the mines of the Saar region would be fully occupied for four months in order to supply the amount of coal required. The transport of such a quantity of coal would have required 200,000 trucks—i. e. a goods train stretching from Berlin through the South of France right into Spain!—if a special system of distribution had not been organised.

The clothes and materials hitherto distributed by the WHW. would require a bale of cloth greater than the earth's circumference (42,000 kms.). The 2 million pairs of house shoes and boots for the WHW. relief 1937/38 were made chiefly in the border areas of the Reich.

Nor must the creation of work due to the manufacture of plaques and badges for the WHW. be forgotten. The diamond cutting industry in Idar-Oberstein was able to occupy 2,000 workers four times for twelve weeks each time. Similar favourable effects were produced by the manufacture of plaques and badges in the Erzg birge and the Thuringian Forest.

In Mar h, 1938, an unexpected and colossal demand was made on the WHW. with the reincorporation of Austria which, due to its splendid organisation, it was well able to cope with. Up to the beginning of June, 1938, some 5½ million dinners had been served on 200 field kitchens set up in various parts of Austria. Furthermore, foodstuffs and clothing coupons to the value of 5½ million marks have been distributed. Up to the same time, 92,000 children from Austria were brought to all parts of the Reich for holidays of several weeks' duration. The contingent for 1938 numbers 140,000. Similarly, 60,000 men and women are also to be given a lengthier vacation in the Reich. The generous lines of this relief work in Austria can be seen from the fact that up to the beginning of June, 1938, as many as 743 trucks of foodstuffs and clothing had been sent into that country. By the time the WHW. starts its 1938/39 operations, 1,264 more trucks of foodstuffs, particularly potatoes, grain, fats, sugar, meats and cereals will have made their way into Austria. There are to be 73 trucks bearing clothing, principally shoes, suits, dresses and underclothes. By September, 1938, 85 million marks will have been made available for alleviating the more urgent distress.

The favourable effects produced by the WHW. and their importance for the German economy are recognisable even in distant regions. The Christmas trees distributed under its auspices total more than 10% of the entire consumption of Christmas trees in Germany, whilst the number of books distributed by it is three times greater than the annual number of books published in Germany. Hence the WHW. has developed into an indispensable factor of German economic life

It should be emphasised that the WHW. exercises its activity without any regard to politics, race, or nationality. As Chancellor Hitler said at the opening of the winter season 1935/36: "we exclude nobody. We combat the Communists and we strike them down if necessary. But if a Communist says 'I am hungry' then he must be given food." The number of foreigners who received assistance in 1937/38 was approximately 90,000. Jews in poor circumstances are given assistance through the offices of the Jewish WHW.

The account given above will, it may be hoped, suffice to give the reader a general view of the immense task accomplished by the WHW.—an example of national solidarity which cannot fail to impress even a prejudiced observer. It cannot be denied that the WHW. has furnished a new proof of that "Socialism in action," the activity of which can be witnessed also in other domains of life in contemporary Germany.

Hitler knows from his own experience how difficult is the workers' struggle for existence, since he was himself a working man who shared toil and distress, but also hope and belief in social justice, with his comrades. By his intellectual qualities and his force of character he has succeeded in raising himself from the ranks of the masses to the position of leader of a nation. Hence when he took upon himself to endeavour to solve the problems of social welfare and social happiness, he did so with personal knowledge of the indispensable conditions of such a solution.

X.

Housing and Home Settlements

A solution of the problem of housing and home settlements was more urgently necessary for the new Germany than for any other country, since on it depended the possibility of accomplishing the social and economic problems which she has set herself. Hence the new régime has applied all its resources to the solution of the problem in question. All the competent organs of State and Party are now working together in view of the execution of a gigantic programme comprising all branches of the building trade. Included in this programme are the transformations rendered necessary in urban areas by modern hygienic requirements. One of the principles underlying the new housing plans is to afford families the possibility of development; whilst home settlements to ensure the possession of the soil for the racially and morally fittest elements of the population.

At the same time all these measures have the result of creating new work and of thereby imparting fresh activity to economic life.

The Housing Problem

The increasing demand for dwellings, attributable mainly to the large increase in the number of marriages, made the necessity felt of hastening the building of suitable dwellings with the help of the State. This help chiefly assumes the form of guarantees calculated to encourage private initiative to furnish the necessary means. The direct supply by the State of funds for building purposes is limited to the fulfilment of certain obligations which private economy would be unable to carry out.

The most urgent necessity confronting the authorities was to provide so-called "emergency homes," the growing demand for which had placed the municipalities before a problem which became constantly more difficult to solve in the measure that the economic crisis became more intense. The number of homeless families continuously augmented; and, moreover, the law concerning "scarcity of dwellings," which had hitherto enabled the municipalities to take possession of old dwellings in order to house therein homeless families, expired at the end of April, 1933. On the other hand, existing police and administrative regulations compelled the municipalities to provide shelter for such families. Having regard to this situation the Reich Government immediately placed 15 million marks at the disposal of the municipalities for building purposes, and thus rendered possible the construction of some 14,000 dwellings.

These dwellings have for the most part taken the form of lodgings in two-floor houses with a garden, the object being to place large families as far as possible in natural and healthy surroundings, and thereby develop their attachment to the soil.

Developments on the housing market showed, moreover, that the measures hitherto adopted were insufficient to enable those classes of the population forced to live in overcrowded tenement houses to exchange their unhealthy dwellings for others more suited to the requirements of modern hygiene. Hence other efforts had to be made to come to the assistance of those who suffered most from the housing crisis and who were quite unable to help themselves.

The Reich Government decided to build houses with cheap dwellings for one or several families, the rent of which is adapted to the very limited means of the masses of the working-class population. To this end some 70 million marks were appropriated up to the end of 1937 under the Law of March 30, 1935, for building loans (from 1,000 to 2,000 marks), which was instrumental in 69,000 dwellings being completed. At the beginning of May, 1938, the Reich Minister of Labour allocated an additional 48 million marks for Government loans to continue these operations. Thus 118 million marks all told have been made available so far for this activity. As the average Government loan amounts to 1,300 marks, the above mentioned 48 million marks will suffice for 30,000 dwellings.

Contrary to the tenement houses of the preceding era, these "houses for the people" must on principle be semi-detached or built in rows, and each may contain only two floors (i. e. ground floor and first floor). Only in the event of there being insufficient ground available for building purposes, or if such ground is too expensive, may these houses have two, or at the most three, storeys in addition to the ground floor (see Pict. 121).

Each house must have as large a garden as possible. Particular importance is attached to the rent, which as a general rule may not exceed one-fifth of the tenant's income. Should, in course of time, the tenant's financial position improve, or should his family increase, his dwelling must as far as possible be enlarged or suitable alterations be made therein.

One of the most pressing tasks of the new régime was the improvement of sanitary conditions in the towns—a task, the accomplishment of which had been perpetually postponed in previous years. The hygienic and social conditions which had arisen in consequence in a number of towns could no longer be tolerated. Between 1933 and 1935 the Reich appropriated about twenty million marks for this purpose. Compared with the importance of the problem, the satisfactory solution of which will require several decades, the sum may appear small. The main thing, however, was to encourage the municipalities to take the matter in hand and to organise a systematic study of a new and difficult question.

Work in this direction has begun in ten large cities, whilst about twenty smaller towns have sufficiently advanced their preparations for hygienic re-

organisation for it to be possible for the Reich to place subsidies at their disposal. Mention should also be made of the important sums appropriated by the Government for the repair or completion of buildings, for the partition of large apartments, and for the transformation of other premises into dwellings. (Cf. the section "The Battle of Labour" in chapter VIII.) Upwards of 250,000 new dwellings have been built, which may be considered a satisfactory result.

Apart from the encouragement given by the various measures enumerated above, it has been possible to obtain in an ever increasing degree the participation of private capital in the construction of houses and of urban settlements, under the form of hypothecary credits guaranteed by the Reich. Financial support in all such cases rests on a sure foundation. The constructors have generally themselves invested a considerable capital in the various undertakings. Up till now the guarantees assumed by the Reich amount to about 500 million marks.

Hence it proved possible to give a tremendous impetus to the building of dwellings in the new Germany. Whereas the number of dwellings built in 1932 amounted to 159,121, reaching 202,113 in 1933; 319,939 in 1934; 263,810 in 1935; 332,370 in 1936 and 340,392 in 1937. Altogether 677,870 blocks of flats with 1,458,124 flats have been erected since January 30, 1933. According to estimates of the Reich Statistical Bureau the prospects for house construction during 1938 continue favourable. Provisional estimates give the number of dwellings completed in the first quarter 1938 at 15,000 more than in the same period of the year before.

Measures have been taken to encourage the development of good taste in architecture, to obtain the best artistic results possible under prevailing economic conditions, and to prevent the excesses of individualism.

Home Settlements

One of the articles of the programme of the National Socialist Party states: "We wish to create a new home for the German worker. We wish to build healthy dwellings with the necessary light and fresh air and sunshine for healthy future generations." The building of new dwellings and the organisation of home settlements are intended to contribute to the realisation of these *desiderata*.

One of the principle aims of the social policy of the Third Reich has been the development of home settlements. The exploitation of such a settlement has the advantage of considerably improving the standard of life of the worker, and also of affording him protection in difficult times. The National Socialist régime likewise encourages this development for ethnical and national reasons. From the National Socialist standpoint, conditions in Germany must be such as to assure a solid basis of existence to every worker and to confer on him a share in the possession of the national soil, thereby teaching him to love his country and developing within him the will to defend it. This is the principal meaning of the new housing policy, of which the work relating to home settlements forms only a part.

An increase of wages invariably entails an increase of prices, and in the long run the former becomes illusory in view of the increased cost of living. Hence the necessity of maintaining a fixed level of prices. From the National Socialist standpoint, an improvement in the standard of living is not incompatible with a stabilisation of wages and prices thanks to the creation of home settlements.

The ownership of a house and of the ground on which it stands, the exploitation for one's own benefit of a rural property, however small, contribute to raise the standard of living, since it enables the family to reduce its purchases of food. On the other hand, the savings thus made can be applied to the satisfaction of other needs, such as clothing or furniture, etc. In this way the settler also furnishes work to others.

A home settlement thus means better housing, better food, and security of work for the settler, consequently the improvement in the standard of living of his family. Home settlements are also a factor in the "battle of production;" they contribute to render Germany independent of food imports and to the intensification of her economic life.

The aims of the German home settlement work were defined by Chancellor Hitler in a proclamation dated March 29, 1934, in which, after having described that work as one of the important and most difficult tasks of the Reich, he ordered that measures should immediately be taken to ensure a homogeneous organisation of home settlements throughout the entire Reich, whereby the experiences of the past should be utilised in so far as they were of value and avoided if they had proved detrimental.

The carrying-out of the work was based on the conviction that in view of the present economic structure of Germany, a complete reorganisation of the German "vital sphere" was indispensable, and that the housing schemes of the National Socialist régime could not be better realised than by the creation of small settlements.

Hence the small settlement forms the basis of the whole housing policy of the new régime, which rightly sees in it the best form of settlement for the poorer classes of the population, since it affords the German worker the possibility of supplementing his slender income by the self-production of a considerable part of his requirements. Over and above this, it is calculated to awaken his love for the native soil. The organisation of the small settlements consequently is a most important measure of national policy under all its varied aspects. It has been powerfully encouraged by means of loans and guarantees by the Reich, and also by the granting of numerous fiscal and administrative privileges and facilities (see Pict. 123). This fundamental readjustment was effected by the Reich Ministry of Labour as the competent department for the housing and settlement policy of the Government in close association with the Reich Home Settlement Office of the German Labour Front in Berlin. The latter with its various regional branches is concerned with the social aspects of these homes, more especially the family farms. By indicating ways and means of construction and fostering healthy and attractive living, the Bureau exerts

an active influence on building operations and inter alia assists and advises with regard to the financing, selection of settlers, organisation of self-assistance and training for intending settlers, etc.

Under the new regulations all respectable German citizens of limited means, of Aryan descent, who are racially and physically fit, and whose national and political reliability is unimpeachable, can become settlers, as can also their wives. Contrary to what was formerly the case, special encouragement is given to the settlement of workers regularly employed in industry, particularly if those workers belong to undertakings which have financially aided the settlement.

Economic considerations predominate in all measures relating to the organisation of home settlements. In order to assure as far as possible sound investments, it is enacted that settlements shall only be established in such places where the permanent economic welfare of the settlers appears assured. Settler candidates are submitted to a rigorous selection by the competent offices of the Labour Front; if necessary, a medical examination is also required. Particular attention is paid to the suitability of the ground on which the settlement is to be established, and also to the questions of the purchase price and the rate of interest. The main object in view is that the economic basis of the future settler's existence is assured. Hence, on principle, only those candidates are accepted for settlement who are in possession of a stable income derived from their professional work.

The cost of establishing a settlement, and the expense resulting therefrom for the individual settler, must as a matter of principle be reduced to a minimum. With this aim in view it is enacted that, apart from the ground, the costs of building and the general costs of establishment must not exceed 4,000 marks; in exceptional cases, however, they may amount to 6,000 and even 7,000 marks. Amortisation and interest together must not exceed 35 marks a month, in exceptional cases 40 marks. In no case may they exceed one-fourth of the settler's cash income.

Every settlement must comprise 1,000 square metres of land, suitable for exploitation in order to afford the settler a sufficient material basis of existence. The houses, of simple design, must be solidly built and planned with a view to the convenience of their inhabitants. Friendly assistance and advice is always at the disposal of the settler in order to assure the success of the venture.

Small settlements have thus been established on an entirely new economic basis, and their future development is financed by new methods. Whereas originally the costs of construction and establishment of the various settlements were almost entirely covered by means of loans granted by the Reich; these costs, as well as those necessitated by the purchase of the land, are henceforth furnished to a large extent by private capital by means of first and second mortgages. Moreover, the settlers must themselves contribute from 10 to 15% of the value of buildings and land. Hence financial contributions by the Reich are limited to general assistance.

The impetus thus given to the establishment of home settlements is proved by the fact that whereas from 1931 till April 1933 nearly 30,000 small settlements were established, no fewer than 17,611 were established alone during the last two months of 1933. In 1934 the number of new settlements was 30,628; and in 1935/36 their number was 91,000 (not including some 12,000 which were in process of construction at the end of 1936). In 1937 there were 31,260, which is 10.2% of all new dwellings in housing blocks.

Not less than the small settlements, the encouragement of the building of owner-occupied houses is intended to familiarise the idea of the linking-up the population with its native soil (see Pict. 124). The loans originally granted by the Reich for the construction of small homes were supplemented by a sum of twenty million marks appropriated for the purpose in September, 1933, under the terms of the law for the reduction of unemployment. The action on behalf of the acquisition of owner-occupied homes was completed by a contribution of 7,000,000 marks placed by the Reich Institute of Unemployment Insurance at the disposal of the construction of such homes. The number of owner-occupied homes built in consequence of these measures amounts to about 30,000.

Since, however, the action in question has given, outside the immediate sphere of its application, a powerful impetus to the building of owner-occupied homes without recourse to public funds, the success of the measures adopted is far greater. This success finds its expression in the fact that owner-occupied homes constitute one-third of the dwellings built by help of Reich subsidies.

Dwellings for agricultural labourers (see Pict. 122) built in the course of preceding years required radical and urgent measures with the aim of consolidating the proprietorship of their owners and rendering them independent of the situation on the labour market. About 8,000,000 marks were appropriated for this purpose. Many settlers were thus able to purchase more land, to enlarge their sheds and other outhouses and to rear livestock. It was also possible to facilitate the economic situation of the owner-occupier by postponing the payment of instalments on his debt in case of illness or untoward circumstances.

The law of March 30, 1935, destined to further the construction of dwellings, appropriated 12,500,000 marks for the building of owner-occupied homes for agricultural handicraftsmen and labourers. Conformably with the same law plans have been drawn up for the building of 7,000 homes or settlements for workers employed in the aircraft industry.

The Future Housing Programme

The forms which the future housing programme in Germany will assume have to a large extent been determined by the policy pursued in this respect since 1933. Apart from purely rural settlements, three groups of houses and settlements can be distinguished, namely, small settlements, owner-occupied homes, and rented homes.

Small settlements represent that form of housing of the working classes which most closely corresponds to the ideal of the National Socialist Government. The small settler's house is simple, but of sufficient dimensions. Every small settlement, moreover, includes a garden which affords the settler and his family the possibility of procuring part of their food for themselves. The small settlement is thus a source of supplementary earnings.

The owner-occupied home—whether in the form of detached or semi-detached houses or of houses built in rows—also has a garden which, however, is mainly ornamental. The house is generally inhabited by its own builder and landlord. Hence the owner-occupied home remains, for the most part, reserved for the middle classes.

Rented homes, in houses consisting of one or two floors in addition to the ground floor, are indispensable for those sections of the population which, on the one hand, are not adapted to the running of a small settlement, and, on the other, lack sufficient funds to build their own home. The need for rented homes makes itself especially felt in districts which are unsuited for the construction of settlements, i. e. in large cities.

A fundamental principle of the housing programme is that all houses and settlements—except, of course, those specially built for themselves by wealthy owners—must be, alike as regards their size and their fittings, as unpretentious as possible in order to adapt the rents to the limited means of the working masses. Improvements may be made in owner-occupied homes later-on *pari passu* with an increase in the owner's spending power and the growing need for more space; for instance, attic flats, whether independent or not, can be built. With regard to rented homes, the aim is to build them in such a way that large flats can, if necessary, be divided up into small ones without too great an expense being entailed.

The influence exerted by inadequate purchasing power on the demand for dwellings, especially in the case of families living in rented homes, was brought to light in the course of a discussion at the Congress of German Municipalities in 1935. Answers to a questionnaire on this subject yielded the following results: in the autumn of 1934, in nearly all parts of the Reich, more than one-third of the demands was for two-room flats, about one-fourth was for one-room flats, and less than one-fifth was for settlement houses. It will be seen from this, that the demand for rented homes is very large. Efforts will be made during the next few years to satisfy this demand by a methodical transfer of settlements from the area of large cities to the smaller towns and rural areas.

More than one-half of the houses which are to be built within the next ten years is destined for the poorer classes of the population. On the basis of the average income today in Germany, the working-man should pay a maximum monthly rent of about 26 marks, and the employee 45 marks.

Two special tasks have been set for the building and, more especially, the housing and settlement policies under the Four Year Plan: namely, the erection

of homes for rural labour and of dwellings for the workers and employees of what might be termed the Four Year Plan factories.

In order to increase agricultural production, permanent and trained labour must be available. Above all the younger generation is to be kept on the land and the tendency to migrate into the cities effectively combatted. One of the chief causes of the latter is inadequate and dilapidated living quarters. According to investigations made by the Reich Nutrition Estate there is a shortage of 350,000 farm dwellings. Nor is it sufficient to erect, as was formerly the case, rows of houses for one or more families with inadequate stables and sheds. The farm hand must have his own house to live in with sufficient yard space and outhouses as well as his plot of land. This is the only way he can increase his income by his own efforts and so make life worth living on the land.

The importance of the proper housing of rural labour can be seen from the fact that on March 10, 1937, Minister President Göring at the suggestion of the respective Ministers issued a "Decree for Speedy Erection of Suitable Housing for Rural Apprentices and Homes for agricultural Workers and Craftsmen." As to the provision of housing facilities for the people employed in the new industries, etc., this is a project which has an immediate demand. As these new industries will be required to start off immediately with a maximum output and will be operated by a big complement of hands it is, of course, necessary that factories and the necessary housing facilities are ready at one and the same time. The Commissioner for the Four Year Plan, therefore, requested all Departments concerned in Party and State to see that this work is carried through with a minimum amount of friction throughout. And, as a matter of fact, several thousands of such houses are already under construction. At the same time, the aims of the Government housing policy are observed in that most of them have been established in the form of small settlements and family homes. The management of the various undertakings have assisted the financial side by giving loans, thus making things very much easier.

Numerous organisations cooperate in the task of creating home settlements. All the various departments of the Labour Front are at the disposal of the authorities for this purpose. The officials of those departments carry out the duties entrusted to them, although such duties embrace a wide scope and are frequently complicated, in return for a very modest remuneration. They are assisted in their task by the municipalities who sell the ground required at the lowest possible price and who reduce proportionately all the other costs entailed. The authorities who are empowered to grant State aid in the shape of loans, guarantees, or reduction of taxation, have the duty of looking after the beneficiaries and of furnishing them with all the aid of which they may stand in need.

The common aim of all these efforts is that the schemes of home settlements may be carried out for the benefit of the family. In this common endeavour to encourage the building of workers' dwellings, the municipalities and the other authorities as well as the settlers themselves collaborate with the Labour Front for the development of the settlement idea in every conceivable

form. Settlements are built alternately with "houses for the people" and owner-occupied homes, so that all reasonable demands of those in search of accommodation may be satisfied under the conditions, however, that true community settlements shall result, that is, that all class and professional distinctions are brushed aside.

Settlements in contemporary Germany are "community institutions" in the best sense of the word, where no class distinctions are known. Neighbourly relations and a common task beget, in the conviction of the National Socialists, a true national community.

All efforts connected with housing in Germany have a particularly interesting aspect as, in contrast to most other civilised countries, they are concerned not only with the actual 4 walls but with furniture and fixtures as well. Consideration has been given to German needs and taste in the mode of living and all tendencies toward deviation or decay in housing standards are systematically opposed when introducing new ideas. As in the treatment of the housing question so also with regard to furniture and fittings, artistic and cultural lines are followed in keeping with National Socialism, one might say, primarily with the social idea of National Socialism. This is visible in the matter of price.

The entire work done in this sphere can readily be understood by anyone who has had opportunity to note the naturally high standard of housing cultivated by the Germans.

SECOND PART

"Action and self-creative achievement are the best graduators for measuring our capabilities." *Dr. Joseph Goebbels*

XI.

Germany's New Economic Outlook

Let us start with fundamentals. Economic policy, as universally understood, is the adoption and application of measures of all kinds for the regulation of production, distribution and consumption of goods vital to the satisfaction of human requirements.

These tasks have always remained substantially the same and are not subjected to any great modifications by virtue of cultural, social and political considerations. Nevertheless, they have undergone varying forms of development in different countries and at various periods of history. Moreover, the benefits to be derived from economic development have not always been enjoyed by the same strata of human society. Take the capitalist system, for instance. Here all economic growth is governed by the principle of profit-making for personal gain. The capitalist system is seen bestowing its blessing upon the exploitation of human labour for the sake of ensuring the personal aggrandisement of the entrepreneur, industrialist or business magnate. It was in the nature of things that this system, which has now been definitely discarded by Germany, should give rise to the Marxian type of economic socialism based on the class struggle and envisaging the unqualified victory of the proletariat over capitalism to be achieved by inducing the worker to cut himself entirely adrift from the employer even at the cost of ruining the latter and disrupting the economic life of the nation.

The Appeal to Common Sense

The Marxian doctrine stands at one end of the pole. We have to look to the other end to discover the guiding principles of Germany's new economic outlook. Like all other expressions of National Socialist philosophy, these principles are governed by the supreme conception of the political community. National Socialists hold that the forces and energies which a people is capable of developing by the right use of its physical and spiritual powers, and by the full utilization of the natural resources of its own country constitute the real wealth of the nation. The economy of a people, viewed as the development of these racial and geographical forces, is therefore the guardian and bearer of the national wealth. Hence, everyone who is engaged in this economic process, no matter

whether his rank or position is high or low, or whether he is or is not able to develop his innate capabilities to the fullest extent, should feel his share of responsibility for the welfare of the nation as a whole.

It stands to reason, then, that those who, under Germany's present régime, come forward to do their bit, great or small, towards the task of national integration place themselves under an obligation. In other words, they become responsible persons. This obligation grows in proportion to the size of their share in the administration of the nation's wealth. Each has his share, even if it be no more than the value of the product of his hands or his purely physical energies.

This point can be expressed in a different way. The worker fulfils his duty towards the community as a whole when, responding to a sense of mateship and acting as a self-respecting member of the community, he performs the work taken on by him in a conscientious manner, taking good care of the tools and materials entrusted to him. The peasant or farm labourer does his duty as member of the community when he devotes himself to the proper cultivation of the land which is the national heritage, striving to obtain the best possible results. He becomes the nation's food winner and it is expected of him that he purveys the fruits of the soil to his people at prices within the reach of all those of his compatriots engaged in work of a creative character. The man in charge of a business undertaking does his duty when as entrepreneur, industrialist, business man or artisan he concentrates his efforts on the task of fulfilling a public function; this inner conviction will help to promote the success of his activities, that is, his gain is the promotion of the welfare of the community.

"We are all in the same boat," declared Dr. Schacht, Reichsbank President, in the course of that memorable speech he delivered some two years ago at Königsberg. "There is only one thing to do: we must put our trust in the seaworthiness of this boat and in the skipper who is in command."

This subordination of all phases of economic life in Germany to the supreme idea of the social community finds its most tangible expression in the governmental programme which Chancellor Hitler incorporated in his first address to the Reichstag: "The nation does not live for the sake of the economic system, and the economic system does not exist for the sake of Capital, on the contrary, Capital is the servant of the economic system and the economic system the servant of the people."

Another important point. Germany's present economic system is based on the principles: "Right to Work" and "Maximum Efficiency". Economic policy, as formulated by Adolf Hitler, is the sum of all economic measures designed to achieve national totality and to safeguard the existence of all workers. The general insistence on service as a self-imposed duty is a guarantee for the maintenance of the social community as well as its national vitality and strength.

The identical train of thought holds good when we turn to consider the nature of Germany's commercial relations. To be sure, "Supply and Demand" continues to be the guiding principle in this domain, but the new outlook presupposes

the building up of an economic order of things which finds a place in its scheme of things for the ethical aspects of the economic system, in the realm of production as well as in the field of marketing. Therefore the National Socialist State itself takes charge of production and marketing. Self-interest which cannot be divorced from private enterprise can no longer, under these new circumstances, operate to the detriment of the general welfare of the nation as happened in the Germany of the past. The individual comes to realise that his own interests are advanced when he identifies them with the common good.

Another principle of National Socialist economic policy affirms that everything falling under the heading of economic achievement can be reduced to a question of capability. Hitler made a public utterance to this effect when one of his most ardent followers deemed it necessary to insist on carrying "co-ordination" to the extent of having efficient business leaders removed from their posts of trust and replaced by Party members who, though able to point to a fine political record, were without the requisite technical or commercial qualifications. Experience gathered during the first few months following the accession of Hitler to power, served to bear convincing testimony to the soundness of this viewpoint, whose disregard was everywhere invariably signalled by derangements in the proper management of affairs. "Industry," Dr. Schacht is always insisting, "is an extremely sensitive organism, and any disturbance from whatsoever side it may come, acts like sand in the cogs of a machine."

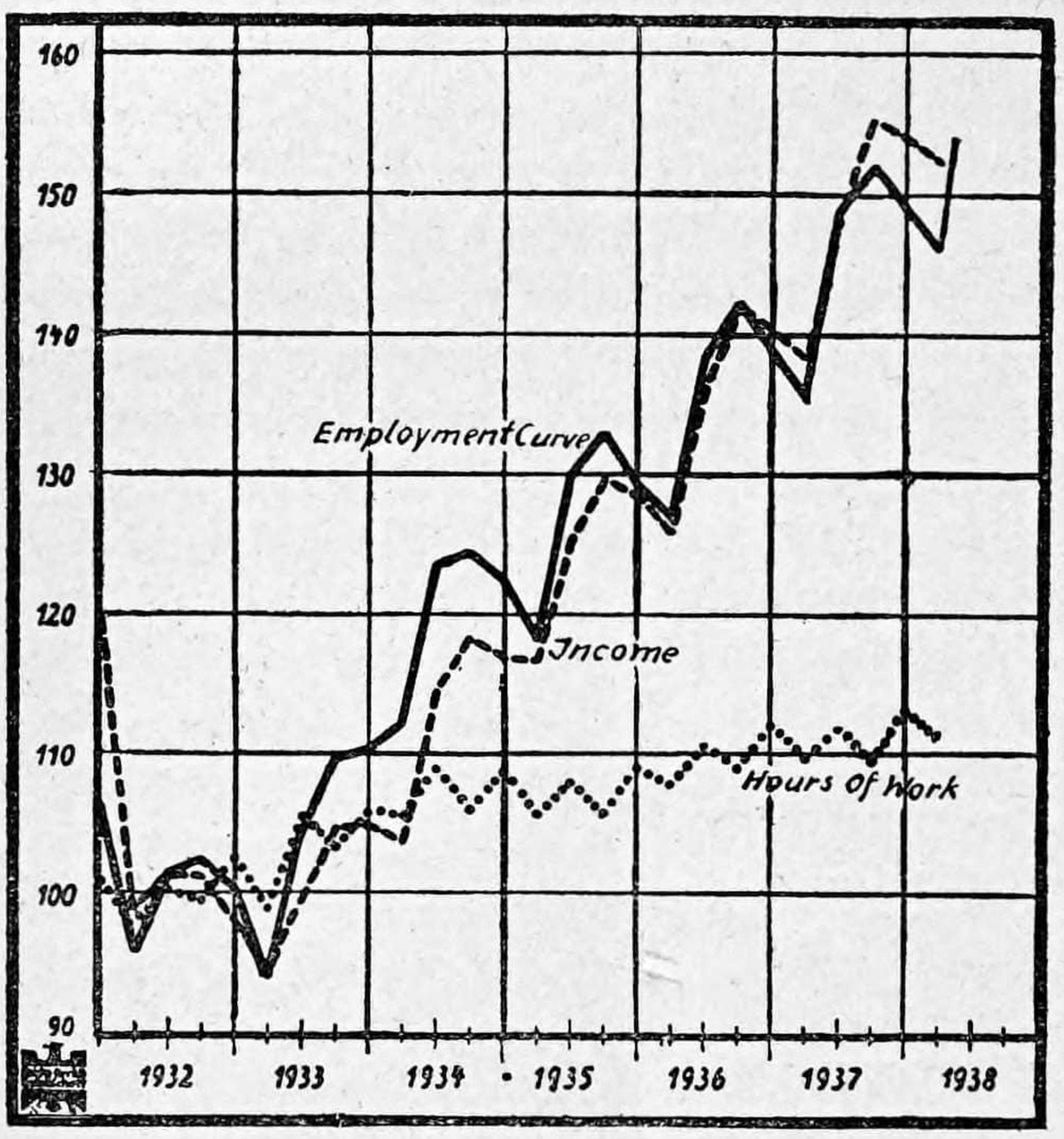
The Economic Régime

Prejudices aside, anybody visiting Germany again for the first time after an interval of five years, cannot fail to be impressed by all the obvious signs of an economic renascence. Particularly so if he makes a point of visiting any of the industrial centres. The environs of Berlin would suffice, not to mention those beehives of activity clustering around Essen in Westphalia, and Dresden in Saxony. He would see factories, formerly dilapidated and closed down, now reopened and refitted, working once again under normal conditions. He would see the army of employed workers increased by hundreds of thousands, and above all, note the loading ramps piled high with commodities, stand amazed at the sight of the constant stream of big transport lorries, each with its four-wheeled or six-wheeled trailer. It would be brought home to him with striking force that all the signs and portents, which five years ago told the story of business depression, had vanished into thin air and been replaced by an auspicious display of reawakened enterprise. Now let us suppose that he wanted to probe the real reason for this economic revival. Actually, he would not have to go far in quest of the facts. A mere glance at the official figures would serve as a prelude to an understanding of what has really happened.

Apart from the fact that unemployment has been overcome and more than 3 million new hands have become part of the productive machinery, the daily working hours have risen from 7.26 to 7.86, unemployment relief has dropped from 3.2 to 0.3 milliard marks, and the Reich tax returns grown

by 7.3 milliard, industrial production has increased in value from 39.9 milliard in 1933 to more than 75 milliard marks in 1937. During 5 years of National Socialist economic policy the manufacture of paper has increased by 50%, that of Diesel oil by 66%, coal 68%, fuel oil 80%, mineral oil 90%, rayon 100%, luminous oil 110%, steel 167%, lubricating oil 190%, petrol and other fuels 470%, aluminium 570% and fibre wool 2,500% etc.

The confidence of the people in its economic policy finds expression in savings bank deposits. In the public savings banks the deposits increased from 11.4 milliard in 1932 to 12.1 milliard in 1933, reaching 14.6 milliard in 1936 and 16.1 in 1937. The output of coal amounted to 104.7 million tons in 1932, 109.7 million in 1933, 124.9 million in 1934, 143 million in 1935, 158 million in 1936 and 184.5 million tons in 1937. The output of lignite presents a similar picture: 122.65 million tons in 1932, 126.79 in 1933, 137.27 in 1934, 147 million in 1935, 161.37 in 1936 and 184 million tons in 1937.



Employment and Working Income in Germany
(1st Quarter 1932 = 100)

A no less impressive curve is furnished by the German production of steel and cast goods, as well as in her iron output. In 1933 German steel production amounted to 9.660 million tons increasing to 13.555 in 1934, 16.010 in 1935, 18.614 in 1936 and 19.202 million tons in 1937. In 1938 it is expected to reach approximately 21 million tons. Castings rose from 1.4 to 3.7 million tons in the same period. German iron ore production comprised 1.3 million tons in 1932, attaining 2.6 million tons in 1933, 4.3 in 1934, 6 in 1935, 7.5 in 1936 and 9.6 million tons in 1937.

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that this palpable material success is the thing that counts most of all. There is another and more telling aspect of the matter. The business man or entrepreneur of yesterday had, by force of habit, made a practice of devoting hours of his time to a close study of market fluctuations. He judged the degree of his success or failure by the story to be read within the covers of his own account book. Or he read the verdict pronounced by the yearly issue of the Statistical Bureau. These things belong definitely to the past. In the intervening years, he has been given a very good object lesson which has served to bring home to him the fact that the importance

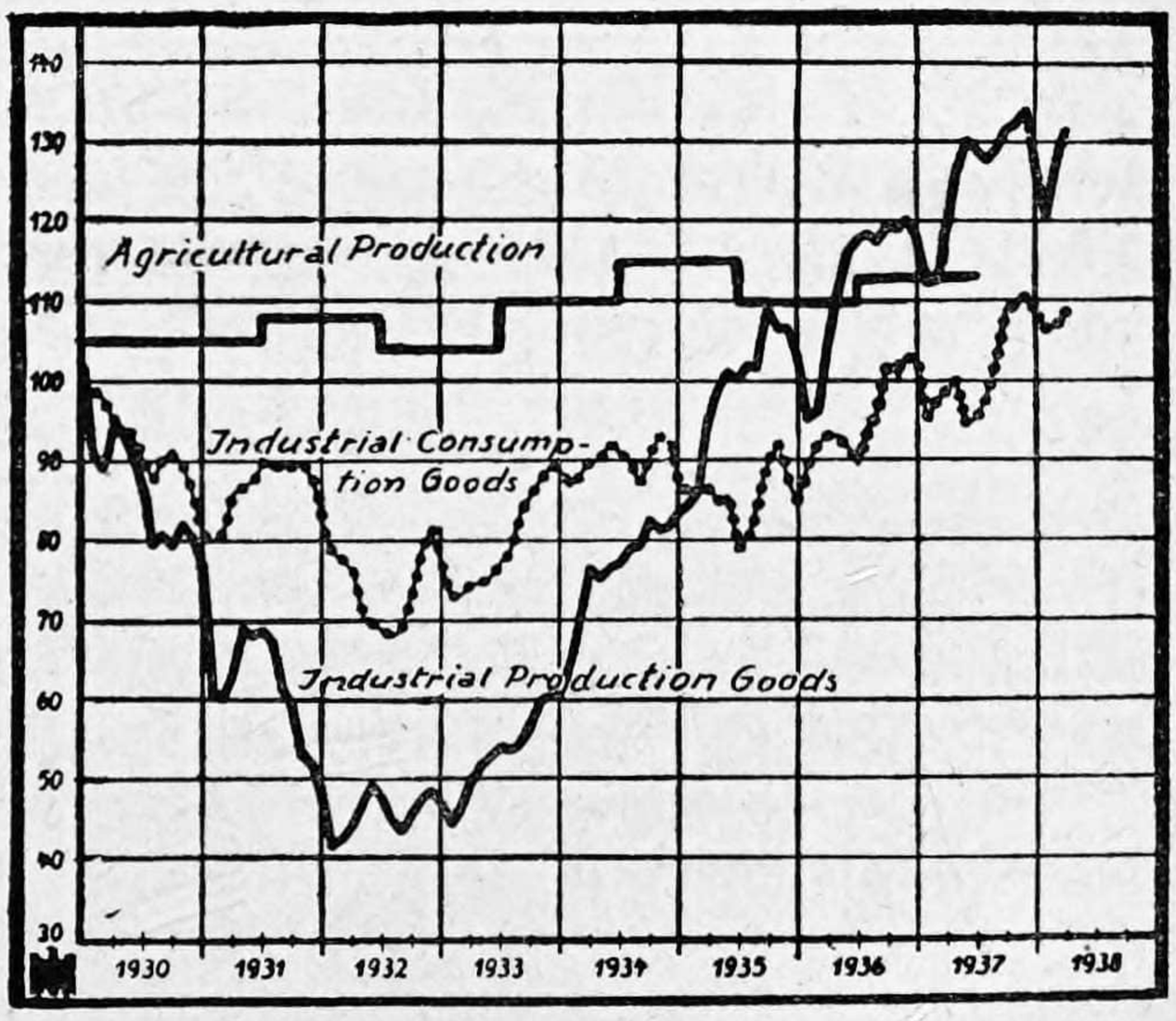
of "figures," pure and simple, aside from their immediate practical value of course, can be largely influenced by considerations which lie beyond the domain of calculation and profit-assessment.

These years of national rejuvenation have served to strengthen the German business community in its present conviction that political factors and State guidance play a supreme role in influencing developments. And this holds true of those which, at first glance, seem to have precious little to do with business or industry.

General confidence in the stability and future of the present régime is having a fruitful effect upon business and industrial activity of all descriptions. Small trader and big industrialist alike feel safely armed to meet and surmount all lets and hindrances lurking in the road of progress. Their armour is the comforting knowledge that today they do not stand alone. The duality of State and Industry is being forged and moulded into a higher unity. The class struggle has been rooted out of the social organism and the entire nation has struck out along new paths which will eventually lead to the ultimate achievement of a social synthesis of the entire nation, a synthesis in which the industrial leader and his following, employer and employed, are united by bonds of comradeship and common effort. All these achievements have had the immediate effect of casting off the shackles imposed in the past upon the creative energies of the toiling masses. Labour and common drudgery are transformed into joyful occupation. The conception of "productive labour" is able to triumph over crass materialism. It has become a conception of fulfilling one's duty towards the nation and sharing in the responsibility for the destiny of the nation as a whole.

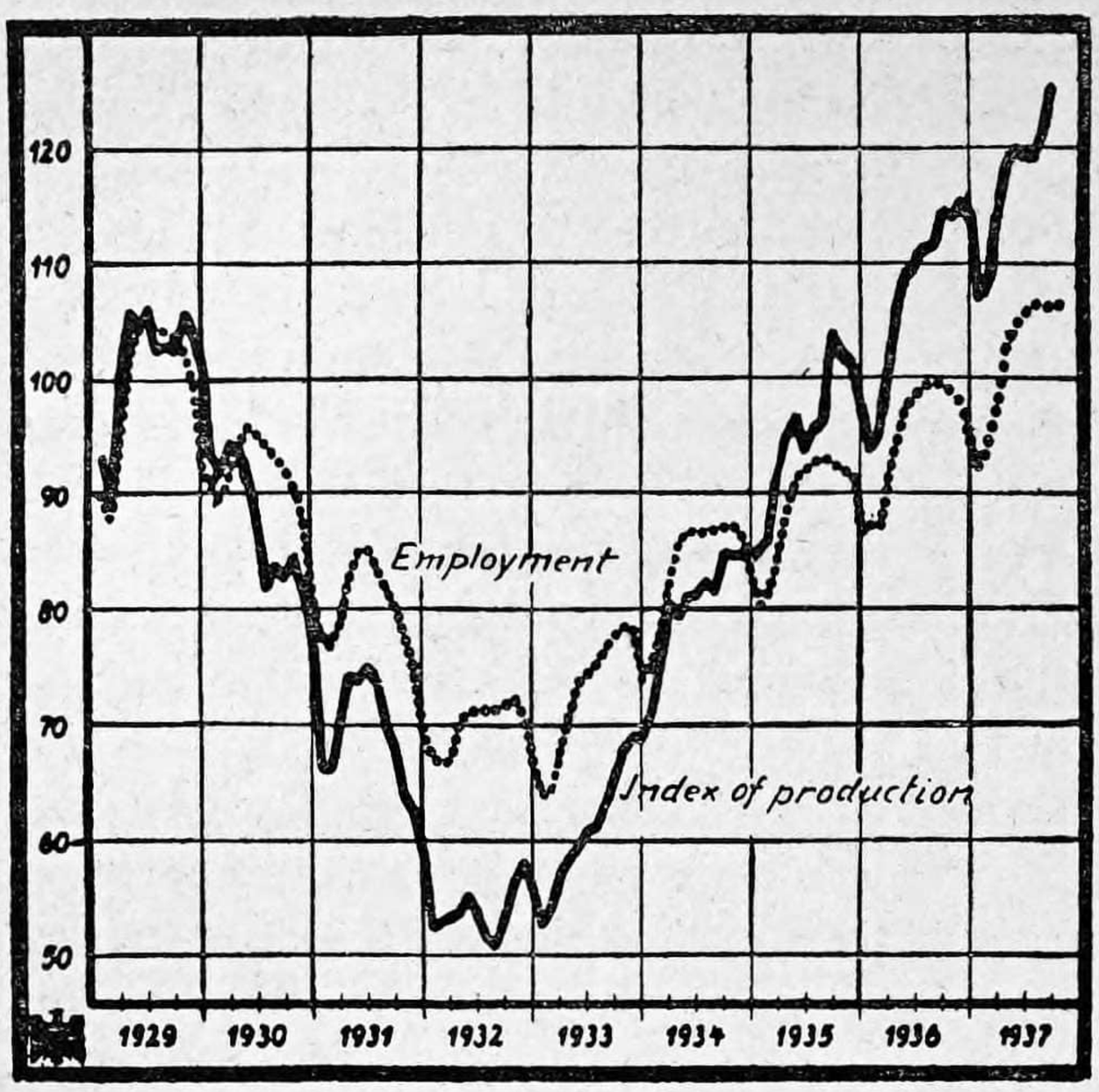
How have these successes been achieved? What were the guiding principles and organisational measures adopted?

In his programmatical declaration, to which we have already alluded, Adolf Hitler announced that the new German government would pledge itself "to promote the economic interests of the German people, not by the devious way of getting the State to organise an industrial bureaucracy but by the most active encouragement of private initiative and recognition of private property."



Production in Germany (1928 = 100)

First and foremost, and as a point which cannot be sufficiently emphasised, is the recognition of the principle that, in contradiction to what is going on in Soviet Russia, the State has the mission of guiding industrial



Employment And Production (1928 = 100)

effort but not of engaging in direct industrial activity itself. Almost of equal importance is the principle of private ownership of property as it gives the industrial leader the incentive to develop his undertaking and to achieve a maximum of efficiency and success.

The guiding lines for the reorganisation of German industrial life along National Socialist lines are derived from these two cardinal principles. Industry is left alone to manage its own affairs, but this management must take the form of working in close cooperation, in an advisory and protective manner, with all its affiliated groups and corporations and with the individual members of these bodies. It undertakes to keep the Government informed about the position and requirements of the various branches of industry on the assumption that all are actively engaged in the task of national integration.

The National Socialists were no sooner in power, in the year 1933, than they took upon themselves to reorganise the entire structure of German industry. The big existing associations were divided into groups with full provision for co-ordination. Up to the Spring of 1934, matters had progressed so far that Dr. Schmitt, then German Minister of Economics, was able, on February 27, 1934, to promulgate the Law relating to the "Plan for the Organic Integration of German Industry." The law in question divided German industry into thirteen main groups. It summoned the leader of the German economic régime and his deputy to take charge of the new organisation. Later, on November 27, when Dr. Schacht had taken over the Ministry of Economics, this organisation was transformed by the first of a series of official decrees, designed to realise the organic integration of German industry, into a system of chambers each representing one of the various branches of industry or a regional sector of it. The office of the controller of the economic régime was dissolved. The Reich Chamber of Economics came into existence as a sort of clearing-house for the newly-created Reich Federations. The organisation of the economic régime now assumed the following aspect:—

The Reich Chamber of Economics, as the governing body, is composed of the German Federation of Industries (with its seven chief groups), the Reich Federation of German Handicrafts, the Reich Federation of Trade and Commerce, the Reich Federation of Banking, the Reich Federation of Private

Insurance and the Reich Federation of Power Industry. The organisation, in its totality, is subject to the control of the German Minister of Economics who has the right to appoint or remove from office the president of the Reich Chamber of Economics and his deputy, as well as the presidents of the various individual federations.

The initial decree for achieving this reorganisation of German industrial life in all its manifold phases has brought the regional bodies into existence. Actually, the Reich Chamber of Economics is divided into eighteen regional chambers. Each Reich federation is organised in regional groups, and in district and local groups in the case of the Central Association of Retailers. The Chambers of Commerce and Industry are governing bodies within the orbit of the Reich Chamber of Economics.

The Reich Federation of German Handicrafts plays a particularly noteworthy part in promoting the integration of the economic régime. It is organised on the lines of the ancient guild system. Supreme authority is vested in the Reich Mastercraftsman, who, at the same time, presides over the Reich Federation of German Handicrafts as well as over the German Chamber of Handicrafts. The Reich Federation in this industry is composed of fifty guild societies, whilst no less than sixty-one Chambers of Handicrafts are affiliated to the German Handicraft Convention for the purpose of exchanging technical knowledge and intervocational information on matters concerning the handicraft profession.

This rigid regimentation of the handicraft profession on a guild basis deserves to be noted as it makes the Reich Federation of German Handicraft differ considerably from the other federations. To be sure, strong trends in the same direction of highly-centralised control made themselves felt during the early phases of the organisation of the other industrial trades. But trends of this sort soon gave way to regional considerations. Proof of this is provided by the second Government Decree issued with a view to expediting the reorganisation of German industrial life. It was promulgated as early as September 25, 1935, and its main object was to give a greater latitude to the regional organisation and to lead away from the idea of a central authority controlling the broad activities of each branch of trade. The Decree of the German Minister of Economics, dated July 7, 1936, stressed this need for decentralisation and is, at the same time, an exhortation to pay special attention to regional interests and considerations.

The new order of industrial activity is based on the assumption that each business man, industrialist or entrepreneur in the National Socialist state must accept full responsibility for the management of his own affairs. What was needed was an organisation so devised that it provides every possibility for the exercise of the powers of an authoritarian State whilst, at the same time, giving those lined up in the economic front the fullest assurance of being able to get their experiences and requirements brought through the active trade groups and regional industrial chambers to the notice of the powers above. Authoritarian guidance of industrial effort and self-government in industry do not therefore exclude one another, but are reciprocal functions.

The Leipzig Agreement of March 1935 (see chapter "Social Policy") has formulated the principles to be followed for bringing about collaboration between the industrial organisation and the German Labour Front in accordance with the National Socialist conception of the national and social synthesis.

Following the example set by the German Labour Front, social honour courts have been established by the Reich Chamber of Economics. Industrial chambers are also in favour of setting up social honour courts of their own. Here we see the beginnings of a new order of things in industry. No longer any free associations of persons banded together for the purpose of safeguarding their interests, but a unified, well-defined organisation responsive to State guidance and pledged to serve the State and formed on the basis of compulsory membership. The conception of national economy has therefore undergone an organic transformation of a kind that has spelt the end of the era in which each strove for his own private gain. It signals the inauguration of a new era in which the general welfare ranks higher than the profits of the individual trader.

Such is the nature of the organisation which holds the secret of the German industrial unity in outlook and in action. Together with the capable and farsighted State guidance, it furnishes an explanation for all that has been achieved up to the present.

Handicrafts

Testimony to the important part played in German industry by handicrafts is furnished by the following figures: The German handicrafts industry, at the time of its reorganisation, was made up of 1,542,000 independent undertakings employing in all approximately 1,050,000 craftsmen and assistants, 300,000 unskilled workers, 500,000 apprentices, 100,000 employees, such as clerks, draughtsmen, salesmen, etc., and 250,000 additional home industry workers. The industry thus employed a total of upwards of four million persons. Actually, about eight million persons, that is to say, one eighth of the entire population of Germany, are today still living on the proceeds of the handicraft industry.

The handicraft industry has always been the first to suffer a setback in times of business depression. Particularly so in Germany. At the time when the above figures held good, Germany's six million army of unemployed was largely drawn from the ranks of the handicraft industry. The turnover had slumped from an average of 22 milliard marks to 10 milliard marks.

Now let us consider the progress that has been made during the last five years.

A good start in the right direction was made by the Law of November 29, 1933, which, as we have already intimated, placed the organisation of the handicraft industry (Reich Federation of German Handicrafts) under the complete control of the Reich Mastercraftsman. The number of guilds was reduced from 19,000 by reorganising them into 16,000 guilds with compulsory membership for all engaged in the trade, which comprised about 130 different handicraft professions for general classification purposes. The reorganisation was drastic

and far-reaching as it meant the transformation of 3,200 handicraft societies of all kinds, some of them quite independent and unaffiliated, into 750 regional artisan guilds. Furthermore, it meant the conversion of 390 provincial and district handicraft societies or groups and 90 national organisations created for the purpose of looking after the specific interests of the various handicraft professions, into 51 Reich Guild Societies and five vocational groups directly affiliated to the Reich Federation (Reich Estate) of German Handicrafts. It is worth noting that what took place was a process of simplification. Management and control passed into the hands of 59 chambers of handicraft. The German handicraft industry was reorganised for protection and achievement and the money spent on the running of this organisation has been reduced from 60 million marks, in pre-Hitler years, to 40 million marks.

Another big step forward was the introduction of a master-craftsman testing and examination system on the basic principle that no one should be allowed to practice any handicraft as a means of livelihood unless in possession of a proficiency diploma. The necessity of this measure becomes obvious enough when it is pointed out that formerly only 40 per cent of those engaged in handicrafts took the trouble to take out a diploma of merit. Higher standards of proficiency in all handicraft occupations has been the direct outcome of this innovation. It has also meant a great extension of the State-controlled arts and crafts schools. Each guild and handicraft chamber has had to intensify its instructional activities to cope with the necessity of allowing each would-be plumber, carpenter, tailor and so forth to obtain his "master's certificate" without which there is no admittance to the ranks of the craft or profession.

The Labour Front is doing much in the same way to help out here, whilst, of course, many candidates for the coveted certificate, particularly in the home industries, are induced to apply themselves to the task of learning their trade with greater interest and diligence.

It is a sign of the new labour ethics that the chambers of handicraft have set up their own social honour courts. The standard of achievement has risen considerably, due in part to the increased amount of publicity given to the handicrafts at exhibitions and fairs, and, in part, to the insistence on sane values in art and life. Mention should be made here of the impressive House of German Handicrafts which has been erected in Berlin, and whose lattice-work of wrought iron and whose stone statues of artisans, powerful in conception and execution, have evoked unqualified admiration. As the headquarters of the German handicraft industry, it contains an exhibition of craft achievement. The entire furniture and equipment bears testimony to the value and beauty of things created by the human hand. Some of its rooms are used for housing a permanent display of the latest achievements of the various craft professions designed to make them known to the general public. A permanent display of samples of export articles is designed to assist both exporter and foreign buyer in making their selection of hand-made articles.

The story of the activities of the Reich Federation of German Handicrafts contains many interesting features. These include:—

(1) The founding of the German Handicraft Institute. Its object is to help by the adoption of scientific methods to bring about an improvement in the quality of craft products and to achieve greater efficiency in the management and conduct of handicraft undertakings, whilst 29 trade promotion centres have been set up and are already competing with each other in translating these ideas into practice.

(2) The cooperation of the Reich Federation with the Chamber of Graphic and Plastic Arts and other institutions offers a guarantee for a higher standard of artistic achievement especially with regard to the creation of new fashions in dress and interior decoration, in the planning of settlements, etc.

(3) A large number of experienced architects are enlisted to give their advice in matters which have to do with the granting of contracts for the erection of new buildings. This is done to ensure as far as humanly possible that every big new building project is carried out in a sane and proper manner. The "Treubau Gesellschaft" which has been founded by the German Handicraft Industry, finances building projects, in particular, the erection of one-family homes, and supervises the financial and architectural execution of such schemes. Sixteen societies for the promotion of building activity have been formed and are now engaged in finding for the German handicraft industry the requisite capital to enable it to launch out in the execution of building schemes of all kinds, including big projects.

Apart from these special measures, the revival of the German handicraft industry has been the direct outcome of the German industrial renascence which has had the natural effect of augmenting the purchasing power of the nation as a whole. The decline of the number of unemployed craftsmen and their assistants is phenomenal. In the metal-working industry, for instance, there has been an estimated 70 per cent decline in the number out of work and 76 per cent in the clothing industry. The aggregate turnover amounted to some 15,000,000,000 reichsmarks, which is over 50 per cent in excess of the 1933 figure. By 1937, the total had further risen to about 18,000,000,000 reichsmarks.

Industry

The principal tasks of the Federation of German Industries which, following the reorganisation, is the largest and most important German industrial organisation, are as follows: To arrange for its members courses of instruction in technical subjects, to expound and advocate the adoption of new technical processes, to advocate the employment of new working materials and to exhort members to prevent the wastage of raw materials. Also, to instruct its members in the economics of their particular branch of the trade (market research and sales analysis), to exhort its members to raise the standard of output by the adoption of efficient methods of business (enlightened office management, eugenic labour conditions, scientific bookkeeping and accounting), and to offer advice in questions relating to trusts as well as to obtain an insight into the working of trusts and to take an active part in their development and control.

Additional tasks of equal importance: to act in an advisory capacity in propounding questions of taxation as applied to the individual trades; to deal with questions of freights and transport costs; to deal with commercial and currency questions; to handle questions relating to national defence and air raid precautions; to report on matters affecting the welfare of the particular branch of the trade; to advise in all problems of a business and social character directly affecting the branch; to collaborate in the training of the rising generation; to cooperate in the holding of fairs and exhibitions.

Every employer of labour must be a member of the Federation of German Industries by virtue of the fact that, under the circumstances, it would be unjust and inequitable to allow the individual to reap what the many have sown. Acceptance of the National Socialist outlook is taken as implying a pledge to work in fellowship for the attainment of the maximum of efficiency and achievement in the service of the State and the nation.

The Federation of German Industries is composed of 29 industrial groups which are organised under seven main group leaders into 225 branch groups. It is an imposing structure which provides possibilities here and there for simplification and absorption. Comparing, however, the new organisation whose structure can be taken in at a glance, with the unwieldy and loose jumble of industrial associations that formed the Reich Federation of German Industry of yesterday, it will be seen that the latter was made up of no less than 1,185 associations, whilst the Association of German Industry had almost as many. Incidentally, German industry is, next to that of the United States of America, the most specialised industry in the world so that its organisation has, of necessity, to reflect tremendous varieties of functions and activities.

A concentration of organisational energies on this scale is very important from the viewpoint of national economy. It becomes absolutely imperative when the State is pledged to the attainment of a great goal such as the Second Four Years Plan. It is a question then not of establishing a network of officialdom or an industrial bureaucracy, but rather of getting each branch of industry organised, either on a branch or regional basis. This will enable it to solve the big problems which have been set by the State in the interest of the community as a whole.

The Second Four Years Plan makes big calls upon the output of German industry because it sets out to realise a big-scale production of raw materials within Germany in order to make the country independent of the outside world in the matter of raw materials. The new organisation warrants the hope that the industry will be able to make full use of the latest discoveries of chemical science.

The market situation obtaining at the time of the first Four Years Plan confronted industry with tasks which placed demands of a special kind on the technical and business capacities of the various concerns and undertakings. The character of the market situation was largely determined by State requirements and accounted for the extraordinary rapid growth of the share-issuing industry. The restoration of the war industry in the Third Reich in pursuance of the plan

for national rearmament likewise affected the market situation. The industrial renascence assumed a vigorous and sudden character. Many firms found that they were called upon to double and treble their output. This gave rise to a special demand for high-quality articles and an increased demand for skilled and experienced workers. There were many other factors which have to be taken into consideration.

Demands of a different character began to be made on German industry by virtue of its special position in relation to world trade. Owing to the fact that Germany's holdings of foreign exchange did not permit of a growth of its foreign trade in conformity with the increased need for raw materials, German industry was confronted with the necessity of setting up a greater control over its own raw material resources. The successes achieved in this domain are more than satisfactory. Germany is now in a position to produce fifty per cent of its requirements of petrol. The manufacture of staple fibre (*Zellwolle*) makes it possible to produce by chemical means a very considerable percentage of the entire requirements of textile fibre. The position is similar with regard to other German new raw materials, such as artificial resin and *Buna*. The experience gathered during recent army tests and automobile races with synthetical rubber, for instance, have proved that the *Buna* products are more durable than the corresponding products of natural rubber. This feature will go far to counterbalance the higher cost of producing the synthetic article. (See Picts. 125 to 130.)

Statistics reveal that during the period of the first Four Years Plan the number of workers employed in industry increased approximately by 2.9 million, actually from 3.7 million to 6.6 million. This does not include an additional influx into industry of 861,000 so-called black-coated workers. The average working day has expanded from 6.97 hours to 7.62 hours. The value of the industrial yield has grown from slightly more than 600 million marks to upwards of 1.2 milliard marks. The industrial payroll has with a rise from 400 million marks to 865 million marks been more than doubled.[1]

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[1] A few data relating to the artificial production of benzole or rubber by the I. G. Dye Trust (I. G. Farbenindustrie) will, no doubt, be of interest to the reader.

The high pressure hydrogenation process, developed at their Oppau works and carried through on a large technical scale at Leuna proceeds from the fact, that in the coal there will already be found the identical component parts, as they are already contained in mineral and benzole. If benzole is decomposed by chemical analysis in its basic substances, in its elements, it will be found, that it consists of about 85% (weight) of carbon and about 15% (weight) of hydrogen. If the starting materials, which can be made to-day to serve for the production of benzole, such as petroleum, tar oil, lignite, pit-coal, are subjected to the elementary analysis, it will be found, that also these substances chiefly consist of carbon and hydrogen, containing, however, relatively to the benzole, less hydrogen, furthermore, other starting materials, such as oxygen, nitrogen and sulphur, which should not be contained in benzole. It is, therefore, essential, to enhance the contents of hydrogen of the starting materials by the accumulation of hydrogen, whilst every other element, except carbon and hydrogen, should be eliminated. Considering, that the molecules of benzole are smaller than those of the starting materials, these must be rendered smaller still, i. e. the molecule must be split.

This splitting of the molecule and the conversion of the greatest part of the compounds,

contained in the coal, in liquid hydrocarbon, will prove successful in the presence of hydrogen under high pressure. An acceleration and control were effected by the employment of appropriate catalysers-reaction-negotiators, the basic substances of which consist of metals and non-metals, which themselves remain unchanged and yet must bring about the described required effect.

The development of the hydrogenating process commenced in the middle of the year 1924 in Ludwigshafen/Oppau, at the same place whence the nitrogen—synthesis was started. In July 1926 it was decided to erect a large experimental plant, which was designed, in the first instance, for the production of about 100,000 tons of benzole per annum. Already in November of the same year building operations could be commenced with and it was on the 1st of April 1927 that the first unit could be started. Amongst the public one frequently, nay, one might say, even continuously comes across the question with regard to the rentability of the production of synthetic benzole and mineral oil from coal, as to whether, on the one hand, Germany's coal deposits would prove sufficient for the yield which would now have to be anticipated and whether, on the other hand, the new essence could be produced at a selling price which would not mean a limitation of Germany's striving motor car industry. Both questions shall be replied to by means of statistics through experts, the validity of which is proved through years of work as, e. g. at the Leuna works. Thus, for the production of a ton of benzole about 22 tons of lignite or 4.5 tons of pit coal would be required. Relatively thereto, the proved deposits of lignite amount to 50 milliard tons, whilst those of pit coal amount to more than 100 milliard tons. The yearly figures of production amount to 137 and 140 tons respectively. The quantities of coal required for the production of the entire German mineral-oil requirement, amounting so far to about 4 million tons, can thus be said to be comparatively small.

The question of price is just as obviously settled by the fact, that the cost of production of the carbon benzole at the present level of prices of mineral oils is not required to undergo any change.

The development in the province of essences has roused the greatest possible interest. There can be no doubt of whatever description, that in this case German work and inventive spirit have rendered a tremendous service, not only to Germany, but also to the entire world.

The same applies to the synthetic rubber Buna.

Germany does not possess any caoutchouc plantations and yet she produces caoutchouc: from lime and carbon, an artificial caoutchouc, which even surpasses the favourable properties of natural caoutchouc.

It was in the year 1936 that for the first time the I. G. Farbenindustrie acquainted the public on the broadest possible basis on the occasion of the International Automobile and Motor Cycle Exhibition, with the new product Buna. The exhibited samples, the series of movable, the schematic representations, the picture of a "Buna" factory, all these items greatly attracted the attention of the visitors from all countries. At the end of the year 1936 the first actual and reliable manufacturing phase was completed. Since these events, the progress, recorded by the Buna synthesis and carried through by means of operations, have become even more obvious.

At the World's Exhibition in Paris, Buna was awarded the Grand Prix and thus characterised as a success of German science and technics throughout the world.

Apart from its employment in the form of tyres, the elastic material, soft rubber, is used to an ever increasing extent, as constructional element in motor car construction. Very frequently these elements come in contact with fuel and lubricating oil. The use of soft rubber, made from natural caoutchouc, has so far proved to be impossible, because this part was rapidly destroyed by benzole and oil. The special Buna—brand "Perbunan" has now proved successful in obviating this defect of the natural caoutchouc. From this material highly elastic, swell-proof rubber goods can be made. At other points of the motor vehicle importance is attached to particularly high heat-resistibility and maintenance constancy. In this case also the products, made from Buna, have proved highly superior to those made from natural caoutchouc.

From the native energy and raw material sources, viz. coal and lime, the chemist and technician are producing a material which, according to the purposes for which it is intended, is particularly benzole- and oil-proof, wear and pressure resisting, heat-resisting and ageing-proof,

Trade and Commerce

Centuries of change in the political and social structure of national life have in no way succeeded in modifying the importance of this ancient field of human activity. Even the Bolshevist system has had to admit the fallacy of a mechanical distribution of commodities. Stalin put the matter in a nutshell when, at the 1934 Party Congress, he said:—

"It is high time people understood that commodities are produced for the sake of consumption and not for production. There have been cases where, although there was no shortage of goods and products, they failed to reach the consuming public but stuck around for years in bureaucratic corners of the so-called distributing net out of reach of the consumers. It is obvious that industry and agriculture are deprived under such conditions of every incentive to increase their output, that the goods-distributing net gets chock-full with goods whilst the workers and peasants remain in dire need of them. The outcome of this has been the disruption of the conomic life of the country, despite the presence of goods."

Concerning the failure of the attempt to set up a "State-controlled System of Trade," he said:—

"It is necessary to overcome the unhealthy practices, adopted by the functionaries of the trade apparatus, in distributing goods in a mechanical fashion, as well as the tendency to underestimate the demands of the consuming public for a liquidation of the mechanical distribution of goods and all unpersonal methods of trading."

Germany has come to apply the principle of "Service before Self" to the domain of commercial activity. Commerce is recognised as an indispensable part of the national economy, and whilst the State is bent on encouraging private enterprise by the adoption of measures of a legal and practical kind, and to accent the value of personality, it also seeks, by adopting measures for the protection of markets, to exercise a certain control in the interests of the

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or a material which embodies these properties in combination and that to a still higher degree than the natural product. The gum tree, wherever it may be growing, furnishes kinds of caoutchouc uniform only with regard to its properties. The German caoutchouc-synthesis renders it possible to produce several kinds of caoutchouc with certain special properties. Four kinds of Buna form to-day the final product of the synthesis for the further conversion and for being placed upon the market; each of them possesses those specific properties which characterise their province of application; their names are: Buna 85, Buna 115, Buna S, the tyre caoutchouc and Perbunan (Buna N).

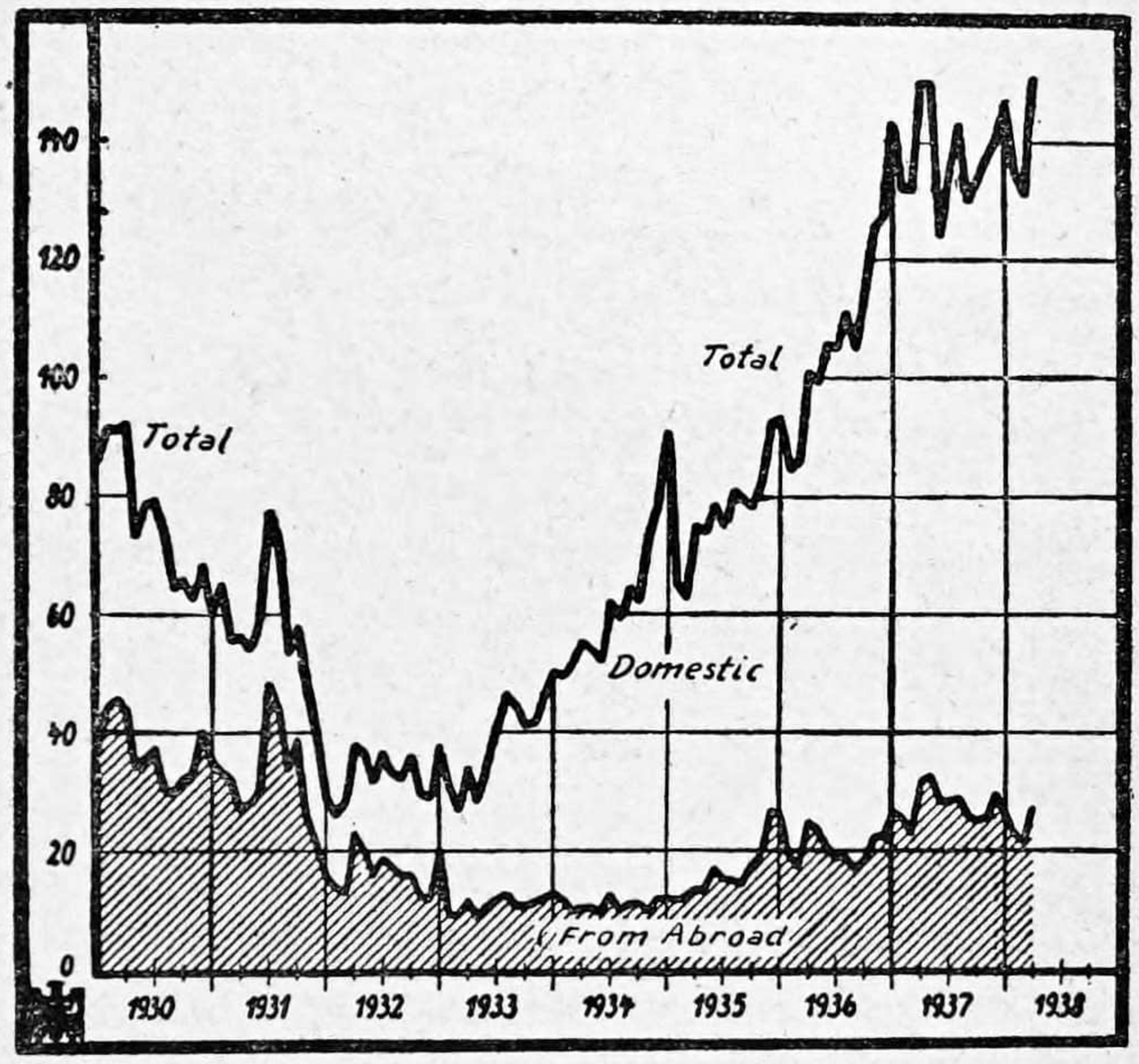
Germany cannot boast of the solar energy as enjoyed in the Tropics, but she produces, nevertheless, from her native raw materials, the surprisingly versatile Buna, a material, which has stood the test for many different purposes, viz. for the engineer, for the motor car industry, for the electrical engineer and, furthermore, as the material of our time, for noise and shock absorbing supports and springing of machines and motors, the material for conveyor belts and heating pipes, for printing rollers and plates, the material for conveyor belts, suits, aprons, boots and gloves subject to special wear, for packings, insulating means and for solid tyres, as well as for pneumatics.

The advantages of the German synthetic Rubber have proved to the hilt, on the one hand by national and international testimonials and, on the other hand, by the fact, that foreign enquiries are increasing, a proof that successful syntheses are universally advantageous viz. by creating materials of a superior kind with enlarged provinces of application.

nation as a whole. Hence though bent on encouraging private initiative, the State indicates the paths to be taken. In the past, when the commercial world in Germany was under no direct obligation to promote national before private interests, the market was governed solely by the principle of supply and demand. Prices fluctuated with the varying state of the market. It was the age when each thought to further his own interests without regard for the imperative need to promote the national welfare. Success was seen in the achievement of high dividends for invested capital, mostly attained by keeping prices at a high level to the detriment of the consuming public. Today, the State seeks to find a proper balance between private and national interests by exercising a control which works out in practice to the advantage of both private and national interests.

This will suffice to explain the purpose of a series of special laws and regulations which have been put in force by the German Minister of Trade. It will also explain the activities of the Commissioner for Price Control, whose powers in this respect are of an extremely far-reaching nature.

As a direct outcome of this legislation, German trade has been on the upgrade since the middle of 1933. Each branch of trade has benefited, though in a varying degree, by this re-organisation.



Orders booked by the German Machinery Industry
(1928 = 100)

Official Reich statistics are unable to give a true picture of the number of firms and people connected with commerce. This is partly due to the fact that the census on which Reich statistics are based, was taken in 1933. Since that time some 6,000,000 unemployed have been put back in work, and 5 classes of young people have entered upon their various callings, of whom a large portion was available to the various branches of trade. Beyond this, the census could not reflect the organic reconstruction of German economy which took place at a later date. If we analyse the 1933 census according to present-day classification of trade and industry, the resultant figure is approximately 3.8 million commercial employees, to which must be added some 5.5 million in the Reich Branch for Industry and some 4 million in the Reich Branch for Handicrafts.

Furthermore, with regard to the number of business firms there is a considerable discrepancy between the figures resulting from the census and the number of members in the various sections of the Reich Group for Trade which

can be traced to the same causes. Today in the obligatory organisation of German commerce, more than 1.2 million employers and firms belonging to the Reich Branch with its 5 subdivisions and 8 independent sections stand united by the common aim of their calling and in a spirit striving for the public good.

All trade groups, as already indicated, have witnessed an increase in turnover since 1933. This development is particularly noticeable in the retail trade, where the turnover went from 21.8 milliard marks in 1933 to some 31 milliard marks in 1937; similarly in the hotel and restaurant trade where the rise was from 3.8 milliard marks in the slump of 1932 to 5.2 milliard marks in 1937. This means an increased turnover of more than 45% in the German retail trade, and 36% for the hotel and restaurant trade since the lowest level of their economic activity during the depression.

The turnover of the German wholesale trade cannot be compiled with like exactness. Estimates for the year 1933, deducting imports and exports, give it at some 23 to 24 milliard marks. Since then, presumably, as far as sales to retailers are concerned, it has experienced a corresponding extension. However, those branches of the wholesale trade which supply industry and the handicrafts must have experienced a substantially greater increase in turnover as the greater activity in these branches was far more marked than in the retail trade. All things considered, it can be assumed that the increase in turnover for the inland wholesale trade in all its aspects amounts to 60% between 1933 and 1937, that is about a third more than the increase in the retail trade turnover. Thus careful estimates give the increase for Germany's wholesale trade during 1937 at an amount of 40 milliard marks.

In adding the turnover for individual branches of trade together, the total business turnover for the wholesale, retail and itinerant trade sections, and hotels and restaurants, is calculated at 76 milliard marks. This figure is none too high, for it does not cover exports and imports, the activities of agents and middlemen, or of the 8 independent sections of the Reich Branch for Commerce. Accordingly, the turnover of German business for 1937 can be taken at 80 milliard marks, an achievement which can readily be seen alongside the other branches of German economy.

Big calls within economic possibilities have been made in recent years on commerce. But the response, difficult though this may have been for many after the ruinous slump, was made willingly and with understanding. After all, it is not as people detached from existing problems might be tempted to believe, as though the increased turnovers meant a corresponding improvement in net returns. With due respect to higher interests of the community as a whole, the trade surrendered a large part of its margin of profits, even more, it contributed its share—one might almost say double share—by lowering the prices for numerous brands of goods. Not only by foregoing some of the gross profits in order to reduce prices, the trade has as well sustained a reduction in net profits through the lowering of producer prices.

In many cases the increase in turnover would probably not have sufficed

to offset the loss in rebates caused by the lowering of prices. But the Trade could be expected to make such sacrifice because its capacity was known to have improved materially under the expert guidance of the Reich Branch and its subdivisions, thereby meeting its national obligations to the community in respect to greater rationalisation. In this connection, mention should be made of the work done in making a proper system of bookkeeping compulsory in all and every enterprise, the organisation of trustees in connection with the professional organisation of commercial trustees and, finally, the introduction of comparative operations. All these efforts led to increased all-round efficiency which the economic whole requires more than ever before in the existing mobilisation of all forces; for extensive economic planning which governs German national economy is by no means exhausted in the systematic guidance and adjustment of production, but culminates, as it should, in a rational consumption of goods.

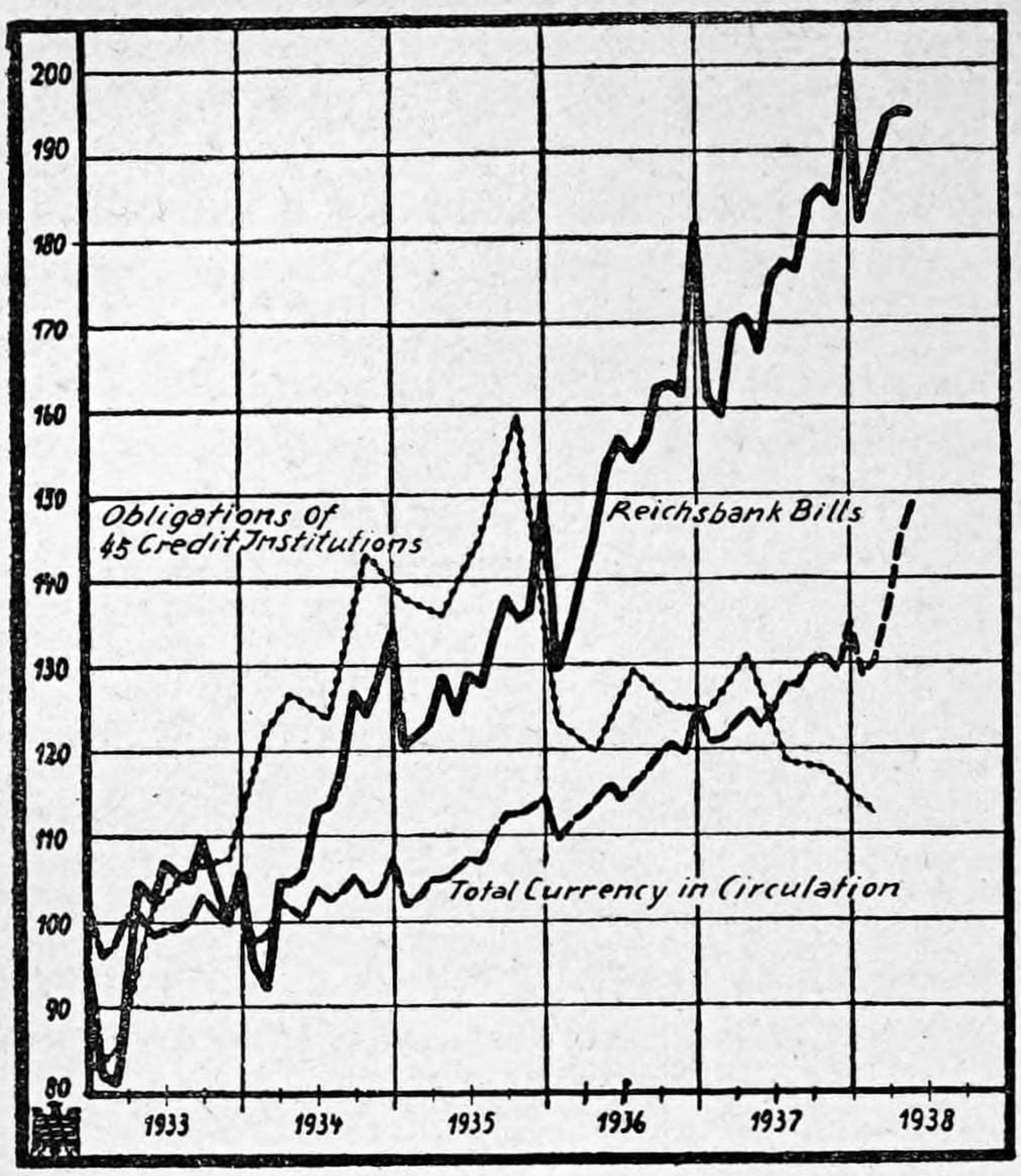
Invested Capital

A further point of Adolf Hitler's programmatic declaration, already referred to, is the recognition of the rights of private property. The National Socialist State is pledged to a financial policy which foresees a certain measure of control over capital investments.

These basic principles are designed to promote the growth of capital in Germany, as it stands to reason that the capitalist entrepreneur will never be induced to invest his capital in any Socialist project of his own free will unless "corporate society," or the State, is able to offer him material security and some prospect of private gain. The adherence to these principles fulfils one of the prerequisite conditions for the welfare of the State itself, namely, the need for the creation of capital, without which it would soon be found impossible to proceed with the monster projects of national integration and national defence. A sure sign of the success already achieved with this financial outlook is that Germany has been able to exercise a control over the circulation of money in a way necessary for the fulfilment of its national plans of reconstruction.

Capital savings were down to a low level in the year 1933. The revenue from taxation likewise reflected these depressed trade conditions. The disparity between the amount of available capital and the ability of the market to absorb it was so marked as to make necessary recourse to measures in order to restore the confidence of the investing public.

Money for the big new schemes had to be found, but it was deemed advisable to refrain from enlisting the services of private capital as this would have had the effect of eliminating private enterprise instead of giving it the desired new impetus. Hence the State saw itself obliged to strike out in an entirely new direction which would neither interrupt the normal development of things nor jeopardise either the position of the German mark or the national budget. As already explained, the State elected to adopt the course of obtaining big credits with a view to combating unemployment, stimulating home markets and closing up the gaps in the investment market. Hence the financial policy of the



Money in Circulation and Bills of the Reichsbank
(Ist Quarter 1933 = 100)

new Germany in respect of the entire money, credit, share-market and public savings system, occupied a special position in the legislative measures for economic guidance.

The Import Law of December 5th, 1934, relating to "Credit System" betokened a real banking and credit reform and created the preliminary condition for a planned and unified credit policy with special provisions for the control of the saving deposit side of banking and the protection of national thrift.

The cardinal feature of this law isthat it coordinates all banking and credit functions, provides for the economical employment of all available and accumulated investments (i. e., avoidance of unsound ventures and reduction of overhead costs, both necessary measures in order to lower the rate of interest), proper assignment of fields of activity to each department of banking, avoidance of irregular and unfair competition, safeguarding of small and medium-sized creditors, fairer regional distribution of credits, sharp control of speculation, freer circulation of money in the interest of savers and investors alike, greater insistence on the publication of balance sheets.

Credit institutions are placed under the direction of a Supervisory Bureau and a Bank Commissioner appointed by this Bureau. The principle of free trade applied to banking has been abandoned. The granting of loans, the relationship between private capital and total obligations, liquidity, accounting, the creation of bill-broker money and, in fact, the entire conduct of business are placed under constant centralised supervision. Sharp differentiation between saving deposits and current accounts, and the provisions respecting liquidation such as the one which states that fixed interest-bearing shares traded by the Reichsbank must be included in the reserve of liquid funds, have served to bridge the gap which formerly existed between the money and capital markets and preserves the vitality of the share market.

The Law relating to "Loan Stock" falls within the framework of the reorganisation of the German credit system. It enacts that share companies which are able to raise their dividends as a result of the stimulation of the home market by State enterprise shall not be allowed to pay out their profits according as they deem fit, but have to pay into the German Discount Bank a sub-

stantial amount, namely, all profits exceeding 6%, or, in some cases, 8%, as a contribution towards a special fund which may be used by the State for stimulating production. This loan stock, thus placed by a share company at the disposal of the Discount Bank, is administered for the company in the form of a trusteeship and, without encroachment upon its rights of property, is divided up among the shareholders at the end of a period of four years. The German government has had recourse to this measure in order to utilise in an effective manner a portion of the new and surplus capital of share companies brought into being primarily as a result of State enterprise in home market stimulation, or for reinforcing the capital market with a view to achieving an organic reduction of the rate of interest.

Furthermore, the year 1934 saw a reorganisation of the German stock exchange system, whereby the number of sharemarkets was reduced from twenty-one to nine, thus enabling a more effective coordination of the country's formerly very scattered financial resources.

Proof of the restored confidence of the German public is provided by the fact that savings bank deposits in Germany have risen to 16 milliard marks. Half of the 1935 State loan of one milliard marks was raised in the open market by the German banks whilst the other half was directly subscribed by the German Savings Banks.

It needs to be emphasised that the total amount of money invested by the German Savings Banks in State loans does not exceed $1^1/_2$ milliard marks. On the other hand, the Savings Banks in France and Italy for example, hold far heavier State loans. Five milliard marks worth of English Government bonds are held by the London "Big Five" banks alone. The invested capital of the eight German big banks amounts to about seven milliard marks.

In order not to run the risk of tiring the reader with technical details, I shall pass over the measures adopted in Germany for bringing about a reduction in the rate of interest demanded by credit institutes, for reorganising the State-controlled banks, the savings deposits banks, for effecting the dissolution of undertakings which set out to make a profit for themselves by appealing to the thrift instinct of the general public, and so forth. These measures constitute an important step forward towards the attainment of sounder conditions on the share market and towards the restoration of a healthy business outlook. Later I shall have to make some reference, however, to legislation relating to the control of foreign currency holdings. Germany's shortage of gold and foreign exchange holdings has necessitated the adoption of a series of legislative measures in this sphere, mainly with a view to the exigencies of German foreign trade.

Much has already been achieved but it is little more than the first stage of a general advance. Certain it is that the new German credit system, as built up within the framework of the Four Years Plan, has made considerable headway. The assets of the credit institutes have been purged of the dross of a past era. Foreign indebtedness has been replaced to a great extent by means of German

investments. It has been made apparent that banking will continue to be indispensable for the functioning of the capital market. Above all, clarity has been created with regard to the relationship existing between the State and the credit system. Finally, the conciliating activity of the Reich Commissioner and the Federation of German Banking has done away with the conflicts which formerly prevailed between the various parts of the credit system.

Foreign Trade

Germany has always been one of the leading exporting countries of the world, particularly as regards the export of finished articles. Germany's foreign trade in commodities of all descriptions, from machines and ships to chemical products, from electrical machinery and radio sets to delicate scientific instruments, from films to toys, and so forth, has established Germany's renown in all the markets of the world.

Germany's Foreign Trade (excluding gold and silver)
(in millions of marks)

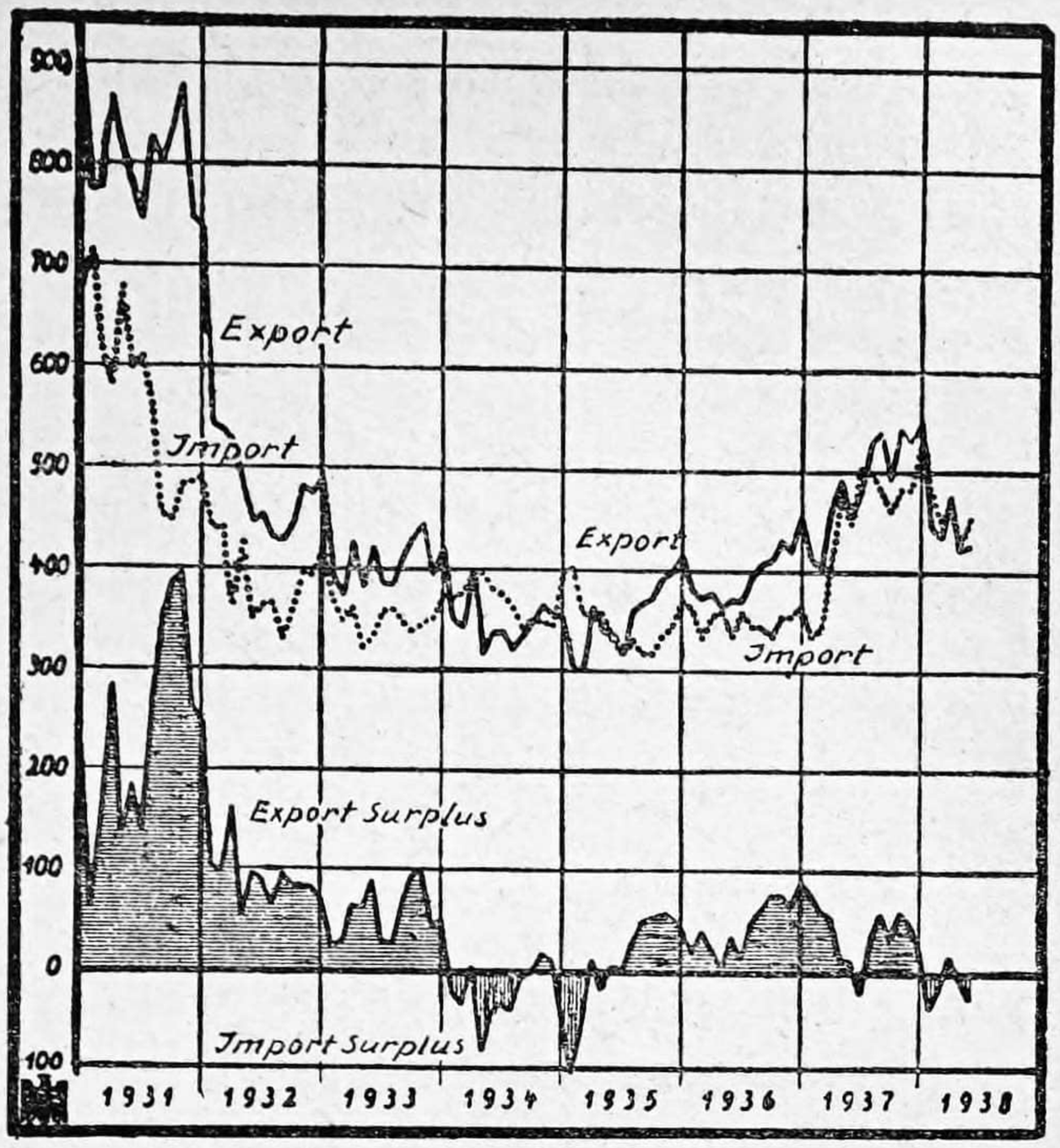
Year	Imports				Exports				Import surplus — Export surplus +
	Total	Food-stuffs	Raw materials	Finished Articles	Total	Food-stuffs	Raw materials	Finished Articles	
1928	14,001	4,333	7,218	2,450	12,276	642	2,750	8,884	— 1,725
1929	13,447	3,973	7,205	2,269	13,483	724	2,926	9,833	+ 36
1930	10,393	3,087	5,508	1,798	12,036	548	2,450	9,038	+ 1,643
1931	6,727	2,024	3,478	1,225	9,599	406	1,813	7,380	+ 2,872
1932	4,667	1,528	2,412	727	5,739	218	1,032	4,489	+ 1,072
1933	4,204	1,113	2,421	670	4,871	181	903	3,787	+ 667
1934	4,451	1,100	2,600	751	4,167	121	790	3,256	— 284
1935	4,159	996	2,553	564	4,270	75	774	3,418	+ 111
1936	4,218	1,499	2,322	397	4,768	88	878	3,802	+ 550
1937	5,468	2,045	2,977	397	5,911	88	1,121	4,700	+ 443

The world crisis, the enormous reparation payments and the various obstacles which stood in the way of German export trade, have been responsible for the fact that Germany's foreign trade declined to one third of its former value. A glance at the accompanying table and the graph will suffice to reveal the extent of this decline since the outset of the world trade depression.

These figures also show that whereas the value of Germany's exports before the advent of the world trade depression rose to 12,276 million marks in the year 1928 and to 9,833 million marks in the year 1929, it had sunk at the accession of National Socialism to power to 4,871 million marks. The following year it reached its lowest level, amounting to only 4,167 million marks. The export surplus of 1,643 million marks of the year 1930 and of 2,872 million marks in 1931 had dropped to 667 million marks in 1933 and was converted into an adverse balance of 284 million marks in the year 1934.

It is poor comfort to be told that the foreign trade of other industrial countries underwent a parallel development, seeing that Germany as a pronounced industrial country is greatly handicapped by reason of its foreign indebtedness, shortage of gold and foreign exchange holdings and lack of raw material needed for its highly-specialised industry.

The origin of these handicaps is patent to all: the Versailles Treaty. By virtue of this so-called Peace Treaty, Germany was deprived not only of practically all its capital investments abroad to the extent of about 25 milliard marks, from the proceeds of which it had been in the habit of paying its import surplus, but was placed under compulsion to pay reparations in the form of huge sums of money in foreign currency.



German Foreign Trade (in Million Reichsmarks)

After experience had shown the sheer impossibility of transferring these reparations in the shape of commodities, Germany was presented with a method of paying reparations in the form of the Dawes Plan and, later on, in the form of the Young Plan. Germany began to jeopardise its whole future by raising loans abroad to the total of 27 milliard marks. Most of this huge sum was found by foreign banks and foreign investors. The proceeds in foreign currency were for the most part used for the payment of reparations.

As Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, declared in the course of a speech delivered on August 30th, 1934, at the International Agricultural Conference in Bad Eilsen, these industrial undertakings benefited from the exchange value of the reichsmark, and the Reichsbank was even able to increase its holdings of foreign exchange. But the German government had to have recourse to taxation measures and other devices in order to raise the requisite sum in Reichsmarks to cover the reparation payments, which meant, of course, that in every instance, this sum had to be found by the nation and then used to purchase back from the Reichsbank the corresponding amounts of foreign exchange for transference to the reparation powers.

The so-called Layton Report of the International Conference held at Basle in the year 1931 furnished figures which proved beyond dispute that Germany was quite incapable of making reparation payments out of the annual foreign trade surplus achieved in the years subsequent to the coming into operation of the Dawes Plan. Actually, therefore, the sum of 10.3 milliard marks paid in

reparations up to the end of 1931 had been paid into the coffers of the Allied governments by their own citizens and by the citizens of neutral countries. To this sum of 10.3 milliard marks referred to in the Layton Report must be added, from the viewpoint of Germany's foreign indebtedness, a further sum of approximately 5 milliard marks representing the burden of reparations since the beginning of 1931 and including the burden of interest payment on money borrowed for the purpose of making reparation payments possible. Germany's indebtedness to foreign capitalists in respect of reparation payments alone thus reached a total of upwards of 15 milliard marks.

This system, as nonsensical as irresponsible, was bound to break down as soon as foreign countries ceased to grant further loans. The Dawes Plan had itself made it quite clear that international debts can be met only by making payments in kind or in the form of services, and although international credit operations may succeed for a time in shrouding the real nature of the problem of indebtedness, they are quite incapable of attaining to a definite solution of the problem.

The situation was made more precarious by reason of the fact that there was a constant growth in the proportion of short-term indebtedness, especially when the great Wall Street cataclysm of October 1929 made it far more difficult to place long-term loans.

Matters came to a head when, in the summer of 1931, there was a general rush to denounce the short-term credit agreements. The international credit system built up on the basis of reparations now collapsed entirely and put a final end to the senseless game of reparations. The terrible shock inflicted upon the German credit system in the year 1931, particularly in July of that year, is still in everyone's memory: banks and stock exchanges forced to close down, government compelled to grant financial assistance to the Dresdner Bank and to intervene in the affairs of the Danat Bank, discount rate of the Reichsbank up to 15%, inauguration of strict control over foreign exchange holdings, standstill agreement, insolvency of many banking institutes, flight of capital from Germany to the extent of some 4,900 million marks, and so forth.

To be sure, politicians in various countries made several well-meaning essays to save the situation, but the requisite support for solving the crisis and removing the stumbling blocks to international cooperation failed to materialise. Developments were left in the hands of fate.

The Report of the Special Advisory Committee of the Bank of International Settlements, issued at Basle on December 23rd, 1931, contains the following passage: "Every country has been hit by the credit crisis which occurred this summer, but its effects in Germany have been devastating." The Report then goes on to say that "the burden of taxation in Germany is so heavy as to leave no room for any further increase." Hence, the only possible thing left to do was to recognise the facts of the situation in Germany and to conclude a few months later, at Lausanne in January 1932, the "German Credit Agreement" which abolished reparations altogether.

The foreign indebtedness already alluded to as a consequence of the reparation

policy and the mistaken idea of forcing foreign loans upon Germany, amounted at the end of 1930 to upwards of 25 milliard marks, of which huge sum approximately 15 milliard marks were in the form of short-term borrowings. To-day this indebtedness amounts to 11 milliard marks, that is to say, a sum less than the combined amount of the total reparations paid since the Dawes Plan came into operation and the interest payments on loans. In spite of the enormous obstacles foreign countries have placed in the way of German export trade, Germany has succeeded not only in keeping up the payments of the interest services amounting to several hundred million marks annually, but over and above this has paid back more than eight milliard marks of the total of approximately twenty milliard marks which was the extent of German indebtedness at the time of the accession to power of National Socialism. It deserves to be noted, however, that the devaluation of foreign currencies has had the effect of wiping off about four milliard marks of Germany's foreign debts.

Germany has not withdrawn its signature appended to these debts. Dr. Schacht, the Reichsbank President, has declared on repeated occasions that Germany will undertake, as far as lies within its power, to meet existing creditor claims. In other words, in so far as the Reichsbank is able to draw upon its stock of foreign exchange to meet these claims. "We have no intention of ignoring the fact," he said, in a speech delivered at Königsberg on August 18th, 1935, "that our foreign creditors are not governments but thousands of individual citizens of foreign countries who have lent us their savings."

It is therefore not surprising that the Reichsbank's gold and foreign exchange holdings have dwindled to a small sum.

These holdings amounted at the end of 1931, when the bank crisis had reduced them by more than 3 milliard marks, to 1,156 million marks. The following year brought about a further reduction to 920 million marks. At the end of 1933 they stood as low as 395 million marks despite the fact that the passing of the "Law against the betrayal of German National Economy" had resulted in an additional contribution of foreign exchange, to the assets of Reichsbank in that year, of 100 million marks.

The Work Creation Policy of the National Socialist government necessitated an increased importation of raw materials. This made itself especially felt in respect of the foreign exchange holdings in that the prices for raw materials on the world market underwent a marked upward trend in the winter of 1933/34. This augmented import of raw materials, along with the growing obstacles in the way of German export trade, furnishes the main explanation for the fact that Germany's trade balance, which showed an export surplus of 667 million marks in the year 1933, ended the year 1934 with a deficit of 284 million marks. A deficit of this sort, the scrips (promissory notes of the Exchange Fund for German Foreign Indebtedness), and sundry other capital obligations, caused the gold and foreign exchange holdings of the Reichsbank to sink still lower. At the end of March 1934 they amounted to only 245 million marks and were only 77 million marks at the end of June.

When, in the early part of March 1934, it became possible to view the general situation in its proper perspective, the Reichsbank lost no time in adopting the requisite measures. The foreign exchange quota granted to traders for the payment of imports, which had remained the same throughout the entire period from May 1932 to February 1934 by virtue of an enactment according to which traders were allowed to pay in foreign currency to the maximum of 50% of the average amount of the value of the foreign goods imported by them during the years 1930 and 1931, was reduced to 45% in March 1934, to 35% in April, to 25% in May, to 10% in June, and to 5% in July. In addition, the Law of March 21, 1934, relating to trade in foreign raw materials and semi-manufactured goods placed a provisional embargo on the purchase of certain important raw materials, whilst a number of other raw materials were subjected to control in order to prevent unnecessary wastage of these raw materials.

These measures, however, did not achieve the desired effect, partly because traders had already concluded deals for the purchase of foreign goods still to be delivered, and partly because the special accounts deposited with the Reichsbank on behalf of foreign Issuing Banks in accordance with the so-called Sweden clause of the Settlement's Agreement made these measures more or less illusory. Consequently, in the latter half of June, the Reichsbank was obliged to have recourse to a new expediency: the equalisation of foreign exchange holdings, that is to say, it made the sum paid out daily in foreign exchange conform to the amount of foreign exchange paid into the bank on the same day. The individual demand for foreign exchange was met according to the degree of urgency and the amount received during the course of the day.

The adoption of this system enabled the Reichsbank to check the outflow of its gold and foreign exchange holdings the volume of which had contracted to 75 million marks. But as this arrangement restricted the payment of imported goods and not the effective import, it resulted in a steady growth in the amount of the outstanding foreign indebtedness in respect of goods purchased by German traders. Consequently, it threatened to disrupt the credit of German exporters. Another consequence was that the practice of paying for imported goods at three months' sight was being more and more replaced by direct cash payments.

In the course of the month of July 1934, the difficulties arising out of the operation of this exchange equalisation were still further augmented. A final regulation of the entire import trade in accordance with a uniform plan was therefore inevitable.

Dr. Schacht, Reichsbank President, who was placed in charge of the Ministry of Economics in the latter part of July, announced in the course of a speech delivered to newspaper correspondents on August 26th, 1934, on the occasion of the opening of the Leipzig Autumn Fair, the inauguration of what he termed the "New Plan," consisting of a series of laws and decrees for the control and direction of German foreign trade. This system has proved successful and is still in force.

"It is and will remain the supreme principle underlying every business out-

look," declared Dr. Schacht, "to enter upon no obligations that cannot be fulfilled with certainty. Business practice has been held too long under the scourge of politics. I am resolved to put an end to this state of affairs and hope to be able to count on the understanding and support of business circles throughout the world. Only one straight road remains open to us, namely, to bring our imports in conformity with our capacity to pay."

The New Plan drawn up in September 1934 was thus devised to reaffirm the principle accepted by every honest business man, that one should buy only what one is able to pay for, whilst, at the same time, it was designed to ensure that Germany should concentrate on buying those goods needed in Germany. Payment is not necessarily tied down to a money settlement, but can take the form of an exchange in kind as in the case of compensation transactions. At any rate, the new Schacht Plan has been designed to prevent the purchase and importation into Germany of goods for which it is impossible to make payment or to effect an equivalent exchange of goods.

In order to have a permanent control over the effective operation of the plan and to study the development of Germany's commercial relations with foreign countries as well as to ensure the organising of a planned distribution over home markets of imported commodities, there were set up twenty-seven control offices for dealing with all products connected with imports. This meant that the entire import trade was subjected to a thoroughgoing supervision such as might enable Germany to cover its purchases abroad primarily by arrangement with its chief customers, namely, the purchasers of German manufactured goods.

Herr Karl Blessing, of the German Ministry of Economics, and a director of the Reichsbank, has expounded the plan in the following terms:—

"It sets out in the first place to bring our import trade in accord with the existing possibilities of payment, whilst its ultimate aim is to order and develop our trade balance in such a way as to enable us to satisfy our vital import requirements and meet all our obligations. The more our creditor countries support us in this respect, the easier it will be for us to pay off our debts."

Certain it is that this system can be described as a measure that often imposes great restrictions upon the freedom of individual firms. Dr. Schacht himself held that this plan was something "abominable" because it is a reversion to the most primitive of all trading methods: glass beads are exchanged for ivory as was the fashion in Central Africa a century ago. But there was no other course for Germany to adopt.

To be sure, the aim of German commercial policy of purchasing abroad only those goods which are of vital necessity to the nation cannot be achieved to its fullest extent. This is made impossible by the very nature of foreign trade. The foreign dealers are often compelled to sell, apart from those goods which are important for Germany, also those which Germany has more or less no express desire to import. Brazil, for instance, sells its cotton only to countries which are prepared to take its coffee. Chile sells copper only to those taking its fertilisers. But in spite of these obstacles, it has been found possible to a large extent to adapt the structure of the German import trade to the vital needs

of German industry. Moreover, the adverse balance shown by German foreign trade in the year 1934 has been converted into a favourable balance of 111 million marks in the year 1935, 550 million marks in the year 1936, and 443 million marks in 1937.

The new plan can be regarded as a success of Dr. Schacht's economic policy. This success can be summed up in the following four main points:—

(1) Financing of the gigantic programme of work creation and rearmament without having recourse to foreign help and without causing any disturbance of the money market or the currency position.

(2) Repayment of eight milliard marks of foreign indebtedness. It has actually been found possible on each occasion during the last few years to arrive at an understanding with the foreign creditor countries. The maintenance of the gold parity of the German currency has likewise contributed its part towards enabling Germany to derive the full benefit, in the payment of its debts, of the depreciation of the other currencies.

(3) The new plan has made it possible for Germany to increase its annual purchases of raw materials (raw and semi-raw materials) from about 26 million tons to 42 million tons and to reduce the import of manufactured articles to a minimum. This provided the possibility for Germany to enter into competition with other countries in those markets where the latter seemed to enjoy a big advantage by virtue of a depreciated currency.

(4) Maintenance of a stable currency.

This last point deserves to be more fully elucidated as it has been by no means easy for Germany to maintain the mark rate in the face of the devaluations which have occurred in the case of the currencies of a number of big and smaller nations, and in the face of the fact that certain German industrial circles have advocated devaluation for the sake of giving an impetus to Germany's foreign trade.

Dr. Schacht has never hinted at any possibility of realising a demand of this sort. Addressing a gathering of German banking officials on February 22nd, 1934, he said:—

"Gentlemen, you know how much I favour plain speaking. Let me therefore take this opportunity to tell you quite calmly that I am well aware of how certain export circles are claiming that it is impossible to maintain German export trade at its present level without having recourse to a devaluation of the mark. I am so convinced of the necessity of not only maintaining but increasing the German export in the interest of work creation that I allow no occasion to slip by without drawing attention to the fact that one ought not to neglect our exports when engaged in strengthening the domestic market . . . Hence I cannot do anything in the direction of bringing about a devaluation of the German mark. My reasons for this are as follows: Firstly, German export trade is based to a large extent on the manufacture of articles from raw materials for which Germany would have to pay more if the mark fell in value. Here lies the fundamental difference in a comparison with England which produces its raw materials almost entirely within its own Empire. (Also in a comparison with the United States of America which virtually enjoys self-sufficiency in respect of raw materials. Author's Note.)

"Secondly, the tremendous national sacrifice incurred by a depreciation of the mark would work out to the benefit of the few and would not in any case remove the obstacles to world trade nor serve to revive world trade, already greatly diminished in volume, because Britain and America have not definitely stabilised their currencies and hence could easily reply with a further devaluation. Thirdly, there are ways and means open to us of countering the currency devaluation policy of other countries without having recourse to a depreciation of the mark. The German system of supplementary exports by making payments in blocked marks, depreciated German foreign bonds and scrips enables us to make good a certain part of what the British and American currency devaluation has taken away from us. This system is quite capable of further development and we shall do our utmost in this direction, especially as our foreign creditors have latterly grasped the justified necessity of this system.

"I would like, therefore, to conclude by stressing the fact that the German government is still unshakable in its determination to safeguard the purchasing power of the worker and the thrifty section of the population, and that there can be no talk whatsoever of a devaluation of the German mark."

Quite aside from these oft-repeated reasons, it deserves to be pointed out that a devaluation of the mark would mean increasing again the burden of Germany's foreign indebtedness because the bulk of these debts are payable in foreign currency. The advantages gained by the depreciation of foreign currencies would thereby be lost. This would give rise to the danger of export articles falling in price and a consequent reduction in Germany's foreign currency earnings, a state of affairs that could be met only by increasing the volume of exports. Obviously, an increase in volume instead of in value would be of no real advantage at all, in fact, it would be a great disadvantage because it would entail the purchase of additional supplies of raw materials from abroad payable in foreign currency.

Finally, a devaluation of the German mark would be bound to have unfavourable repercussions in a country which has had so much experience of the effects of inflation as Germany has. It would derange the entire credit machinery and put a damper on thrift. All progress made in the domain of the capital market would be rendered futile.

The viewpoint adopted by Dr. Schacht has undergone no modification since then. On September 27th, 1936, the French government informed the German government of the text of the declaration on the devaluation of the French franc, published in Paris, Washington and London. It drew the attention of the German government to the paragraph calling for the collaboration of all other countries in the task of giving effect to the policy formulated in this declaration.

Dr. Schacht thereupon focussed public attention on the fact that the policy of the Three Powers, as formulated in this declaration, of preserving peace and helping to create conditions most likely to contribute towards the restoration of order in world trade relations, and of pursuing a policy aimed at the attainment of world prosperity and the raising of the standard of living in all countries, was absolutely in accordance with the wishes of Adolf Hitler as expressed in his declarations made on various solemn occasions. The German government

and the Reichsbank are, however, fully resolved to refrain from aggravating the conditions of uncertainty prevailing in the realm of world trade as a result of the action of certain countries in depreciating their currencies by following suit in this direction. "I would like to explain Germany's case," stated Dr. Schacht, "by saying that the system of foreign exchange control, whose inconveniences and shortcomings have all along been fully recognised, cannot be made dispensable by anything in the way of devaluation. The heavy burden of debt arising from the injustice of Versailles and the difficulties of obtaining raw materials have made it obligatory. Only a modification of these conditions will enable us to dispense with it. It needs to be pointed out, however, that dependent upon the solution of this problem is not only the economic welfare of Germany but of all those countries which are interested in selling their goods to a market serving some seventy million human beings."

These words are a fresh endorsement of the programme which the National Socialist government proclaimed at its accession to power: No currency experiment!

A new Executive of the Economic Régime

On November 27th, 1937, the Führer and Chancellor relieved Dr. Schacht, at the latter's request, of his duties as Reich Minister of Economy. Dr. Schacht will continue, however, to be President of the Reichsbank, and to act as personal adviser to the Führer on economic matters, and has therefore been appointed Reich Minister without portfolio. In a letter addressed to him, the Führer expressed his thanks for his exceedingly valuable services, adding that he fully appreciated the reasons which prompted Dr. Schacht to ask for permission to tender his resignation. These reasons were connected with the rearrangement of the economic régime, it having been found necessary to amalgamate the executive apparatus for the Four-Years Plan with the Reich Ministry of Economy. The Führer's letter concluded with his expression of the hope that Dr. Schacht's eminent skill and knowledge, in his capacity as President of the Reichsbank, would remain available to the German people and to him personally for many more years to come.

The new Reich Minister of Economy is Herr Walther Funk, up to then Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda and Head of the Reich Press Department. His appointment was to date from January 15th, 1938, and Field Marshal Göring, the Führer's Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan, was instructed to conduct the business of the Reich Ministry of Economy during the six weeks' interval.

When Field Marshall Göring took over that temporary office, he pointed out that this arrangement had been decided upon because it would be necessary to ensure the complete coordination of all those public offices that had a share in the work of carrying out the Four-Years Plan. The Führer had commissioned him, he said, to effect a far-reaching organisational and personal readjustment and to take whatever steps might be required to guarantee the smooth working of the departments controlled by the Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan

and the Reich Minister of Economy respectively. In other words, the latter Ministry would become the executive organ for the work done in connection with the Four-Years Plan.

Practical shape was then given to these principles and the Reich Ministry of Economy was reorganised in the early part of February 1938 as set out hereunder.

The Ministry now consists of five Departments (apart from the Central Department): Department I (Industrial Dept.: domestic raw materials and domestic working materials) with Major-General Loeb as Head of the Department and with four sub-departments: General matters and planning; questions affecting individual industries; chemicals; mineral oil.—Department II (Mining, iron, power economy) with Major-General von Hanneken as Head of the Department and with three sub-departments: Mining; iron; power economy.—Department III (Economic régime, commerce, handicrafts) with *Staatsrat* Schmeer, formerly Head of the Central Office for the Four-Years Plan in the German Labour Front, as Head of the Department and with two sub-departments: Economic organisation; factory policy.—Department IV (Money matters and credit system) with President Lange as Head of the Department.—Department V (Foreign trade, foreign exchange, exports) with Major (retd.) von Jagwitz as Head of the Department and with three sub-departments: Foreign markets; exchange control; exports.

The following authorities were likewise placed under the control of the Ministry: (1) Reich Office for Economic Development (Research; planning; working of the Four-Years Plan) with Major Dr. Czimatis as Head and with two sub-offices: (*a*) Research and new developments; (*b*) Planning and working of the Plan.—(2) Reich Office for Soil Research (comprising the former geological State institutes) with Herr Keppler (holding the rank of a Secretary of State) as President.—(3) Reich Commissioner for Utilisation of Waste Materials.

The following were appointed Secretaries of State in the Reich Ministry of Economy: Herr Brinkmann, a member of the Board of Governors of the Reichsbank, and Herr Posse (for special purposes).

On the occasion of Herr Funk, the new Minister of Economy, entering upon the duties of his office, Field Marshal Göring delivered an address in which he pointed out that the Ministry of Economy would now be in a position, thanks to the arrangements made, to carry out the Four-Years Plan in all its details in so far as they belonged to its competency. To render this possible, several new appointments had to be made; but it would be erroneous to believe that, under the terms of the reorganisation scheme, he (the speaker) had ceased to be the responsible director of the Plan. Such an assumption would be the very reverse of the truth. The fact of the matter was that the reorganisation scheme greatly facilitated the task assigned to him by the Führer, which was to direct the working of the Plan in accordance with the guiding lines laid down by him. Seeing that some of the tasks contemplated under the Plan

exceeded the scope and the competency of the Ministry of Economy, it had been necessary to leave intact the original organisation of the Plan that had proved so valuable to them, such as the office of the Reich Commissioner for Price Policy and those dealing with the food supply, allocation of labour, foreign exchange, transportation, forestry, etc. This organisation had now been amalgamated with that of the Ministry of Economy and the other competent authorities, and the whole of the organic entity thus formed was placed under the control of the Commissioner for the Four-Years Plan.

Herr Funk, replying, said that Field Marshal Göring had entrusted to him the principal executive functions in connection with the working of the Four-Year Plan. It would be his duty to secure the freedom of German national economy and to safeguard the foundations vital to the continued existence of the German people. Visible successes had already been achieved during the first year of the Plan, which—by common consent—was the most decisive one. In the course of 1937 the production of domestic raw materials was half as large again as it had been in 1928/29, which was a boom year. The volume of exports had gone up by 19 per cent, and that of imports, by 18 per cent, thus proving that the intentions behind the Four-Years Plan were not hostile to foreign trade development. The speaker then outlined the tasks confronting manufacturers. Nothing, he said, could provide a more fruitful stimulus to private enterprise than the Four-Years Plan. No antagonism could be allowed to exist between public and private enterprise. It had always been the case that an era of large-scale public enterprise provided a huge impetus for private business activity. The body economic would have to be protected against its most deadly enemies, such as know-nothings, informers, bureaucrats, etc. Anyone, he concluded, who attacked the nation's economy, attacked the Minister of Economy.

The great importance attached by National Socialists to production, not merely as a weapon in the struggle against unemployment, but also as a means of adding to the national income, is evidenced by the following words of the Führer which are quoted from the speech he delivered to the Reichstag on February 20th, 1938, and which indicate the economic programme of the future:—

"No other way remains to us but to work harder and to produce more. The German people is a people which makes high demands on life. If the rest of the world were influenced by great statesmen instead of by journalists, it would be thankful for this fact. For, the higher the standard of living and culture of a nation, the greater will be its longing for peace. It is peace alone which can enable it to accomplish those things which make a high standard of life possible.

"Our economic position is difficult—not, however, because National Socialism rules in Germany, but because in this country there are 140 human beings to the square kilometre, because we have not been given those great natural resources which other nations possess, because, above all, we have a lack of fertile soil. If the British Empire were suddenly to be dissolved today and England were to be restricted to its own living space, then perhaps the English would better understand the difficulty of the economic problems which confront us.

"The fact that Germany has mastered these problems and the manner in which she has done so are miracles and something of which we can be really proud. Germany possesses no sort of gold or foreign exchange reserves, the reason for this not being that National Socialism is in power, but that the non-National-Socialist, democratic-parliamentary State was despoiled for fifteen years by a world eager for plunder; Germany is a country which has to support 140 people to the square kilometre and possesses no colonies whatever; Germany is lacking in numerous raw materials and is neither able nor willing to lead a fraudulent existence on credit; but this same country has reduced its unemployment to zero, and has not merely maintained its standard of life, but has even improved it and has done all this by its own efforts. Now, when a people has accomplished a miracle of this sort, then those nations at any rate should be silent who, in spite of the most favourable economic conditions, hardly manage to solve their own unemployment problems.

"In future, too, it will be our task to preserve the German people from all illusions. But the worst illusion is to imagine that one can enjoy anything which has not first been created and produced by labour; in other words, in future too it will be our duty to make it clear to every single German, in town and country, that the value of his labour must always be equivalent to his wage. The farmer can only get for his agricultural products what the townsman has previously earned, and the townsman can only get what the farmer has won from the soil, and taken altogether, they can all only exchange what they produce, and money only plays the part of intermediary. It has no utility value of its own. Every mark more paid in Germany presupposes that a mark's worth of more labour has been performed. Apart from that, this mark is a mere piece of paper without purchasing power. But we want our reichsmark to remain an honest note, an honest token for the product of labour just as honestly performed by another.

"This is the true cover for a currency, the only real backing. In this way we have made it possible, without gold and without foreign exchange, to maintain the value of the German mark, and have thus secured the value of our savings at a time when the countries which are overflowing with gold and foreign exchange, have been compelled to devaluate their currencies."

The new Reich Minister for Economic Affairs who is possessed of a deep knowledge of his subject, and has been the economic advisor of the Führer for years, showed in his first public statements that his ideas go far beyond the rigid bureaucratic field and that he has a clear insight into the economic problems of Germany within the framework of world trade.

At the opening of the Leipzig Fair on March 7, 1938, Walther Funk held an address in which he referred to repeated assertions made abroad that Germany's economic resurrection was coincident with a general resuscitation of world trade. This might be true in a way, he said, but Germany had profited little from the wave of prosperity as her foreign trade had been materially handicapped by regulative measures which had become necessary. Besides in the second half-year of 1937 there had been a general recession, but for all that the country's economy had continued to develop along progressive lines. It must be emphasised that the National Socialist economic policy set greatest store by more extensive foreign trade and improvements in international payments and commercial conditions. Foreign publicists on the subject had

repeatedly come to the conclusion on the strength of their investigations that German economy was absolutely sound and slump-proof. Its stability had been brought about by virtue of the principle embodied in the National Socialist form of government which admits that politics precede economics. This fundamental principle had determined those economic measures which aimed at removing the untenable economic dependence on foreign countries. As Germany had neither gold nor foreign exchange, work in itself formed the new foundation for her public wealth, which was a more solid foundation than gold; nor had she been led into any currency experiments which in the ultimate consequence invariably proved detrimental to public wealth. The Reichsmark had remained throughout an honest note. There had been no resorting to sliding scales in prices and wages but both had been kept stable.

The Minister then examined the question whether on the basis of experiences in the post-war era a new system of international trade and of payments could be evolved. Any improvement in this direction, as well as a new basis of exchange, he regarded as indeed possible though it required an adaptation in economic thought and in the methods practised by those countries which discriminated in their trade relations with those which had been compelled to go over to controlled foreign trade. Germany must expend special effort on the exportation of her latest industrial raw materials as these represented a new industry in the process of becoming, for the new materials owing to their high quality and the many uses to which they can be put, bid fair to capture world markets. Through the powerful upward development of her economy Germany must become an attractive country for capital investment.

That foreign trade and the currency situation were still unsatisfactory in spite of this, and could only be maintained with the aid of State control, lay in the unsettled state of affairs with regard to foreign debts and the colonial question. Reliable estimates give the saving in foreign exchange through a return of the colonies at 200 million marks, which in the course of time would reach 500 to 600 million marks. In addition to the colonial possession as such, they represented as well an additional source of production. As the colonies had been taken away from Germany not solely on economic considerations but by way of a mortifying punishment, their restoration has become a question of national honour.

On the subject of foreign indebtedness it might be said that German guaranteed bonds were quoted abroad at levels and bore such interest rates which were unwarranted and devastating to her prestige. This indebtedness belonged to an era now overcome in which foreign politics mingled with foreign credits. Germany now neither desired nor required loans from abroad, but some arrangement must be arrived at with regard to already existing loans which took into account her political and economic situation and contributed to stable and normal conditions. After all, the value of the Mark abroad depended upon this question, and its value—like all other German values—must be appraised anew.

On the occasion of a festive gathering of Bremen business men on June 16, 1938, Reich Minister Funk addressed the meeting inter alia on the problem

of political indebtedness. He stressed the fact that international discussions in recent times displayed a certain apprehension of a new slump. In this, Germany and the United States stood at opposite poles; while the United States could be regarded as a centre of economic unrest, German economy presented an unbroken resistance to any new incursion in the way of a depression. As an example of the upward development of her economy, the Minister mentioned her present steel production which in the first five months of 1938 exceeded even that of the United States (U.S.A. 9.18 million tons—Germany 9.2 million tons). The so-called world market which was very apt to upset things stood, on the whole, for much less than was generally believed. Thus, in 1929, world trade turnover amounted to 284 milliard marks, in 1936 to 105 milliard marks, and in 1937, 130 milliard marks. Compared with these figures the business turnover in Germany for 1937 amounted to 210 milliard marks. Her exports comprised 8.7% of the public income; in the United States this relation was 5.4%, in England 10% and in France 11.4%. Developments showed clearly that individual national economies endeavoured to rid themselves of the influence of world market trends.

The greatest confusion here was due to political indebtedness. Reparations which had brought Germany to the verge of ruin belonged to this category. A political debt could not become a private debt by the mere fact that private individuals took the place of governments on the creditor side. This characterised the Dawes and Young Loans and had been strongly contested all through by National Socialism. The Minister made mention of the fact that the prestige of National Socialist Germany could not put up with the present quotations for German bonds abroad. An arrangement must be found to lower the interest rates of 7 and 5.5% to a normal level. The system of political indebtedness was rejected in Germany as being inimical to national economy. Political debts, as history revealed, were always indigent; they never served an economic purpose but some political gain.

A typical example of this were the political loans to Austria. A conference of Guarantor Powers at Rome (Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Czecho-Slovakia and Switzerland—but not Italy) contended that Germany had become the legal successor to the three Austrian Government guaranteed loans. Accordingly, the Reich Government was requested to acknowledge liability. (The three loans concerned are the Comversion Loan, former League of Nations Loan—status at the end of 1936: 567.4 million Austrian shillings—,the Austrian seven per cent Loan of 1930—323.6 million shillings, and the Lausanne Loan 1933—245 million shillings). Such liability, however, as the Minister pointed out, does not exist. After the Boer War England did not take over the debts of the Boer Republics; the same applies to the United States after the Civil War in respect of Confederacy bonds and to France on acquiring Madagascar. In line with this international practice the Reich could not be expected to take over Austria's guaranteed Loans.

The point needing elucidation was whether present-day Austria, now become

part of the Reich, was to be regarded as the legal successor to the Austria set up by the Treaty of St. Germain. The latter had not been transferred to the Reich but had ceased to exist as such. The enforced structure of St. Germain while ignoring the will of the people had only been able to exist at all with the aid of financial and political support from abroad. Germany emphatically denied that the loans had contributed to Austrian reconstruction; credits had been given with the express purpose of preventing the Anschluss. The economic outcome of this foreign financial aid had been so disastrous as to be no credit to the Guarantor Powers concerned. The assertion that Germany must assume liability because she had taken over the Austrian economic assets, was unjustifiable as Austria had none to show which owed their existence to money from abroad. There were, therefore, neither legal, economic, political nor moral grounds for the Reich to acknowledge liability. As to the business of settling this matter, negotiations would be carried on by the Guarantor Powers, more especially by a British Delegation in the spirit of conciliation without prejudice to Germany's fundamental standpoint.

The Minister concluded by saying that national credit which each country must create for itself through diligence, must in time replace the system of international credits which was steadily losing ground.

At a gathering of Pommeranian business interests in Stettin on July 1, 1938, Herr Funk spoke of new foundations for world trade. He stated on that occasion that next to the United States and England Germany was the third greatest commercial country, even though she possessed no colonies. In industrial production Germany was placed second after the United States. Today it was necessary for her to negotiate economic agreements with a series of countries. If the threat of an economic war were attempted immeasurable consequences would be the result by the loss of 75 million people to world trade. In all the negotiations the desire for an understanding had been apparent throughout. The Minister referred especially to the Anglo-German Agreement which paid due consideration to the interests of both countries[1]. Great weight was laid during the negotiations upon the need for extending mutual trade.

It was necessary to find new ways and means in international commodity exchange as this can no longer be built up on currency, gold and credits, but only on the basis of production, goods and prices. With regard to domestic economy, the Minister stated that this must be guided politically, that is, on the tenets of National Socialism. This demanded that the economic policy should be implemented by Party and State along identical lines. The whole structure, however, must never lead to economic bureaucracy. He then announced the plan for decentralising the tasks of the Reich Ministry for Economic Affairs. No additional administrative bodies were to be formed but the tasks of the central administration must be diverted into decentralised channels.

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[1] including the Austrian Loans guaranteed by England (Author's Note).

XII.

Public Finances

It is clearly impossible for a State to carry on either its domestic or foreign policy at long sight if its financial position is not a sound one or if the government has not the necessary means for meeting its obligations. A balanced budget is the first prerequisite for a stable and assured conduct of the affairs of state. This postulates the necessity of a financial, tariff and taxation policy which, without placing too great obstacles in the way of import trade, and without overburdening the taxpayers, will assure a normal relationship between national revenue and expenditure.

Financial Policy of the Past

In the days of the Weimar Republic, the German government sought to improve the budgetary position by imposing new taxes. It was under the pressure of the enormous expenditure incurred in respect of the unemployment dole, which exceeded 3 milliard marks annually, whereas, at the same time, the national revenue of 9 milliard marks, in the period 1928–31, sank to 7.8 milliard marks in 1931–32, and even to 6.65 milliard marks in 1932–33. In the period 1931–32, when Brüning was in control of affairs, the existing taxes were increased, or new taxes introduced, by virtue of no less than 23 emergency decrees, despite the fact that in 1931 the German taxpayer was already paying 45% more in taxes than in the year 1925.The report of the Special Advisory Committee of the Bank of International Settlements, issued at Basle on December 23rd, 1931, and to which we have already alluded, allows of no doubt in this respect: "the burden of taxation in Germany is so heavy as to leave no room for a further increase."

In order to save the national budget from being burdened to a still greater extent, the Reich had to turn over more and more tasks to the municipalities and municipal organisations which were already encountering great difficulties owing to the growing army of unemployed. Numerous German municipalities had to go into bankruptcy and many others were compelled for months on end to conduct negotiations with the banks that had loaned them money, seeking to get a prolongation of their short-term credits which had swelled into huge debts through the burden of the heavy interest payments. It was impossible for them to obtain long-term loans at a low rate of interest. The total indebtedness of the German municipalities and communal bodies had amounted from 6,542 million marks (of which 2,570 million were long-term, 551 million marks

medium-term and 974 million short-term domestic loans) in the year 1928 to 11,295 million marks in the year 1932 (of which 5,326 million were long-term, 1,121 million medium-term and 1,668 million short-term domestic loans).

The period of make-believe prosperity, lasting from 1927 to 1929, when Germany took out an immense number of foreign loans, had the inevitable effect of giving bumper revenue returns. But none seemed to realise the fact that it was nothing but an illusory phenomenon. Statesmen seemed to be entirely lacking in insight and, to make matters worse, the entire country was living beyond its means. The increased revenue returns were squandered. No attempt was made to create a reserve fund and it was under such circumstances that the country, spending recklessly and without any reserve assets, was steered into the world crisis. The reports of Parker Gilbert, former agent-general of reparations in Berlin, are convincing enough on this point. The withdrawal of the credits in the year 1930 put an end to this disceptive state of affairs and, simultaneous with the breakdown of the economic system, led to a total collapse of the state finances which got caught in the millstones of falling revenue and growing cost of the dole.

This general decline gave rise to the necessity of cutting down expenditure in every direction. It enforced a policy of deflation to save the country from the chaos that would have been the inevitable outcome of national bankruptcy or a renewed inflation. This enforced deflation, however, merely meant a further deterioration as each crisis brought about a diminution of the national revenue and a consequent increase in unemployment.

This deflationist policy was bound in the end to bring about a general explosion. It occurred in the year 1932—33 and compelled the country to adopt a different policy.

The New Financial Policy

As Count Schwerin von Krosigk, German Minister for Finance, remarked in the course of a speech to the Düsseldorf Industrial Club, it was impossible for Germany at that time to wait for the revival of world trade. There was absolutely nothing in the economic and political trends prevailing at the time that might lead one to presume an early removal of the obstacles to a revival of this kind. Moreover, it would have involved too great a risk to wait until the so-called self-healing forces began to stir within the body of German national economy and proceeded, presumably in an automatic fashion, to awaken it to new life and growth. That was practically impossible because the vital organs of industrial life had become infected with the cancer of the chronic state of crisis. Furthermore, the specific nature of the conditions obtaining in Germany excluded the possibility of having recourse to such self-healing forces as the creation of credit and the absorption of new capital. Unlike other countries, Germany was not in a position to adopt this course of action.

Nothing else remained but for the State to have recourse to active intervention. It was now left for the State to cast into the breach the only thing it still possessed, namely, its credit.

The preliminary conditions for launching out on an active credit policy of this sort were present in the spring of 1933: the economic prerequisites were provided by the fact that the practical termination of reparations in the summer of 1932 had removed all obstacles to an industrial revival. Moreover, the business depression had touched the lowest mark and everything now pointed to a recovery. Politically, too, the moment was auspicious because the accession to power of Adolf Hitler had created the preliminary conditions for the spread of confidence in a strong, authoritarian government now able to make its dispositions at long sight. Hence the spring of 1933 saw the inauguration of the concentrated attack on unemployment in accordance with an all-inclusive plan.

The most important steps that were forthwith taken in this direction were:—

(1) Advances on the budget by the issue of labour bonds, by the grant of cash advances, of interest reimbursement bonds, of loans and of tax abatements.
(2) General liberation from old debts, reduction and adjustment of taxes.
(3) Conversion of the debts incurred by the German communities, reduction of the rate of interest and reorganisation of the credit economy.
(4) Grant of marriage loans and state support for large families.

The Reinhardt Programme

I have already had occasion, in the chapter dealing with social policy (see the section "Labour to the Fore"), to refer to the important laws (Reinhardt Programme) of June 1st and September 21st, 1933 relating to the reduction of unemployment. It will suffice to call to mind that the first parts of these two laws provided for the expenditure of approximately 2 milliard marks for the furtherance of public and private work schemes, this sum to be paid out in the form of loans, advances and interest reimbursement bonds. The money was raised in part by voluntary contributions towards the promotion of big undertakings of national importance, but for the most part by short-term and medium-term advances on the national budget.

To these 2 milliard marks must be added the 900 million marks which had previously been made available by legislation taken within the framework of the Papen Programme and the so-called "Immediacy Programme." A further sum of 1,400 million marks flowed into the veins of German industry in the years 1934 to 1937 in that, during these four years, the Reich accepted in payment tax reimbursement bonds to this amount instead of cash payments.

If we include the subsidiary costs in our account, it will be found that the German budget was drawn on in advance to the extent of approximately 4,500 million marks. The subsequent course of events fully showed that there was nothing in the nature of a gamble in this bold step. It was and still continues to be counterbalanced by a corresponding reduction in the cost of unemployment and by an increase in the national revenue from taxation. (Added to these enormous sums is a further amount of 900 million marks which the Reich Institute for Unemployment Insurance has appropriated in the period from 1933

to the current year, as well as the 1,500 million marks expended so far on the construction of the Reich automobile roads and the supplementary work creation programmes of the German State Railways and German Post Office.)

Section 11 of the Law of June 1st, 1933, relating to the reduction of unemployment deals with tax exemption in the purchase of replacements. This was devised to encourage the industrialist and business man to replace, before the end of 1934, out of date stock representing capital investments. They were permitted to deduct all the money spent on the purchase of new stock or the repair of existing stock from their profits in assessing the amount to be paid under the income tax, corporation tax and industrial tax. The assessment of deduction in respect of the deterioration of stock was permissible for the entire period during which the stock was being used. The Reich was able to make this bold venture on taxation policy in full knowledge of the fact that the sum lost to the national revenue in respect of purchase or repair of stock would be made good in the following years. Viewed in this light, it became a sort of loan granted by the taxation authorities, given in the form of an allowance for stock deterioration in the years 1934 and 1935, and which is now being repaid to the Reich in that deductions in respect of deterioration can no longer be claimed.

This measure, which from the very outset was devised to operate only over a definite period of time, has been supplemented by the new Law of October 16th, 1934 relating to income tax. The new law goes further in the sense that new capital investments in respect of machinery needed to run an industrial business, or agricultural undertaking, provided the life of this machinery or installation does not under normal conditions exceed five years, may be deducted in the matter of tax assessment from the profits of the year of acquisition or repair.

The granting of taxation loans of this kind has led to far-reaching successful results. The law chiefly applies to the acquisition of machinery by industrial or agricultural undertakings. The turnover of the machine-building industry is now five times what it was in the year 1933 and more than double the turnover of the peak year 1928 (see graph on page 231).

A further section of the first Law relating to the Reduction of Unemployment contains a taxation measure devised to act as an incentive to the employment of domestic servants. An earlier law had exempted domestic servants from the payment of unemployment insurance and substantially reduced their contribution to Health Insurance. Domestic servants are now exempted from the unemployment relief levy, and, moreover, a domestic servant may be considered as a member of the household when calculating tax abatement in respect of the family income. This latter measure has been incorporated in the new income tax law in the sense that the taxpayer is permitted to deduct from his total income fifty marks per month for each domestic servant in his employ.

The consequence of this tax abatement has led to a considerable increase in the demand for domestic servants and this, in turn, has done much to reduce both

unemployment and the money squandered by the state on the dole system. There is already an appreciable shortage of domestic servants in Germany.

A permanent feature of the Law of June 1st, 1933, relating to the reduction of unemployment is the grant of marriage loans already dealt with in the chapters discussing population policy and social policy. It has since been considerably extended by the promulgation of various decrees with regard to State aid for families in respect of the number of their children.

According to figures published by the Reich Statistical Office, down to the beginning of the year 1933 the total number of marriages was 300,000 less than might have been expected under normal conditions and in view of the number of marriageable persons. This was in the main attributable to the bad economic conditions prevailing at the time. Many of the young people were eager enough to get married but saw no possibility of being able to face the financial side of matrimony. Something had to be done to overcome this state of affairs. Moreover, it was found necessary to go beyond the mere restoration of what was formerly deemed to be normal conditions by inducing marriageable young women to give up their jobs or turn their backs on the dole system and enter in preference the state of matrimony.

The outcome of this measure, the personal achievement of State Secretary Reinhardt, has been to stimulate in a very high degree the desire of married couples to have children. Already about 960,000 loans of this kind have been granted and approximately 825,000 children have been born of marriages which, as far as their material side is concerned, are based on marriage grants.

The money required for granting loans of this kind was found by increasing the income tax of bachelors and spinsters and the money received from the repayment of the marriage grants has been used for providing financial assistance to large families.

Apart from the single payment of assistance in necessitous cases, since August 1936 regular financial assistance has been given by the State to large families wherever this is needed. They are given 10 marks for each third and fourth child, 20 marks for each fifth and each additional child to wage and salary earners; 10 marks for each fifth and each additional child to agricultural labourers and members of the liberal professions. Altogether for about 2½ million children.

By virtue of a section of the second Law relating to the Reduction of Unemployment, promulgated on September 21st, 1933, the turnover tax payable by members of the German farming community has been halved, whilst another section of the law reduces the land tax.

This had led to an improvement in the output of the German agricultural industry. The burden of indebtedness borne by the German agricultural industry in the years 1935–36 amounted to 460 million marks which represented a decrease of approximately 100 million marks since the critical period of 1932–33, and a drop to the lowest level since the end of the Great War. German agriculture has therefore greatly benefited from the taxation policy of the government. In proof of this, it only needs to be stated that the actual revenue of the

agricultural industry rose by 2.4 milliard marks in the period from 1932 to 1935. The direct reduction of taxation granted to the farming community has for the most part been reflected in the development of prices for agricultural products.

Another effective measure was the reduction of the levy for unemployment relief, which amounted to approximately 400 million marks. It led to an increase in the purchasing power of wage earners. Mention should also be made of measures granting tax exemption for newly-erected house blocks containing small-sized flats and newly-erected one-family houses, for the abolition of the tax on German champagne and mineral water, for the reduction of the turnover tax in respect of domestic wholesale trade and the reduction of the tax on dividends from house property.

Additional Fiscal Measures

On July 15th, 1933, the German government promulgated a law relating to tax reductions. It gave the German Minister for Finance full authority to grant, for such time as he thought fit, partial or complete exemption from Reich and Municipal taxation to those firms engaged in trying out new processes of production or in the actual production of new articles of recognised importance to the German industry as a whole. Extensive use has been made of this authority. It is a measure of special importance for the carrying out of the Four Years Plan. It has also provided the government with an instrument for exercising a certain price control, as the tendency is for these new products to rise in price during their experimental stage. Further measures devised either to stimulate the demand for goods, to increase output or to raise the purchasing power of large families are contained in the government bills embodied in the Tax Reform of October 16th, 1934. Most of these new bills are primarily concerned with the question of paying greater regard to the need for safeguarding family life in the imposition of income tax, poll tax, property tax and death duties.

Thus, a married wage earner is completely exempted from payment of the income tax if, with a family of four children his monthly income does not exceed 260 marks, or with a family of five children, his monthly income does not exceed 351 marks, or with a family of six children 793 marks, or with seven children 910 marks, or with eight children 1,027 marks, and so on. Over and above this, the rate of taxation in the case of these large families begins at a low level. A married man with six children and a monthly income of 800 marks has to pay only 1 mark 4 pfennigs income tax per month.

In the case of the Citizen's Tax, which is a sort of poll tax, formerly no regard at all was paid to the need for safeguarding family life. It was, in fact, a poll tax pure and simple. A change in this matter was made on January 1st, 1935. A married worker with four children and earning 50 marks a week had, prior to this reform of the Citizen's Tax, to pay no less than 42 marks a year in respect of this poll tax. The same worker is now completely exempted from the payment of this tax. The exemption level for this tax has been raised so that the number of persons paying the Citizen's Tax has been considerably reduced.

As regards the Property Tax, as things are now each man, woman and minor is allowed to possess up to 10,000 marks free of Property Tax. Thus, for instance, a man with wife and three children can possess tax-free up to 40,000 marks, a sum on which formerly he would have had to pay 200 marks Property Tax annually.

Alleviations have also been granted in respect of the Legacy Tax. A son or daughter can now inherit free of tax up to 30,000 marks, and a grandchild up to 10,000 marks. Prior to the year 1935, a child inheriting an estate of 25,000 marks from its father, had to pay death duties, whereas today it would inherit the full amount.

This increased regard for the need of safeguarding family life, taken in conjunction with the regular state grants in support of large families, is designed as a first step in the direction of affording some compensation to those who shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of married life. The German government intends to proceed further in this direction and envisages the creation of a Reich Family Equilisation Fund, which will enable the State to make a still more equitable adjustment of taxation in respect of the burdens of family life.

In a special chapter dealing with Transport and Communications I shall deal with the fiscal measures that have been adopted with a view to accelerating production in the automobile and allied industries in connection with the construction of Adolf Hitler's motorways. I shall also have occasion to speak of the "motorisation" of modern Germany.

But before concluding this review of the financial measures adopted by the National Socialist régime, it will be as well to draw attention to the policy that has been pursued for restoring the financial health of the German municipalities.

The Law of September 21st, 1933, relating to the conversion of the debts of the German municipalities rendered possible the conversion of the medium and short term debts into long-term debts and liberated the municipalities from the intolerable burden of the interest payments. The law entitled all municipalities which were confronted with difficulties in respect of the payment of interest on their short-term borrowings to acquire membership of a Conversion Alliance. The municipalities were advised to go ahead with their debt conversion schemes by offering their creditors 4% debt transfer bonds of the Conversion Alliance, redeemable from October 1st, 1936, within a period of twenty years by annual conversion of three per cent. In the event of the creditor declining to accept this offer, he must hold in abeyance for a period of five years his demand for re-payment inclusive of interest. The Reich undertook to come to the aid of the Alliance if it found itself unable to carry out its debt services and to subtract these advances from the share of the national revenue claimed by the municipalities. The Conversion Alliance has opened an account with the Prussian State Bank. The total amount of the short-term debts subject to conversion was estimated at the time to be about 2,000 million marks.

The results speak volumes for the success of this measure. Whereas in the year 1932, of the 11.295 milliard marks total indebtedness of the German muni-

cipalities 5.326 milliard marks were long-term borrowings and 2.789 milliard marks medium-term or short-term loans, the present position is that of a total of 10.987 milliard as much as 7.461 milliard are long-term debts and only 435 million medium-term or short-term debts.

At the same time, the money spent on the relief of distress was no longer borne to 80% of its extent by the Reich and only 20% by the municipalities, but solely by the Reich Institute for Labour Exchange and Unemployment Relief. This, in itself, did much to improve the finances of the municipalities. Finally, a limit was fixed for the obligations taken over by the municipalities in respect of contributions to the Welfare Funds. This enabled the municipalities to undertake to make definite contributions, and it deserves to be said that the amount of these contributions was below that of its former obligations under this head.

Another important step towards the task of placing the finances of the German municipalities on a sound basis was the reform of the Real Estate Tax which can be regarded as a measure taken in preparation of the Reich reform.

The Land Tax and Industrial Tax were formerly federal taxes, on which the various municipalities and municipal bodies were entitled to raise their supertaxes. Reich legislation had furnished no uniform legal foundation for these taxes, which were, in fact, the outcome of sixteen different provincial legislative bodies each acting independently in the matter of imposing and collecting them. Four measures resolved on by the Reich on December 1st, 1936, placed the regulation of the "Real Steuern" on a uniform basis for the whole of Germany. The Land Tax and Industrial Tax hereupon ceased to be a concern of the provincial bodies which were left solely with the imposition and collection of the Municipal Tax. This latter tax thus became the main source of revenue for the municipalities. These arrangements were made as a definite step forward towards the achievement of the ultimate goal which provides for the existence in future of only two kinds of taxes, namely, Reich and municipal taxes.

This transference of tax contribution from the federal states to the municipalities rendered necessary the re-allocation of the obligations and duties as between the federal states, municipalities and municipal bodies. Principles have been set up in this respect allotting to the municipalities throughout the Reich those tasks which they are expected to carry out in accordance with their augmented tax revenue and in keeping with their specific duties.

Results down to the Present

The reduction of unemployment was the most elementary necessity for bringing about a betterment of the social and economic conditions of the German people and for placing its finances on a sound footing. It brought about a steady reduction in the amount of money spent on unemployment relief. As we have seen, it was rendered possible by measures devised to increase the demand for goods and for output. The expansion of the demand for goods and output created greater opportunities for work, increased the turnover in trade and augmented

the assets. And this expansion of turnover and assets led, as a matter of course, to an increase of revenue from taxes and levies.

The fall in unemployment was reflected in a decrease in the amount of money spent from public funds which now began to accumulate again and to show a decided improvement:—

	Reich revenue	Surplus compared with 1932–33
	(in milliard marks)	
1933–34	6.85	0.20
1934–35	8.22	1.57
1935–36	9.65	3.—
1936–37	11.49	4.82
1937–38	13.96	7.31

The Reich revenue has therefore been more than doubled during the course of the last five years.

The various work creation measures have effected a permanent improvement of the national economy and of the output and capacity of German industry. New economic values have been created. New ideas and new methods have been adopted and old ones re-vitalised. At the same time, the material prerequisites were created for the building up again of Germany's armed forces.

"Again and again I find people asking," declared Herr Reinhardt, Secretary of State, in a speech before a Munich gathering, "where we get all the money to finance the big building schemes, to spend on the armed forces and for all the other things." The truth of the matter is as follows:—

"The money comes for the most part from the ordinary balanced budget, and, in part, from the proceeds of such purposive taxation as, for instance, the Automobile Tax whose proceeds, together with some of the money derived from the transport tax, petrol dues and taxes and lubricating oil dues, furnish the money for the construction of the German network of motorways. Another part of the money needed is obtained as short-term or medium-term loan funds as precharges on the ordinary budget, or as long-term Reich loans . . ."

"The revenue of the Reich from taxation will amount, in the current fiscal year, to about 14 milliard marks. Despite this favourable development, this amount is not big enough to completely cover the financial needs of the Reich which are extraordinarily high this year. Of the surplus from tax revenue, a portion flows into the budgets of the *Länder* and municipalities as their share of the Reich revenue from taxation. One portion is required to cover the deficits of past years, and another portion for covering the loan funds obtained for financing the various work creation schemes and still another for the interest payment and amortisation of loans borrowed anew from the Reich during the past years. In so far as the tax revenue surplus of the ordinary balanced budget does not suffice at present to cover the extraordinary financial requirements, short-term and medium-term borrowings from the Reich are converted into

long-term Reich loans. In this way, the money that would otherwise have to be used to cover these short-term and medium-term debts can be used for financing the nation's big political programme of construction. The total amount of these loan funds appears small compared with the tremendous resources and taxable capacity of the German people at work. The interest payment and amortisation of the loans already taken out, as well as those projected, is absolutely assured by reason of the increased revenue of the Reich from taxation.

"The budget of the Reich is a balanced one and will be kept balanced whatever may happen."

A London daily newspaper, even one that is known for its hostile attitude towards modern Germany, has had to admit in a recently published article on "New Germany" that the financial position of the Third Reich is in no way jeopardised as some would have the world believe. "It is true," runs this comment, "that under normal conditions the existence of a floating debt of 16,000 million marks would be regarded as a very dangerous 'potential of inflation.'" At the first signs of a financial or political disturbance the bonds held by banks or in the possession of private persons would be discounted by the Reichsbank and the note circulation would be forthwith doubled or trebled. But this danger can be regarded as banned in Germany today. The means of control at the disposal of the totalitarian State are so complete and effective that the German government has it in its power to nip such a danger in the bud. It would easily be able to refuse the discount and in this way convert the current account notes into a sort of permanent loan.

"Precisely for the same reason," this commentary continues, "it is wrong to suppose that Germany will soon be compelled for financial reasons to reduce its expenditure on armaments. Just as the Reichsbank, thanks to its dictatorial command over the money market, is able to prevent a sudden inflation, it can likewise safely proceed with the issue of notes for the purpose of financing the deficit in the Reich budget."

This is borne out, moreover, by the fact that the extraordinary expenditure on national defence is now approaching completion and German financial policy has sought and is still seeking by way of cutting down expenses to bring the bulk of the loan funds used to finance the work creation and rearmament programmes once again within the scope of the current estimates. This would assure a continuous development of the future work of national integration, which could not be safely guaranteed otherwise.

Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Minister for Finance, declared in the speech to which we have already had occasion to refer: "We shall have to attain to the point where we shall be able, in future, to draw upon a covered budget to meet not only the vital sundry expenditures but also the current costs of armaments. To this end, we must be prepared to bring every requisite sacrifice."

Dr. Schacht, it deserves to be added, made a reassuring statement on the state of Germany's finances in the course of an address delivered on March 12th, 1938, before the general meeting of the German Bank of Issue. He said,

among other things, there had been no attempt to hide the fact that alongside the growth in the long-term indebtedness of the Reich there had been a considerable increase during the last few years in the short-term indebtedness and that so far it had not been found possible completely to cover or to consolidate this short-term indebtedness. It should not be forgotten, however, that this rise in the national debt has been offset by a reduction in private debts. Hence it was a question of a transference of indebtedness from the private to the public sector rather than of an increase in Germany's total indebtedness. If financial factors alone, and not political ones, came into consideration here, nobody would have any misgivings against publishing the facts of Germany's financial situation. Foreign critics would be astonished how little cause for any alarm there is in view of the results achieved. The limits of state indebtedness have not been ignored and will not be ignored in future. The Reichsbank is well aware that the path of financing so far pursued is not a road without an end.

The consolidation of the economic conditions now makes it possible to depart from the method of intermediary financing by special bills of exchange and to obtain the requisite funds, in so far as these are not forthcoming from the regular budgetary revenue, by the issuance of Reich treasury bonds and Reich loans. In so far as these treasury bonds are taken in payment, this will happen to an extent permitting of immediate consolidation. This measure will serve to guarantee the health of Germany's currency and finances and enable the work of reconstruction to proceed apace.

Greatest thrift and economy in the spending of public funds as also their centralised control will continue to be the impelling command. The capabilities of the money and capital market must continue to remain largely reserved to the current Reich needs and to the consolidation or redemption of the short-term financing hitherto adopted.

Thrift, that is the watchword which Dr. Schacht is never tired of repeating. "Der Deutsche Volkswirt," which is closely associated with the Reichsbank president, does not hesitate to paint a picture of the urgency of this question. In one of its 1937 issues, it writes:—

"Germany has to make up a lot of leeway. It has to make up leeway in the matter of rearmament in which other countries are setting the pace. It is seeking to make itself independent of foreign food supplies. Owing to its lack of colonies, it is seeking by means of the second Four Years Plan to supply its own requirements of vital raw materials. This is putting big claims on our resources of labour, raw materials, foreign exchange, and capital. For a while, our resources of labour seemed inexhaustible. Today they have been enlisted to the fullest extent. The credit machinery has been harnassed to the task of dealing with short-term indebtedness. At the end of July, the Reich had a note circulation of upwards of 7 milliard marks which is greater than at any time since the inflation. When the goal of our efforts was first set up, there were stocks of raw material and foreign exchange available although precious little even then. Today, we are no longer able to count very much on reserves of this sort. The God of the Elements has not exactly lent support to our efforts during the last four years to become independent of foreign food supplies. Considerable amounts of our foreign exchange holdings have had to be used up in the purchase of food for the nation.

"There is, to be sure, no quarrel about the order of importance of the tasks to be accomplished. First of all, a nation must live. Hence it has to be fed. It must be free. Hence it has to be able to defend itself from attack. In order to be able to defend itself it must, first of all, be armed, and secondly, it must have the assurance of being able to draw on certain reserve sources of strength. These reserves are also needed to complete the safety of its food supply and its defence. This additional margin of safety is not a purely military conception. In this Machine Age, it is of prime necessity to insure a continuous running of the wheels of industry. This is the prime object of the second Four Years Plan. Everything else becomes of subordinate importance, whether it be the requirements of administrative bodies, the fulfilment of the demands of the consuming public for goods that are not essential for the maintenance of life, or the fulfilment of the demands for display.

"If the course so far taken by the work of national integration has, industrially speaking, swallowed up the reserve supplies of raw material and labour power, it means that the current consumption is actually in excess of the revenue. Provided conditions remain what they are, the task of meeting the nation's essential requirements can be safely carried out from an organisational viewpoint only in the suggested sequence: the measures hitherto adopted aim at insuring to an increasing decree that priority is not given to projects and tasks which cannot claim national urgency. The forces of labour will have to be guided and controlled in this sense and the revenue from raw materials must be employed to this effect. And if an unfavourable relation develops between the note circulation and the supply of goods, then it will be necessary to effect a curtailment of public expenditure and in this way throttle the circulation of money in respect of things which are not of vital importance to the nation."

It would be difficult to find a clearer exposition of the guiding principles adopted by the Third Reich for effecting a judicious employment of public funds. Actually, Germany has been compelled to adopt such principles in order to realise its immediate aims of building up a strong national defence and safeguarding its national existence.

"A real statesman," said Frederick the Great, "must be both thrifty and generous, thrifty in order to be generous."

XIII.

Communications

There has been a very notable growth in railway and automobile traffic during the first four years of the National Socialist regime. Every effort has been made to bring the railways to a high standard of technical efficiency and to satisfy the demands of the travelling public in the matter of punctuality, speed and comfort. As for the automobile, its development has received new impulse under the watchword "motorisation," in which respect the Reich can be said to occupy today pride of place among the nations.

The German Railways

It will be recalled that Adolf Hitler proclaimed in his Reichstag speech of January 30th, 1937, inter alia, the regained, unrestricted sovereignty of the Reich over the German railways. The German people received this announcement with joyful acclamation. Railway workers and officials warmly thanked the Führer for having fulfilled their profound desire to see the German railways liberated from a form of control that had been set up against their will and that was alien to the nature of the German railways. These sentiments of gratitude found their expression on February 4th when 20,000 railway employees assembled in front of the Chancellery on the Wilhelmplatz in Berlin to ovate the Führer in the name of 670,000 of their comrades. The enthusiasm that took hold of this gathering knew no bounds. Wave upon wave of jubilation were sent surging up to the Führer who addressed the railwaymen from his balcony, thanking them for their loyal co-operation and exhorting them to continue to remain in the eyes of all German workers a model of devotion to duty.

The return of the world's biggest single enterprise to supreme State control was an event of international as well as domestic importance. International because it nullified the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which mortgaged the entire property of the Reich and the *Ländern*, and hence the German railways, as security for the payment of reparations to the Allies of those days. From a domestic point of view, it was important because it abolished the statutes imposed upon the German railways by the Allies and placed the German railways under a new administration controlled by the Reich.

In order to give you some insight into the various phases of the administrative development of the German railways, particularly with regard to the varying position occupied in relation to the State, we subjoin a few excerpts from a

lecture on "The German Railways in the Third Reich" delivered by Herr Kleinmann, State Secretary in the German Ministry of Transport and Deputy Director-General of the German Railways.

It deserves to be said at the outset that the latter period of this development is particularly characterised by the "via dolorosa" which was a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles and by the victory gained over the menace of particularism in the organisation and management of the German railway system.

"Remarkable as were the achievements of the German railways in the world war, there was no hiding the fact that the Army Command and Army Transport Corps were often greatly inconvienced by the way in which the eight different Federal States claimed their own particular share in the administration and control of the German railways. These experiences gave rise to the urgent desire for a uniform control of the German railway system.

Actually, the fusion of the eight different federal railway systems into one Reich system was brought about on April 1st, 1920, as a consequence of the so-called Heidelberg Programme 1918 and of the Weimar Constitution. The German railways were placed under the control of the newly-formed Reich Ministry of Transport. Despite this, however, the *Länder* succeeded in reserving for themselves certain rights and interests which were designed later on to operate as very grave stumbling blocks.

Influences of a domestic and foreign political character then began to make themselves felt to a very large extent in the further development of the German railways and brought it about that their management and control were left in the hands of private enterprise. With the stabilisation of the German mark in November 1923, the German Minister of Finance cancelled the state grants that had hitherto been given to the German railways which were now compelled to borrow money elsewhere. This brought into existence the private enterprise registered as "German Railways". It took upon itself to control and administer the railways which still remained the property of the Reich. The German Minister for Transport took over the duties of the Director General of the German Railways. The administration of the German Railways was made independent of all other Reich administration, a measure which constituted the first step towards economic and financial independence.

As the Versailles Treaty had impounded the entire property of the German Reich as security for the payment of reparations, the creditor countries proceeded to claim the German Railways as pledge. Actually, they were mortgaged to the extent of eleven milliard gold marks, and were charged with the necessity of raising the yearly sum of 660 million gold marks representing 5% interest and 1% amortisation. In addition, the proceeds of the Transport Tax to the extent of 290 million marks was bonded in respect of reparation payments. The German Railways as an enterprise became converted into a company in its own right, to be run as an independent private enterprise both as regards finance and personnel. A direct share in the administration was given to a Governing Body composed in part of foreigners. A foreign commissar was appointed to supervise the task of raising the reparation payments.

This solution amounted to an abandonment of Germany's sovereign rights over its most important means of communication, economically as well as from the viewpoint of national defence. It will be readily understood that it was a solution which weighed heavily on both administration and personnel.

Although the mortgage on the German railways was abolished in the year 1930 by virtue of the Young Plan and replaced by the imposition of a Reparations Tax designed

to enable the Reich to pay 660 million marks to the creditor countries, although this meant the disappearance of the international control bodies and the removal of foreigners from the administration, nevertheless the commitment still remained that alterations in the Statutes of the German railways were admissible only if made by a permanent committee of four members, two of whom were nominated by the German government and two by foreign powers.

The Lausanne Conference of 1932 foreshadowed the complete emancipation of the German railways from international ties of all description and abolished the payment of every form of reparations. But as the governments concerned continued to withhold their ratification, the German railways still remained shackled.

Throughout all these years the *Reichsbahn* was obliged to combat a sort of guerrilla warfare conducted by the provincial governments who were aspiring to gain certain privileges. The measures adopted by the *Reichsbahn* with a view to the promotion of national interests were often deliberately obstructed, as at Leipzig, for instance, where an attempt at reorganisation was defeated. It was also difficult in those days to keep the German Railways Company free from the influences of parliamentary groups. The reserved attitude adopted by the German railways towards the various political trends of those had the effect of placing the *Reichsbahn* in a sort of isolation, making it almost a State within a State.

The accession of the National Socialists to power led to the re-establishment of the *Reichsbahn* as a national institution belonging to the people. The manifold claims of the *Länder* faded into thin air, the senseless Leipzig anachronism was abolished, the *Reichsbahn* was reincorporated in the administrative apparatus of the Reich and the word "Company" deleted. Finally, the Führer's declaration of January 30th, 1937, and the consequent Law of February 10th liberated the German *Reichsbahn* from all remaining international ties. In this way, Germany regained complete sovereignty over its railways. German railway employees were restored to the position of civil servants in the direct employ of the State. It was given the sanction of law when the Führer appointed the Director-General to the post of German Minister for Transport and the deputy Director-General to the post of Secretary of State in the German Ministry of Transport."

Herr Kleinmann then went on to explain the "Railway Charter of Freedom," as he called it, as well as some of the measures adopted to give it permanency. In view of the misleading notions that have obtained currency abroad following certain publications, he was at pains to point out that no changes had occurred with regard to the preferred shares. This is apparent from the fact that the holders of these preferred shares are entitled by the new statutes to be represented on the Advisory Council. In conclusion, he explained how the close cooperation with the Ministry of Transport departments for shipping, waterways and automobile traffic provides for a frictionless and fruitful coordination as between the *Reichsbahn* and the other means of transportation, thus furnishing the possibility for the German transport system in its totality to develop in a way that will enable it to achieve outstanding results.

The change in the relations of the *Reichsbahn* to the State had of necessity to be buttressed in law. This matter is now proceeding apace and will be

carried out in strict keeping with the political philosophy of National Socialism. It will be done in accordance with two guiding principles, the conception of leadership and the insistence on personal responsibility.

Prerequisite for the realisation of the conception of leadership is the proper organic co-ordination in all industrial and technical domains and effective regimentation. Considerable progress has been made throughout this sphere since the advent of the National Socialist régime. Important results have already been achieved. In order to promote a general sense of personal responsibility, care is taken to allow subordinates as much independence of action as is compatible with the requirements of an authoritarian guidance. Efforts to simplify the administrative machinery have long since been initiated.

The reorganisation has enabled the *Reichsbahn* to become an integral part of the German economic system which, as already indicated, has likewise been entirely reorganised. The *Reichsbahn* is represented on the Advisory Council of the German Chamber of Industry with a view to direct collaboration.

This collaboration of the *Reichsbahn* played a highly significant part in combatting unemployment and in the utilisation of the new synthetic products of German industry. So far the biggest projects which the Reich has engaged in have been tendered by the *Reichsbahn*. Roughly 60% of all projects financed by public funds have been in connection with the German railways. The total amount of money expended in this direction since 1933 amounts to 6 milliard marks. The *Reichsbahn* has been engaged for some considerable time in carrying on practical and scientific research with regard to the possibilities of reducing its requirements of foreign raw materials. It intends to set an example in the matter of helping along the Second Four Year Plan by making the changeover to German metals, fabrics and fuel as well as in the domain of freights and fares where the introduction of a new system is designed to counterbalance the higher costs of producing the synthetic materials.

As a state-controlled undertaking in the service of the nation, the *Reichsbahn* has only one aim, and that is, to concentrate all its efforts, not on profit-making, but on achieving a balance in its debit and credit account. Since the year 1933, it has been able to meet to the full the total annual debit in respect of debt services, reserve funds, and so forth and even to pay off certain arrears incurred in the years of business recession.

Growing competition on the part of other means of transportation, notably the automobile, has in the meantime given rise to the problem of how to coordinate the two spheres of railway and road transport.

The incorporation of the newly-created German motorways system in the *Reichsbahn* organisation has thus acquired symbolic significance. As the chief means of public transport and communication it stands to reason that the *Reichsbahn* must strive, in this conflict between road and rail traffic, to build up its position in accordance with its importance as a State and national institution. Yet at the same time it must seek to utilise the automobile to an increasing extent for the improvement and further development of the national system

of transportation. It has therefore put in service 2,000 autocars and 700 trailers, enabling 6,000 places to be linked up with the general network of communications.

By providing for a proper balance between revenue and expenditure and by achieving an equitable solution of the problem of road and rail competition the *Reichsbahn* has been able to stabilise fares and freight rates to the great benefit of the nation as a whole.

It considers the third class passenger fare of 4 pfennigs per kilometre too high and desires a reduction. The financial position and the requirements of the Reich government do not allow of such a step being taken at present, so that the *Reichsbahn* has had to restrict its policy in this direction to the grant of special facilities. The nature of these facilities is determined by considerations derived from the governmental policy with regard to cultural matters and population increase as an essential aspect of the general policy of national integration.

The *Reichsbahn* is putting forth every effort to bring its equipment up to the latest standard of technical achievement. It has continued to develop the construction of steam locomotives: the latest stream-lined locomotive achieved during test runs a speed of over 125 miles an hour with a trainload of 300 tons (see Picts. 132, 133).

At the same time, the *Reichsbahn* is proceeding with the electrification of big stretches of line. Combustion engines are being employed in railway traffic in keeping with their rapid technical development. Stream-lined cars fitted with high-powered Diesel engines are being used for express communications and help to cut down the time interval between the connections. The latest with their three separate compartments attain a speed of 205 kilometres an hour.

To the well-established express stream-lined car connections Berlin–Hamburg, Berlin–Cologne, Frankfurt-on-Main–Berlin and Cologne–Altona, have, of recent years, been added the connections Munich–Nuremberg–Berlin, Stuttgart–Nuremberg–Berlin and Beuthen–Breslau–Berlin. The first three-compartment stream-lined cars of the type "Leipzig" have been put in service for the first time on the last-mentioned stretch. Unlike the "Hamburg" type of car, which has only first and second class, the "Leipzig" type has a third class compartment (see Picts. 131, 134).

The early part of October 1936 saw the ceremonial opening of the Stralsund–Rügen Dam, which effects a substantial improvement in the railway connections between Scandinavia and Central Europe. It was an event of great moment for the future of the German railways.

Extensive improvements in all other domains such as in the construction of the railway track, in the signal and safety system, in carriage construction and equipment, and so forth have been carried out to meet the demand of the travelling public for a maximum degree of safety, punctuality and comfort. It can be said without exaggeration that the German railways are, in a technical sense, among the best in the world.

"Motorisation"

Adolf Hitler gave out this slogan at the opening on February 11th, 1933, only a few days after his accession to power, of the first Automobile Show in the New Germany. The idea had been set up by the Führer long before this as an integral part of his total programme. Then, a little later, the Führer was able to announce to the monster nocturnal May Day gathering assembled on the Tempelhofer Feld that a beginning would be made in translating this project into reality.

In this way the revival of the German automobile industry and the construction of the gigantic system of motorway became two paramount objectives of the first Four Years Plan. It is a programme at long sight, born of the clear knowledge of the nature and future possibilities of automobile transport. At the same time, it creates the possibility of combatting unemployment by energizing the automobile industry and by putting thousands of men to work on big road construction projects. This is one of the reasons why the construction of the Reich motorways has been taken up with so much energy and determination.

The German Motorways Project

The Law of June 27th, 1933, appointed Dr. Fritz Todt plenipotentiary Inspector-General for the German Roadways, and made him, as such, directly subordinate to Chancellor Hitler who has himself taken over ministerial responsibility for this domain[1].

The German Motorways Company *(Reichsautobahnen)*, with a capital of 50 million marks, was founded at the same time as a subsidiary of the German Railways *(Reichsbahn)*, The German government justified this piece of legislation by stating:

"Control over the German Motorways is reposed in the hands of the German Railway Company on the assumption that the conflict between road and rail can be settled only by placing the entire long-distance goods traffic under a centralised control. The present piece of legislation constitutes an important step in this direction. In order to insure a sound financial development, the undertaking is founded as an independent body with recognised rights and duties, except that for the above-mentioned reasons, the German Railway Company shall take over its administration and representation."

Germany owned about 300,000 kilometres of constructed roadways of which approximately 100,000 kilometres possessed major importance as transit routes. Something like 25,000 kilometres were regarded as main traffic highways. This network of roads, which had been built originally for other means of transport than automobiles had to be gradually adapted to automobile traffic. This

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[1] Dr. Fritz Todt was born at Pforzheim in Baden in 1891. He is one of the veterans of the National Socialist Party. Prior to being appointed to his present post, he was the technical director of a big road building company. Hence his intimate acquaintance with all local features and national aspects of the German road system.

is a matter which cannot be carried out to the full extent. The rural roads have to be supplemented by a network of big traffic arteries capable of dealing with long-distance motor transportation.

According to the law to which we have already alluded, the motorways are public highways to be used exclusively for general automobile transport and travel. The German Motorways Company owns the exclusive right to construct and maintain the motorways and is under the direct control of the German government. The Inspector-General is responsible for the layout and appearance of the motorways. He is responsible for drawing up the construction plans which he generally does after first consulting the local authorities. The German Motorways Company has the right to levy a toll for the use of the motorways.

Quite apart from the above-mentioned foundation capital of 50 million marks, the financing of the building projects occurs by the German government directly. In this connection, it deserves to be borne in mind that about 35% of the total cost is covered by the money saved on the total of unemployment relief and from 25–30% by the additional revenue from taxation resulting from the industrial revival. Moreover, the German Motorways Company is empowered to borrow funds with the sanction of the German government and the German Railway Company.

The Roads of Adolf Hitler

The original plan was that the network of motorways totalling about 7,000 kilometres in length should form the main arteries of German automobile transport when the seven year building plan has been completed. Rural roads and towns in all parts of the Reich were to be linked up with this network. But at the end of December 1937, the Führer announced that the network would be given additional intersecting lines bringing the total length in excess of the 10,000 kilometres originally planned by as much as 2,000 kilometres, exclusive of the 1,100 kilometres comprised in the first programme of Austrian re-construction.

The motorways are not being constructed according to a uniform plan, since each section is being adjusted to local geographical conditions. The main routes are 24 metres in width, divided into two 7.50 metre wide carriage ways separated from each other by a paved central strip measuring 5 metres across. While in the Lowland areas the incline rarely exceeds 3–4/100, there are stretches in the Highland regions where it amounts to upwards of 7/100. Likewise the curvature varies from 2,000 metres in the Lowland areas to as much as 400 metres and less in the mountainous regions. When getting out the general design the greatest care is taken to insure that the lines fit in well with the contours of the landscape (see Picts. 135, 136).

To what vast extent recourse had to be taken to the marshalling of productive forces for the solution of this task is indicated in the sums spent on this project since the year 1933. Upwards of 2.1 milliard marks have been expended on the construction of the motorways down to the end of the business year 1937. At the same time, increased sums of money have been spent on the improvement of other road systems throughout Germany. By September 1936, the first 1,000 kilo-

metres of motorways were thrown open to the public. This happened on the third anniversary of the day when the Führer performed the ceremony of turning the first sod. By December 1937, 2,000 kilometres of motorways were open to traffic. The position at the beginning of 1938 was 2,014 kilometres open to traffic, 1,623 kilometres under construction, 1,931 kilometres sanctioned for construction and 1,332 kilometres planned. The map on pages 280—281 shows the progress made in construction up to August 1st, 1938.

Nearly 115,000 workers are directly employed on the project which, according to trustworthy estimate has indirectly, through the impetus it has given to the building material industry, building machine industry and foodstuff and clothing industries, provided work for half a million persons. The amount of earth and rock removed in the process of construction has reached something like 250 million cubic metres. At the peak of construction in the year 1937, the project as a whole was necessitating the employment of about 3,250 building locomotives, 60,000 trolleys and hundreds of building machines of all descriptions. Upwards of 3,900 kilometres of trolley lines were also laid down and in use.

In order to guarantee the carrying out of the programme of motorway construction, which foresees the completion of 1,000 kilometres annually, it was decided to raise the benzine and benzol duties by four marks and the mineral equalisation tax by five marks. In addition, a so-called Tara levy was imposed which had the effect of increasing the price of petrol in Germany by three pfennigs or 9% per litre. There was also a corresponding adjustment of the gasoline duties.

In this way, the German Ministry for Finance succeeded in getting all automobile and lorry owners in Germany to help finance the motorways project whilst pointing out at the same time the saving of petrol (roughly 15%) effected by car and lorry owners in making use of the motorways. No tolls are charged for the use of the motorways although this provides another method of helping to finance the project. It must be borne in mind that cars using the motorways suffer much less wear and tear as it is possible to drive hundreds of kilometres on the smooth surface without employing the brakes or even changing gear.

Roadways help to promote international tourist traffic which Germany needs to improve its foreign trade balance. Certain obstacles to the development of autocar and automobile travel have been done away with and tourists visiting Germany are able to enjoy all the modern amenities of travel. Apart from this, the new motorways acquire importance from the viewpoint of national defence.

To be sure, the expenditure on the construction of roads and motorways entails burdens which have in part to be borne by the owners of automobiles. The increase in the import duties on motor fuels to which recourse had to be had in 1936 and the imposition of a freight tax in respect of long-distance road transportation and of autocar tax were designed as means for financing the construction and maintenance of the motorways. Motor transport has come to play such an extensive part in the life of the country that it is able to bear these burdens without ill effect upon the sales of the motorcar industry. The com-

pletion of 1,000 kilometres of motorways has naturally called for the establishment of a vast number of roadside amenities such as, for example, the erection of hotels. Preliminary work in this direction has been under way for some considerable time. A motorway hotel park, for instance, has already been erected in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg from designs drawn up by Professor March, the architect of the Reich Sports Field in Berlin. Another motorway hotel and restaurant establishment, having its own bathing beach, has come into existence on the shores of Lake Chiem. Furthermore, work has commenced on the construction of about fifty petrol stations and a whole series of practical innovations for facilitating transport and travel.

Other countries are beginning to evince a profound interest in the German motorways. German engineers have noted with satisfaction that a number of European countries are taking a practical interest in this pacific venture which Germany has engaged upon with the construction of the motorways. Consultations have taken place between Germany and Italy with the object of linking up their networks of motorways. Present plans foresee the achievement of this by the year 1941. Denmark is contemplating big road development schemes with a view to linking up its roadway system with that of Germany. Negotiations have been opened with Holland with the object of determining at which points the main arterial roads will be carried across the frontier. Parisian road experts have adopted the term "Autostrad" (motorway) to describe the new big arterial roads leading from the French capital, whilst in Belgium all the latest road building projects are being modelled on the German motorway system. These facts were disclosed by Dr. Todt, Director-General of the German Motorways, in an article to the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*. He concluded this article with the remark: "We trust that this technical achievement will be regarded as proof of our desire and ability to contribute our part towards the promotion of peace and sincere international cooperation."

Energizing the Automobile Industry

Simultaneous with the construction of the motorways, the German government has inaugurated, mainly through taxation measures, the large-scale revival of the automobile industry.

As early as April 1933, all new cars and motor bicycles purchased for private use were exempted from the Motorcar Tax. Then, a little later, the owners of cars purchased prior to the above date were granted the privilege of paying off this tax in a single lump sum. Subsequently, considerable tax remissions were allowed on the purchase of motorcar accessories by trade owners of cars. According to the 1934 provisions of the Income Tax Law, no income tax, corporative tax or industrial tax will be levied on automobiles which have been purchased for business, trade or professional purposes provided their owners keep regular accounts of their affairs. The amount saved by car owners in consequence of these provisions is in some cases as much as 70% of the purchase price of the car.

These fiscal measures were accompanied by an effective publicity campaign. The Automobile Show was made more and more into an event designed to attract the general public. The State began to patronise motor racing sport with the result that Germany was able to claim a long series of outstanding victories in international racing events. The major impetus, however, was given by the Motor Corps of the Nationalist Socialist Party (NSKK.) which built up a big organisation of persons trained in the handling of motorcars and motor bicycles. The general industrial revival also largely stimulated motorcar production.

A rising curve of automobile sales is just one of the things which characterise the first years of the National Socialist régime. Annual sales of private cars now exceeds 220,000, while those of motor bicycles have reached the astounding figure of 235,000. From the summer of 1932 to the early part of 1938, the number of private cars in use in Germany rose from 1.63 million to 2.85 million, that is, an addition since the advent of the National Socialist régime of 1.22 million. Germany has now more car owners than either Great Britain or France. According to the latest computations, there are 2.85 million car and motor cycle owners in Germany as against 2.3 million in Great Britain and 2.2 million in France. Actually, there are fewer motorcar owners in Germany than in Great Britain or France, and far more owners of motor cycles, whilst it must also be taken into consideration that Germany, exclusive of Austria, has a population of 68 million compared with Great Britain's 47 million and France's 42 million.

The growth of automobile traffic in Germany is plainly shown by the following figures:—

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Automobile production (in million marks)	388	660	972	1073	1265
Private cars (in thousands)	92.6	147.3	201.4	240.3	263.7
Lorries and delivery cars (in thousands)	12.4	25.4	38.9	55.6	59.1
New automobiles purchased (in thousands):—					
Private cars	82.0	130.9	180.2	213.2	216.5
Lorries, delivery cars, omnibuses	11.6	23.5	33.8	45.9	45.2
Motor bicycles	57.8	89.6	102.8	125.1	141.6
Tractors, incl. caterpiller tractors	—	—	6.6	8.9	11.0
Export (in million marks)	32.9	32.8	54.1	81.8	142.1

The share of the leading German automobile manufacturing firms in the total of 216,538 private car sales concluded in the year 1937 was as follows: Opel 75,308, Auto-Union 54,765, Daimler-Benz 23,679, Adler 17,177, Ford 16,141, Hanomag 8,411, BMW 6,828, Hansa 5,486, Stoewer 913 and Maybach 179. The corresponding figures for motor-lorry sales concluded in the same year are: Opel 15,766, Ford 7,262, Hansa-Lloyd 4,347, Daimler-Benz 4,123, Büsing-NAG 2,293, Magirus 1,519, Krupp 1,269, MAN 866, Phänomen 737, Henschel 488.

Remarkable progress has been achieved in Germany in automobile design and construction, especially with regard to the development of the Diesel engine and the mass production of the "people's car." The latter is receiving the greatest encouragement from the Führer. Actually, Germany is turning out each year better and cheaper cars. Prices fell an average of 10% between 1932 and 1936, and in the autumn of 1936 the prices of the more popular models underwent a further reduction of from 6 to 14%.

The motorisation will continue to be expedited as the result of measures taken within the framework of the second Four Years Plan: "The automobile has become a part of our industrial life and must continue to be regarded as such." This dictum uttered by Dr. Julius Dorpmüller, Minister for Transport and Director-General of the German Railways, very ably describes the standpoint adopted by the German government in this matter.

The People's Car

On May 26th, 1938, in Fallersleben on the Mittelland Kanal, the Führer laid the foundation stone of the big factory where, at the instigation of the Strength Through Joy Movement, a start will be made with the construction of the People's Car. The project foresees, apart from the erection of the factory buildings, the construction of a special harbour on the Mittelland Kanal and the laying out of a new town which when completed will include 28 existing communes. The town will have a population, to begin with, of 30,000 inhabitants, increasing later on to 60,000. (At present, Fallersleben has a population of 2,500).

After Dr. Ley had greeted the Führer as the sole patron of the People's Car and thanked Dr. Porsche, the inventor, a report on the work already accomplished was read by Dr. Lafferenz. He revealed that, following the foundation of a company for furthering the production of the people's car, a grant of fifty million marks had been obtained for the purpose of taking immediate measures. A preliminary series of thirty people's cars had been constructed from designs drawn up by Dr. Porsche. These cars had undergone severe tests and had proved their worth in every respect so that a start could straightaway be made on their mass production.

The People's Car will be produced in three models, as an open car, limousine and cabrio-limousine. Equipped with floating axles, it has a length of 4.20 metres, stands 1.55 metres high and is 1.55 metres in width. It weighs 650 kilogrammes. It has seating accommodation for 4 or 5 persons. The engine developing 24 h.p. is mounted at the rear and has a normal consumption of from six to seven litres of petrol and one-tenth litre oil for the hundred kilometres. It has a steady maximum speed of one hundred kilometres an hour. The price is 990 marks delivered at the factory. A novel system by which intending purchasers may both save up the money needed to buy the car as well as to pay for its insurance has been introduced. The minimum instalment rate has been fixed, at the completion of the first six months, at five marks a week for the car itself and about one mark a week for the insurance.

In his address, the Führer said that he had always looked upon the problem of motorisation as providing a means of combating unemployment. Prior to his accession to power, Germany with an annual production of 46,000 cars, was lagging far behind other countries. The first step in the direction of motorisation was the abandonment of the hitherto prevailing view that the motorcar was an article of luxury. The German people was in need of from six to seven million cars. The decisive factor was to bring the purchase and upkeep costs in accord with the income of the average citizen. The motorcar would have to become a popular means of transport and then it would cease to be something which threatened to divide the nation into classes.

If the German people took to spending for instance all they earned on the purchase of foodstuffs this would lead to a national catastrophe. For this reason, it was imperative to guide the purchasing power of the people into other channels. This aim will also be served by the People's Car, which will provide a field of investment for hundreds of million marks annually.

Notwithstanding this vast development, the People's Car will not constitute a serious competition to the other makes of cars, as it will be sold to the broad masses who otherwise would not buy a car at all. It has been created to give joy to the broad masses of the people and for this reason it will be called the "*KdF* Car" (Strength through Joy Car). At the same time, its construction means the creation of a model German working town.

Tourist Traffic

The National Socialist régime was quick to recognise the importance of tourist traffic, and immediately set about the task of reorganising the entire tourist industry.

The Law of June 23rd, 1933 relating to the "Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic" created an organisation for coordinating under the direct guidance of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda, the activities of all authorities, associations and travel concerns engaged in the promotion of tourist traffic. It set up, in fact, a common front, headed by the Reich Foreign Travel Association, which is a federation of 24 provincial travel associations each of which is composed for the most part of inland and seaside resorts and spas. The publicity work is carried out by these municipal bodies which are thus able to make use of the services of the travel associations, tourist offices, spa administrations and similar bodies. The president of the Reich Foreign Travel Association is Hermann Esser, former member of the Bavarian government, who had already gained a high reputation as an ardent promoter of tourist traffic. The Association was converted into a public corporation by virtue of a government enactment of March 26th, 1936, and is now the competent authority in Germany for dealing with all matters relating to tourist traffic.

The German Railways naturally play an outstanding role in the Reich Committee and have taken over the tourist publicity conducted within Germany as well as abroad. This mission has been entrusted to the care of the German

Railways' Tourist Department which seeks with the aid of all modern means of publicity to encourage the foreign travelling public to visit Germany. It has set up its own tourist information offices in all the principal countries. Incidentally, it was entrusted with the task of carrying out the publicity side of the last Olympic Games and did so with rare distinction. Some idea of the extent of its general task may be gathered from the fact that the number of folders and leaflets, and other forms of publicity literature, distributed abroad by the German Railways' Tourist Department during the last few years runs into millions.

This well-conducted publicity has certainly been very fruitful of results. Since the year 1932 Germany has been steadily growing in favour with the travelling public. The German hotel industry reports, for instance, that taking the room occupied for twenty-four hours as a unit, the annual total had soared from 49 million in the year 1932 to 72 million in 1936. That represents an increase of 47%. The annual total of hotel guests likewise increased from 14 million in 1932 to 19 million. Still more encouraging is the steady rise in the stream of foreign tourists. The nightly stayover figure in this case jumped from 2.7 million in 1932 to 6.6 million in 1936, representing an increase of 144%. The number of foreign visitors to Germany rose from 1.1 million to 2.1 million, or almost twice as many. These figures disclose the fact that the general tendency is for foreign visitors to extend their sojourn in Germany. The average length of stay in the year 1936 was almost 38% longer than in the year 1932.

Some conception of the organisational capabilities of the German travel and tourist administration may be gathered from the fact that, during the Olympic Games, for instance, it made arrangements for putting on 2,159 extra trains to convey in the matter of a few days upwards of 1.2 million persons to Berlin and back again, and that the Berlin Municipal Railway dealt in the two weeks the Games lasted with a monster rush of 28.4 million passengers.

The annual Party Congress in Nuremberg makes great demands upon the organisational ability of the German Railways. In the year 1936, about 1,200 extra trains were put in service to convey the million persons who attended the big event in that year. It necessitated the rebuilding of several railway stations in the immediate vicinity of Nuremberg. Tasks of a similar character had to be carried out in connection with other monster gatherings, such as the Harvest Festival on the Bückeberg. Extra trains to the number of 450 were used in 1936 to convey the masses to and from the ceremony within the matter of a few hours.

The total number of passengers conveyed on the German Railways in the year 1935 amounted to 1.5 milliard as compared with 1.2 milliard in the year 1933. By way of generous reduction in fares—foreign travellers in Germany are allowed, for instance, a 40% reduction on the ordinary fare if the ticket is purchased abroad—passenger traffic was increased to such an extent that the proceeds from this source alone rose from 846 million marks in 1933 to 989 million marks in 1935, representing an increase of 17%. This despite the fact that takings calculated in terms of passenger per kilometre dropped from 2.81 to

2.5 pfennigs. The many new projects resulted in a considerable increase in the personnel, namely, from 593,000 in the year 1933 to 656,000.

Germany is engaged in a systematic manner in improving its means of travel and communication. The speed of travel on the railways has shown a steady increase during the last few years, largely due to the introduction of Diesel-engined stream-lined cars which, as already mentioned, are now running regularly on all the main routes. Travel in Germany has long been disassociated from discomforts of all kinds, thanks to a large extent to the Mitropa, the renowned subsidiary of the German Railways Company which has long held the monopoly of catering for passengers on saloon cars and air liners. It also runs a number of leading hotels. It gives accommodation each night to an average of 2,000 guests and daily caters for an average of 50,000 persons.

The new "Glass Trains", whose generous length of window furnish travellers with a magnificent view of the passing landscape, have been introduced on those stretches of line that are renowned for their scenery. A popular innovation are the double deck car trains on the Lübeck–Büchener Railway. They run between Hamburg and Lübeck and offer a view from a "high point of vantage". This type of railway-car has proved such a success that, shortly after their introduction, further cars had to be placed in commission.

Innovations and improvements are also the order of the day in the domain of air travel. The German Lufthansa is employing machines of outstanding efficiency capable of reaching a speed of 220 miles an hour.

Germany has every reason to be proud of its achievements in airship construction. The Zeppelin oversea services will be resumed, showing that the German people will not allow the disaster to the "Hindenburg" to rob them for a moment of their confidence in airship travel.

Year in year out Germany is able to offer its visitors an abundance of attractions of all kinds. There is, to mention only one example, the renowned Bayreuth Festival which attracts music-lovers from all parts of the world. The attendance in the year 1936 was 27,000, or twice as many as in the year 1933.

Exhibitions of all sorts are held in the extensive permanent exhibition grounds in Berlin and other cities, such as Hamburg, Cologne, Dresden, Munich, Düsseldorf, etc., not to mention the Leipzig Fair, which is held in the Spring and Autumn of each year and is an event of supreme significance for world trade. German museums are replete with highly interesting treasures and exhibits. The famous block of museum buildings on the so-called "Museum Island" in Berlin contains collections of ancient art as well as priceless samples of the achievement of ancient and classical art, German art, Christian and Byzantine art, also collections of Italian and Dutch masters. Technical achievement is displayed in the German Museum in Munich, military relics in the Berlin Armoury and the Middle Ages in the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg.

Sporting events of a cosmopolitan character include the race meetings at Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, and Baden-Baden, the international tennis tournaments at Hamburg, Pyrmont, Baden-Baden, Berlin and at the various inland

spas and Baltic seaside resorts, and, in particular, the annual Kiel Regatta and the Yachting Week at Travemünde and Warnemünde. Each year motor racing enthusiasts from all countries foregather at the Nürburg Ring in the Eifel, near the Rhine, at the Berlin Avus and at other places in Germany where big international racing events are staged. The Bavarian Alps as a centre for winter sports are second to none. Finally, to those who travel in search of amusement and entertainment Berlin, Hamburg or Vienna can offer just as much as Paris or London, whilst lovers of display are well advised to appear at carnival time in Cologne, Düsseldorf or Mayence, or to visit the Munich Carnival.

The tourist industry in Germany has undergone an astounding revival under the National Socialist régime. Germany can stand comparison with any other country in the world in the abundance of places of interest and the excellency of its travel amenities (see Picts. 137 to 142).

Shipping

The position of German shipping remained unfavourable over a long period prior to the National Socialist revolution. Freights had touched a low level and ocean liners were running at a dead loss. Moreover, the pressure exerted by the foreign exchange policy of the Anglo-Saxon countries on the development of the freight rates and passenger fares, which were calculated on a gold basis, resulted in a falling off in the takings of the German shipping companies down to the year 1934. It was not until the year 1935 that a definite change for the better occurred. The net revenue of the shipping companies rose from 426 million marks in the year 1934 to 454 million marks in the year 1935.

On January 1st, 1937, the German mercantile fleet comprised 3,579 sea-going vessels of 3,887,000 gross tonnage. As the subjoined table shows, it was not until the year 1937 that German shipping showed signs of having at last surmounted the crisis. The number of sea-going vessels with a gross capacity of upwards of 50 cubic metres was (in 1,000 register tons):

on January 1st, 1914	5,239	on January 1st, 1933	3,957
1920[1]	320	1934	3,808
1924	3,008	1935	3,737
1931	4,364	1936	3,705
1932	4,318	1937	3,887

The world trade depression had put an end to the post-war task of rehabilitating German shipping. Definite progress had been made in this task until about the end of 1930, when a setback resulted in the decrease of German mercantile shipping tonnage by upwards of 400,000 registered tons. Although the German shipbuilding yards had started to get busy again in 1934, not until the year 1936 was Germany able to announce a substantial increase in its mercantile fleet. The number of sea-going vessels at the beginning of 1937 showed an increase on the previous year of 62 vessels, representing 182,000 register tons in all.

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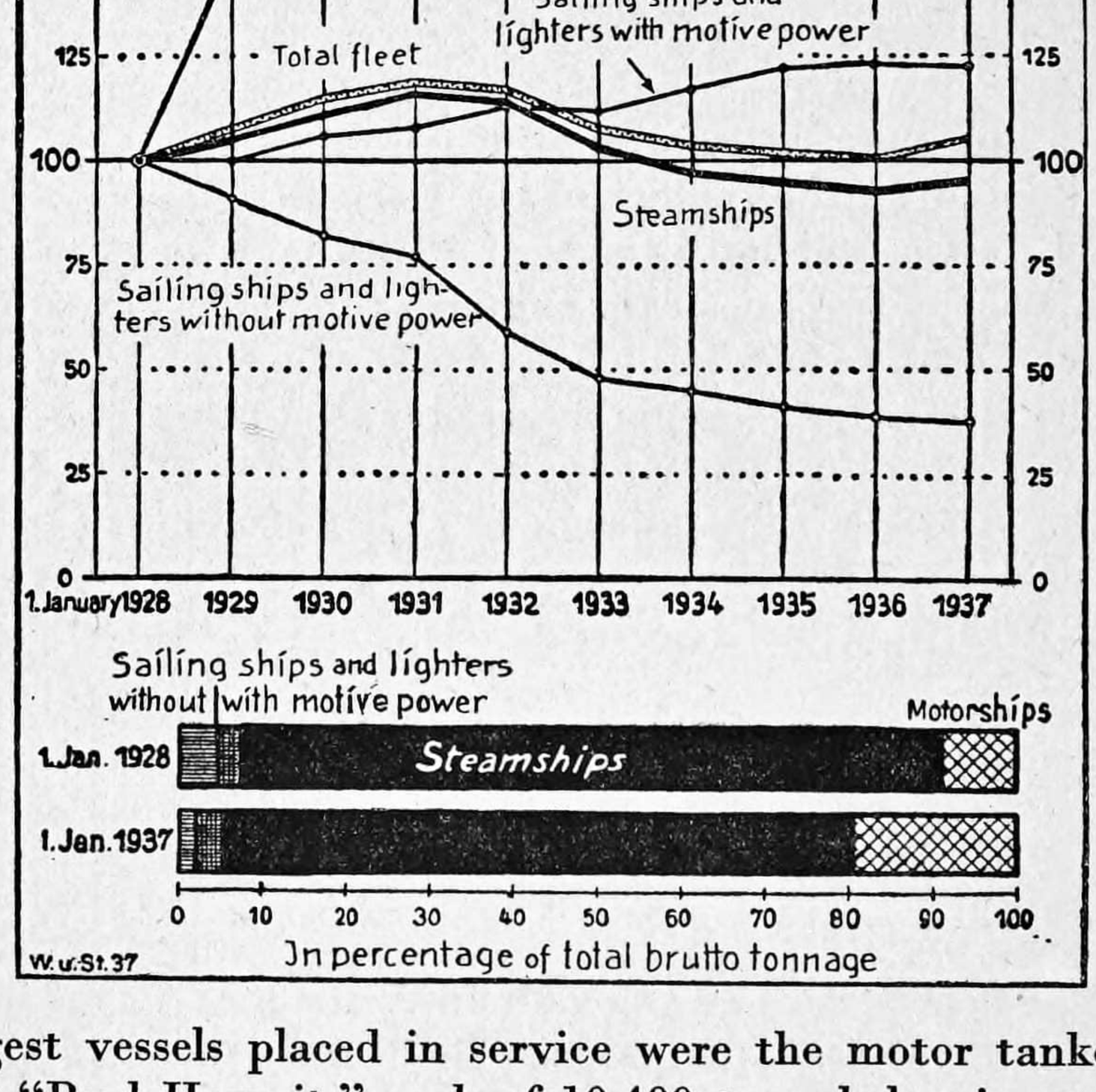
[1] Following the surrender of ships and in consequence of war losses.

Meanwhile, the German mercantile fleet has grown to what it was in the year 1934. It is now steadily approaching the pre-war figure.

Of the 107 new ships placed in service in the year 1936, two of a combined tonnage of 10,858 registered tons were built abroad, whilst 59 were merchant ships totalling 168,000 reg. tons, and 43 fishing trawlers totalling 13,000 reg. tons.



The two biggest vessels placed in service were the motor tankers "Friedrich Brehme" and "Paul Harneit," each of 10,400 tons, belonging to the German-American Petroleum Company, and the two motorships "Ehrenfels" and "Reichenfels," each of 7,750 tons, belonging to the Hansa Shipping Company. The number of actual merchantmen (freighters and passenger steamers) increased in the year 1936 by 23 vessels, which raised the total tonnage by 143,000 registered tons to 3,68 million registered tons. At the same time, the fishing fleet was increased by 33 trawlers and 23,000 registered tons (inclusive of the 12,000 ton whaler "Jan Wellem") to 150,000 registered tons.

A visit to any of the big German seaports in the year 1932 would have sufficed to give ample proof of the frightful shipping slump prevailing at that time. Ship's tonnage lying idle in January 1933 comprised 303 ships totalling 917,818 registered tons. These figures had fallen a year later to 149 ships totalling 522,833 registered tons. A further improvement in the situation was revealed by the figures for January 1st, 1935, namely, 62 ships totalling 311,895 tons, whilst on January 1st, 1937, all that remained of the big fleet of idle shipping was a total of 25 ships representing 57,637 registered tons. The number of unemployed seamen showed a parallel development from 11,216 in 1933 to 8,697 at the beginning of 1934, to 6,318 at the beginning of 1935, to 5,593 on January 1st, 1936 and to 4,886 on January 1st, 1937. It deserves to be remarked that the extent of idle shipping invariably undergoes a temporary increase during the latter part of December and first half of January. In July, 1936, for instance, there were only 13 ships, totalling 42,235 tons, lying idle in German seaports and the number of unemployed seamen had been reduced to 2,115. The annual payroll had grown from 88 million marks in 1933 to 98 million marks in 1934 and to 104 million marks in 1935.

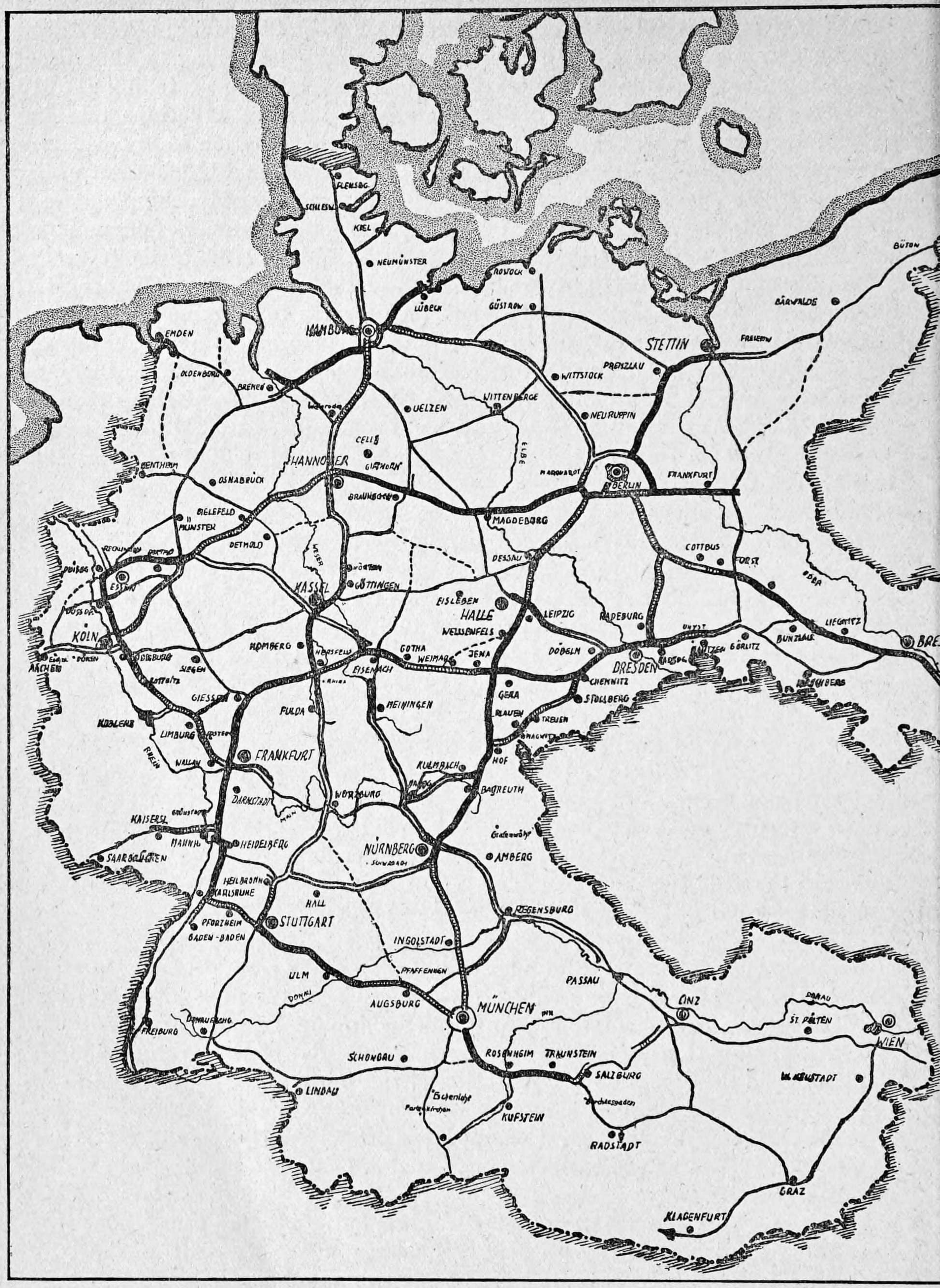
Ship-building showed a still more marked recovery. In the year 1933 there were in all 42 ships (137,391 reg. tons) under construction, of which 34 had been ordered by German firms and 15 were for delivery abroad. These figures had increased in 1934 to 98 ships (257,696 reg. tons), of which 84 were additions to Germany's mercantile fleet and 14 for delivery abroad. In 1935, the figure had risen to 197 ships (616,384 reg. tons), 123 German and 74 foreign, and in 1936 to as many as 349 ships (1,095,821 reg. tons) of which 228 were German and 121 foreign.

The asset side of German shipping has likewise shown an increase. It has improved the national revenue by 213 and 219 million marks in the years 1933 and 1934 and then by as much as 232 million marks in the year 1935.

The economic position of the German shipping companies underwent a further improvement in the year 1936. The joint assets have risen from 213 million marks in the year 1933 to 303 million marks. The revenue from freight shipping has grown from 321 million marks to 410 million marks.

Recently, various statements have been forthcoming from prominent persons in the German shipping world in explanation of the policy that has been adopted for giving a new impetus to German shipping. Herr Essberger, director of the Shipping Department of the Reich Federation of the Traffic Industry, has described the complete rehabilitation of the German mercantile fleet as the immediate goal of German shipping, whereby he expressed the demand that German shipping should recover the position occupied prior to the World War (5,4 million registered tons, which constituted at that time 11.3% of the world's mercantile fleet).

The goal is therefore set very high when it is borne in mind that foreign trade conditions have undergone an incisive change compared with the pre-war period. But the change-over from free trade to a state-controlled economy has


FLENSBG.
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ROSTOCK
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EMDEN
HAMBURG
STETTIN
FREIENW.
PRENZLAU
WITTSTOCK
OLDENBURG
BREMEN
WITTENBERGE
UELZEN
NEURUPPIN
CELLE
HANNOVER
GIFHORN
ELBE
OSNABRÜCK
BERLIN
FRANKFURT
BRAUNSCHW.
BIELEFELD
MÜNSTER
MAGDEBURG
DETMOLD
WESER
COTTBUS
DESSAU
GÖTTINGEN
KASSEL
EISLEBEN
HALLE
LEIPZIG
BADEBURG
WELSSENFELS
KÖLN
HÖXTER
GOTHA
WEIMAR
JENA
DÖBELN
DRESDEN
HOMBERG
EISENACH
SIEGEN
GERA
CHEMNITZ
STOLLBERG
MEININGEN
FULDA
GIESSEN
PLAUEN
KOBLENZ
LIMBURG
HOF
KULMBACH
FRANKFURT
WALLAU
RHEIN
BAYREUTH
WÜRZBURG
DARMSTADT
MAIN
KAISERSL.
HEIDELBERG
NÜRNBERG
AMBERG
SAARBRÜCKEN
HEILBRONN
KARLSRUHE
HALL
STUTTGART
PFORZHEIM
BADEN-BADEN
REGENSBURG
INGOLSTADT
ULM
DONAU
PFAFFENHOFEN
PASSAU
AUGSBURG
MÜNCHEN
INN
LINZ
DONAU
ST. PÖLTEN
WIEN
FREIBURG
SCHONGAU
ROSENHEIM
TRAUNSTEIN
SALZBURG
LINDAU
KUFSTEIN
RADSTADT
GRAZ
KLAGENFURT

"... At a time when more than six million persons were out of work, it would have been foolhardy if not criminal for those in charge of the nation's economic affairs to concern themselves with plans and projects which had little chance of being realised even under normal conditions. Everything had to obey one single command: Create work! But in what field is it possible to create more chances of labour than, if reason is to have its way, in that one where things are most backward?

... However, the National Socialist seeks to promote the motorisation of our communications not only by virtue of these purely economic considerations. As long as the automobile remains a means of transport for the wealthy, it will be difficult to deprive it of a character that emphasizes class differences, a character which clings to it from the past and which still unfortunately makes it a class dividing factor. It is a bitter feeling to know that, from the very outset, millions of diligent and capable fellow-creatures are excluded from using an instrument of transport which might be not only particularly useful to them in their otherwise restricted living conditions but which would become to them a source of happiness especially on Sundays and during their holidays.

... It is therefore the intention of the National Socialist conduct of State affairs in promoting the production of automobiles not only to give new impetus to industry and work and bread to hundreds of thousands of human beings but also to furnish ever greater masses of our people with the opportunity of acquiring this most modern means of transport."

(Excerpt from Adolf Hitler's address to the Motor Trade, March 1934.)

undoubtedly had the effect of greatly increasing the importance of the role played by shipping in the development of the national economy. Within the framework of the new Four Years Plan, this role appears as an endeavour to obtain additional supplies of foreign money as well as to avoid the necessity of German travellers and shippers paying in foreign money by affording them increasing possibilities of using German ships.

This is something not easy of attainment. The leader of German ocean-going shipping has also listed the obstacles which have to be surmounted. In the first place, there is the financial problem. It is still very difficult for shipping companies to pay their own way. They still require state subsidies. On the other hand, the state cannot afford to make a constant habit of subsidising shipping. Secondly, the enormous revival of German shipbuilding has brought it about that many shipbuilding companies are unable to accept short-term orders. Shipbuilding is today undoubtedly one of the branches of industry to experience a pronounced boom, partly as a result of the national rearmament programme and partly as the result of the growing demand at home and abroad for mercantile tonnage. In view of the present state of German foreign trade, it is undoubtedly very encouraging to read that the German shipbuilding yards are contributing their part by accepting orders from abroad, even though the majority of these orders are in the nature of barter deals and, on the whole, do not bring in much foreign money. On the other hand, a comparison with other countries, notably with Great Britain, brings to light an essential difference in the nature of this German shipbuilding revival. There has been a substantial increase in shipbuilding activity in England, mercantile as well as naval. But nearly all the orders have been placed either by the government or by British shipping companies. Thus, of about 930,000 tons of shipping now under construction, only some 30,000 tons represent foreign orders.

Dr. Hoffmann, of the Hamburg America Line, in a statement on German shipping policy with respect to new constructions, has declared that German shipping continues to be opposed to state subvention. It is endeavouring, he went on to say, to rely on its own resources in all its present efforts to overcome the difficult problems with which it is confronted. Prospects of achieving success in this direction have improved as a result of the re-organisation, financial and otherwise, carried out during the last two years. The first problem it had to face was the question of new constructions. A start has already been made in this direction in order to meet the immediate requirements. But the entire problem of an extension of Germany's mercantile fleet will be approached in the light of sound economic principles. Germany does not intend to allow itself to be motivated by imaginary prestige reasons to build so-called wonder ships, but will turn out vessels whose size and speed are solely determined by economic considerations and which will be put in service on those routes where there is an existing need for further extensions. The final objective is a fleet of high quality ships operating a network of routes most likely to serve the interests of German foreign trade and oversea travel.

These principles of a systematic policy of reconstruction are essentially healthy

and are bound to work out to the benefit of German shipping and national economy. It merely testifies to a wrong conception of German efficiency in the conduct of its affairs when expectations of a German challenge to the big prestige constructions of the French and British ("Normandie," "Queen Mary," "Queen Elizabeth") are still being nourished. To be sure, Germany took a decisive step in this direction in the post-war period with the construction of the "Bremen" and "Europa," and with which it regained its position in the Atlantic.

But these two liners were built by the North German Lloyd without state subsidies or loans, and their size and speed were such as to make it possible for them to be run at a profit. Actually, the calculations in this respect turned out to be correct. It should also be borne in mind that Germany had been deprived of its entire fleet of ocean-going liners, making new constructions a sheer necessity. Under such conditions, the German shipping companies resolved to have recourse to master achievements. These ships are still in service and are enjoying a growing popularity. Consequently, there is no direct need to replace the present fleet of liners by new constructions merely on grounds of prestige, as England felt obliged to do in face of the French challenge with the "Normandie." Germany has, moreover, more important national tasks awaiting fulfilment and is thus obliged to bring the building policy of its shipping companies in alignment with its general economic requirements.

Civil Aviation

When, in the year 1932, during one of his propaganda flights, Adolf Hitler asked one of the directors of the German Lufthansa at the Tempelhof Airport why so few of the new triple-engined Junkers Ju 52 aeroplanes had been ordered for service on the German airways, he was told that the sole reason was the lack of money. Whereupon the Führer replied: "Just wait a bit, when we get control of things, there will be money enough for new commercial planes."

This prophecy was very soon translated into reality. After the Führer had, on January 30th, 1933, placed the control of the German civil aviation in the hands of his loyal comrade Hermann Göring, the way was cleared for the setting up of the German Air Ministry. At that time, Göring described the Lufthansa as the core of civil aviation in Germany, because in the days of economic depression and political dissension, despite all obstacles that had to be surmounted, it had done everything possible to launch out on the road of reconstruction which, now that flying has been allotted its rightful place in the order of things in Germany, has served as a basis for further effort.

The plans and measures adopted by the Führer began to show results in the space of a few months. The general economic recovery brought about a rapid rise in the statistics of air transport. More importance however has to be attached to the fact that, from now onwards, Germany was able to adopt an air policy of planning at long sight and to create the necessary conditions for air developments on a magnificent scale. Some idea of the progress already achieved in this direction is conveyed by the air passenger statistics for the period 1932–1936.

The returns for the year 1932 show that a total number of 71,000 persons flew in machines belonging to the German Lufthansa. In 1933, this figure had risen to 100,000, in 1934 to 135,000, in 1935 to 175,000, in the Olympic Games year 1936 to as much as 232,000 and to 277,347 in the year 1937.

This remarkable development was preceded by a systematic extension of the European airways. Additional machines were put in service on some of the existing lines. Everywhere air travel was speeded up by the employment of modern fast planes. In the year 1933, the Lufthansa began to modernise its fleet of aeroplanes. The old machines were scrapped and replaced by fast and spacious triple-engined all-metal Junker planes of the Ju 52 type, carrying at full capacity 17 passengers along with the three members of the crew, and achieving a cruising speed of from 150 to 155 miles an hour. It was universally regarded as the most reliable commercial plane in operation. This type of machine very soon established a predominant position on all the German air routes and was purchased by a large number of foreign commercial air companies for operating their lines.

Another outstanding machine, the Heinkel He 70, which captured no less than eight international speed records in the year 1933, was placed in operation in the following year and helped to speed up services still further. So-called lightning services were inaugurated with this Heinkel machine, which with a crew of two and accommodation for four passengers, and with its aerodynamic design (retractable under-carriage, etc.) is credited with a maximum speed of over 194 miles an hour. A later notable addition to Germany's fleet of passenger planes was the single-engined Junker machine of the type Ju 160, with accommodation for six passengers.

It was soon found, however, that these express machines were too small for practical purposes. There was a demand for a new type having the speed of the "lightning planes" and the passenger accommodation of the so-called medium-sized machines. The result was the appearance of the twin-engined Junkers Ju 86 and Henkel He 111, the machines which were first placed in service in the year 1936. Both types have a crew of two and accommodation for ten passengers, both are low-decked machines with retractable under-carriage. The Junkers Ju 86 machines operating on the Luft Hansa lines are equipped with two heavy oil engines of the design first used in the Junkers Jumo 205, whilst the Heinkel He 111 is equipped with two BMW VI engines. A further speeding up of the air services within Europe has been achieved as the result of the employment of these express planes capable of an average speed of nearly 190 miles an hour (see Picts. 143, 144).

Much headway has also been made in the elimination of air risks. In modern Germany, this is a matter which has been taken over by the State. The meteorological and directional wireless stations have rendered possible a high degree of regularity and punctuality, and also an extension of the schedule to include express mail and special night services. In the year 1932, the total stretch of air line operated by night services was approximately 1,206 miles. The reconstruction of Germany's civil air fleet following the accession of Adolf Hitler

to power enabled these night services to be extended to cover a total of nearly 2,000 miles of air lines. This contributed greatly to the achievements of German commercial flying. Thus, the Lufthansa company was able to increase its transport of air mail from a total of 389 tons in the year 1932, to 468 tons in 1933, 748 tons in 1934, 1,408 tons in 1935, 2,409 tons in 1936, and to 3,349 in 1937.

The steady development of civil aviation in Germany and in Europe has enabled the Lufthansa to devote a considerable amount of attention to the paramount task of establishing world air communications. It did so with full confidence of meeting with success. Preliminary work over a period of years could now be utilised as a basis for the realisation of these high aspirations. After the completion of a series of test flights on the Southern Transatlantic route in the year 1933, the Lufthansa inaugurated in February the air mail service between Germany and South America, which gave a definite lead to international civil aviation. This was the first regular transocean air service. It began as a fortnightly service and was operated by seaplanes, but with the establishment of two floating air bases in the shape of two steamers converted into civil aircraft carriers each equipped with a catapulting device, it was found possible to inaugurate a regular weekly service (see Pict. 146).

Upwards of 15 million air mail letters have been transported across the Southern Atlantic in the 300 flights made by these German machines up to Oct. 1st, 1937. Every German seaplane catapulted from one of the floating air stations has an average of from 60,000 to 70,000 air mail letters on board. This in itself testifies to the enormous economic and political value of these services which have established close links between nations separated by the wide Atlantic Ocean.

The mailbags taken on board the German aeroplane at the airport in Frankfurt-on-Main reach South America only some forty hours later. Here, part of the mail is taken over by machines in the service of the Brazilian Condor Syndicate and rushed down the coast to Buenos Aires, from thence inland across the South American continent, over the Andes at a point where they tower 18,000 to 21,000 feet above sea-level, to Santiago de Chile on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The entire stretch of 9,550 miles is covered in four days, whereby the German Lufthansa is able to claim the honour of operating the fastest transcontinental air service in the world. The average speed throughout, even taking into account the time used up by landings, is upwards of 93 miles an hour.

The powerful backing given by the German government to the German Lufthansa and to German aviation also created the possibility of tackling more imposing tasks such as the inauguration of a regular air service over the North Atlantic. Thanks in a large measure to the experience gained with the catapulted flights from the "Europa" and "Bremen" for expediting the landing of mail, with the civil aircraft base ship "Schwabenland" on the South Atlantic service, and in particular, with the flying boat Dornier Do 18 enquipped with crude-oil Junker engines, a beginning could be made in the autumn of the

year 1936 in undertaking a series of pioneer flights across the North Atlantic. Two new flying boats, "Æolus" and "Zephyr," were used for this purpose. They each made four flights to and from America. The following year, further progress was made as a result of a series of test flights carried out by the flying boats "Nordwind" and "Ostwind." In this way, the Lufthansa can be said to have taken a definite lead in establishing regular air services across the North Atlantic[1] (see Pict. 147).

In the year 1938, the German Lufthansa brought out two new types of aeroplane, the *Ju* 90 ("Der große Dessauer") and the *Focke-Wulf Condor*.

The *Ju* 90 is a machine employing such components as dual wings and variable pitch airscrews. It can be used as a combined passenger and freight machine. It provides comfortable room for forty passengers who are furnished with the additional comfort of an unique kind of sound proof device. The entire accommodation space has a length of 10.3 metres and a width of 3 metres. Built in the main of duralumin, it has an outer covering of a non-corrosive plated material. The wings are designed in V form and have attached to them a special device to facilitate smooth landing. The machine is equipped with four engines of total capacity of 3,360 to 5,600 h.p. and are credited with a cruising speed of between 325 and 400 kilometres an hour. The undercarriage is in two parts and is retractable. During recent trial flights the "Grosse Dessauer" attained an altitude of 7,242 metres with a load of 10,000 kilogrammes and an altitude of 9,312 metres with a load of 5,000 kilogrammes. Compared with the *Ju* 52, this new type of machine can carry two and half times the amount of payload, possesses a 50% greater cruising radius and an excess speed of 65 kilometres an hour.

The "Condor" is a four-engined machine having room for 26 passengers apart from a crew of three and a steward. It is an all-metal monoplane. Each engine operates separately and the machine can continue in safe flight should any two of the engines break down. These four engines have an output capacity of from 550 to 870 h.p. each and permit of a maximum speed of 430 kilometres an hour. A notable feature of the machine is the high speed attainable at high altitudes.

On its first trial flight on August 1st, 1938, the "Condor" took only eleven hours to cover the 3,155 kilometre stretch from Berlin to Cairo, achieving an average speed of 360 kilometres an hour. Eleven days later, it accomplished the first non-stop scheduled flight Berlin to New York in 25 hours and after a brief sojourn made the return journey of 6,500 kilometres in only twenty hours, a performance which aroused the admiration of the entire world.

The German Lufthansa has, moreover, induced the Dornier Works at Friedrichshafen to develop a new type of high-speed flying-boat capable of completing the 3,500 mile stretch between Lisbon and New York, a pronounced bad weather route, without an intermediary landing. This demand

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[1] In 1937 the Lufthansa installed the motorship "Friesenland" as fourth aircraft base ship. Whereas the "Westfalen" and the "Schwabenland" were converted freight steamers, the "Ostmark" and "Friesenland" were specially constructed for the purpose of serving as base ships for the transatlantic air lines. The "Friesenland" is the largest and most uptodate vessel of its kind and is employed for service in the North Atlantic, whereas the "Ostmark" is stationed at the mouth of the Gambia River in West Africa to safeguard the air mail communications (see Pict. 145).

has, in the meantime, been fulfilled by the construction of the flying-boat Do 26 which combines a series of basic new ideas.

The Dornier flying-boat Do 26 is a four-engined, V-planed machine with a maximum speed of 335 kilometres an hour, a cruising speed of 310 kilometres and a flying radius of 9,000 kilometres. The wing piece is constructed in three parts, the V-formed central section being connected in an organic fashion with the body of the boat and carrying the two slender-looking engine gondolas. The ship itself has two decks and eight watertight compartments so that it could remain afloat in the event of the boat being badly damaged.

All factors operating in direction of safe flight have been taken into consideration in the construction of this flying-boat which, for instance, is able to keep in the air even if two of its four Junkers-Jumo diesel engines break down. It is possible to carry out repairs to the engines during flight. A special system of engine control has been introduced and is operated from the cockpit.

In view of the fact that the airworthiness of a flying-boat of this sort depends largely on the nervous reserves of the crew, special attention has been given to the task of providing comfortable sleeping quarters and labour saving devices for the crew. There is nothing cramped about the various cabins. The pilot seats are comfortable and can be converted into a sort of deck chair. The installation includes warm air heaters and a refrigerator. There is a pay-load space of six cubic metres, capable of taking something like 200,000 postal letters.

It is quite possible that, in the near future, this Dornier Do 26 will make an attempt to break the long-distance record for flying-boats at present held by Dornier Do 18 with a distance of 8,400 kilometres. It is designed to operate the route from Lisbon to New York, mainly as a freight machine. It is therefore not the final word in flying-boats for passenger transoceanic traffic but it represents a big step forward in that direction especially in point of safety and punctuality.

Equally impressive has been the growth of German civil aviation within the European network of air lines. Many of the routes are now operated three and four times, instead of once as formerly, each day of the week. Normally, there are six daily connections with Hamburg. New lines are constantly being opened. To-day, Lufthansa planes are operating the lines northwards to Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Oslo, Malmö, Stockholm and Helsinki, eastwards to Riga, Kaunas, Moscow and Warsaw, southwards to Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia, Saloniki, Athens, Venice, Rome, Geneva, Marseilles, Burgos and Lisbon, and westwards to Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam and London. It is possible to leave Athens or Moscow by air in the morning and reach London on the evening of the same day. Regular non-stop flights of from 370 to 440 miles are no longer a rarity. Every day air liners leave Berlin to fly direct to Stockholm, covering a distance of 625 miles in under four hours.

The total mileage flown by German civil aeroplanes increased from 4,8 million miles in the year 1932 to 9,3 million miles in 1936, that is to say, it was doubled within four years. During the same time, the number of passengers conveyed has been trebled, partly as a result of the introduction of bigger air liners and partly in consequence of the better utilisation of accom-

modation space. This growth of civil aviation in Germany bears eloquent testimony to the strength of the progressive economic recovery and, as a result of careful planning and popular enlightenment, to the spread of air-mindedness among the German people. The fact that Chancellor Hitler and many of his ministers make a regular practice of travelling by air has also contributed towards popularising air travel in Germany.

The air liner is now definitely enlisted in the service of German economic life and has in consequence become a real servant of the public. Moreover, it fulfils an important political mission when, beyond the frontiers and over distant seas, it appears as envoy of its country and herald of Germany's spirit of enterprise and talent for organisation.

XIV.

Agrarian and Food Policy

None of the changes that have occurred in renascent Germany has been more far-reaching in its effects than that undergone by the agricultural industry. In the first place, however, any attempt to estimate the value of the things achieved by National Socialism in bringing about an agricultural revival must be preceded by a survey of conditions prevailing prior to the advent of Adolf Hitler to power.

It can be said without risk of exaggeration that in the years 1929 to 1932 the German peasantry was living on the verge of ruin. Distress was stalking through the land, a burden of indebtedness of approximately 12 milliard marks was crushing the peasants out of existence. They were unable to dispose of their produce in the face of the immense flood of goods imported from abroad. Prices sank to a level that made it barely worth while for the peasant to raise new crops. The burden of interest on these enormous borrowings amounted in the year 1932 to nearly 20% of the selling value of the entire agricultural yield. Compulsory public sales of farms became the order of the day. In one year alone, no less than 17,157 farms representing a total of more than one million acres of land were disposed of in this manner. The amount of land which, as a result of forced sales, passed through the auctioneer's hands in the period 1924 to 1933 was equal to the total amount of arable land under cultivation in Thuringia. The owners of the loaned capital compelled the peasant to pawn the last cow in his byre. In his extremity, the peasant raised in desperation the flag of revolt; peasant uprisings then occured in almost all parts of Germany. Country folk migrated from the villages into the towns and big industrial centres where, however, they soon helped to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

The peasantry, apparently condemned to extinction, had become a despised section of the community. The agricultural industry became incapable of supplying the nation with its essential food requirements. It had become split up into countless groups, each representing the special interests of those quarters which had seen in it a field of speculation. The one group wanted to see a rise in the price of pork and actually welcomed every fall in the price of potatoes no matter whether it meant the ruin of thousands of peasants. Another group sought to force up the price of grain regardless of the effect upon other agricultural produce. Hundreds of organisations, each seeking its own interests and the majority of them post-war creations, came forward claiming to represent the German

farming community with the inevitable result that, instead of all pulling together to save the agricultural industry as a whole, the German peasantry was torn and distracted by dissension within its own ranks.

The stock markets dictated the prices and pocketed the gains, even when it meant that the peasant had to be driven from hearth and home. They speculated in food and gambled on whether the nation would have enough to live on.

The deliverance of the German peasantry from this state of affairs was therefore regarded by the Führer as the basis of his programme, equal in importance to the abolition of unemployment. "The foundation of the State is the peasantry" (Hitler).

National Socialism, in fact, has always looked upon the peasantry as the basis of national life, the source at which the nation is constantly renewing its vitality. It is an undisputed fact that urbanisation is nothing but a dead end. Towns, especially the big ones, are abnormal growths which feed upon the countryside, seeking always to drain it of its best human stock to make up for the declining birth rate. A healthy and prosperous countryside is, in fact, the first prerequisite for the growth of industry and the development of domestic and foreign trade. German agriculture had therefore to be given a chance to produce sufficient to enable the nation to free itself from the necessity of purchasing food abroad and thus increasing its burden of foreign indebtedness. As Walther Darré, Peasant Leader and German minister for agriculture has aptly remarked, there is no sense in talking politics at all until you have safeguarded the nation's food supply. In other words, foreign policy is so much hot air unless linked up with a national agrarian policy. The German peasant, it is held, should be given the full right to demand a price for his produce such as will enable him to replenish his stock and re-sow his fields. It was realised that Germany could not go on buying foodstuffs abroad and allowing forced sales of farms and holdings, or excessive interest rates, to deplete and ruin the countryside.

Agriculture, says the National Socialist Philosophy, is a vital part of the national economy. Hence it would be entirely wrong to suppose that the farming community is "out to seek its own interests". Actually, it is in the service of the nation. Its duty lies in safeguarding the national food supply. "A farmer," says Walther Darré, "is he who, born and bred of the soil, continues to till his land as his forebears did before him, and who looks upon his work as a duty he owes to his generation and his nation." The farming community, on the other hand, has a fully recognised claim to state protection both as regards permanency of tenure and sale of the produce. The State must undertake, in the first place, to guarantee that the farm or holding (in Germany, the chief type of tenure is the *Bauernhof*, or peasant farm) shall remain permanently in the possession of the one family, handed down from father to son. Furthermore, the State must undertake to protect the agricultural industry from the octopus of speculation by providing for price control.

The Reich Food Estate

A foreigner seeking to understand German agrarian policy should bear in mind that Germany is enclosed in the heart of Europe, that it has a relatively intemperate climate and not very fertile soil and that it has a population density of 138 to the square kilometer. Other countries are much more favourably placed in these respects.

The three main pillars of agrarian policy in the Third Reich are the Law relating to the Food Estate, the Law relating to Hereditary Farmlands and the Market Control. In the same way as the creation of the German Labour Front united all industrial workers in one single body, the Law of September 13th, 1933, relating to the Reich Food Estate organised all German peasants and landowners in one body under the single control of the Reich Food Estate. It did away with a large number of existing agricultural organisations, drew the peasant and landowner alike out of the isolation of the single farm and country estate and regimented them for the purpose of enabling them to tackle big tasks, such as the conquest of production, to which we shall have occasion to refer later.

The law relating to the Reich Food Estate was not devised for the purpose of setting up a bureaucratic control of agriculture. In point of fact, the peasant leaders act only in an honorary capacity and still continue to work their farmlands or look after their estate. Hence there can be no strife between those who lead and those who follow; all measures that have to be taken will, in effect, hit the leaders as much as any of their followers. The Reich Food Estate, which has been declared a public corporation of legal standing is an organisation to which peasants and landowners are in duty bound to belong. It is under State control. It deserves to be pointed out, however, that it has by no means been brought into being merely for the sake of representing and promoting the interests of one particular section of the nation. Hence, it has been expanded in scope to include, apart from the agricultural industry, all those economic units which are likewise engaged on the task of furnishing the nation with its supply of food. These groups comprise those engaged in the canning and manufacture of agricultural produce and those responsible for the distribution of articles of food to the consuming public. The Reich Food Estate is therefore a body incorporating producers, manufacturers and distributors.

Supreme authority in the conduct of the affairs of the Reich Food Estate is vested in the Reich Peasant Leader, who has appointed a deputy in the person of the *Reichsobmann*. A Reich Council of Peasants has been formed to advise the Reich Peasant Leader on matters of policy. Directly under his control is a Staff Office in which the leadership tasks are planned at long sight to be handed over to the Administrative Office for examination. An inspector general is appointed to attend to the execution of special projects.

The Reich Food Estate is organised in 20 provincial peasant groups each under the direction of a provincial peasant leader assisted by a provincial inspector. The peasant groups are subdivided into district and local groups. The

local peasant leaders establish contact with the individual peasants. Furthermore, all peasant schools, agricultural training centres and veterinary establishments are under the direct control of the Reich Food Estate.

The Hereditary Farm

The Law relating to the Hereditary Farmlands came into force on October 1st, 1933. It was a piece of agrarian legislation that aroused considerable interest both in Germany and abroad. It resuscitated and gave legal standing to an ancient German custom with regard to possession and inheritance. The march of time has revealed the wisdom embodied in this ancient Germanic custom. According to the word of the law (see the chapter "Population Policy"), the National Socialist government pledges itself to preserve the peasantry as the source from which the nation derives new blood. This, it is realised can occur only as long as the ancient custom of primogeniture is likewise preserved and safeguarded. Peasant farms must not be allowed to be wrecked as the result of over-borrowing or to be split up in process of inheritance. They must remain for all time in the hands of the one family of free and independent peasants. Measures must be taken to assure a healthy breaking up of the big country estates on the ground that a large number of small and medium-sized farms, capable of existing as vital units, fairly equally distributed throughout the entire length and breadth of the country, are the best guarantee for the preservation of the healthy life of people and State.

Furthermore, it is laid down in the law relating to the hereditary farm that an agricultural or forest estate which at least provides a livelihood or is, at the most, 125 hectares in extent is entitled by law to be styled hereditary farm provided it belongs to a person capable of farming it. Only that person can designate himself peasant who claims German citizenship, is of German or kindred race and is of good character. The hereditary farm passes undivided to the legitimate heirs. Rights of coheritance are restricted to that part of the property which is not comprised in the actual farm. Direct descendants who are not designated as inheritors receive a vocational training and a start in life in keeping with the value of the farm, and if they meet with adversity through no fault of their own, they are entitled to return to the farm as a place from which to make a fresh start in life. The inheritance claim is not extinguished or restricted by death. The hereditary farm remains in principle, unsaleable and immune from financial encumbrances.

It deserves to be remarked that the Law is by no means completely rigid in character. It provides for the possibility of having, under special circumstances, even a large estate recognised as a hereditary farm. The deciding factors in this respect would be the nature of the soil and local climatic conditions as well as the length of time it has been in the possession of the one family.

It was feared in certain quarters that this law relating to the hereditary farm might lead to State protection of the inheritor as against the other members of the family. In reply to this, it only needs to be pointed out that the German

peasant owner of the hereditary farm takes over certain duties as well as rights, seeing that those members of the family who forego their claims to the farm have nevertheless a definite claim in respect of their keep, education and vocational training. Younger members of the family who have started out in life on their own have a claim to an endowment or dowry.

So far some 700,000 farms have been declared to be hereditary farms. This must be regarded as the core of an agrarian reform in keeping with the spirit of National Socialism which, in the last analysis, aims at the formation of communities and the guidance of these communities along the path leading to national solidarity.

Market Control

With the setting up of a solid peasant organisation and the establishment of the hereditary farms, a start could be made with the introduction of the principle of market control. Its realisation put an end to the untenable conditions that had prevailed in the domain of price development and marketing by laying down fixed prices which are, at the same time, "equitable prices."

Whereas formerly price was determined by the free operation of the principle of supply and demand, these last two factors have now been replaced by "requirement and satisfaction". The stock exchange with its fluctuations no longer plays the role of price dictator to the farmer and consuming public alike. The new German market control may be regarded as an economy which imposes duties on one and all alike and which provides for planned distribution of the available commodities. It does not paralyse the initiative of the individual but, by safeguarding prices, promotes production and protects the interests of the consuming public. It excludes speculation from the entire domain of national food supply without placing any impediments on such healthy competition as leads to greater efficiency.

From the National Socialist point of view, market control is rendered most efficacious when the fixed price is high enough to cover both the costs of production of farm produce and of preparations for the next harvest. At the same time, it should be low enough to ensure that the consumer is not imposed upon in any way but can always count on getting a fair deal. The stability of prices is, in fact, a matter of decisive importance and hence every effort is made to establish for certain products fixity of price over as long a period of time as possible. This applies in particular to such articles of food as bread, milk and butter which have been held on a constant price level in Germany for years.

The prices of articles of vital necessity are likewise fixed, as a general rule, both for dealers and manufacturers. The idea in doing so is not by any means to exclude the middleman whose rightful place in the general order of things is fully recognised, but to stamp out the possibility of certain quarters venturing on a harmful speculation in foodstuffs.

Apart from solving the price problem, the market control fulfils other important tasks such as regulating the machinery of distribution and fabrication and adjusting the supply to the market demand. The latter will always constitute

the main impetus to production since a guaranteed market along with fixed prices creates just that necessary stability lacking which an increasing production is not possible in the long run.

The Drive for Increased Production

Following the re-organisation of the peasantry, the inauguration of the hereditary farm system and the introduction of market control, it became possible to gain the full support of the agricultural industry for a campaign to increase production and thus ensure the future security of Germany.

Barely a year after the accession to power the Reich Peasant Leader was already in a position to appeal to the patriotism of the rural population and to start a campaign whose aim was to get the maximum results from all agricultural effort. This appeal was made in November 1934 on the occasion of the Reich Peasant Congress at Goslar. The entire Propaganda machinery was enlisted in the service of this campaign which was then launched with characteristic energy. Countless meetings were arranged up and down the country and the campaign was taken up in the newspapers, on the wireless and in the cinemas in order to insure a really universal response. In point of fact, the German farming community responded in magnificent style and the results achieved are more than satisfactory.

The acreage devoted to the production of oil-producing and textile plants for instance has been increased tenfold, in the case of certain other products as much as twentyfold. Germany is now entirely in a position to cover its own requirements of flax. The grain yield amounted in the year 1935, despite a decrease in the total acreage made available for sowings, to 400,000 tons more than in the previous year, and in the year 1936 to about a million tons more. The total stock of sheep has been increased enormously. There has been a definite rise in the milk output and efforts to produce suitable fodder in order to become independent of the import of albuminous cattle foods have met with success. In the year 1935, the number of food fermentizers in actual use in Bavaria was four times that of the preceding year. The peasant deposits weeds and garden refuse in these special containers where it ferments and produces a food of high value. Milk control has been still further extended with beneficial results on yield. In Anhalt in Saxony, for instance, the number of controlled cows rose from 16.7% in the year 1932 to nearly 50% at the end of October 1936.

In February 1933, the number of unemployed persons in the farming and forestry Industry was 23,049; by September 1935 this number had been reduced to 39, whilst in the summer of the same year there was already an appreciable shortage of labour. In order to increase its yield, the agricultural industry had to enlist the services of a large number of auxiliary farm workers but even the supply of these auxiliary workers was found to be insufficient to meet the demand. Large sums of money were spent in efforts to achieve a greater degree of national farm management, on the purchase, for instance, of fertilizers whose consumption increased by one-third, of machinery, the sale of which rose in value from

80 million marks in 1932 to 240 million marks in 1935, and of such new inventions as food fermenters.

In this way, the agricultural industry has been able through the production campaign to achieve notable successes. But over and above this, it has given a strong impetus to other branches of industry, seeing that it is one of the objects of the Reich Food Estate to get the production of agricultural machinery adjusted to the present requirements and, in particular, to enable the small farmer and peasant to use machinery.

The recent exhibition arranged by the Reich Food Estate, the fourth of its kind, was held in Munich. It provided opportunity to measure the vast extent of progress achieved during the last four years. This agricultural show revealed the fact that the German agricultural industry has proceeded much further along the path of intensified production than any other country in the world. The average grain yield per acre, for instance, amounts to 8.8 double hundredweights per acre, whereas the average for France is only 6.7 double hundredweights and in the United States of America, where only the best soil is used for the grain crop, the average is no more than 3.5 double hundredweights.

It would be wrong to suppose that Germany has now completed its programme of agrarian reform. It must be admitted, however, that the new regime has managed in a relatively short space of time to take in hand the task of safeguarding the national food supply and to achieve, as Walther Darré stated in the course of an address delivered at the opening of the Agricultural Show at Munich, an 80% fulfilment of this task.

The success is primaril y due to the position of importance which has been accorded to German agricultural industry within the framework of the national economy, and, in part, to the new conception of what constitutes national solidarity. Chief credit, however, must be given to the Reich Peasant Leader, who by his own personal effort succeeded in rousing a new spirit of hope throughout the German countryside and thus enabled it to throw itself willingly into the arduous task of achieving a maximum of agricultural intensification.

Incidentally, the cooperation of German housewives has likewise been enlisted in this drive for a maximum production, or rather, in this case, in a drive for a maximum of thrift. The anti-waste campaign has been extended to include all agricultural produce and the entire contents of the food larder. Avoidance of waste in bread alone means a saving of many shiploads of grain.

Land Settlement Projects

The National Socialist agrarian policy seeks in particular to create in thinly-populated areas a large number of new farm settlements, each of an acreage sufficient to support the life of one family. These efforts are being carried out in systematic fashion in three ways: primarily by the breaking up of big estates which have been disposed of by their owners and purchased with public funds. A special piece of legislation, the Law relating to Land Settlement, has made

it possible for approximately 4.2 million acres to pass into the possession of the German peasant population (see Picts. 150, 151).

A second way is the reclamation of wasteland and moorland, particularly the latter, seeing that there is very little actual wasteland in Germany. The reclamation of large tracts of moorland has been carried out with satisfactory results by enlisting the services of the Obligatory Labour Corps. The total extent of Germany's arable land amounts to approximately 74.1 million acres, whilst the estimated extent of the moorlands and cultivable wasteland is 5.9 million acres.

It has needed a great deal of unremitting energy and perseverance to exploit the third possibility, namely, the reclamation of new land from the sea by the construction of dams. As early as the year 1935, one of these projects, which resulted in the reclamation of an area nearly 3,000 acres in extent, now known as the Adolf Hitler Koog, was completed and, in the reclamation of further 1,300 acres now bearing the name Hermann Göring Koog. It is planned, in a fifty year project, to recover upwards of a quarter of a million acres of land from the North Sea along the western coast of Schleswig-Holstein.

Sea Fishery

Germany, unlike many other nations, was slow to recognise the value of the harvest of the sea and the importance of sea fish as food.

Sea fish as food enjoys a reputation which dates back to the ancient world. Cato mentions that on one occasion, he saw a barbel being sold in Rome for 205 thalers. At that time, fish was regarded as a delicacy for the table of the élite. Emperor Domician once summoned the Senate to debate the question as to what utensil should be used to boil a huge turbot whole, and when none of adequate size was forthcoming, ordered a special one from his potter. Crystal clear mountain streamlets were conducted through the dining halls of wealthy Roman citizens so that they might catch their trout by hand!

Fresh sea fish as national food, however, remained, an unfulfilled dream for inlanders until well into the 19th Century. Taste of the harvest of the sea was confined to imported Norwegian haddock and cod dried hard on the rocks and suspended in the air, and this taste was popularly associated in Germany with the Lental Festival.

Fifty years ago it would have been deemed a foolish venture to send a trawler to fish in the remote waters of Iceland. Today the German high sea fishing industry is an essential part of the national economy. It undertakes to see that the supply of sea fish is sufficient to enable it to retain its place as an important factor in the feeding of the nation.

In the "Nordsee" German High Sea Fishery Company, Germany possesses the biggest enterprise of its kind in the world, although in point of numbers the German fishing fleet is far below that of England. The German fishing trawlers are obliged to fish in remote and perilous waters, beyond Iceland and as far north as the White Sea, because unlike the other nations of Northern

Europe engaged in the fishing industry, Germany has no fishing grounds within its own territorial waters.

The National Socialist policy in respect of the national food supply has done much to promote the German fishing industry and has extended price control to include the fish market. The total fish consumption in the year 1934 worked out at about 22 lb per head of the population, or one fifth of the meat consumption (106 lb per head). The progress made is apparent from the following figures: whereas the total catch in the year 1933 amounted to 2.67 million double hundredweight, in the year 1936 it had reached 5.9 million and a value of 105.3 million marks.

The German sea fishery is divided into four groups: 1) Steam trawler fleet with approximately 350 trawlers; 2) Herring fleet with 170 vessels; 3) Coastal fishery with 1,200 vessels, and 4) High sea fishing fleet with 145 cutters, most of them with engine propulsion.

Germany's fishing industry has been included in the framework of the Four Years Plan, as predicted by Field Marshal Göring in the course of the address which he delivered at Wesermünde on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the German high sea fishery. He said, in fact:

"The freshwater fishing industry and even the coastal fishing industry, important as they are, do not constitute the decisive factor provided by the high sea fishing industry. There has been a big growth in the latter during the last four years. We shall now have to start in real earnest to reach the bounds of possibility during the next four years. To this end I shall see that all the necessary means are made available."

Hermann Göring added that it was now the intention of the German government to further the high sea fishing industry and to build a fleet of whalers. The first of these whaler expeditions has already returned to Germany from a highly successful catch in the Southern Arctic Sea. Forty-thousand tons of oil was its contribution to the national economy. The first German sealer recently left Hamburg for the Northern waters.

Meanwhile, in a nation-wide campaign launched under the watchword "Fish promotes health and helps to save foreign exchange," housewives were exhorted to buy fish instead of meat. Recently, students joined in this publicity campaign by organizing a "Fish Day" when all sat down to a fish dinner.

Reich Self-sufficiency in the Food Question

Germany has achieved some notable successes in its effort to become independent of foreign countries in the matter of its food supply.

Additional impetus to these endeavours has been given by the latest agrarian measures adopted by Field Marshal Göring in his capacity as Commissioner for the second Four Years Plan. The Reich has undertaken to spend up to the year 1940 the sum of one milliard marks on the amelioration of about five million acres of land; adequate appropriations have also been made for soil improvement and for the conversion into pasture land. Other important mea-

sures have been adopted to increase the yield, for instance, the price of nitrate and potash fertilizers has been reduced by some 30% and 25%.

The price of potatoes for manufacturing purposes has been raised from 17 to 20 pfennigs, and the price of rye has been increased from 16 to 18 marks per double hundredweight. State allocations have rendered it possible for all those farms lacking in capital to take out medium-termed loans; the economic supervision of the hereditary farms has now been extended to all agricultural concerns and undertakings. Finally, a State loan of 1,800 marks can be obtained in respect of every farm labourer's dwelling erected within a period of six years, whilst other considerable advances can be had with respect to the purchase of machinery.

One thing is certain, during the last five years the German peasant and farmer, and all persons connected in any way with the farming industry, have entirely changed their way of thinking. Here lies the surety for the success of these measures. Proof of this is forthcoming in the scenes of enthusiasm which are witnessed each year at the Harvest Festival on the Bückeberg, where peasants from all parts of Greater Germany assemble to ovate the Führer and to hear the Peasant Leader pronounce the watchword for the year that lies ahead. This big gathering, unique and impressive, can be compared in importance to the Annual Party Congress at Nuremberg. It is attended by the foreign diplomatic corps and by prominent Party and State dignitaries. Adolf Hitler makes use of this opportunity to keep himself in close touch with the country folk in all parts of Greater Germany. It has become traditional for the Festival to conclude with a big military display which invariably evokes the utmost enthusiam.

In truth, this vast concourse of one million persons dressed in their picturesque country attire presents an amazing sight when, with one accord, they raise their right arm in the direction of the high platform from which Adolf Hitler speaks to them in convincing fashion of the grandeur of the New Germany, of Peace as the necessary foundation of all creative activity and of the mission which the German peasantry is called upon to fulfil in the service of the nation. As he says: "The first and truest embodiment of the nation is that section of the people which draws nourishment for mankind from the fertility of the soil and whose offspring assures the future of the nation . . . I am happy to hold a position which permits me to act on behalf of my German people. I take special delight, however, in every hour when I am able to return from my work to become once again one of the people . . . Your eyes and your regard are for me the highest earthly reward for my labour. I always find on leaving you that I go away feeling immeasurably stronger than when I came" . . . (see Pict. 149).

When, after the Führer has spoken, he walks through the crowd, halting here and there to shake one of the countless hands extended towards him, the grateful enthusiasm of the huge multitude knows no bounds. This Harvest Festival testifies anew each year to the close ties existing between Adolf Hitler and the peasants in their entirety. It was manifested in the way in which the German peasants responded to the appeal for a greater cultivation of

flax, no less than 5,000 acres in excess of the plan, whereby the extra yield, valued at roughly 800,000 marks, was presented to the Führer as a contribution towards the cost of achieving national self-sufficiency.

Despite the success of the increased production campaign, there have been recurrent periods when Germany has experienced a shortage of meat, fats or eggs. This has been solely due, however, to the growth in the number of consumers. It should be borne in mind, in this connection, that since January 1933 upwards of 6 million formerly unemployed persons have rejoined the ranks of the wage-earners apart from the absorption of 1½ million young workers. This has naturally meant a further strain upon the resources of the agricultural industry.

Finally, it deserves to be remarked that the measures adopted in respect of the German agricultural industry are devised to meet its own special requirements and are not comparable with those introduced in other countries. Thus, for instance, the Russian planned economy has nothing at all in common with the German system of market control because, in the first place, the preliminary conditions are basically different: the political and economic ideology of modern Germany has nothing whatever to do with collectivism and internationalism; on the contrary, it is nationalist and based on the principle of the community of the people.

German agriculture will continue to find its inspiration in the ancient proverb:

"Till thy field, stay by the plough,
Availeth thee the world enow."

XV.

Reich Labour Service

In dealing with the measures devised for soil melioration and land reclamation, mention must be made of one of Germany's new institutions which, although brought into existence for higher considerations, has turned out to be of great significance for the farming industry. We have in mind the German Labour Service.

This Army of the Spade is a creation of its leader, Colonel Konstantin Hierl, one of Adolf Hitler's veterans. He is one of those National Socialist statesmen combining to a high degree organisational ability with perseverance and straightforwardness. To him belongs the credit of having brought about the inclusion, in the year 1928, of obligatory labour service for all as a point of the Party programme, and of having made all the requisite preparations, in the years preceding the advent of National Socialism to power, for translating the idea into reality. Finally, it was he who carried out the organisation of this institution under the Hitler regime.

The basic principles of the obligatory labour service were laid down in the report submitted by Colonel Hierl to the Führer in the year 1930 when this problem was debated by the Party for the first time. They can be summed up as follows:

The Labour Service is far more than an expedient, sprung from the necessity of the moment, to combat unemployment. The idea of the obligatory labour service is really the logical sequel and completion of that train of thought which led to the introduction of compulsory education and military conscription. It is expected of every German that he serve his country in time of peace with his implements of labour as with arms in time of war. Every German should be worker and soldier for his people.

The Labour Service shall be regarded by German youth as a duty of honour carried out in the service of the nation as a whole. It ought never to be looked upon in any other light, must not be allowed to supply cheap labour for private undertakings or degenerate into a venture run by the State with a view to cutting down wages. The Labour Service is intended to supply the direction of the affairs of State with a labour corps designed to carry out big public works for the promotion of the economic, cultural and political interests of the nation.

The educational effect on the youth enrolled in the Labour Service is apprised even higher than the material side of the work. It constitutes the main goal of the Labour Service rather than a mere desirable aspect of it. Actually, it is a course of training open to the entire nation. Here lies the real core of the matter. To deprive the Labour Service of its educational aspect, or even to shift it into the background, would be tantamount to robbing it of its soul.

It is intended that Young Germany should acquire, from its own direct experiences in the Labour Service, the correct view of the ethical value of labour and the proper attitude towards the working section of the population.

Because National Socialism sets out to overcome every egotistical and materialistic attitude towards labour, that attitude which saw in labour merely a means of acquiring wealth or a saleable commodity, it has resolved that each and every young German shall, for a certain term of his life, engage in manual labour as a national duty. Because it is desired to put an end to everything in the nature of arrogant depreciation of manual work and farm labour, because it is desired to eradicate class arrogance and class antagonisms, the student shall be regimented with the young factory worker and the young farm labourer to toil side by side as comrades. Because the New Germany desires to have the designation worker borne in honour by every German, for this reason every young German shall perform for a period of time the duties of a manual worker in the service of the State.

In this way the Labour Service becomes an indispensable training school through which the nation passes on its road to a new conception of labour and to an exemplary German socialism.

In face of the mounting wave of unemployment, the Brüning government made a precipitate attempt at realising these National Socialist ideas. An emergency decree of June 1931 created a voluntary labour service which, in reality, was no more than a sort of productive unemployment relief.

This labour service was placed under the control of the German Minister of Labour who entrusted the task of its promotion to the Reich Institute for Labour Exchange and Labour Insurance. In doing so, he transferred the execution of the measures, i. e. the establishment of labour camps and of the voluntary labour service as a whole, to the labour bureaucracy.

The voluntary labour service was permitted to concern itself with the carrying out of projects financed from public funds and having a supplementary character, in other words, projects which would remain in abeyance if not financed in this way. In practice, however, permission could be obtained for carrying out all sorts of projects desired by a body responsible for the welfare of labour, for instance, by a municipality. Consequently, only a very slight portion of the labour service in those days was engaged on schemes which could really be said to contribute towards an improvement of the national economy and an increase of industrial production.

The promotion of a scheme of this kind should occur only when full surety has first been obtained that the organisation of these labour groups will not be misused for political purposes or placed in the service of subversive ideas. For instance, when the scheme was first introduced in pre-Hitlerite Germany, the labour bureaucracy had it in its power to exclude or restrict the co-operation of all those parties or associations which did not ascribe to its policy. It was because of the prevalence of this state of affairs that the National Socialist Party was compelled, before their accession to power, to organize their labour service in the form of societies with camouflaged names.

The German Labour Exchange obtained the funds required for financing the labour service from the Unemployment Insurance Fund or from the Fund for the Relief of Economic Distress. In other words, only those persons in receipt of the various forms of dole could be admitted to the labour service. The amount charged was two marks per head and per day of the week, and the duration of the service was fixed at twenty weeks.

Owing to the enormous army of unemployed existing at the time, the movement spread very quickly but without centralized leadership, without form and inspiration of any kind. It simply remained a means of getting the workless off the streets. It was a movement without any social or ethical content.

This voluntary labour service of pre-Hitler Germany comprised upwards of 200,000 men of whom barely 100,000 were accommodated in special labour camps. The major part was employed on projects which fall outside the scope of a real labour service. The result was a maze of conflicting measures.

After January 30th, 1933, Colonel Hierl was appointed Secretary of State for the Labour Service. His duties were placed under the direction of the German Minister for Labour. This step meant the inauguration of the centralized conduct and control of the Labour Service in Germany[1].

State Secretary Hierl, who has since been given a seat in the German cabinet, began by closing down a number of existing camps and incorporating these associations of good standing into one big organisation known as the "National Socialist Labour Service". By dissolving all connections with the bureaucracy of the Labour Exchanges and by setting up offices of their own, Hierl achieved full administrative and financial independence for his organisation.

The autumn of 1933 saw the introduction of the earth-brown uniforms with their characteristic old German peasant headgear and the dirk. Young labour service men don this uniform with a feeling of pride as they fully realize that in doing so they are entering into the service of their Fatherland. The present organisation is made up of 30 regions which are subdivided into service groups. Each service group is composed of from six to nine detachments according to local requirements. At the same time, grades of rank were introduced.

Upon making his first inspection of the camps, Adolf Hitler recognized the great importance attaching to the labour service and he forthwith, on July 1st, 1934, appointed Hierl as Reich Commissioner for the Voluntary Labour Service and as such responsible to the German Minister of the Interior. In this way, the entire control over the Labour Service passed into the hands of Colonel Hierl.

One month later, the Labour Service took part as an independent body in the Party Congress at Nuremberg. It was the first time the new organisation had appeared before the general public. Its bearing and smart appearance

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[1] See the German Labour Service Annual, edited by Colonel Müller-Brandenburg, head of the Foreign Department and Enlightenment in the Office of the Leader of the Labour Service, with the collaboration of numerous prominent members of the Labour Service, published by Volks- und Reichsverlag, Berlin, 1936.

testified to the fine spirit that has animated it from the outset. It was a truly grand spectacle that presented itself when 52,000 labour service men manoeuvred into position on the Zeppelin Meadow and flashed their gleaming spades with admirable precision (see Pict. 152).

In replying to a speech delivered by Colonel Hierl, the Führer made a statement which has an important bearing upon the future of the Labour Service. He said on that occasion: "Through your school the entire nation will have to pass. The time will come when no German will be able to become grafted into the community of the people unless he has first passed through your community."

This prediction was received by the thousands of spectators with rousing applause. One year later, Adolf Hitler gave his sanction to the German law relating to the Obligatory Labour Service which made all young Germans in honour bound to take service in the Labour Corps.

Constitution, Education and Training

Every young German has, therefore, to join the Labour Corps between the time when he leaves school and the moment when he gets called up for military service. The strength of the male Labour Corps must consequently correspond to the strength of the Army and is determined by the Führer. At the time of writing, it amounts to 230,000 inclusive of the administrative personnel.

The entire organisation is under the supreme direction of the Commander of the Labour Corps, whose headquarters are situated in Berlin-Grunewald. The Labour Staff is divided into eight offices: 1) Service Bureau, 2) Personnel Bureau, 3) Planning Bureau, 4) Administration Office, 5) Office of Health, 6) Educational and Training Office, 7) Legal Court, 8) Press Bureau. The command of the Labour Corps is placed in the hands of the 30 regional labour control bodies as well as the 13 district control bodies of the Labour Service of the female youth and the various centres for the training of leaders, instructors, experts and so forth.

Selection and training of leaders is a question of vital importance for the Labour Service. The Corps Leader must be more than a man fully qualified to instruct and to set a good example, he must possess a knowledge of technical matters, be a good organizer and, in general, be a combination of farmer, labourer and soldier. Furthermore, he must know how to keep fit, in fact, he must himself be an adept in physical training. His character must be altogether above reproach, as must also be his moral outlook on life, his sense of social justice, his sense of responsibility and his implicit trustworthiness.

The Corps Leaders receive training in the various technical aspects of the service as they pass through the different grades of training centres, troop leader school, field-master school, regional school and, finally, by attendance at the Reich Training Centre, in accordance with the principle that the leaders must be equally well instructed in all branches of the Labour Service regardless of their position in the organisation. The form of instruction given is based on the realisation that the only safe road to a complete mastery of the subjects

taught lies through the domain of practice. Hence, instruction takes place for the most part on the training ground where those receiving instruction in the various types of projects have to carry out all the jobs devolving upon the rank and file of the Labour Corps, such as the making of a ditch, the laying out of a drainage system, the construction of a road, the shifting of a trolley line, the transport of soil by means of tip-trucks, and so forth. This practical work is supplemented by theoretical instruction.

The Labour Service forms a new link in the chain of the state training of youth. This, according to the Law relating to the Reich Labour Service, should aim at bringing up the younger generation in the spirit of National Socialism so that the path is cleared for entry into the community of the nation and for a proper conception of labour. Nobody leaving the Labour Corps after putting in six months of service with it will fail to recognize at all times the duties he owes his nation and his country or fail to perceive that every form of work, even simple manual labour, is worthy of honour and respect.

The task devolving upon the Labour Corps leader is not by any means an easy one, especially in view of the shortness of the term of service. Consequently, training is restricted to four main subjects: race science, geography (knowledge of one's native country), labour service and National Socialist philosophy. Everything in fact is done to see that the demands set forth in Adolf Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" are realised, namely, 1) "not to encumber the brain with a lot of useless knowledge 95% of which it has no use for and hence proceeds to jettison," and 2) "to cut down instruction so that it deals solely with essentials."

Especial importance is attached, apart from the actual lessons, to the educational effect of the camp hours of joint recreation when the young people are able to develop latent powers naturally seeking some outlet of expression. The camp fellowship is transformed in these moments of pastime into just one of those cultural groups which are destined to become the bearers of a new era in creative art. In the hobby groups, choirs, sports organisations, and so forth, the members of the Labour Corps are made acquainted with those ways and means in which they will be able to employ their spare time when they have a home of their own.

I have myself had opportunity to attend, along with members of the Berlin diplomatic corps and fellow-journalists, one of these social evenings held in a labour camp in the Ostmark: a male voice choir sang old songs dating from the time of the Seven Years' War, the orchestra rendered march music of the Frederick the Great period, and other members of camp party recited verse composed for the occasion. The programme was concluded with the production of an allegorical play dealing with the reclamation of the Adolf Hitler Koog.

Special attention is naturally devoted to physical training which is carried on in a form entirely in keeping with the peculiar character of the labour service. The body has to be trained in preparation for difficult manual jobs and as the members of the Labour Corps are drawn from various sections of the population, it was decided right at the outset that that success of the physical

training side of the programme must of necessity find its expression in the aspect of marching columns of Labour Corps men dressed in training suits.

Those who have witnessed the Labour Corps parade at the Nuremberg Party Congress will undoubtedly be able to testify to the potency of this impression of health and strength.

Various kinds of sport and exercizes are indulged in by the Labour Corps men in camp, such as football, cross-country running, handball, gymnastics, caber tossing and so forth. Swimming is the favourite sport indulged in during the Summer months.

The camps vary a great deal as regards the nature of the barracks and installation. In those places where the work engaged upon is a project requiring several years to complete, every endeavour is made to erect brick or concrete barracks. Good use can always be made of empty dwelling houses, factories, warehouses, schools and other buildings. If no accommodation of this sort is available, recourse is taken to wooden barracks which possess the great advantage of being removable, in other words, of being shifted to the scene of activity (see Pict. 153).

These barracks consist mostly of four so-called units, each capable of quartering sixteen men. The installation is simple but possesses, all the same, every comfort. Every man has, apart from his bed, a locker, table and chair. Furthermore, each camp has a sort of quartermaster's barracks containing a big social room, the kitchen with the larder rooms, offices and the room of the camp captain.

Each member of the Labour Corps costs the country in keep about two marks per day. This small sum covers all expenses such as food, clothing, laundry and so forth. It also includes the 25 pfennigs daily pocket money paid out and used for the most part for purchasing such small necessities as boot polish, needles and thread, and such articles of personal requirement as cigarettes, etc. Now and again a glass of beer may be drunk. Some of the men even manage to save a bit from this pocket money.

During my own visits to some of these camps I was able to convince myself of the high standard of orderliness, cleanliness and general decency prevailing in every one of them. These young soldiers of the spade struck me as being imbued with a spirit of joy. They certainly gave abundant evidence of a ravenous appetite.

Land Reclamation

"Whoever makes two stalks of corn to grow where formerly there was only one, can claim to have done more for his nation than a military genius who has won a great battle."

Frederick the Great

In a material sense, the paramount task of the Labour Service is to improve and extend the peasant-owned soil of Germany. For this reason, the entire Labour Corps is engaged in the cultivation of the soil. Quite 70% of the entire

Corps is engaged in the reclamation of moorland and wasteland. The land is reclaimed for the erection of new farms, or where formerly arable land has deteriorated through neglect it is made productive again by having recourse to drainage, irrigation, flood protection or other works, as the case may be. Some 15% of the Labour Corps is engaged on forestry work, which includes all aspects of afforestation, or on repairing rural roads in those places where they had fallen almost into disuse. The remainder is employed on projects of a social character, such as the erection of land and municipal settlements, or on schemes of a cultural character, such as the construction of *Thing* amphitheatres or the excavation of prehistoric sites. It is therefore apparent that, apart from serving the nation by helping to augment its food supply and by advancing its cultural activities, the Labour Corps is able to impart new life to those who serve in its ranks (see Picts. 154 to 157).

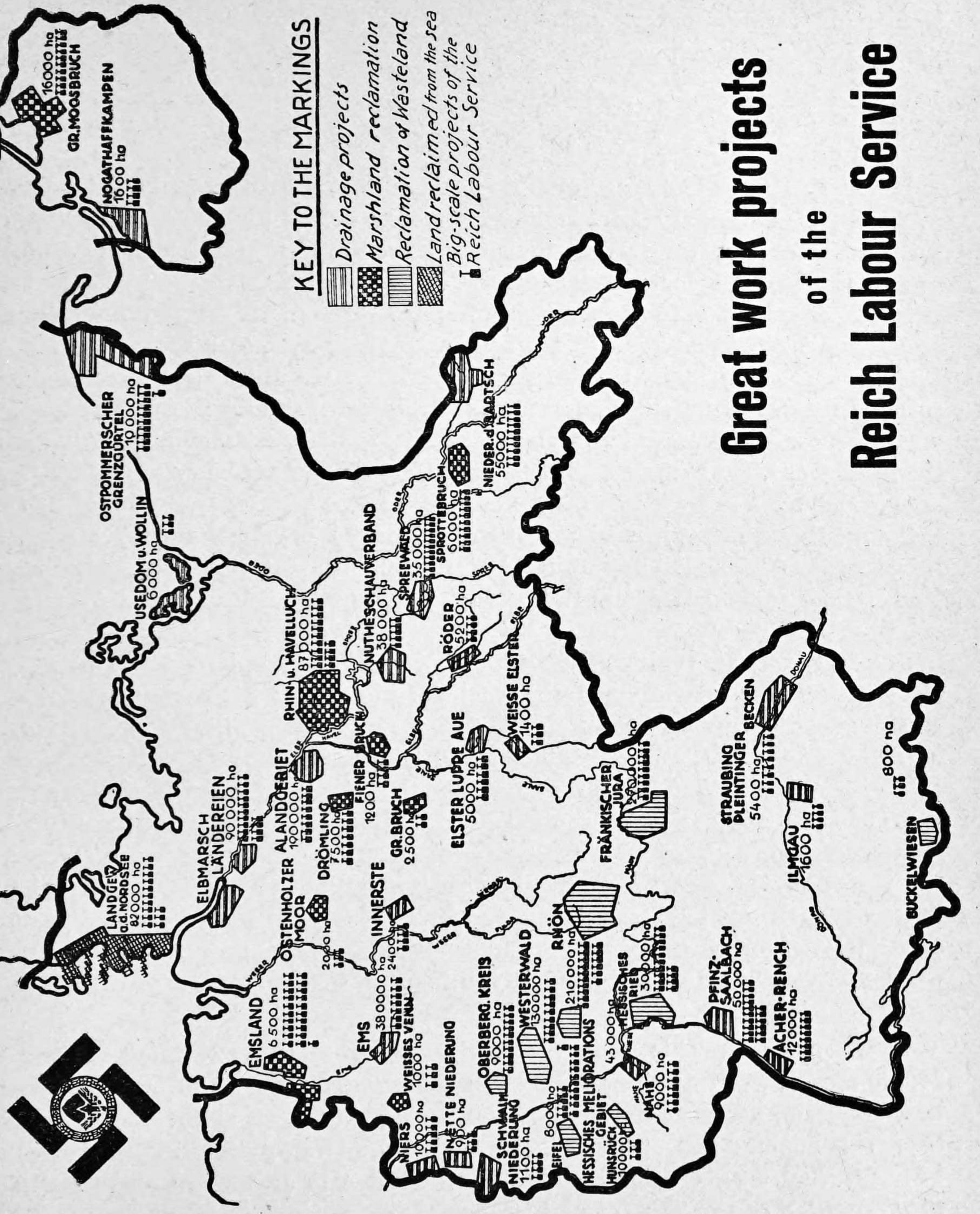
River improvement schemes, embracing a total length of about 10,000 kilometres of rivers and streams, have brought vast areas of arable land the advantages of controlled irrigation. Some 500,000 acres of land have been recovered or improved by drainage work of all kinds, and a further 125,000 acres by clearance, levelling and other methods of land recovery. Furthermore, the construction of 8,500 kilometers of rural roads has greatly increased the productivity of outlying farms. Something like 330,000 acres of tree-bearing land has been made productive by afforestation or has had its value increased by soil improvement schemes of various kinds. The construction of 9,000 kilometers of lumber ways have served to open up vast stretches of forestland and rendered possible their exploitation. Concentrations of Labour Corps men occurred in the following regions: in the Great Moorland Fen and Nogathaffkampen in East Prussia, in the frontier belt of East Pomerania, on the island of Usedom-Wollin, on the coast of the North Sea between the Marne Dam and the Hindenburg Dam, in the Spree Forest, in the marshlands between the rivers Havel and Rhin, in the Sprotte Morass, in the Riesen and Iser Mountains, in Lower Silesia, in Droemling, in the Elster-Luppe region, in the valley of the Weissen Elster in Saxony, in the Ostenholzer Moor near Hanover, in Emsland, in the valley of the Ems and in the Weissen Venn in Westfalia, in the valley of the Niers in Niederrhein, in Hunsrück, in the Eifel, in Westerwald, in Hessischen Ried, in the valley of the Nahe, in the lowlands of Pfinz-Sallbach and Sandbach Sulzbach in Baden, in the Rhön, in the Fränkischen Jura, in the Straubing-Pleintinger Basin and in the Ilmgau in Bavaria (see map on page 307).

In all probability, these projects or similar ones will be continued for many decades to come. It has been estimated that there are some 7½ million acres of land in Germany awaiting reclamation. In addition, the yield can be increased enormously if recourse is taken to irrigation work, flood protection measures and so forth. The new land would comprise a total area greater in extent than the combined area of Bavaria and Württemberg.

The Labour Service is, as a general rule, not employed on road construction. The huge programme of the German motorways was mainly intended to overcome unemployment and is being carried out by private concerns with, in some

Great work by Reich Labour Service

of the Reich Labour Service projects



cases, state subvention. To employ the Labour Service on this task would be tantamount to robbing the working population of their rightful claim to employment. The Labour Service is not allowed to compete in this field. Its real task is to train young workers and to furnish the agricultural industry with new possibilities of development.

Special mention should be made of some of these tasks which the Labour Service has carried out or is in process of doing so.

Emsland. This region is situated on both sides of the River Ems and stretches as far as the Dutch frontier. It has a total extent of about one million acres, for the most part either marsh or wasteland. It is practically uninhabited territory, of which one quarter is now being reclaimed.

In the years 1934/35, the German Ministry for Agriculture purchased in this region some 30,000 morgen of land for settlement purposes and entrusted the Labour Service with the task of preparing it for the future settlers. The work entailed the construction of an extensive drainage system and a twentyfive kilometer long macadam road running right through the settlement, as well as all the farm roads, the draining of 16,000 morgen and the recovery of 6,000 morgen of moorland[1].

Seeing that the project in its entirety calls for a labour supply amounting to upwards of 1,500,000 day units, it will be about eight years before the wasteland is transformed into 400 fertile new settlements each of about 37 acres in extent.

In a relatively short time, the Labour Service had completed the construction of 50 kilometers of road and farm tracks (3 kilometers with stone foundation), 120 kilometers of dykes and ditches, 150 acres of clearing and 100 acres of levelling. The extent of the work accomplished is illustrated by the followed details: 140 railway trucks had to be used for the transport of the hut sections required for setting up the camp to accommodate 24 labour detachments (each detachment comprising about 150 men) and a further 90 trucks for the transport of the various articles of use; roads leading to the camps had for the most part to be re-constructed across stretches of bleak moorland by laying a pile foundation; it was found necessary to obtain a supply of electric power and to construct wells to overcome the water supply difficulty which is particularly acute in these moorland wastes.

The Sprottebruch. This bogland consists of about 60 square kilometers (roughly 24,000 morgen) of low-lying country in the districts of Glogau and Sprottau in Lower Silesia, north of the dreamy little moorland town of Primkenau. At one time, this bogland was an extensive wood with a swampy floor. Some cataclysm of nature must have brought about the collapse of this wood and resulted in the formation of the bog. The River Sprotte flows right through the bog before

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[1] The method adopted is to break up the solid bed of gravel beneath the thin, unfertile layer of black peat and to cover the moor with the sandy and sometimes clayey soil found beneath the gravel bed. The method was first employed in Holland.

joining the River Bober near Sprottau. Its sluggish flow and abundance of silt may have led to the formation of the bog.

The first onslaught on the Sprottebruch had been undertaken by Frederick the Great. These initial attempts to convert it into arable land were discontinued after his death, however. Later attempts failed to get beyond the initial stages. In October 1933, a group of Labour Service men was despatched there in order to tackle the task of reclaiming this vast region. The amount of work to be done is computed at about one million day units of labour, which means that the labour service detachments working there will require from 6 to 7 years to complete the project. This entails the construction of roads, the regulation of the flow of water, the turning of the subsoil over the entire extent of the reclaimed land and its conversion into arable land.

In the meantime, there has come into existence on the edge of the bog the village of Hierlshagen, named after the Reich Labour Corps Leader. It consists of 50 peasant farms. Additional farms, each about 80 acres in extent, are springing into existence with the gradual disappearence of the bog.

The Schleswig-Holstein Northsea Coast. The biggest task of all entrusted to the Labour Service is the reclamation of land from the sea on the western coast of North Frisia. It signifies a struggle with the sea, with the "glittering Hans", as the littoral folk call the North Sea.

The sea has been encroaching on this coast for centuries. In prehistoric times, vast stretches of fertile country interrupted by patches of sand, heath and moor, extended from the present beach line to the islands of Sylt, Amrum, Pellworm and Trieschen. Numerous ditches and streams divided the markland into islands of various sizes. The subsidence of the earth's surface which did not come to a standstill until towards the end of the Bronze Age (800 B. C.), the tides and heavy gales have all done their part in converting this markland into the sea shallows which now stretch from the coast to the above-mentioned islands. Floodtide catastrophes brought about further alterations in the coastline and it was not until the advent of the 19th Century that invention and organisation were able to stem the advance of the sea. Since the year 1933, the Labour Service has done much to promote the planned recovery of land from the sea.

A working programme for the next ten years has been set up by the authorities in the province of Schleswig-Holstein. It is intended to have the islands connected with the mainland by seven new dams, one of which has already been completed. The construction of numerous dykes will enable 855 families to be settled on some 30,000 acres recovered from the sea. The damming up of the Eider region will rescue a further 87,500 acres of valuable land from the injurious effects of flooding. The total cost of these projects, which will entail some 13,500,000 day units of labour, is estimated at about 150 million marks. Approximately 64,000 swamps will be converted into arable land, and about 20,000 acres of recovered land converted into pastureland, 45,000 acres of reclaimed land dyked in and 20,000 acres of existing markland drained and converted into first-class farmland. Indisputably, an enormous task.

In pursuance of this plan so far 13 kilometres of dam constructions and 25 kilo-

metres of dykes have been completed. This has resulted in the recovery of 6,250 acres of fertile markland. In the matter of the recovery of land from the sea shallows, several hundred kilometers of shrub and earth dams *(Lahmungen)* and many thousand kilometers of *Grüppen* have been laid down. Two big projects achieved on this coast, to which I have already made reference in a previous chapter, have long since been completed: the Adolf Hitler Koog on the Dicksander Bay (in the southern part of the Dithmarschen) and the Hermann Göring Koog in the Tümmlauer Bay (Eiderstedt). The Labour Service contributed its part to the creation of the 3,200 acre Adolf Hitler Koog by carrying out the work of drainage, levelling, soil preparation and so forth. The project has led to the creation of 54 new farms of from 25 to 75 acres in scattered settlement and several smaller farms in addition. The practical success is apparent from the fact that the first year of cultivation, namely 1935, yielded 35,000 double hundredweight of oats, a quantity corresponding to the annual bread grain requirements of a town of 20,000 inhabitants.

In the Hermann Göring Koog, at the time of writing 1,250,000 cubic metres of land have been shifted. Ground water and influx water from the adjoining marklands were run off into the North Sea by the lock system of drainage. A network of roads, ten kilometers in length, was constructed. The outcome was the partition of the settlement of 1,125 acres into hereditary farms varying in size from 18 acres to 70 acres and the creation of homes for a large number of small farmers, workers and artisans.

In this way, it was rendered possible for hereditary farms on rich, fertile land that two years previously had been washed by the sea, to be bequeathed by the State to healthy peasants and workers who had proved their worth in the political struggle for resurgent Germany. These settlers will thus create the foundation for new generations of healthy peasantry.

Labour Service for Female Youth

The origin and principles of the Labour Service for female youth are practically identical with those of the Labour Service for male youth. "It is just as necessary for young women as for young men to be imbued with the spirit of National Socialism and to be taught how to play their part in the community, to be brought to an appreciation of comradeship and thus to a high ethical outlook on life. The Labour Service of both sexes is, in its ultimate conception, something which possesses totality" (Hierl).

This totality in respect of organisation and control was still non-existent in the year 1933. However, on January 1st, 1934, the Reich Commissioner for the then voluntary labour service entrusted Frau Scholtz-Klink with the control and direction of the organisation henceforth known as the "Women's Labour Service". The Reich territory was divided up among 13 provincial groups whose leaders were placed under the direct control of the Leader of the Women's Labour Service.

Two views on the purport and mission of the Women's Labour Service were each seeking to gain the upperhand during the first two years of the existence

of this institution: the idea on the one hand, of schooling young girls to become good housewives and mothers and to make them realise the importance of working in the service of the nation, and, on the other hand, the idea of practical instruction of the kind which imposes self-responsibility and a sense of duty towards the community as a whole. Experience has brought the decision, in principle, in favour of this latter conception.

The six months' service assumes today the form of aid for those German women and mothers who are overburdened or incapacitated by work, provided their means are not sufficient to permit of the employment of paid helpers. This opened up an enormously wide field of labour, especially in districts where new settlements have been established. The work is regarded by the girls as their bounden duty and they fully realise its educational value and importance.

Aid for housewives and for the mothers of big families has also proved to be absolutely necessary, not only in the new settlements, but also in the rural distress areas and in the poorer quarters of industrial towns. Here, too, the Labour Service girls have been engaged to assist women in the house, in the yard and out on the field, or to take over the duties of mothers who have fallen ill, or take charge of their children in the Kindergarten belonging to the camp (see Picts. 158, 159).

It is a kind of labour employment, however, which is possible only if grounded in a proper manner on a camp life conducted with a full sense of responsibility and with a view to creating a comradeship out of girls drawn from all classes of society. In the matter of schooling, recreation, gymnastics and so forth, as a general rule the same principles apply here as for the Labour Service of the male youth with, of course, the necessary modifications. Until the middle of the year 1935, the Women's Labour Service remained financially independent of the German Labour Exchange and Unemployment Insurance which had made use of it for the purpose of absorbing unemployed girls. The organisational incorporation into the Reich Labour Service under the direct control of the Reich Women Labour Leader as "Labour Service for Female Youth" occurred on April 1st, 1936. The 13 district organisations remained in existence, but the district leaders were made subordinate to the German Labour Leader whose direction resulted in many improvements being made in the camps (for 40 girls), in the methods of training and instruction. The female Labour Service comprised, in the year 1937, 485 camps with 15,000 labour girls and today has reached a strength of 25,000 in 600 camps.

I recently had an opportunity to visit one of these camps and was greatly impressed by everything I saw. Healthy, sun-burnt girls from various strata of society were brought together here to form one happy group governed by a spirit of comradeship. They sang to us old German melodies and folksongs, showed us their little rooms each prettily decorated with flowers, their dining and assembly rooms, gave a performance of folk dancing in the garden, in fact, created about us such an atmosphere of youth and jollity that we found ourselves loath to take our departure.

XVI.

German Youth

The youth movement, now recognised as one of the decisive factors in modern German history, came into being towards the end of the last century. It arose at a time when the world was sunk deep in a materialism which dominated life and thought. Education had reached a dead end in its increasing rigidity and was no longer inclined to grant to youth its own character and its own rights. At that time, youth was regarded merely as pliable material which had to be moulded in a manner that was guaranteed to turn out good citizens, good patriots and mere human beings capable of exercising some vocation in life. The outlook on life prevailing in those days debarred the possibility of setting up a spiritual fellowship between teachers and pupils. The young people saw in the teacher not their leader and adviser but solely a sort of state official whose task consisted in carrying through the prescribed schedule of instruction. Likewise the younger generation at the time of the turn of the century found little opportunity in the religious, social and para-military groups and organisations to develop in accordance with the dictates of their own nature, seeing that these bodies were led and governed by members of an older generation and were concerned with the sole task of imparting a one-sided education, or of drilling, in the worse sense of the word.

But the fighting spirit of a younger generation which found itself confronted with impediments of all kinds was already in the air. It got away to a flying start through the success achieved by such ardent protagonists of youth as Hermann Lietz and Dr. Gustav Wynecken. They founded the first independent educational centres to be set up in the heart of the countryside. These were the schools at Ilsenburg, Haubinda and Wickersdorf, in which the spirit of youth came at last into its own, namely, in the form of a comradeship between teacher and pupils. Almost simultaneous with, and independent of, this attempt to bring about an educational reformation occurred in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin, the inauguration of another movement, namely, the "Wandervögel", which quickly spread throughout Germany and became world-renowned. A young student named Karl Fischer gathered around him in the year 1896 a number of his fellow-students to form a group of ardent, combative and altogether remarkable young men. Every Sunday, Fischer led his group out to a place called Fohlenkoppel, lying to the south of Potsdam, where there is a wide expanse of meadowland. Later the excursions went farther afield even as far as the Bohemian forests. Fischer had made a close study of the myths, manners

and customs and apparel of the ancient Germans, as well as of the history of civilisation and of the various races of mankind.

These rovings into the woodlands around Berlin and the forests of Bohemia, the nocturnal camp fires on the banks of the Nuthe, the solemn discussions under the starry dome of night, the old dances and songs, formed the basis for the Wandervogel movement which, fifteen years later, at the beginning of the World War, had a following of 60,000 youths. The movement spread over the whole of Germany and exerted a profound influence on the life of the younger generation and upon its attitude towards questions of national moment.

Other groups, which came into being at this time, demanded reforms of the most divergent character with the result that the German youth movement as a whole was split up into numerous sects. In the face of this development it was resolved to hold a general rally with the object of acquiring that unity so necessary for effective action. The rally was held on the Hohe Meissner, a hill near the town of Kassel, and resulted in the formation of the "Freideutsche Jugend", a big youth movement in which the younger generation pledged itself to shape its life in accordance with its own express desire and, in all sincerity and with a sense of its own responsibility, to defend its complete independence at all costs.

The World War brought confusion into the ranks of this youth movement, especially in the two years of revolutional upheaval which followed the termination of hostilities. Many adherents of the "Freideutschen Bewegung", joined the ranks of the proletarian army engaged in the class struggle, whilst others enlisted in the Volunteer Corps with the object of defeating the Spartacists, realising that victory for Bolshevism would imperil the very existence of the German race. An attempt made at Jena in April 1919 to affect a reconciliation and re-establish unity proved abortive and brought the German youth movement, including the Wandervögel, on the road to total dissolution.

The National Socialist youth leaders of to-day by no means deny the important pioneer work achieved by the *Wandervogel* movement of Karl Fischer. Baldur von Schirach, Youth Leader of the German Reich, writes in his book "Hitler Youth" that the youth movement of those early days had fully vindicated its right to exist. Its outlook and guiding principles had created the pre-requisites for the building up of the Hitler Youth, particularly, for instance, the idea of self-government for youth, the challenge of youth to the accepted views of bourgeois society, its determination to seek its source of inspiration in the people and in the spirit of comradeship, and so forth.

All the same, the first rally on the Hohe Meissner in October 1913 did little more than impart an initial impulse. What the present youth, in reading the reports on these early youth movement meetings, finds so important is the way in which the first leaders sought to give shape and form to the movement. They had the courage to face the jeers of a world which blindly refused to understand, just as, one decade later, the Nationalist Socialists had to show

courage and fortitude when striving against a world of enemies in the early days of its struggle.

The Hitler Youth took over and gave new content to this or that aspect of the former youth movement.

"That an entire people had, in those days, been called to the colours," says Baldur von Schirach, "catholics and protestants alike, beggars and millionaries, peasants and pen-men, merchants and workers, and that they all obeyed one call and felt German, nothing but German, was what put us on the march, too. Titles were of no account here, nor privilege of birth, nor money-bags nor anything of special note in those days when the nation was fighting for its existence. And that is what we want to see, too . . . Germany has once again a youth that does not seek for selfish gain but is prepared to sacrifice itself in the service of the community. That is the idea dominating the Hitler Youth. A fellowship of Germans who are asking nothing for themselves. And because they ask nothing for themselves, they are able to serve their great nation to the utmost of their powers. No youth with new rights, but a generation pledged to fulfil a bounden duty."

The Development of the Hitler Youth Movement

Founder of this movement was Kurt Gruber, a student who in the year 1926, from his headquarters hidden away in the cellar of a house in Plauen, set out to organise a large number of Hitler Youth groups in Saxony. Somewhat later, numerous Hitler Youth groups sprang into existence in Franken, thanks to the energy of Rudolf Engels, present leader of Hitler Youth in this province.

At a time when National Socialism was engaged in a hard struggle against attempts to suppress it, Kurt Gruber set about the task of reviving the youth movement on a new basis. His efforts were crowned with success. The Hitler Youth following grew in proportion to the expansion of the National Socialist movement. At the Reich Party Congress in 1929, Gruber was able to appear at the head of a detachment of 2,000 Hitler youths. The parade of this detachment before the Führer was one of the most interesting episodes of this congress.

In 1926, Dr. Wilhelm Tempel founded the National Socialist Students' Association which was subsequently placed under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach. There had also been brought into existence at this time the National Socialist School Children's Association founded by Dr. von Renteln. The health of Kurt Gruber broke down under the strain of the immense work entailed and, upon his withdrawal from the command in the year 1931, the Führer appointed Baldur von Schirach to the post of Reich Youth Leader of the National Socialist Party. The new leader immediately developed a very lively activity with the result that the authorities were constantly seeking his arrest. He was, in fact, apprehended and jailed. Shortly after this, the then German Minister of the Interior, General Gröner, placed a ban on the Hitler Youth along with the Storm Troopers. Hence it became necessary to carry on as a subterranean force, working without uniform or badges. The Hitler Youth gained the élite of its young followers during this very period. Thousands upon thousands fled from school and workshop to swear allegiance to the black banner of the Hitler Youth.

Baldur von Schirach and his youthful associates were living in those days in constant peril of arrest.

When Dr. von Renteln was called to Party Headquarters to take over the post of reporter on economic questions, it was agreed that Schirach should also take charge of the affairs of the School Children's Association. About the middle of the year 1932, following the proscription of the Hitler Youth, he conceived the daring plan of summoning the entire Hitler Youth to a rally in Potsdam. He ordered them to appear on the scene in uniform. A monster camp capable of accommodating 100,000 lads was erected with feverish haste. The expenditure entailed was covered by the sale of special plaques. In this way, the first Reich Youth Congress to be addressed by Adolf Hitler was held in the Potsdam Stadium on the night of October 1st. On the following day, Adolf Hitler took the salute in a march past which lasted seven and a half hours. It was a most impressive spectacle which plainly revealed that, although the Weimar Government possessed the bayonets, the National Socialist Party had already claimed possession of the hearts of German youth.

The tremendous potency of this demonstration reposed, first and foremost, upon a fact to which proud reference is still made by the Hitler Youth and its Leader, namely, that the ranks were composed to a large extent of working class youth who had been won over after years of untiring effort. To-day the major part of the Hitler Youth is composed of young workers. Even the statistics regarding the vocation of the Hitler Youth leaders reveal the fact that quite 70% of the executive positions of the National Socialist Youth Movement are occupied by young men drawn from the humblest walks of life. This was the real triumph of National Socialist youth. Already prior to the accession of National Socialism to power the majority of the younger generation of industrial workers in the great manufacturing centres of Western and Middle Germany had joined the ranks of the Hitler Youth. The power of Marxism had been broken and, having lost its power, it had also lost its claim to represent the interests of the workers.

The Hitler Youth made use of the Winter of 1932/33 to hold innumerable gatherings which yielded a rich harvest of new members. On January 30th, 1933, the National Socialist Party took over the reigns of government. In view of the fact that the new Government was immediately overwhelmed with work of reconstruction, the executive body of the Hitler Youth resolved to launch out on its own initiative and to acquire control over the other existing youth organisations, in particular, the Reich Committee of the German Youth Federations. This latter was a governing body in which all sorts of German youth organisations, whether Marxist, confessional or student groups, were represented with equal rights, and in which, in endless discussions, they sought to vindicate their existence. Its chairman, General Vogt, took account of the situation and declared himself prepared to cooperate with Baldur von Schirach.

The incorporation of the Reich Committee facilitated the coordination of the various federations and organisations, although this did not occur without

arousing opposition, notably on the part of the Pan-German Youth Federation led by the famous Admiral von Trotha. The appointment of Schirach to the newly-created post of Youth Leader of the German Reich rendered possible the dissolution of the Pan-German Youth Federation. Admiral von Trotha generously offered his services as Honorary Leader of the Marine Section of the Hitler Youth. There followed the incorporation of the "Scharnhorst," of the youth section of the Steel Helmet organisation and of the various smaller groups, so that the ranks of the Hitler Youth rapidly swelled from one million on January 30th, 1933, to three million. Only the two big religious societies of the evangelical and catholic youth continued to retain their independence.

Then, towards the end of the year 1933, following an interview which took place between the newly-appointed Reich Bishop, Ludwig Müller, and the Reich Youth Leader, it was decided that the evangelical youth organisations should cease to exist in so far as they assumed tasks which coincided with those of the Hitler Youth. They could continue to carry on as spiritual fellowships in the sense in which they were originally formed. The Hitler Youth conceded to their evangelical members permission to devote one evening of the week to religious exercises. Following this agreement, the evangelical youth was incorporated in the Hitler Youth. Baldur von Schirach holds that an agreement of this sort could also have been concluded with the catholic youth societies, but hitherto the differences existing between the Vatican and the Wilhelm Strasse had stood in the way of an understanding in this direction.

On December 1st, 1936, the German Cabinet passed the Law relating to the Hitler Youth. This law entrusted the Hitler Youth with the task of organising the entire German youth within the territory of the Reich. Apart from parental and school control, the entire youth is to undergo bodily, mental and moral training in the Hitler Youth in the spirit of National Socialism for national service. The educational mission is entrusted to the Reich Youth Leader of the National Socialist Party. He thereby becomes the Youth Leader of the German Reich and has the position of a supreme Reich authority with headquarters in Berlin. He is made directly subordinate to the Führer and Reich Chancellor.

Although this law constituted something altogether unique of its kind, it was in point of fact nothing else than the recognition by the State of a development that had already been accomplished. For the youth which was now called upon to serve in the Hitler Youth had for the most part already lined up of its own free accord under the banners of the Hitler Youth. In a statement explaining the purport of the law, Baldur von Schirach, after recalling the circumstances under which the youth first flocked to the Hitler Youth banners, went on to expound his views on the realisation of the mission entrusted to him.

"'Youth must be led by youth.' This dictum," said the Reich Youth Leader, "that Adolf Hitler imparted to me when, in the hard days of the struggle, he entrusted me with the leadership of the Youth Sector of the National Socialist Party, will continue in future to be the guiding principle of our work. I, too, have no intention of appear-

ing one day before my youth as a decrepit old man with a long beard. Every unit of youth must be led in the spirit of youth. Not immature and inept persons, but young activists who have passed through a hard course of training in our Leader Training Centres and Academies will continue in future to be placed at the head of our youth.

"But here, too, we have no intention to proceed in a dogmatic manner and, now that we have become a supreme Reich authority, we shall be at special pains to avoid riding the high horse of legal paragraphs and thereby suffocating the healthy instincts with the proverbial dust from the shelves containing official documents. At all phases of our struggle, I have been surrounded by a number of colleagues who, though advanced in years, were, in their youthfulness of spirit and elasticity of mind, models for every *pimpf*. (*Pimpf* is the nickname given to the boys of ten to fourteen years of age organised in the German "*Jungvolk*", the pre-organisation of the Hitler Youth. Editor's note). Furthermore, I regarded it as my duty to preserve, in a form already clearly conceived by me, the principle of voluntary service even under the altered conditions brought about by the promulgation of the new Law."

As a matter of fact, even subsequent to December 1st, 1936, no pressure of any kind was exerted to induce the youth organised in religious societies to join the National Socialist organisation.

"My activity in future," Schirach went on to say, "will now be dedicated entirely to the task of leading and equipping my millions of followers. The dispute regarding the unity of youth is now definitely settled and, just as I have made loyal comrades and colleagues of millions of young people who were once organised in Marxian youth groups, in like manner I hope now to be able to reconcile and win the hearts of all the other members of the younger generation who are now brought into our ranks at the express wish of the Reich.

I am contemplating neither the erection of places of pagan sacrifice in the forests of Germany nor the initiation of the youth in some Wotan cult, and I shall not deliver Young Germany over to the magic arts of some bearded herb apostle. On the contrary. May it be given to everyone to obey the dictates of his conscience in the matter of religion. The Hitler Youth is not a church and the church is not the Hitler Youth.

The community led by me, and for whose welfare I am responsible, will be shaped and determined for the National Socialist state, in the sense desired by the Führer, exclusively by me and my subordinate leaders."

Let us now turn to a discussion of the basic principles governing the attitude of the Youth Command to the question of the religious youth societies.

As Baldur von Schirach declared in the course of a speech delivered in Berlin before the Diplomatic Corps and foreign newspaper correspondents, the education of youth is an inalienable sovereign right of the State. The aim of the state-controlled education of youth lies in the systematic conversion of incognisant young people into conscious citizens and bearers of the conception of the State. The most important instrument for the attainment of this aim is the State Youth, that is to say, the community of young Germans of all classes and religious, in other words, the Hitler Youth Movement. It is the community in which Young Germany is schooled to adopt a vital outlook on life.

The religious association of young people, as formerly constituted, was in the opinion of the Youth Command an association of young people who negated

the idea of the State, wishing in fact to have nothing at all to do with it. In this sense, the church group had to be considered as one of the by-products of those conditions which created the State built up on class antagonisms. The socialist conception of the Third Reich, on the other hand, demands of every individual the unconditional subordination of his individual being to the socialist existence of his people. This socialist existence, however, has only one form of expression as far as the youth of Germany is concerned, namely, the Hitler Youth. Every youth association outside the Hitler Youth transgresses against the spirit of the community which is the spirit of the State.

Yet there is a plane on which the religious association may lay claim to a spiritual right to exist. This is recognised and respected by the Hitler Youth. As the name indicates, the church youth association feels itself linked up with a religious experience; this, however, must not be made the starting point on the road to political objectives but must remain the heart and core of all the activities of such an association, otherwise two things are violated on the march which should be held inviolate. Firstly, the State, whose right to educate must remain inviolate, and, secondly, religion itself, in that the church association would be forsaking religion in the degree in which it strove for the attainment of political ends.

Hence National Socialism has brought itself to insist that the church association should restrict its activities exclusively to the domain of spiritual welfare, whilst at the same time making a strong stand in behalf of religion. No objections are made to the organisation of Germany's church youth in religious societies whose conduct and activity are determined solely by religious conviction. Given a restriction of this sort, in which the church youth concern themselves purely with matters of spiritual welfare, the Youth Command would be prepared to raise the ban on dual membership because there would then no longer be the danger of alleged religious societies concerning themselves with tasks which devolve solely and alone upon the State.

Let the Church be responsible for religious instruction and the State for the forming of the political outlook upon life—such is the formula which, in the opinion of Baldur von Schirach, can supply the basis for fertile cooperation.

A few days after the Law relating to the Hitler Youth had been proclaimed, Baldur von Schirach made further reference to this subject in the course of a broadcast address to German parents and German youth:—

"Many erring clergymen," said the Reich Youth Leader, "have sought to represent me as an enemy of religious instruction. Their words have failed to evoke any echo from our young people themselves for the simple reason that they know me better. For never have I tolerated a godless person in the Hitler Youth. Whoever has sworn allegiance to the Hitler Youth banner has bound himself not only to this banner but, at the same time, to a Higher Power. And long before December 1st, those who joined our fellowship had to confirm their avowal with the words, 'As true as God help me!'

As regards the religions themselves, speaking as Youth Leader of the German Reich and seeing that, after all, we possess several denominations, I am unable to

give any binding declaration for the Youth, just as I am obliged to avoid doing anything that might cause a cleavage in the ranks of Youth.

For this reason, then, I leave it to the churches to attend to the religious instruction of Youth in the sense of their religious faiths and will never interfere in this instruction. My mission has been entrusted to me by the German Reich. I am responsible to the Reich for seeing that the entire Youth is physically, mentally and morally trained and schooled in the sense of the National Socialist conception of the State. A certain service has been introduced for enabling this educational mission to be carried out. And I have not the slightest objection to make if, outside this service, every youth is given religious instruction at the place chosen by his parents or by himself. On Sundays, there will be, in principle, no duties to perform during church hours, so that each will be given opportunity to attend the church of his choice.

Now that, by virtue of the Law of December 1st, the dispute between the Hitler Youth and the religious youth associations has been terminated, I am induced as a matter of course to enact that, within the domain of the great Reich organisation now in process of formation, all leaders of both sexes shall refrain from all utterances in the sense of the past dissensions and shall make a point of seeing that divine service on Sunday and sundry exercises of a purely religious character prescribed by the churches are not affected by service in the Hitler Youth."

In fulfilment of this promise, the relationship of the Hitler Youth to the churches was defined and regulated by declaration of the Reich Youth Leader made on June 26th, 1937. After it had already been conceded that regular church hours should be left blank in the Hitler Youth service schedule, it was now decreed that, in recognition of the spiritual duties devolving upon the churches and other religious bodies, furlough shall be granted upon request in exceptional cases and for attendance at special ceremonies of the churches or faith communities (exercises lasting several days, pilgrimages, missionary courses, confirmation classes, and so forth). On the other hand, participation without a grant of furlough shall be made punishable within the scope of the disciplinary code of the Hitler Youth. Furlough for this purpose shall not be granted during the duration of a Hitler Youth camp, nor if it amounts to an interference with the ordinary run of duties, nor if the requests appear excessive.

A further decree regulated the question of dual membership of Hitler Youth and religious youth associations and defined under what conditions departure could be made from the general practice which had hitherto upheld the principle of forbidding dual membership.

Organisation of the National Socialist Youth Movement

The movement is composed of three main pillars: *Jungvolk*, Hitler Youth, League of German Girls (BDM.). The *Jungvolk*, as already mentioned, is made up of juveniles of ten to fourteen years of age, the Hitler Youth of lads of fourteen to eighteen years of age, whilst the Girls' League makes a distinction, on the basis of the same age grades, between *Jungmädel* and *Mädel* (up to 21 years of age). The movement is divided into five main territories: East, North, South, Middle and West. The main territories are composed of from 4 to 5 regions; a region (averaging 100,000 juveniles) into two to five main groups (*Oberbann*).

Each main group is made up of about six groups, these are organised in sub-groups and these again in so-called followerships. The comradeship (in the *Jungvolk* it is called the "*Jungenschaft*", in the BDM. the "*Mädelschaft*" and "*Jungmädelschaft*". It is the smallest unit of the movement (about 15 members).

At the head of each unit stands a leader. Considering that the Hitler Youth, with a membership of upwards of seven million, is the largest National Socialist body in existence, it is not surprising that it has a big need of leaders of both sexes. Some 290,000 service posts have to be filled in the lower units and about 30,000 in the middle-sized units. Leaders have to be selected for some 1,250 higher service posts. As a result of the fact that the Labour Service and the Army are constantly calling up new recruits, each year witnesses a big change (about 20%) in the composition of the movement.

The training of the élite occurs in the Leader Training Centres, either in the Regional Training Centre or in one of the three Reich Academies for the Training of Leaders. The girls have their own regional training centres as well as three Reich Academies for the Training of Girl Leaders. To-day the Hitler Youth possesses in all 79 establishments working in accordance with a unified schedule and conducted by persons who are directly controlled through the Schooling and Training Department of the Reich Youth Command.

The Leader Training Centres of the National Socialist Youth Movement are located, almost without exception, in districts of outstanding scenic beauty. Their equipment is, in principle, invariably the same, particularly as regards sports outfit and educational books. Each centre has its own sports ground, seeing that physical training occupies a paramount place in the schedule. The Reich Academies for the Training of Leaders are brought somewhat more in accord with instruction in matters of political outlook. The courses at these training centres last on an average three weeks; every candidate for the post of leader has to pass through a period of three years' training, whereby two years have to be spent in actual service and one year at the various training centres. Members of the Hitler Youth Leader Corps must have completed their term of military service. This method gives an assurance that only those candidates will be selected for the post of Hitler Youth leaders who have given proof of their suitability both as regards character and capability.

No matter what his rank or position, the individual leader is, in his own realm of responsibility, the bearer of an unqualified power of authority. The National Socialist principle of the absolute responsibility of a leader to his superiors and his equally absolute authority over his group has been given full application in the Hitler Youth Movement. The Hitler Youth leader makes out the order of the day for his group, leads them on the march and in the camp, draws up the programme for the evening gatherings and attends to all the thousand of other things which belong to the life of a German boy in these times.

In contradistinction to many other countries, Germany does not train its youth in the use of military weapons at all. Instruction in the use of firearms, which is given to a very modest extent at the training centres, has merely a

sporting significance. The physical training of the Hitler lads is a good all round training whose control lies in the hands of the Reich Sports Leader, State Secretary von Tschammer und Osten.

Home, camp and roving are chapters in the life of the Hitler Youth Movement that deserve special mention.

The *Heim* constitutes the core of the smaller units. The Home enables the young lads to avoid the road that leads to the public house and such like places and to live without contracting habits of drinking and smoking. A Home may be as unpretentious as can be imagined. Two old railway carriages joined together and put shipshape by the lads themselves make just as good a Home as a disused mansion placed at the disposal of youth by some well-wisher and converted inside and out to suit their requirements. All the same, in his traditional New Year's address on January 1st, 1937, Baldur von Schirach was at pains to emphasise the necessity of getting Homes which, in their architectural appearance and general attractiveness, reflect the spirit of the times. Other members of the German cabinet have issued appeals for the erection of Youth Homes of this sort, which mean so much for Young Germany and which provide the pre-requisites for the building up of that uncompromising comradeship demanded of the younger generation of today. They have requested all Party and official quarters, as well as the provincial and municipal authorities, to promote to the utmost of their power the campaign for the erection of Hitler Youth Homes (see Pict. 164).

You can always count on meeting some of the Hitler youth in the Homes, in fact, it is there the parents first go if their son is missing for a bit. Finding time drag at his real home he will have gone around to the Home of his "Followship" or "Comradeship." Moreover, the Home serves in the best possible manner to train the youth in the philosophy of National Socialism. Every Wednesday evening is set aside for a so-called "*Heimabend.*" The boys and girls foregather in their Homes. The competent leader then conducts the gathering according to the *Heimabend* dossier issued by the Reich Youth Command. This dossier, which is uniform for the entire Reich, contains the songs which are to be sung in common. It also contains pictures which are passed round from hand to hand and serve to illustrate the *Heimabend* subject which is the same throughout the entire Reich.

Then the radio is switched on and all listen in to the item entitled "Young Germany's Hour" which, beginning punctually at 8.15 every Wednesday evening, is broadcast by all German stations. The subject chosen is either a radio play, dialogue or lecture. Millions of young people are uniformly schooled in this manner. In addition, many of the stations include special items in their programmes such as talks on hobbies, accounts of expeditions, song items and so forth.

The *Camp* is naturally a tent camp. It constitutes the great invigorator for the youth compelled to live in big cities, above all, for the young workers in the industrial districts. The period of time spent in the camp varies from four

to six weeks. The day's programme is mainly taken up by games and exercise, whilst a bivouac with song and recital is held each evening on an open space in the centre of the camp. Opportunities are provided in the warmer months for swimming and for horse-riding, and when the camp breaks up on the last evening, many of the "*Pimpfe*" shed bitter tears at the thought that these jolly days are over and will not return until a whole year has passed (see Picts. 160 to 162, 166, 168).

Whereas camp life means that the Hitler youth remains several weeks in one place, he is ceaselessly changing his night abode when on the *rove*. In groups of various size, carrying their tent and cooking utensils on their back, they march through their native country and halt for a couple of days or so in those places which appeal to them most. Some of these groups have even travelled far into foreign lands, in fact, there are many Hitler youths who have thus gained a very wide experience of the outside world.

A special youth organisation provides the lone wanderer, particularly the roving Hitler youth, with possibilities of putting up for the night, even in the inclement seasons of the year. We refer to the "German Youth Hostel Association" whose exemplary equipment and organisation has stood model for the youth hostel movements in nineteen foreign countries. The Youth Hostel Association is, so to speak, the world's biggest hotel undertaking, but with the difference that it does not operate for the interests of an hotel proprietor or for so and so many shareholders but for a purpose of general utility, for the welfare of youth.

A network of about two thousand Youth Hostels with 25,000 beds is spread over the whole of Germany. For a few pence, each juvenile can obtain clean lodgings for the night and good, healthy food. Many of these hostels are located in romantic old castles, in ancient city towers and so forth. But equally numerous are the new buildings specially erected for this purpose from funds supplied by the Reich Federation for German Youth Hostels. Their architectural form and practical interior arrangements, especially their hygienic installation, are such as to make them models of their kind. Each youth hostel is under the management of a married couple, the so-called hostel parents, who are responsible for the maintenance of order within the hostels. The Federation's inspectors control the general condition of the hostels and the extent to which they are used. Where there exists a tendency to overcrowding, it becomes their duty to look around for opportunities to erect new buildings (see Pict. 163).

By virtue of an agreement entered into with other countries having a youth hostel system, it is now possible to obtain an international youth hostel passport. Youths in possession of a passport of this kind are entitled to spend the night in any youth hostel abroad under the same conditions as in their native country. The Youth Hostel Associations have now formed an international federation whose headquarters are in Holland. Its president is a German.

The German youth hostel system issued in the year 1936 as many as 7.5 million tickets for night lodging (as against 4.3 million in the year 1932). The Federation

of German Youth Hostels is thus the world's biggest host. In the year 1936, the German youth hostels were used by approximately 200,000 foreign guests.

The enlistment of the Hitler Youth in social effort aims at increasing the efficiency and the output of the younger generation. This enlistment of the forces of youth finds its plainest expression in the Reich Vocational Competition organised each year by the Hitler Youth Command in collaboration with the German Labour Front. It is concluded with the ceremony of presenting the youthful victors to the Führer.

The idea of carrying competition into vocational life is not new. Ever since the guild rivalries of the Middle Ages, it has been customary in many countries to hold minor competitions of a vocational character. Nevertheless, this emulative strife had never before assumed such importance or been organised and carried out on such a vast scale. When it is borne in mind that only twenty out of about two million young workers admitted to this competition have to be picked out as champions by a system based on the completion by each entrant of a carefully prescribed technical piece of work, and that thousands of expert commissions have to engage on the task of making this selection, it becomes possible to form an idea of the vast scope of this action.

There is no disputing the importance of the Reich vocational competition. It consists in training young workers for high-grade and specialised work. But this advantage is outdone by the tremendous moral incentive to the idealistic profession of faith of an entire younger generation in labour and socialism, that is, in the system obtaining in Germany of to-day. The value of the Reich vocational competitions is therefore political as well as technical, and the same remark applies to the entire training and instruction carried on in the Hitler Youth Movement. The Hitler Youth Command is primarily concerned with expounding to the boys and girls the basic ideas of the National Socialist philosophy, and imparting a knowledge of race and soil as the foundations of national life. This is done in a way most fitting to the respective ages. The "*Pimpf*" is taught by object lesson, or by means of history lessons in which emphasis is laid on the role played by leading personalities, to appreciate the demands made upon him by the Movement. The Hitler youth sees the historical development of the German people and learns to apply his conclusions to the present time. Thousands of individual features drawn from life and history thus combine to create his outlook upon life (see Picts. 165, 167).

Very characteristic in this respect are the new Adolf Hitler Training Centres established by the National Socialist Party as pre-schools for the National Socialist high academies. These schools are primarily for those boys who have distinguished themselves in the German *Jungvolk* and have completed their twelfth year of age. Attendance at one of these training centres, which are organised in six classes, lasts until the candidate is called up for military service, but the important fact is that the leaving certificate issued by these Adolf Hitler Schools enables the holder to embark on any career in the Party or the State. Here, indeed, is formed the political outlook of the coming generations.

One of the important fields of activity of the Hitler Youth is the Rural Service System. It aims at getting urban youth closely and perpetually bound to the soil and also engaged in the Production Campaign. In the year 1936, this organisation was able to distribute 6,608 young urban workers over the countryside in 642 village groups, but a far greater development of this institution is under contemplation. A village group is just a rural service unit employed as a body in a peasant village. The members of this group work for the individual peasants, singly or in twos and threes, but they are quartered in the community home.

Sound in body and mind, this youth as organized in the Rural Service, is the product of an association of comradeship and daily toil. The Rural Service, as a matter of fact, constitutes one of the finest social establishments of German youth; it represents the sole and most fitting way of leading young urban workers back to the land.

Every civilised nation has to devote itself without respite to the task of educating its youth. To be sure, each country will choose to solve this problem in its own particular way, as this is a matter determined by national character. Yet it is difficult to conceive of any domain more suited to a pacific exchange of views between all peoples than that of the education of youth. The more it becomes possible for educators to agree on certain basic principles of education, the greater becomes the possibility of the younger generation of all nations growing up in accord with each other instead of in opposition. Notable service is thereby rendered to the cause of peace.

Such is his conviction on this score that Baldur von Schirach has laid it down as a principle that the Hitler Youth Command shall refrain from concerning itself at all with matters of foreign policy, but in all its foreign connections shall concentrate its energies on realising the great task of establishing fruitful collaboration between the German youth and the youth of other countries. Pursuant to this resolve, parties of German youth set out in great number each year for visits to foreign countries with the object of becoming acquainted with the customs and usages of other peoples. At the same time, invitations to visit Germany on a generous scale are sent out to the youth of other nations. Last year, no less than 50,000 foreigners visited Germany at the invitation of the Hitler Youth. They came to study the work which is being accomplished by German youth. Incidentally, instruction in foreign languages and in political geography plays a prominent part in the general schedule adopted for the Hitler Youth formations.

Modern Germany is at great pains to build up a new generation physically and spiritually stronger than of the immediate post-war period. Adolf Hitler is taking a great personal interest in this matter. The fact alone that he has made the Reich Youth Leader directly responsible to himself and has liberated the Youth Movement from all connection with the state bureaucracy goes to prove this beyond a shadow of doubt. The Führer sees in the youth the future of the nation and the continuation of his work.

"A time will come when the German people will rejoice at the sight of its youth. Then we shall be able with full equanimity and confidence to enter upon our advanced days convinced in our heart of hearts that our life struggle has not been in vain. Youth will then be marching along behind us. And that is spirit of our spirit, that is our firm resolute will, our spartanism, that is the picture of the life of our race." (Hitler, Party Congress 1935.)

Comparisons are proverbially odious and often very much out of place—but, seizing upon two examples, if the English boy scout movement and the Italian balilla with their kindred organisations represent in conception and form the most appropriate solution of the youth problem in their respective countries, then the Hitler Youth whose organisation differs in points of outstanding importance from that of the above-mentioned institutions, can honestly be said to be the most practical form of a youth federation for Germany. The Hitler youth, like the boy scout and the balilla, is a personification of national characteristics.

"Our flag does beckon us ahead,
Our flag is the signal of the dawn!"

That is the true spirit of the Hitler Youth! . . .

XVII.

The Status of Woman in the Third Reich

During the years when National Socialism was fighting its way to power, Adolf Hitler never failed to bear in mind the importance of the part played by woman in helping to advance his cause. "Had it not been for the constancy and really loving devotion of woman," declared the Führer at the last Nuremberg Party Congress, "I should never have been able to lead the Party on to victory." Upon his advent to power, he took immediate steps to vindicate the claim of German womanhood to a full share in those forms of state activity where there is a generally recognized need for their special gifts of patience and intuition, in the domain of public welfare work, for instance.

I had occasion, along with some of my colleagues of the foreign press, to interview Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, the Reich Women Leader, on the status of German women in modern Germany. Replying to the question as to why German womanhood felt attracted to the Hitler movement from the very outset, she said:

"Our conception of life is a matter which concerns the entire nation to the very roots of its being. It is not determined by material considerations but by the soul of the nation. And in matters affecting the soul, the decision does not reside with the majority but depends upon the spiritual strength of the individual. This was a vital thought in the mind of German manhood, yet many German women were bound in unswerving loyalty to this manhood during the long struggle for possession of the soul of the German people.

We have been reproached in certain quarters with having betrayed the special interests of woman for the sake of gaining this unswerving loyalty. My plain answer to that is to point out that all along the supreme guiding principle of National Socialist thought and action has been to put common welfare before private interests. Hence, as long as we were not in a position to help our nation as a whole, there was not the slightest question of our placing the special wishes, or even the special cares and troubles of woman in the foreground in any way. As long as ardent concern about the spiritual progress of our people continued to possess the hearts of German men, this nation in its entirety was more important for us women than individual cares and wishes."

German womanhood is confronted abroad with many prejudices and false conceptions which spring from an inadequate acquaintance with German and the German people. There are those who would judge German womanhood by the slim, smart and cosmopolitan Berlin woman who promenades her

delightful little pet dog along the Kurfürstendamm or drives her elegant "Mercedes" on the roads of Berlin's outlying suburbs. Others continue to believe in the prevalence of the bourgeois "Gretchen type" with rosy complexion, blue eyes and plaits of blond hair falling over the shoulders. These notions are just as false as it would be wrong to judge French womanhood from the painted Parisian of the boulevards.

Speaking generally, German women, though they like to be smartly dressed, prefer a note of simplicity in their clothes. It is an expression of their frankness of character. Even if, under the new regime, they are not so eagerly bent on entering upon a university career or on seeking to make a name for themselves in politics, nevertheless they remain remarkable for their high standard of education and their knowledge and appreciation of music, literature and other arts. It is a common sight, for instance, to see concert halls and lecture rooms with audiences composed for the most part of women.

But family life remains the chief pre-occupation of young German womanhood. Its thoughts are dominated by the desire to enter upon family life. German girls are conscious of the responsibilities which devolve upon them as future mothers. They allow themselves to be evoked to enthusiasm by the patriotic speeches of Adolf Hitler and join gladly and willingly in the big National Socialist demonstrations, but all the time they remain true to their womanhood and, in this sense, they have no superior in the entire world. Every wife is keen on establishing her reputation as a good housewife and takes delight in showing what she has learnt in her own parental home, in the housewifery department of the National Socialist women's groups or in private schools.

In these tasks falling to her lot, the German woman shows that she is fully aware of her responsibility towards the community as a whole. "We serve the life of our people," declared a member of one of the National Socialist "*Frauenschaften*," when I questioned her on this point, "we regard our household tasks as a means for achieving and maintaining the physical and spiritual health of our nation from the wellsprings of our own national economy."

The new conception of life has changed the mental outlook of German women and their conduct generally. Today, many thousands of Hitler Youth girls take a pride in wearing the plain brown jacket and black skirt which constitutes their uniform apparel, and are glad to have ousted the "Bubikopf" from favour. It means that German youth has returned to the basic moral and ethical principles, to a sense of their own worth and to a greater regard for the opinion of others, without thereby falling a prey to exaggerated prudery. This transformation has been helped along by the fact that woman has come to have a greater respect for the nation's manhood. The decrease in unemployment and the greater opportunities for work, the enlistment of young men in the Labour Service and in the Army have cleared the streets and the gayer sort of establishments of a number of all too venturesome young bloods and given these the opportunity of getting acquainted with the rules and standards of social life and thus of bringing themselves to have respect for womanhood.

The loose behaviour of young men—and not these alone—towards women in general was one of the first things which struck a visitor to the German capital during the era of the Weimar Republic. The revival of compulsory military service was a good thing for the reputation of Young Germany, for it meant, at that time, that the young men would be led to adopt once more a chivalrous attitude towards the weaker sex.

Interesting in view of the new feeling for ethics and morality impressed upon the female youth is a passage in the address delivered by the Reich Youth Leader to a gathering of members of the German Girls League. "As girls," he said, "you must learn to play your part in the national community and you have to school yourselves for the day when you shall become the wives of our men and the mothers of the new generation. For the men who are to shape the future of the German people need women of your kind. Women who in profound faith and brave in spirit are prepared to share with their menfolk every hardship and sacrifice. That is a high aim for every girl, for whose attainment it is verily worth while to devote years to making oneself strong, ready and capable, to preserve and keep oneself pure with a view to being able in all honesty to fulfil this mission."

On the whole, the young girl is quite content to work in an office or factory until ready to get married. It helps to lighten the family burden. Generally she contributes her share to the family budget and pays for her own personal requirements and amusements. She manifests a strong interest in nursing which, in Germany, calls for special training and a rather long period of probational work. Should the young girl desire at last to enter upon matrimonial life, she gladly gives up her career, however attractive its prospects, to live for her home and family. The large number of marriages made practically possible by the aid of state loans, granted until the recent extension only when the would-be wife was prepared to withdraw from the field of business or industrial activity, can be cited as testimony.

National Socialism has precisely defined the mission of woman and her duties towards the national community. According to Hitler, there are two worlds in the life of a nation: the world of woman and the world of man. Nature has ordained that man shall be guardian of the family and has imposed upon him the further obligation of acting as protector of the community in its entirety. The world of contented womanhood is made up of family, husband, children, home. It is from within this narrow sphere that she views the community as a whole. Both worlds combine to form a totality in which a people is able to live and prosper.

National Socialism recognizes this natural mission of woman and does not favour her employment in man's field of activities. All the same, it protests against the assertion made abroad to the effect that it seeks to deprive women of liberty and equality. In one of his last speeches, the Führer said, "As long as we possess a sound manly race (and we National Socialists will see to that),

there will be formed in Germany no female hand-grenade thrower detachments and no female sharp-shooter corps. For that is not equality of status, but placing women in an inferior position."

An immeasurably broad field of labour is opened to woman in the New Germany. It is nonsense to say that women have been ousted from the professions. All that has happened is that they are given every possible opportunity to help build a family and beget children, because it is in this way that they are best able to serve her country. However brilliant a woman lawyer may be, if living next door to her is a mother who has succeeded well in bringing up five, six or seven children, from a National Socialist viewpoint the achievement of this mother represents far more than the activity of the woman whose name is known to everyone. According to Hitler, the affairs of a State should be conducted in such a manner as to remove, as far as possible, all economic obstacles to matrimony. The German Government is trying to solve this task by passing a series of legislative measures, in particular, with the object of assuring the health of both sexes.

That both sexes are advised and requested to keep to their own domain of activity is in itself an assurance of a determination to avoid anything which might place either of the sexes in a derogatory position. Basic differences are recognized, that is all. The mission devolving upon German womanhood in the New State is far above being man's political or vocational rival. It is altogether wrong to suppose that housewifery is unproductive. That was a stricture commonly heard in the Germany of yesterday; it is a way of thinking typical of an epoch which equated productivity with private profit or personal advantage and never with national gain which, indirectly, works out to the advantage of the individual.

The National Socialist Women Groups

The National Socialist women groups came into existence at the time when the Party was struggling for power. National Socialist women organized themselves on the same lines as the Party. The organisation is headed by the Reich Women Leader, Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, and is composed of regional, district and local directives. The smallest unit is the cell. The total membership to date is upwards of eleven million women.

The advent of Hitler to power opened up the road to the fulfilment of the fixed programme. All the existing women's societies and institutions, which had hitherto lacked a united lead and a unifying conception of life, were now merged in one big organisation. The German Women's Organisation is today the common abode for the entire German female sex. Incorporated in it are organisations, societies and individual members who take an active part in the national life. Housewife and woman student, teacher and nurse, woman worker and artist are united for common achievement.

The new headquarters of the Reich Woman Command are located in the Derfflinger Strasse in the West-End of Berlin. There are four administrative departments and five main executive departments. The administrative depart-

ments deal with the business side of the organisation, with the tasks of organisation, with press and propaganda. A few facts about the five main executive departments will serve to convey an idea of the manifold activities of this organisation.

The Main Department "Culture, Education and Schooling" has to attend to the following fields of activity: Schooling in political philosophy (hereto belong the two training academies in Coburg and Berlin, as well as the 32 centres of training regional leaders to supervise the 100,000 women and girls already organized under this head), racial policy, gymnastics, education of girls, plastic and applied art, literature, community games and drama, pastimes.

The Main Department "Reich Maternity Service" has the following fields of activity: maternal training, health including infant care, education, homemaking and folkcraft.

In the Main Department "National Economy—Housewifery" with the fields of activity: national economy, housewifery, food supply, household arts, dressmaking, building and dwelling. These cover all the economic and political questions which concern woman as consumer and administrator.

The Main Department "Frontier and Abroad" has the mission of giving help and advice to Germans domiciled beyond the State frontiers or in foreign countries and has organized the German women's colonial service.

Finally, there is the Main Department "Relief Service" which is a total organisation of the German women's red-cross societies, women's section of the Winter Relief Fund, women's section of the Social Welfare Organisation, maternal welfare organisation known as "Mutter und Kind," and women's section of the National Air Raid Precautions. Recently, by a special enactment of April 27th, 1938, it has considerably extended its activities and now has authority to grant marriage loans up to 1,000 marks to deserving couples.

Membership of this big organisation opens up to all German women the possibility of working on behalf of one or other of these departments and thereby in the service of their country.

Special mention should be made of the Reich Maternal Service. It has the mission of providing for the rising generation of mothers those practical and spiritual prerequisites for the foundation of a healthy family. The National Socialist women's organisation does not proceed in accordance with a set pattern but in an organic and vital fashion. The German woman is made conscious of her own spiritual forces, whilst the nation is made conscious of the mission of motherhood.

Maternal training as conceived by National Socialism is designed to build up a generation of healthy and efficient mothers fully capable of fulfilling their household and maternal duties. Training consists of three courses: housewifery with courses in cooking and home needlework, health care with courses in infant care and general nursing, and, finally, pedagogics with courses in educational questions with special reference to hobbies, folk customs and usage and the beautification of the home.

The courses last several weeks. The number of those taking part is constantly on the increase. It has risen from 186,000 in the year 1935 to 1,140,000 in the year 1937. There are already 220 of these maternal training centres, not including the four Reich maternal training centres established in the distressed areas for women who are not able to attend the regular courses but are able to communicate their own experiences to those living in their immediate neighbourhood. Finally, a Reich Maternal Training Centre has been founded in Wedding, a suburb of Berlin. It is both headquarters and a centre for the training of teachers.

The same principles hold good in the domain of national economy. Women and girls are instructed how to spend their money and manage their household affairs in a way which is in strict accordance with the prevailing national economic position. By doing so, they succeed in transforming a hard existence into a beautiful life. The girls are brought to adopt this vital attitude towards life in the Female Labour Service.

Apart from the big Women's Organisation, the National Socialist women groups have set up the Women's Section of the German Labour Service, entrusted with the special task of seeing that the modern German woman is imbued with the socialist outlook: honour and respect for creative womanhood and protection for the working mother. Responsible for the direction of this Office is the Reich Women's Leader, Frau Scholtz-Klink. The Women's Office has, among other things, inaugurated four notable measures: exchange of working place, liberation from heavy labour, agreement with the NSV. for the proper care of pregnant female workers, and additional holidays by replacement through girl students.

By means of the exchange of working place, women whose existence has been safeguarded in other directions, are replaced by men. This occurs for the main part by the work creation for the unemployed husband or son. Another form of labour exchange consists in transferring women from heavy to lighter jobs, leaving the former to male workers. The withdrawal of women from the field of heavy labour has been accomplished. Where, however, in specific cases, male labour is still being performed by female workers, the wages of the latter are brought into conformity with those of male workers.

Prior to the revision of the Law relating to Maternal Protection, the Women's Bureau had concluded an emergency agreement with the National Socialist Public Welfare Organisation decreeing that expectant mothers should cease to work from four to six weeks before their confinement and should also have somebody to wait upon them. The replacement of female workers by girl students is in keeping with the desire to obtain for the married female factory workers who is also a mother, an extended holiday with full pay. Up to now, approximately 2,600 girl students as well as members of the National Socialist women groups have done duty in the factories and thereby presented female workers with a total of 43,000 additional holidays with full pay.

Frau Scholtz-Klink is, at the same time, Reich Women Leader of the German Red Cross Society, which is thus given a powerful impulse as a section of an international organisation. By virture of a special agreement, the German Red Cross Society has taken upon itself to train the members of the National Socialist

women groups as Red Cross nurses. This has meant the enlistment of the best type of woman, ready to assume the greatest measure of responsibility and to make every sacrifice in the service of her country. In point of fact, as we have already mentioned, every German woman has an innate bent for nursing. The Samaritarians of the Red Cross co-operate with the female workers of the National Socialist Public Welfare Organisation in visiting the sick, organizing Kindergartens and doing duty during mass demonstrations, such as the big May Day Festival in Berlin, the Reich Party Congress in Nuremberg, the Harvest Festival on the Bückeberg and so forth. At the present, the German Red Cross has at its disposal 91,411 samaritarians and 9,298 auxiliary workers.

Though all the aims have not yet been attained and much remains to be done, nevertheless the achievements of these past four years are rich in promise. As Frau Scholtz-Klink remarked to me on one occasion. "We shall pursue our way without deviation, for it leads to a conquest of our own spiritual forces. We owe it to ourselves to face every consequence of our action. If Fate should place stumbling blocks in our path, as it does in the path of every nation, we shall use them as steps in our upward climb. Our course of action shall then be respected by all those who love their own people as we love ours."

XVIII.

Science and Education

When, after his accession to power, the Führer entrusted the post of Prussian Minister of Education to Regional Leader Bernard Rust and, in the year 1934, appointed him German Minister for Science, Education and Popular Instruction, his choice for this difficult task had fallen upon a man who seemed peculiarly fitted to carry it to a successful issue.

Bernhard Rust, who comes of old Lower Saxon peasant stock, wanted as a young man to dedicate his life to music. Circumstances, however, forced him to abandon this intent. He studied philology and philosophy and finally entered the teaching profession. A career of great promise was interrupted by the outbreak of the world war. The war years were spent in service at the front and, in 1918, he returned home holding the rank of a captain. After the collapse of the Second Reich, Rust threw himself into the struggle against Bolshevism. He was made a company leader of the Civic Guard and became one of the forerunners of the national resurgence in Lower Saxony. When, on November 9th, 1923, the hopes of the National Socialist Movement seemed to have collapsed, he resolved to join the National Socialist Party. After the Führer had been released from prison, Bernhard Rust was brought for the first time into his presence and was authorised by him to capture Lower Saxony for the Movement. The growth of the Movement in Lower Saxony made a partition of this region necessary and since then Rust has held the post of Regional Leader of the South Hanover and Brunswick region. In the year 1930 he sponsored in the provincial diet a non-confidence motion directed against the social democratic leader Noske because the latter, as president of the diet, had banned the Hitler youth from the schools. Hereupon, Noske launched a regular campaign against the hated National Socialist leader with the result that he was dismissed from his post.

It will thus be seen that in Bernhard Rust we have united in perfect harmony all the outstanding qualities of the scientist, educationalist and political fighter. Some conception of the state of German education as he found it is furnished by the fact that the establishment of a new Ministry for Education on May 1st, 1934, led for the first time in Germany to a centralised control on the basis of a unified political philosophical outlook. It put an end to the multifarious trends and independent movements which had split up the German educational system in the past. National Socialism alone created the preliminary conditions without which an achievement of this kind would have been impossible.

Education

The National Socialist revolution, it should be realised, was solely responsible for bringing about the re-shaping of the German educational system in that it provided an entirely new foundation. The National Socialist attitude towards education is aptly expressed in a passage in Bernhard Rust's "Erziehung und Unterricht in der Höheren Schule:"—

"All genuine education is derived from living experience which is enkindled by life itself. When National Socialism insists on the priority of life and action over all other systems of education and learning, it is giving utterance to the law which governs the evolution of every great phase of cultural advance. Political action is the foundation of a New Order of Things. Before it is possible to speak of a New Education, it is first necessary to set up the New Order of Things replete with the power of conviction. The State created by Adolf Hitler has become an Educational State because the Führer has given volitional unity to the political forces of his people by endowing them with a single world outlook which, by penetrating all spheres and phases of life, once more renders possible a grand and purposeful system of education.

All scheduled education is directed towards the maintenance of an existing Order of Things. The National Socialist system of education is, by virtue of its very origin, not an achievement of pedagogic planning but of the political struggle and its laws. Storm troopers and Hitler Youth were, in the first place, created as fighting organisations of the Movement designed to assured the political victory of National Socialism. There very soon evolved from these fighting formations, however, a new Order of Life which was governed by a new educational principle. In the political fighting formations of the Storm Troopers and Special Guards, with their soldier-like character, the socialist unity of the nation as demanded by the Führer was created by the stringent process of selection brought about by the political struggle. Long before the National Socialist state was in a position to take over the control of the system of public education, there had arisen, beyond the domain of the school and the establishments of public education, a closed system of youth training in which a new bearing was achieved, not by way of instruction but through the common struggle and in which the virtues of the character of the movement were developed and put to the test. The political fellowship of youth had become a new bearer of education even before it had received from the hand of the National Socialist state its special educational mission. Nothing could better illustrate the priority accorded to politics over pedagogics, a priority which had been repudiated in the 'System Period'[1] with its optimistic view of learning.

If, today, the school authorities have resolved to have nothing more to do with a false claim to learning which had been in the past fought for under the watchword of general education, when it places itself in the service of a training which begins with the body and takes possession of the soul and leads to the building up of a fellowship both within and without the schoolroom, it has nevertheless to be cognizant of the fact that its path leads at bottom by way of the development of the intellectual faculties. Herein lies no restriction upon the school but its special mission which it alone is capable of fulfilling. All forms of instruction have *one* aim: the shaping of the National Socialist human. But each of them has its special tasks which has to

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[1] As is commonly known, the era of the Weimar Republic is now referred to in Germany as the "*Systemzeit.*"

be grasped and fulfilled if it is not to suffer damage itself. The school is, in the main, determined by the fact that it educates by means of lessons. That does not mean that it should be engaged solely in training the intellect and turning out savants or even intellectuals. Whoever has truly recognised that Man is a unity and not a mere combination of body, soul and spirit, will not deny that the training of the mind, the development of the intellectual forces and the communication of the vital materials of education are able to take possession of the entire Man and help to bring his character to maturity..."

In this way, the school in the National Socialist State has, to all outward appearances, been restricted and confined in that it is no longer the sole educational factor. German youth is being moulded, outside the domain of the school, by the formations of the National Socialist movement. Yet despite this apparent restriction, it has in reality received a higher mission than formerly. For the school system, as it existed in pre-revolutionary Germany, was confined to the task of training the intellectual faculties by means of the spoken and written word. The National Socialist system of school instruction is dominated by the acceptance of the fact that body, soul and mind form an indivisible entity and that every form of instruction which takes account of only one part of this threefold unity must remain fruitless and ineffective.

Hence, all school instruction in the National Socialist sense must be at the same time directed towards the formation of character and the training of the body. It is with this principle of the unity of body and soul that National Socialism is seeking to realise the ideal of the *gymnasion* of Ancient Hellas which, contrary to our humanistic gymnasium of the 19th century sought to take hold of human beings in their entirety. Consequently, nothing is more characteristic of the National Socialist school than the way in which special importance is attached to physical training as exemplified in the creation in the Ministry for Education of a special department for physical training. In his directives for physical training which Bernhard Rust had promulgated in the year 1937, physical training for boys attending all the elementary, secondary and higher schools throughout the Reich is regulated in accordance with unified stipulations and age grades. The foreword which accompanied this publication contains a passage in which the nature of physical training is set forth as follows:—

"Within the framework of education regarded as a whole, physical training acquires a decisive importance for the education of youth in the school. Physical training is not a mere lesson in how to shape the body. It is education which starts with the body or whose path lies through the body, that is to say, it is education whose initial impact is in the sphere where juveniles are most amenable to training: in gymnastics, games, in sport and in the movement. Physical training develops and forms, by physical exercises which are true to type and rooted in race, body and soul as the bearer of the racial legacy. By accustoming youth to the vital forms of sport, it creates healthy view on physical beauty and achievement; it arouses and promotes in the individual and in the community the consciousness of the value of one's own race and thus places itself in the service of racial culture.

Physical training demands of youth courage, hardiness and initiative within the orbit of sport fellowship. In this way, it creates the possibility of recognising leader qualities and to promote such qualities by the adoption of the principle of selection. Physical training is schooling of the will and building of character."

Consequent upon a decree promulgated on October 30th 1934 and upon a supplementary enactment of April 24th 1935, physical training has been made compulsory for every German student taking a three term course of education at any of the German universities or colleges, whilst all students who have passed through their first year of university education are expected to engage regularly in sport of some kind. Thirty-one institutes for physical training attached to the universities and technical colleges have been made the bearers and centres of the training and schooling in the domain of physical culture. The progress made by the centralised organisation for promoting sport among students is exemplified by the following figures: whilst in 1933 it was reported that 4,900 male students and 300 female students had joined these voluntary sport organisations, in the year 1935 the figures had increased to 12,200 and 1,600 respectively, and in the year 1937 to 16,500 and 2,500. It stands to reason that the system of providing the teaching profession with facilities for physical training has been entirely reorganised. Suitable students are selected to undergo a one year course of practical and scientific training in physical culture and are then sent to a camp where their leader capabilities are put to a severe test. The male students are sent to the leader training centre at Neustrelitz and the women students to the High School for Physical Culture in Marburg. The older classes of teachers receive, in accordance with a definite plan, physical and character training in the high schools for physical culture, in the camp for leaders at Neustrelitz and in the Reich Academy for Physical Exercises. In the year 1937, for example, as many as 20,000 male and female teachers passed through a course of this kind. The Reich Academy for Physical Exercises was opened on April 4th 1936. Apart from offering gymnastic instructors and sport teachers facilities for extending and deepening their knowledge, it is able to provide professional gymnastic instructors and trainers with a one year course of practical and scientific instruction.

The re-organisation of the German educational system following the advent of National Socialism to power proceeded apace in many other domains as well. The significance of these measures becomes apparent from the following figures:

Educational establishments in Germany

	Public schools	Teaching staff	Girls and boys
Elementary schools.	52,370	185,000	7,900,000
Secondary schools	1,200	10,000	235,000
Advanced schools	2,000	36,900	600,000
Vocational schools	5,700	16,000	1,686,000
Universities and Colleges, incl. of Teachers' Training Centres	103	9,000	70,000

It was found necessary, in the first place, to effect a total reorganisation of the teaching profession. This was immediately undertaken with the assistance of the National Socialist Teachers' Association and is still proceeding in a systematic manner by the formation of training camps and fellowships. Special courses in political philosophy are given at these camps and working centres. The centralised control has been placed in the hands of the "Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht" set up by the Minister for Education. This institute has its own training camps which are attended for a period of several weeks by leading educationalists from all parts of the country. Upon leaving these camps, the teachers are under obligation to communicate their experiences to their colleagues. In addition to this, the National Socialist Teachers' Association arranges a series of congresses for school inspectors and other school officials and maintains its own for training teachers in the political outlook of National Socialism.

Whilst, in this way, the teaching profession as it exists today is being made acquainted with the nature of National Socialist educational principles, the Third Reich has set vigorously about the task of creating a new generation of teachers. The training of the German elementary teacher, which formerly occurred in a variety of ways, is now being conducted, on the basis of a uniform schedule, at the newly-founded Teachers' Training Centres, a special type of college whose characteristic feature is the combination of research work, theoretical study and opportunity for team work. In order to guarantee uniformity in the teaching profession, it is arranged that even the members of the staff of high schools and colleges shall pass through these Teachers' Training Schools. A two term course of training at one of these establishments before entering the university is calculated to give them a knowledge of the special demands made by a modern state upon the teaching profession. The training centres for teachers have been deliberately located in small rural places in accordance with the importance attached to the acquirement by the teaching profession of a practical knowledge of racial matters.

Actually, the spiritual reformation of school education in Germany was effected by an enactment promulgated in the year 1933. It decreed that, in future, all instruction should be based on the principles of racial philosophy and that the younger generation should be made acquainted with the fundamental facts of biology and racial philosophy. The so-called Selection Decree, promulgated partly at the instigation of the Party's Racial and Political Bureau at the beginning of 1935, stipulated the standards to be adopted in the selection of boys and girls for attendance at the higher centres of education. The object is to form an élite of healthy and capable students who are destined, after passing through these higher establishments, to occupy positions of responsibility. Strength of character and mind, physical fitness and marked racial traits are the points insisted upon in the matter of this selection. Intellectual capabilities are, in future, not in themselves sufficient but have to be combined with a strong will power, a sense of right behaviour and of team work and a consciousness of belonging to the German racial stock. All branches of learning have

to be dominated by the principle that the German people, its interests and its destiny, should be regarded as the central theme in all German schools and universities, alongside of the need for meeting the practical requirements of life.

The decree outlining the nature of instruction in the *Grundschule*—the four lower classes of the elementary school—stipulates that local geography, or a knowledge of the homeland, shall be made the starting point and central theme of all lessons. The prime elements of knowledge in speaking, writing and arithmetic shall be held in high esteem. Gymnastic exercises, music and manual dexterity are made compulsory for all. Other forms of school instruction shall, with a few exceptions, follow the same principles. This uniform equipment of the elementary school has found clear expression in the fact that the new reading book introduced into the elementary school has a nucleus which holds good for the whole Reich whilst the local literature of the individual German regions is added in the form of a supplement.

It stands to reason that, in reconstructing the German school system, the National Socialist State has restored the priority of the public school over the private institute. For although it places great value on developing strong individual personalities it is compelled to raise the claim that the requirements of the community as a whole shall have priority over individual needs and desires. Hence private schools and private instruction are tolerated only in those cases where the state-controlled schools are still unable to meet the requirements. Seeing that the National Socialist outlook has become the central point of the entire educational system in Germany, it follows that the National Socialist State has to see that religious differences do not lead to a splitting up of the German people into various camps. Each individual citizen is allowed full liberty in the exercise of his religion. Upbringing, however, must be in accordance with the principles of National Socialist philosophy. For this reason, the State is obliged to place restrictions on the system of private schools conducted under church governance in all places where schooling is adequately guaranteed by state-controlled establishments.

The State's claim to full supremacy in the matter of education has found unmistakable expression in the law of July 6th, 1938 relating to compulsory education. Although the system of compulsory education was introduced into Germany quite a century ago, it had never attained to uniformity in the various *Länder* owing to the multiplicity of rules and regulations. There was also a number of serious gaps in it, notably with regard to vocational training. The new law has changed all this by setting up stipulations which apply to the entire Reich. All these stipulations are based on the principles and requirements of a National Socialist system of education and pay particular attention to the necessity of tightening up the system of compulsory vocational training.

Whereas, formerly, the law with respect to compulsory education was aimed primarily at serving the interests and welfare of the individual it has been brought in line with National Socialist ideas and made to serve the interests of the community as a whole. Like compulsory labour service and military service,

it is a summons made upon the individual on behalf of national welfare. In this sense, Art. 1 of the new law prescribes the schooling of German youth in the spirit of National Socialism. Compulsory attendance at school is no longer felt to be a measure directed primarily against the poorer sections of the population, as it now falls within the scope of a national duty which no longer differentiates between high and low. It has, for instance, become the duty of all parents in Germany to send their children to the elementary school for the first four initial years.

Any piece of educational legislation based on the idea of national service must of necessity find room for an extension of vocational training. Clauses on compulsory vocational training are contained in the new Reich Educational Code and create the prerequisites for the immediate extension of the system of vocational training.

Upon reaching school-age, boys and girls enter the *Volksschule*. There are no mixed classes in the *Volksschule* whose mission is confined, apart from giving a general political schooling, to the task of communicating the indispensable groundwork of knowledge. Children whose mental faculties are below the normal to start with but who show signs of promise, are sent to auxiliary schools. Juveniles of normal mental powers but who are prevented from attending the *Volksschule* through serious physical defects, are sent to special schools to be placed under the charge of specially qualified teachers. The *Volksschule* covers a period of eight years. Its four lower classes are referred to as the *Grundschule* as they are engaged in laying the groundwork for most of the higher schools. Children who have no intention of entering the higher schools obtain their school-leaving certificate at the age of fourteen. They are under compulsion however to take a three year course of vocational training unless other arrangements of an educational character have been made for them. For rural occupations, the period of compulsory vocational training is only two years. This training has, in each case, to be adapted to the requirements of the individual vocations. This is in keeping with the rule that, in principle, apprentices are under compulsion to attend a training school until the termination of their apprenticeship, provided, of course, the requisite training establishments are available. Provision has been made for extending the vocational training of apprentices beyond the normal age limit of eighteen years in cases where the nature of the trade or profession demands expert knowledge and a higher standard of proficiency. Girls who do not intend to take up a trade or enter any of the professions are given the possibility of complying with this compulsion to pass through a course of vocational training by putting in one year at a domestic economy school.

The secondary and higher schools are concerned with giving a "general education" up to the age when it becomes customary for the boys and girls to select their vocation. A distinction must therefore be drawn between those schools in Germany which have as their foundation the basic school (*Grundschule*) covering a period of four years and those which are an extension of the

sixth form of the *Volkschule*. The second grade schools (*Mittelschulen*) comprise six years in the primary form and four years in the extension form. They are meant for those boys and girls who have evinced a pronounced practical talent. They offer instruction in one foreign language. Those passing the final examination come into possession of a certificate denoting they have reached a medium standard of education. The *Mittelschule*, which formerly existed only in Prussia and a section of the other *Länder*, is in accordance with a promulgation of the Minister for Education to be extended throughout the entire Reich.

The higher school system has been constructed following an enactment of the Ministry for Education issued at Easter 1937 and supplemented by a decree of January 29, 1938. The entire basic course of instruction in the higher schools now comprises only eight years, instead of nine years as formerly. It is the task of the higher schools to give boys and girls an equal although, from the point of view of the curriculum, varying education.

It is designed to obliterate within the nation any tendency in the direction of creating a class of educated persons and a class of uneducated persons. It trains the younger generation to rely upon itself and to accept joyfully, when the time comes, the responsibility which will be placed upon its shoulders. It selects the most gifted members of the younger generation and trains them for positons of responsibility as doctors, judges, officers, teachers and so forth. It does not set out primarily to fill the mind with knowledge but to develop capabilities needed to occupy a position of responsibility.

There are now only two types of higher schools in Germany: the *Oberschule* and the *Gymnasium* for boys, and for girls a *Oberschule* which in its last three classes is split up into a domestic economy and a language school. As far as boys are concerned, the *Oberschule* is the principle form of the higher school. In places where there are more than one *Oberschule*, the general practice is to have a *Gymnasium*. In the larger towns there are, of course, several *Gymnasia*. The upper classes of the *Oberschule* branch off in those specialising in the natural sciences and mathematics and those specialising in languages. No distinction of this kind is made in the *Gymnasium* which has a uniform curriculum. English is given priority of place in the curriculum of the *Oberschule*. Latin appears as compulsory subject for those entering upon the third form, and in the upper forms a choice of a second living language is provided in Italian, Spanish or French. The *Gymnasium* starts with Latin, passes on to Greek in the third form and to English in the upper forms. Instruction in foreign languages is restricted in the curriculum of the *Oberschule* for Girls in order to make room for subjects more closely related to vital needs of modern womanhood.

In addition to the above, there are so-called *Aufbauschulen* (Supplementary Schools) for both boys and girls. They are the outcome of the population policy of the Reich and are intended to serve the aim of retaining the rural population in the countryside and at the same time of drawing from peasant stock those possessing the character and capabilities which will enable them to rise to high positions. These establishments are thus designed to prevent the children of the rural population from drifting into the towns and cities. Peasant children are, in this way, given the opportunity, after attending the *Volksschule* for six

years, of putting in a further six years of schooling in direct contact with rural life and conditions in preparation for entering the *Hochschule* and universities. Full facilities are thus provided for the children of the peasantry, and other occupants of the countryside, to enter the higher professions or to take up, for instance, an army career.

Another type of higher school is the "National Political Training Establishment" created by Bernhard Rust on the occasion of the Führer's birthday in 1933. It has the same curriculum as the ordinary higher grade schools but intensifies the political side with emphasis on team work. Attendance is strictly confined to an élite of youth, chosen from all sections of the population by virtue of their pronounced racial characteristics and mental and physical capabilities. They have to spend some of their time working as coal-miners, farm labourers or factory hands. They undertake lengthy tours abroad, visiting the European capitals and even travelling to other continents. They receive a special all-round training in motor driving, yachting, gliding, horse-riding, skiing, fencing, boxing, ocean yachting, small calibre shooting and in para-military games. These establishments are governed by their own administrative authorities who are directly attached to the Ministry for Education and under the personal direction of Major Heissmeyer, of the SS formations. The 15 national political training centres have an attendance of 4,000 young men, whilst, in addition, about 400 annually pass through a year's course of training. The teaching and training staff numbers about 400. It deserves to be said that they possess, in all, 140 motorcars. By virtue of an agreement concluded between the Minister for Education and the Reich Youth Leader, these *Jungmannen* of the national political training centres have to be members of the Hitler Youth.

Finally, there is the *Landjahr* started by Bernhard Rust in 1934 and designed to meet the requirements of those juveniles who, though coming of good stock and endowed with high racial qualities, are unable to develop these qualities amidst urban surroundings.

Science

The National Socialist régime has likewise brought fundamental changes in the domain of science. Most important of all was the task of giving it purport and direction and, in accordance with the national Socialist outlook, of bringing it into line with the revolutionary development. Bernhard Rust, German Minister for Education, took the initiative in opening up for German science this new road of development. Speaking on the occasion of the celebrations held in the year 1937 in connection with the bicentenary of the founding of the Georg-August University, Göttingen, Bernhard Rust dealt with the question of the relationship between science and faith.

"Science," he said, "has in modern times suffered a decline and has become more and more a matter for specialists, with the result that the problem of the relationship between faith and knowledge has remained unsolved. Galilei was compelled to denounce his own discoveries and Descartes was unable to publish his last work. The question of the human soul was left to theology to solve or to a philosophy which had not yet

liberated itself from the fetters of theology. Consequently, science entered upon its new road under very nebulous circumstances as regards its general attitude toward life. None of the intellectual movements succeeded, later on, in finding a solution. We have had to take over the entire burden of this legacy."

"It appears to be the mission of our epoch," continued the German minister, "to resolve the crisis which confronted the 17th Century. In the intervening centuries, science has naturally been forging ahead while avoiding any clash with its adversaries. But it has become palpable to all today that this advance has itself made further evasion impossible. Seventeenth and eighteenth century science was a science of the *Cosmos*. Following the first shock resulting from the destruction of the geocentric perception of the world, the adversaries of science gave free scope to the exploration of the Cosmos. Even the doctrine of evolution failed to bring about a fundamental change in the situation. This change, in fact, did not occur until science began to concern itself with the conception of race and with the principles of biology. The question relating to the Cosmos had allowed itself to be neutralised; the question relating to Mankind, now put in a different form, had now to be resolved in the light of new knowledge. Just as the Seventeenth Century was characterised by the struggle to acquire a true conception of the Cosmos, in the same way, the present era is characterised by the struggle to acquire a true conception of Mankind.

Racial consciousness, long buried beneath the surface, has been resuscitated by National Socialism as the source of our entire existence. Science, in particular, has received a new impetus through this discovery which removes the partition wall that, in the past epochs, had separated the kingdom of the Intellect from that of Nature. A new evaluation of the sciences has now become perceptible. Differences which had their origin in the doctrine of a spiritual and a material world both governed by their own laws have been swept away with the overthrow of this doctrine. Racial science demands a totalitarian and realistic approach to life."

The part played by these new conceptions in the reorganisation of Germany's educational system is becoming more and more apparent, especially in the creation of a new relationship between teacher and scholar and in the selection of the members of the college and university staffs which now occurs in accordance with a uniform plan.

Special provision has been taken to build up a younger generation of scientists. A decree promulgated in December 1934 provides that due regard is paid to the National Socialist principle of placing the main emphasis, not on intellectual attainments, but on character. Nobody in Germany is allowed to teach unless he or she has been admitted as a full qualified academical teacher into the faculty. Admission, however, is open to all, provided the candidate has fulfilled the preliminary condition of spending some time in a community camp. This latter condition has been enforced in order to establish the unity of State and Movement.

Of decisive importance was the unity of command established in November 1937 between the leader of the German Students' Association and the leader of the National Socialist Students' Union. These two student organisations are now controlled by the Reich Student Leader, Dr. Scheel. Every German student is now obliged to spend at least three terms at one and the same college or university. The reason for this lies in the demand for an organisation of students

into groups and teams. The lectures themselves are also designed in a way to strengthen character and will power. The students are expected to take an active part in the government of college affairs and to participate in the Reich Sporting Contests organised by the German youth movement. Economic assistance is provided for by an enactment of July 1938.

New chairs of learning have been founded in most of the universities throughout the Reich, sixtyfive in Prussia alone. They embrace, in the main, faculties for military science, racial science, prehistory, early history, ethnology. Independent departments have been established in the technical colleges for the study of military science, including special course in aeronautical science and research.

The Reich Research Council, founded in the year 1937, has taken over supreme control of all establishments throughout the Reich engaged on research work. It has the special task of promoting those sciences whose services have been enlisted in the carrying out of the Four Years Plan. It works in collaboration with the German Research Society which devotes its special attention to the field of the mental sciences. Of the newly-created institutes, mention should be made of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics, devoted in the main to research of the atom, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Biophysics, devoted to plant research.

As regards those establishments devoted to the mental sciences, the Reich Commission for Historical Studies, which betrayed a lack of any definite *Weltanschauung* in planning the history of the Reich since 1867, was dissolved in the year 1935 at the suggestion of the government. Its place has been taken by the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, presided over by Professor Walter Frank. Its task is to study and interpret the epoch between the French and the National Socialist revolutions. The Reich Institute for Ancient German History, which was founded to continue the former *Momumenta Germaniæ historica*, has been entrusted with the work of studying the history of Germany in the Middle Ages and of publishing the sources of our knowledge of this period. By a decree issued jointly by the Ministries of Education and Agriculture there has been brought into existence the Agricultural Research Service whose purpose is to enlist the sciences in the service of the plan of national nutrition. The Reich Society for Regional and National Planning has, in the same way, been formed to enlist all branches of science in the service of systematic planning. In the domain of library work, supreme importance attaches to the creation of the Complete German Catalogue to embrace the entire intellectual and cultural legacy. The number of libraries collaborating in this work has increased from 26 to 102. The cooperation of the Austrian libraries was brought about even before the Anschluss. In the meantime, arrangements have been made at Germany's suggestion for an international exchange of library works.

In the sphere of art education, it will suffice to mention a few of the new establishments brought into existence, namely, the State High School for Art Training, in Schöneberg, Berlin, the College for the Training of Musicians, in Berlin, and the United State Schools for Fine and Applied Art. Considerable

significance attaches to the reorganisation and extension of the public library system in Germany. Since the year 1937, a public library has to be established in each commune claiming five hundred inhabitants. Upwards of 4,000 new public libraries had been established from the time of the advent of National Socialism to power down to the year 1937, in which year alone more than 1,000 libraries were founded or re-organised. In the matter of adult education, continuation courses for adults are now held everywhere in close cooperation with Party, state and municipal bodies.

The complete reform of the German system of education and cultural training brought about by the National Socialist revolution can only be given here in its broad outlines. The reform is still in progress, for it stands to reason that nowhere has the influence of the National Socialist philosophy been more profound than in the domain of education.

XIX.

The New German Culture

Our tour of the new Germany now brings us to the domain of the Director of the Propaganda of the National Socialist Movement, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, who is at the same time Reich Propaganda Minister, the most effective orator and the most skilful polemic among Hitler's collaborators, whose eloquence and energy not only largely contributed to the development of the movement, but also exert much influence on German policy to-day, It is, therefore, not inopportune to give a few biographical details concerning this remarkable young National Socialist Minister.

Dr. Goebbels, born forty years ago in the town of Rheydt in the Rhineland, descends from an old stock of Westphalian peasants and small bourgeois. After attending the primary and secondary schools in Rheydt, he studied history, art, literature, and philology, successively, at the universities of Bonn, Freiburg-in-Baden, Würzburg, Munich, Cologne, Berlin, Heidelberg. He graduated Doctor of Philosophy at the last-named university in 1920.

Two years later, Dr. Goebbels became acquainted in Munich with the recently founded National Socialist party, which he joined as a result of hearing Hitler speak at a meeting. He began his activities by propagating the movement among the students, subsequently founding the first local groups of the party under various *noms de guerre* in the Rhineland and the Ruhr district, although these regions were at the time occupied by foreign troops. He had his headquarters in the little town of Hattingen, in the Ruhr basin, whence he was expelled by the French authorities in 1924. Dr. Goebbels then settled in Elberfeld, where he edited the newspaper *Völkische Freiheit*. Later on he founded the *Nationalsozialistische Briefe*, destined to serve as an organ for elucidating the programme of the National Socialist party. In the same year 1924 he became party leader for the Rhine-Ruhr region.

His natural gift for attracting the masses soon aroused attention. Hitler, whose ambition it was to win over the capital of the Reich to the National Socialist ideal, appointed "Our Doctor", as he familiarly called Goebbels, to the leadership of the Berlin district in 1926.

Here a task as dangerous as it was difficult awaited Goebbels. He did not, however, hesitate for a single moment. He built up the organisation and then proceeded to engage in the spiritual struggle for the soul of the people on the banks of the Spree, and a determined campaign against Marxist influence. Goebbels founded a National Socialist paper *Der Angriff*, which at first appeared

weekly, but in consequence of its success soon became a daily paper. Although the SA. detachments in the Berlin region had been suppressed by the Government, Goebbels was able to send 700 SA. men to the National Socialist Party congress in Nuremberg, in 1927. Fifty of these men, who were unemployed, marched on foot from Berlin to Nuremberg. But although on their way home the entire detachment of 700 was arrested, the struggle for the possession of the "Soul of Berlin" had already been decided.

In 1928, Goebbels was elected for the first time to the Reichstag, to which he was returned for the second time at the memorable elections of October, 1930, when the strength of the National Socialist Party was for the first time revealed to the world by the election of 107 candidates.

In 1929, Goebbels was appointed leader of the entire Reich propaganda of the National Socialist Party. Despite the manifold duties henceforth incumbent on him as head of the Party's propaganda department, as regional leader, as editor and orator, he invariably found time to perform his varied work thanks to his exceptional gifts as a speaker, to his brilliant qualities as a journalist, and to his genius for organisation. I have often had the occasion, in the course of personal conversations, to admire alike his conversational talents and his power of work. Hence his success, far from surprising me, seems to me the natural consequence of his many-sided abilities.

In the spring of 1931 the entire group of National Socialist deputies in the Reichstag, after listening to a speech by Goebbels, demonstratively left the House to the accompaniment of the singing of the Horst Wessel anthem. The deputies betook themselves to the densely packed Sport Palace, where Goebbels declared before an enthusiastic audience: "We have now reached the third stage of our oppositional movement. We are about to take over the reins of power." On May 1 of the same year Goebbels was able to celebrate a "jubilee" of 75 months' imprisonment passed on him within three months. In a cinema theatre in the fashionable west end of Berlin, the film of Remarque's book *Im Westen nichts Neues* ("All Quiet on the Western Front") gave rise to noisy street demonstrations which had the effect of taking the film off the screen. Shortly before Christmas, 1931, Goebbels was again impeached for high treason.

The period immediately preceding the advent to power of the National Socialist régime naturally placed great demands on Goebbels, who, however, earned his reward on January 30, 1933. After the victory of the National Socialist cause the newly created Reich Ministry for National Enlightenment and Propaganda was confided to Goebbels.

Apart from articles contributed almost daily by him to the Press, Goebbels has published a number of books and brochures of which *Der unbekannte SA.-Mann*, *Michael*, *Das Buch Isidor*, *Kampf um Berlin*, *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei*, are among the best known.

Already during the struggle for power in 1932, the constitution of a Reich Propaganda Ministry had been discussed, and its details had been drawn up by Hitler and Goebbels, with the result that on March 13, 1933, shortly after

the advent of the Party to power, the Ministry for National Enlightenment and Propaganda—a novelty in the history of Germany or any other country—was established. The functions of the new Ministry were defined by a Decree of June 30, 1933, as comprising the news service, propaganda at home and abroad, the organisation of national festivals and other public rejoicings, the Press, the broadcasting service, advertising, cinemas, the fight against obnoxious literature, and—what is especially important—the entire realm of art with but few exceptions. (See Pict. 169.)

How is the connection between "national enlightenment" and "propaganda" to be explained? The answer is furnished by the first paragraph of the aforementioned Decree which states that the Reich Minister for National Enlightenment and Propaganda is competent for all tasks involving the exertion of moral influence on the nation. National enlightenment is by its nature passive; propaganda, on the contrary, is by its nature active. The two must consequently complete each other in order to achieve their common object.

What was the reason which prompted the creation of such a Ministry, which revolutionised all preconceived ideas? Dr. Goebbels himself replied to this question in the following statement made to the Press a few days after his appointment:—

"I see in the newly established Ministry a link between the Government and the people, the living contact between the National Government as the expression of the popular will, on the one hand, and the people themselves, on the other . . . I do not think that we could have attained our aim with a Parliamentary majority of 52%[1]). A Government which is called upon to take such farreaching and decisive measures could not hope to find in the nation that durable support which it needs if it had contented itself with such a result. A Government faced by such a task must carry out the necessary propaganda to attract the entire nation . . . Practical work alone does not suffice for that purpose; such practical work must be explained to the nation."

During fourteen years of struggle, National Socialists had learned to appreciate the value of national enlightenment and propaganda. It may well be asked what would have happened to the movement, confronted as it was by so many obstacles and such concentrated hostility, had it not exerted a continuous powerful psychological influence on the soul of the nation. It was thus natural that the exertion of this influence should have continued after the advent of the Party to power, and that its organisation should have been confided to the man who had revealed himself an expert in this important political domain. As Goebbels himself said: "The new Ministry has no other object than that of assuring the unity of the nation in the service of the national revolution. Once this aim is realised, my critics may sit in judgment on my methods. But that would be devoid of importance, since those methods will have achieved their object."

The various plebiscites which had yielded majorities of nearly 100% proved the success of the methods adopted. Hence the Propaganda Ministry might have shut its doors if it had not been absolutely necessary to continue the work of

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[1] Result of the Reichstag elections of March 5, 1933.

national enlightenment. For only by these means was it possible to consolidate the result obtained and to maintain that connection between Government and nation which Goebbels in his aforementioned statement to the Press had characterised as the first of this tasks. It is the duty of the Propaganda Ministry to furnish the necessary information, and also the necessary enlightenment, in order to render current events comprehensible to every citizen and to enable every German to understand the reasons for the decisions taken by the German Government. The Ministry must develop the political understanding of the nation in such a way that every citizen is in a position to know the why and wherefore of the vote recorded by him at an election or on the occasion of a referendum.

Tasks incumbent on the Ministry for Propaganda under the terms of the Decree of June 30, 1933, comprise political, cultural, and economic propaganda; the duty of informing public opinion in Germany and abroad on all matters affecting the national interests; and the administration of all institutions created for this purpose.

The fundamental principles which inspired the creation of the Ministry of Propaganda suffice to explain why the Press, broadcasting, and the film—the three principal instruments for influencing the masses—should have been placed under the control of the Ministry. It is not quite so easy to understand why the control of art and literature should have been confided to it. True, art in all its domains, including music, is capable of exerting political influence; and the same holds good of literature. It does not, however, at first sight appear certain that art and literature can be submitted to the same method of treatment as the other above-mentioned instruments of propaganda. It is necessary, in this connection, to explain the National Socialist point of view, according to which the reason why art and literature should be included in the sphere of propaganda is (in the words of Goebbels himself) that art consists in giving concrete shape to vague aspirations. In other words, art is an expression of the individual will. Now, propaganda, in the National Socialist sense of the word, is a question of the direction, not only of the individual, but of the national, will. The national will is, in the theory of National Socialism, the supreme law, and agreement with the national will is the Government's only title to legitimacy. Such an agreement presupposes two things: firstly, that the nation should be directed by a resolute guiding will; and, secondly, that the nation itself be inspired by a similarly resolute will. The justification of a cultural policy in the true sense of the term resides in the realisation of these conditions. Hence art constitutes an essential object of such a cultural policy, since art shapes the conception of what is pleasing or displeasing, of what should be attained or avoided.

In order to carry out its manifold tasks, the Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda is divided into eleven sections in addition to the other institutions, which, as we have already seen, are included in its domain. During the first four years of the new régime Walther Funk—one of Hitler's early com-

panions in the struggle and formerly his adviser in economic questions—was entrusted with the functions of Secretary of State of the newly-founded Ministry. This active and farsighted man was invariably a valuable collaborator of Dr. Goebbels in the carrying out of their common task. In December, 1937, Funk was appointed Minister of Economy and was replaced in the Ministry of Propaganda by the two Secretaries of State Hanke and Dietrich.

Work is apportioned between the various sections of the Ministry of Propaganda as follows:—

Section I (Administration). All questions relating to internal organisation, to the staff, to finance, to legislation, to printing and other technical details.

Section II (Propaganda). Active propaganda—e. g. organisation of the national festival on May 1, organisation of the winter help work and of the propaganda on behalf of "Mother and Child", etc. This section is also concerned with questions related to the Labour Service in so far as such questions are connected with propaganda. On it is also the task of organising anti-communist and anti-reactionary propaganda, and of encouraging tourist traffic; in this connection it may be recalled that it was this section which carried out the elaborate preparations for the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936.

Section III (Broadcasting). This section is responsible for all German radio stations, as well as for the broadcasting of political speeches and meetings. It has to provide the necessary broadcasting apparatus for the annual party congress in Nuremberg and for all other party meetings and demonstrations. It has also to assist in every possible manner the technical and cultural development of broadcasting in Germany.

Section IV (Press) serves the Reich Government as Press Department. Hence the head of this section is at the same time Deputy Head of the Reich Press. The sphere of activity of this section comprises everything connected with the organisation of the news service. The section is divided into three sub-sections, those of the German Press, the foreign Press, and the wireless news service respectively. The activities of these three sub-sections may be resumed as follows:—

a) the German Press sub-section deals with all questions concerning internal policy and the German Press. In the course of daily Press conferences, the news forthcoming from the various Reich Ministries is transmitted to the Press representatives, whilst at the same time current political questions are discussed and answers given to enquiries. On the other hand, the sub-section informs the different Reich Government departments of the views of the German Press. It is its duty to establish a close and fruitful contact between Press and Government. The method of treatment in the German Press of all problems, whether political or economic or cultural or technical, is finally settled within the sub-section. Every morning the events of the day are recorded in a detailed report drawn up for the benefit of the Head of the Reich Press, Secretary of State Dr. Dietrich, who on the basis of that document makes his own daily report to Chancellor Hitler.

b) The Foreign Press sub-section has the task of keeping in contact with the Press of other countries. A large staff of readers studies the Press of the whole world and keeps all the Reich Ministries informed of foreign opinion on Germany and on the measures taken by the German Government. The sub-section communicates to the Ministries extracts from articles of interest to Germany, and at the same time informs the accredited representatives of foreign newspapers in Germany of political developments in that country. A further task of this sub-section is to facilitate visits to Germany of foreign Press reporters.

c) The wireless news sub-section has the duty of extracting and transmitting to the German broadcasting stations the most interesting items from out of the vast mass of news accumulated each day. An excellent news service, fitted out with all the most modern technical instruments, connects the sub-section with all radio stations. Its transmissions are also listened to with great interest abroad, since they afford the best possibility of speedy information concerning political events in Germany and the views of the German Government.

Section V (Film) ensures that the tendency of German films shall correspond to the fundamental German outlook on life. It also ensures that German films shall be produced according to the latest and best methods, and that the production of really good films shall be properly encouraged.

Section VI (Theatre) performs a similar duty in the realm of the theatre. Its competence extends to the supervision of the four Reich theatres—namely, the German Opera House, the German Theatre, the People's Theatre, and the *Volksbühne*, all of them in Berlin. This section as well as Section V, has at its disposal a dramatic critic appointed by the Reich. The duty is incumbent on both sections of directing and supervising film and theatrical production from a cultural point of view, so as to prevent lapses from good taste and to afford openings for really talented actors.

Section VII (Foreign Countries) has the duty of replying to attacks on Germany, of refuting calumnies by establishing the real facts, and of collecting the necessary evidence to combat hostile propaganda directed against the Reich.

Section VIII (Literature) has the object of encouraging literary production in Germany and of furthering the circulation of good books among the masses. The motto of this section is: "the book is a sword of the intellect."

Section IX (Plastic Art and Art Handicraft). This section is mainly occupied with the organisation of art exhibitions, fairs, and competitions, and with the fostering of popular art. The section also seeks to familiarise foreign countries with German art, either by the organisation of independent exhibitions or by a participation of German artists in international exhibitions.

Section X (Music) devotes its activities to the development of German music whether in concerts or in the home. Its methods consist in encouraging the work of recognised German composers and orchestras, as well as the efforts of promising young composers, and, in general, in developing the love of good music among the rising generation. The organisation of musical festivals and competitions, as well as all questions relating to folk music, such as community singing,

also belong to its domain. The section has also the duty of making German music known abroad, by sending there the most distinguished German artists and by arranging concerts in which German compositions play a prominent part; and also by inviting leading foreign artists to Germany.

Section XI has the task of developing the schemes for the furtherance of "popular cultural work" elaborated by the National Socialist organisation "Strength through Joy" (KdF.) and by the "International Central Office of Joy and Work." It may be recalled, in this connection, that the two great cultural organisations created by the National Socialist movement were originally KdF. and the "National Socialist Cultural Community" (*Kulturgemeinde*). The latter has since been absorbed in the former.

The Reich Ministry of Propaganda has no fewer than 38 offices in the Reich, so that it is in a position to be constantly informed of all questions interesting it which may arise. The Ministry has thus also the possibility of taking rapid decisions according as circumstances may dictate them.

The Reich Chamber of Culture

Under the terms of a law dated September 22, 1933, the Reich Minister of Propaganda was empowered to organise the members of all those branches of activity comprised in the domain of his Ministry, in corporations possessing a legal status. Seven such corporations, or Chambers, have been created in consequence: those of Music, Plastic Art, Literature, the Press, the Theatre, Broadcasting, and the Film. These seven Chambers, in their turn, are united in a Reich Chamber of Culture, over which the Reich Minister of Propaganda personally presides.

The preamble to the law in question states:—

"It is the duty of the State to combat all influences which are detrimental to culture and to encourage, on the other hand, those that are valuable, conformably with the consciousness of its responsibility towards the national community. The same criterion applies to the creations of the artist himself, which within this limitation may remain individualistic and independent. But the pursuit of a German cultural policy in the true sense of the word renders it necessary to unite artists, authors, and journalists, in a common will under the direction of the Reich."

On November 15, 1933, the Reich Chamber of Culture was solemnly inaugurated in the Philharmonic Hall in Berlin by Dr. Goebbels in the presence of Chancellor Hitler. In his opening speech, Dr. Goebbels, after having defined the aims of the newly created Chamber, said:—

"Culture is the highest expression of the creative forces of a nation and the artist is its qualified inspirer. It would be a fallacy to suppose that he could fulfil his mission without reference to his own nation, since that mission is in reality destined for the latter and since the force thanks to which the artist has laboured is derived from his nation. We have once more liberated the creative forces of the German nation, which can henceforth develop freely without let or hindrance, and thus abundantly fertilise the soil on which new generations will be reared."

Secretary of State Funk was appointed Vice-President of the Reich Chamber of Culture, which held its first sitting in Berlin on November 23, 1933.

No member of the Reich Chamber of Culture may belong to a Chamber of Industry, Commerce, or Handicraft, or to the German retail traders' organisation, thus ensuring the purely cultural character of the new institution. The most important measure concerning the Chamber of Culture taken in 1934—i.e. before its first annual meeting, at which Dr. Goebbels gave a review of its activities during the preceding twelve months—was the measure enacting its incorporation in the National Socialist State and Party, of both of which it henceforth formed an integral part. At the same time, simultaneously with the appointment of State Commissary Hans Hinkel as managing director of the Reich Chamber of Culture, a Decree was issued ordering the expulsion of all non-Aryans from its various component Chambers and their transfer to the Jewish cultural associations.

On the occasion of the second annual meeting of the Chamber of Culture, Dr. Goebbels was able to point to a remarkable increase of its activity, an increase which definitely marked the close of the preliminary era of organisation. At the same time he announced the creation of a Reich Cultural Senate, which had been provided for in the above mentioned law. The Senate, composed of the Vice-President of the Chamber of Culture, of the Presidents of the seven Chambers constituting it, and of other high officials, as well as of a number of eminent personalities in the various domains of art, literature, and journalism, was destined to assist the Chamber of Culture in its deliberations and decisions. Dr. Goebbels said:—

"We have waited two years before establishing this Reich Cultural Senate and we had sound reasons for doing so, since the Senate is destined to be, not an ephemeral, but a permanent, institution comprising all the luminaries of German cultural life who will henceforth constitute the forum at the bar of which German culture will receive its definite shape and organisation."

Alongside the "Cultural Regional Week" organised at Essen at the end of November, the most important event in the history of the Reich Chamber of Culture in 1935 was the Congress of Art Critics of the German Press in December. At a reception which took place in connection with the Congress, Dr. Goebbels exposed for the first time the fundamental attitude of the National Socialist State towards art critics and art criticism in general.

At the second meeting of the Reich Cultural Senate on April 4, 1936, in Berlin, speeches were made by Dr. Goebbels and others, and a number of leading personalities in State and Party were elected members. At the sitting of the Reich Chamber of Culture in Berlin on May 1, 1936, on the occasion of the National Festival of Labour, the two national prizes were awarded in the presence of Chancellor Hitler, the prize for the best film being given to Karl Froelich, and that for the best book to Gerhard Schumann.

Notable evidence of the importance attached by National Socialism to the furtherance of culture was furnished by the creation of the *Künstlerdank* (or Artists' Benevolent Fund) amounting to 2,000,000 marks on the tenth anniversary

of the foundation of Party branch headquarters in Berlin, on October 29, 1936, which was also the thirty-ninth birthday of Dr. Goebbels. The administrative committee of the Fund met for the first time on November 6, 1936, and drew up the rules for the distribution of grants. On the same day a Decree signed by Dr. Goebbels instituted a new system of assistance for actors and actresses in case of distress and in their old age.

At the end of 1936 the Chamber of Culture held its third annual meeting jointly with the National Socialist organisation "Strength through Joy" (KdF.). Dr. Goebbels in a speech pointed out that the Chamber was now in a position to fulfil its aim of "directing culture without manufacturing it". The artist again occupied his place amidst the people and contributed to the reconstruction of the nation. The various sections forming the Chamber of Culture educated their members in the sense of developing their personal consciousness, their discipline, and their honour. But over and above that, the Chamber had the duty of satisfying the material needs of artists, of protecting them in their old age, of providing for them in times of sickness or other distrees. After having resumed the progress accomplished from all these points of view by the Chamber of Culture, Dr. Goebbels stressed the fact that its annual meeting was this time held jointly with KdF. Expression was thus clearly given to the obligation incumbent on the artist to regard it as a matter of honour to address himself directly to the people as such, and to establish a direct relationship between art and the nation.

According to Dr. Goebbels, however, difficulties still existed which prevented for the time being the laying-down of rules for the pursuit of a homogeneous policy in respect of culture. A difficult question was that of bringing back art criticism to its only really legitimate task of "dissertation on art"; for art criticism still bore traces of the influence of a now outlived era. Dr. Goebbels went on to say that he had decided to issue a decree prohibiting art criticism altogether, and substituting for it dissertations on, or descriptions of, art. This did not imply suppression of freedom of opinion. But an opinion should only be published if the person professing it was entitled by his knowledge and capacity to exercise the right to judge the work of others. Art would not suffer by the disappearance of criticism, since fictitious values had an inevitable tendency to rapidly disappear, whilst real values must be protected against irresponsible attacks.

Another difficult question was that of erotic art. Sexual problems could only form the subject of plastic representation on condition that such representation conformed to good taste. A healthy sensualism was to be welcomed. Artistic productions giving expression to such healthy sensualism had always appealed more to the eye than to the ear.

What is often called "primitive art" was by no means synonymous with lack of taste, said Dr. Goebbels, and everyone had not a sufficient comprehension of music to be able to appreciate a Wagnerian opera. Hence it was necessary that more simple forms of music should exist, and the creators of those forms rendered a useful service to the nation. It was the duty of the State to protect and encourage art—indeed, to become its Maecenas. It was also incumbent on

the State to provide for artists in their old age. The creation of the *Künstlerdank* marked the beginning of a great work destined to comprise all artists within its scope.

In April, 1938, Dr. Goebbels dissolved the ties which had united various departments of the Ministry of Propaganda with the offices of the Reich Chamber of Culture whilst the latter was in process of organisation. In future, the various cultural chambers will confine their activities to promoting the interests of their members whereas the Ministry will attend to all the political and cultural-political matters.

Speaking at the annual gala session of the Chamber of Culture held on May 1, 1938 in the German Opera House, Dr. Goebbels refuted assertions which had appeared in foreign newspapers to the effect that Germany's economic and political renascence would be counterbalanced by a cultural decline. Notwithstanding the fact, he said, that the German people had become a people of engineers and road builders, of political organisers and orators, of inventors and constructors, of military captains and instructors, it had not ceased to be a genuine *Kulturvolk*. No other land was doing so much for the promotion of the plastic arts, architecture, literature, theatre and film. Monumental buildings were arising to testify to the grandeur of this epoch. The flowering time of German political life is paving the way for an unforeseen outburst of cultural activity in Germany. Thus, for instance, in the year 1937 the "Strength through Joy" movement was able to swell the ranks of theatre goers by 13.5 million; the number of owners of radio sets mounted in one year alone from 8.4 to 9.5 million and the sale of cinema tickets rose from 235 million in 1932 to 400 million in the past year. A sum of 5.2 million marks has been paid out to artists employed on projects financed from public funds. The past year has seen the publication of 25,361 new literary works. In all 750 new people's libraries have been established. Alongside of this, generous support has been given to artists themselves. Provision has been made for looking after those members of the acting profession who, in advanced years find themselvet in want of assistance, and there is hope that, in the near future, provision of this sort will be extended to include all creative artists.

Dr. Goebbels then announced the winners of the Film and Book awards for 1937/38. The German Film Prize was awarded to Leni Riefenstahl for "Olympia". The German Book Prize was awarded to an anthology of verse "*Das Lied der Getreuen*" written by anonymous members of the Austrian Hitler Youth during the years of persecution from 1933 to 1937, and edited by Baldur von Schirach. The money award, ordinarily 12.000 marks, was raised to 200.000 marks and was used entirely for the erection of youth hostels.

The Results Obtained

The results obtained thanks to the collaboration of the Ministry of Propaganda and the Reich Chamber of Culture, in the political and cultural spheres respectively, were defined by Dr. Goebbels as follows: "theatres which were

formerly empty, or which had even closed down, have again become centres of intellectual and artistic culture, and a joyful emulation reigns between them. The German film has proved its excellence by a number of really admirable productions. The German Press, which only a few years ago was in the service of a destructive cosmopolitan ideology or of uncontrollable capitalist interests, now represents, thanks to German journalists, German aims and ideals. Literature has been thoroughly purged of those elements which in the days of national degradation brought about the collapse of German spiritual life. German plastic artists have been assigned new tasks and are now able to develop their creative activity. Monuments of hitherto unknown dimensions, thousands of miles of new motor-roads, indicate the progress already made by German architecture. The concert halls are again filled with lovers of music, and gifted young persons of both sexes are endeavouring to reintroduce the traditional principles of musical art whether as regards melody or harmony.

Thanks to broadcasting, millions of hardworking Germans oppressed by heavy cares are daily kept in touch with the manifold pulsations of their national life. Art has penetrated into the nation, and the nation has found its way back to art" (see Picts. 171, 172)[1].

Such a description by the responsible Minister for Propaganda might, to say the least, sound strangely optimistic, if details and figures were not available to prove their accuracy.

Let us take, for instance, one of the most modern branches of culture—namely, the film. The Film Chamber, created in July, 1933, and which has since developed into the Reich Film Chamber, has served as a model for all the other sections of the Reich Chamber of Culture. The Reich Film Chamber to-day comprises all persons participating in the production of films, with the exception of their authors and the composers of their music, who belong by right either to the Chamber of Literature or to the Chamber of Music. Included in the Reich Film Chamber are the following technical groups: production, propaganda at home, cinema theatres, cultural and advertising films, film technique, and the film industry. The Chamber has founded the Film Credit Bank, which has the important task of financing those films which are considered important from a political, cultural, or artistic point of view. The activity of the Reich Film Chamber has been marked by a series of important measures with the object of placing the seriously endangered film industry on a new and solid basis. Mention should be made in this connection of the decrees concerning quotas, the suppression of overloaded programmes, the regulation of admission prices, the encouragement of cultural films, the reorganisation of employment agencies, and the repartition of production in the course of any given year.

After the creation of a sound economic foundation, it has been possible for the German film to achieve great progress alike from an artistic and a cultural

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[1] The German Government ordered on June 3, 1938, the confiscation of all products of decadent art, including those in possession of art galleries throughout the country. No compensation was paid to the owners of these products. The government order did not apply to Austria.

point of view. This progress found its reward at the International Film Exhibition in Venice in 1936, where the German film obtained the Mussolini Trophy, the prize offered by the Luce National Institute, the prize of the Theatre Institute, and no fewer than five medals. The number of visitors to cinema theatres in Germany increased from 235 millions to 351 millions in 1936; the total receipts increased during the same period from 176 to 220 million marks. Between September, 1934, and the end of 1936, no less than 369 new cinema theatres were opened and 92 re-opened. Whereas production in the studios had been reduced to an average of 238 days during the so-called "dead season" in 1932, it had risen to 518 in 1936. Hence the repartition of production over the whole year shows an improvement of over 100% in the utilisation of studios and employment.

Producers of German films, who number about 80, supply annually between 140 and 160 big films in German and other languages, some 400 cultural and educational films, and upwards of 600 industrial and advertising films. A capital of at least 500,000,000 marks is to-day invested in the German film industry, which employs upwards of 50 000 persons. In addition, some 450,000,000 marks are invested in 5271 cinema theatres which, in their turn, give employment to approximately 25 000 persons. These figures speak for themselves.

It should be noted that the International Film Congress in Berlin in 1936 decided to found an International Film Chamber on the German model and elected a German as its first president.

Immediately following the annual session of the Reich Film Chamber on March 4, 1938, at which Dr. Goebbels dealt with a series of problems affecting German film production, there occurred at the film city of Babelsberg, near Potsdam, the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the German Film Academy. This academy is to comprise three faculties to cover the artistic, technical and economic sides of film production. To it will be affiliated an Institute for the Production of Documentary and Educational Films. Apart from its function of training a new generation of film artists and film workers it will later on possess a research institute. Its paramount task, however, will be to ensure that, in future, German films will be produced in accordance with the guiding principles of National Socialist philosophy (see Pict. 170).

The Reich Broadcasting Chamber has, already in the course of four years, succeeded in more than doubling the number of listeners which, after nine years, had attained a total of barely 4,000,000 when the new regime came into power. In April 1937, Germany counted 8,511,995 listeners and took the first place among European countries in this respect. This proves the success of the efforts made to mobilise the masses of the population in favour of the radio. Success was largely due to the introduction of the "people's receiver", which owing to its cheapness and to the facilities for payment granted to the purchasers, is placed within reach of everyone. Some 2,500,000 of these receiving sets have been sold. But the widespread popularity of the German radio is mainly attributable to the fact that its programmes really appeal to the people. Capable men, who

are themselves familiar with the masses and able to speak their language, stand to-day before the microphone with the certainty that they will be understood and appreciated. It should be noted that on the occasion of the annual Broadcasting Exhibition in Berlin radio broadcasting is placed almost exclusively at the disposal of non-professional members of the community.

The so-called "interval broadcasts" have constituted an important innovation in the domain of broadcasting. These broadcasts which are scheduled so as to coincide with recreation time in factories are destined to afford agreeable relaxation to the workers and to encourage them to buy their own apparatus with the object of enlivening their evenings at home. The whole economy of broadcasting profits thereby, all the more so since in addition to the people's receiver another product of the broadcasting industry known as the DAF. (i. e. German Labour Front) receiver is recommended as the apparatus *par excellence* for community listening. The Broadcasting Chamber has at the same time proposed the introduction of an overseas receiving set for the benefit of Germans living abroad. The development of transportable receivers for outdoor use is also encouraged in high quarters in order to buoy up the radio market during the slack summer months.

Evidence of the close cooperation between the management and the economy of broadcasting is furnished, not only by the great German Broadcasting Exhibition held annually in Berlin, but by the numerous local exhibitions organised in various parts of the Reich. Numerous propaganda cars are also sent by the Reich Broadcasting Chamber to rural districts in order to familiarise the country-folk with the radio. During the last nine months of 1936, these cars covered a total distance of 60,000 kilometres.

A competitive examination for broadcasters serves to develop the feeling of solidarity which unites the public and the radio, with the result that the latter has practically become a national institution in Germany to-day.

The activity of the stage in Germany has been considerably augmented as a result of the work accomplished by the Reich Theatre Chamber. Whereas, prior to 1933, the State-owned theatres, even in Berlin, were faced by ruin, Germany to-day counts no fewer than 159 theatres owned respectively by the Reich, the provinces, and the municipalities, to say nothing of theatres run by various cultural organisations, 45 large itinerant theatres, and 46 private ones. These big theatres, numbering approximately 250, are supplemented by 81 smaller undertakings. Operas are performed in more than 90 big theatres. Germany thus boasts an incomparably greater number of theatres than any other country in Europe. The number of artists engaged, compared alike with the audiences and the number of theatres, is between 70 and 80% greater than the number engaged in German theatres outside the frontiers of the Reich.

The Reich Theatre Chamber has to decide a number of important questions. For instance, in order to prevent hopelessly unprofitable undertakings being started by speculators or other adventurers, the Chamber has enacted that

nobody may open a new theatre without its authorisation. This authorisation is only given to persons who can prove their suitableness alike as regards their moral character, their artistic capacity, and the soundness of their economic position. Among other things, proof of a sufficient working capital is required. A certain sum must also be deposited with the Chamber as security to meet the claims of the artists and employees in the event of financial collapse. Special courts of arbitration are appointed to decide all economic and artistic questions which may arise.

Engagements are made through the medium of the theatrical employment agency, the services of which are gratuitous. Prospective young artists are required to pass entrance examinations; in cases in which a candidate shows exceptional promise, he is taken under the wing of the professional organisation *Die Bühne*, which interests itself in his future career. The creation of a Theatrical Academy for specially gifted young artists is planned.

Reich, provinces, and municipalities have thus been substituted for private patrons of art, the number of whom had, moreover, rapidly decreased since the War. The new patrons spend large sums annually to assure the existence of the theatres and to popularise them among the masses. Mention has already been made of the activity of the KdF. organisation, which aims at rendering the theatres accessible to the poorer classes of the population. Lots are drawn for seats in all KdF. theatres in order to eliminate favouritism.

The theatres seek to attract the public by the most varied means which include—besides regular theatrical performances—local festivals, "cultural weeks", concerts, special broadcasting programmes, variety performances, etc. Among the most brilliant achievements of stage-playing in contemporary Germany are the annual Festival Plays in Heidelberg Castle, the annual Wagner Festival Plays in Bayreuth, and (since 1936) the performances of the Dietrich Eckart Open Air Theatre at the Olympic Stadium in Berlin.

A Reich Theatre Festival Week constitutes the crowning-point of every season in the Reich theatres. This Festival Week takes place alternately in the different cities. It is marked by meetings of the Chamber of Culture, and by gala performances of operas and plays which furnish conclusive evidence of the high level reached by German theatrical art since its liberation from Jewish influence.

An important part in the resuscitation of the German theatre has been played by the department of dramatic art criticism attached to the Reich Propaganda Ministry. On this department devolves the duty of supervising the programmes of the various theatres, of appreciating the plays submitted for consideration, of advising authors and publishers and theatre managers, and of encouraging valuable artistic work. The art critic is not a censor; his task is to help, and to serve as guide for creative talents.

A census for the season 1935/6—which, however, embraced scarcely one-half of the larger theatres—showed that 124 different operettas had been performed (25 of them for the first time). The number of operas exceeded that of the operettas, and no fewer than twelve operas were produced for the first time—

a highly respectable record in view of the expense involved. In regard to plays, the figures are much higher. Thus over 400 different plays (dramas, comedies, farcical plays) were performed, more than 130 for the first time.

The task which the German theatres, with their 20,000 artists, have to face is a difficult one, and it must be admitted by every impartial observer that the task has been satisfactorily accomplished. The "German Cultural Week" organised in Paris on the occasion of the World Exhibition of 1937 furnished the proof of this assertion to audiences drawn from all countries.

The special task incumbent on the Chamber of Plastic Arts is the encouragement of artistic talent and the creation of works of art of lasting value. The architects belonging to the Chamber are called upon to assist in the creation of rural settlements, military barracks, aviation camps, and workers' dwellings. An entirely new sphere of activity has been opened to landscape architects by the construction of new buildings of all kinds and of the new Reich motor-roads, whereby it should be borne in mind that the State has at its disposal large sums for the furtherance of the plastic arts in connection with public enterprises. Numerous competitions are organised every year for architects and landscape designers; whilst a number of individual orders are placed annually with the aim of encouraging the production and sale of works of art. In addition, a large number of pictures are bought every year by the Reich. The measures of social welfare taken by the Chamber of Plastic Arts comprise, among others, the grant of entirely gratuitous pleasure trips lasting a fortnight to more than 1000 artists; assistance in cases of emergency and distress; the grant of old-age pensions, and of pensions to widows and children.

The magnificent House of German Art in Munich does not only bear testimony to the grandiose conceptions and power of realisation of German architecture; it likewise affords an incomparable setting for exhibitions, the earnings of which, amounting to several million marks annually, are destined to enable German artists to devote themselves, free from all economic anxieties, to their art. As a result of the suggestion made by Dr. Goebbels that whoever placed an order for the construction of new buildings or new plant should contribute a small percentage of the cost to the purchase of works of art, whether sculpture or paintings, a sum of about seven million marks has already been subscribed.

After five years of Nationalism Socialism, is it permissible to speak of the new style in German architecture? In my opinion the question may be answered affirmatively. A number of examples of this highly characteristic style could be cited.

In contradistinction to the experiments, mostly of a somewhat convulsive nature, made in former years, National Socialism did not aim at innovating at all costs in the domain of architecture. On the contrary, it desired a return to sound traditions, since there is of course no reason for rejecting *a priori* the creations of the past under the pretext that those creations were the product of other conditions of life. On the other hand, it is the duty of the nation which

has created immortal works of art in the past to endeavour to adapt its artistic tradition to the new environment resulting from social evolution.

The principle tradition of German art, which it is now sought to renew, had its source in classical art, that has never ceased to exert its profound influence alike in the sphere of moral inspiration and in the reproduction of external forms. German art has never contented itself with merely copying classical art. German architects have invariably seen in the great creations of the past the expression of ideals similar to their own. The finest creations of Greek and German art were in harmony, not only with the respective moral and intellectual, but also with the respective external surroundings of the artist. The German countryside, whether considered as a whole or in its regional diversities, constitutes the common patrimony and the common source of inspiration of German artists, in the same way as the Attic landscape inspired the masters of Attic art.

These considerations apply not only to architectural design, but also to the building material employed. The stone extracted from German soil forms an organic part of the countryside. Germany possesses a manifold variety of building stones, remarkable alike for their hardness and the variety of their colours, and also a long tradition of skill in the manner of their employment.

Conformably with tradition, much importance is attached in contemporary Germany to developing the capacity of all workers in the building trade, whether masons or stonecutters or carpenters, not less than that of iron-founders or sculptors. The shaping of the various parts of the building, in which in bygone ages the entire community participated, provides a fruitful source of creative suggestions. Thus the time-honoured ideal of "community building" has been revived, for the benefit alike of designers, artisans, modellers, and all others connected with the art of building.

But in apparent opposition to tradition the forces of the new era seek to assert themselves. Hence the duty is incumbent on the architect of giving concrete expression to new ideals.

The most remarkable expression of the new style is manifested in the buildings erected on the grounds where the annual Party Congress takes place in Nuremberg (see Pict. 175). The conception of those buildings is inspired by the gigantic mass demonstrations, without precedent in history, which have constituted an entirely new feature of German national life since the advent of National Socialism to power: demonstrations of which the annual Party Congress in Nuremberg, the First of May Festival of Labour in Berlin, and the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival on the Bückeberg afford the most characteristic examples.

It is interesting to observe the evolution from the scheme originally designed for the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin in connection with the May Day celebrations to the scheme now in course of realisation at Nuremberg. A previously almost unknown architect, Albert Speer, who was entrusted with the planning of the site of these vast demonstrations, assumed a task that can properly be called

unique. The grounds at Nuremberg comprise an area eight kilometres long and the greatest breadth of which measures some four kilometres. The Luitpold Arena, constructed in 1933/4, was completed in 1936 by a new parade ground entirely of stone known as the Zeppelin Meadow, capable of containing 300,000 people. Another enclosure, five times larger than the Zeppelin Meadow and destined for military reviews, is in course of construction. This enclosure can contain 2,000,000 persons. In addition, there is a Congress Hall with accommodation for 60,000 people, which was designed by the late architect Ruff. A colossal stadium will also be built within the grounds.

Apart from the construction of these grounds of well-nigh phantastic dimensions, which are situated outside the city, to the architectural structure of which they are, however, adapted, the preservation and improvement of the general aspect of this venerable German town are the object of Hitler's particular solicitude. The late Prof. Troost, in his transformation of the Königsplatz in Munich, showed how a square, whilst preserving the character of existing buildings, can none the less assume a new aspect which seems to definitely achieve the original architectural idea. (See Pict. 173.) A vast space, uniformly paved with big stone slabs, is harmoniously enclosed by the new *Führer* buildings. The beauty of the square is enhanced by the two Temples of Honour dedicated to the memory of those who have fallen in the cause of National Socialism.

Paul Ludwig Troost, to whom the Germans also owe the designs for the House of German Art (see Pict. 176), was the first architect of the Third Reich. Inspired by Hitler's own ideas, Troost paved the way for a new architectural style. His great creative talents and his devotion to his art will always remain as models for future architects.

Numerous further tasks of city architecture remain to be accomplished. Hitler has appointed Prof. Speer Inspector-General of Buildings and has confided to him the task of the reconstruction of Berlin, which will be carried out conformably with the ideas enunciated by Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf*. Great public buildings will here be erected as signs of the times and emblems of national strength. For, according to the National Socialist doctrine, architecture, alike in the boldness of its conceptions and the harmonious perfection of its realisations, incorporates the will of the nation, and it is consequently the duty of the State to further it by every possible means.

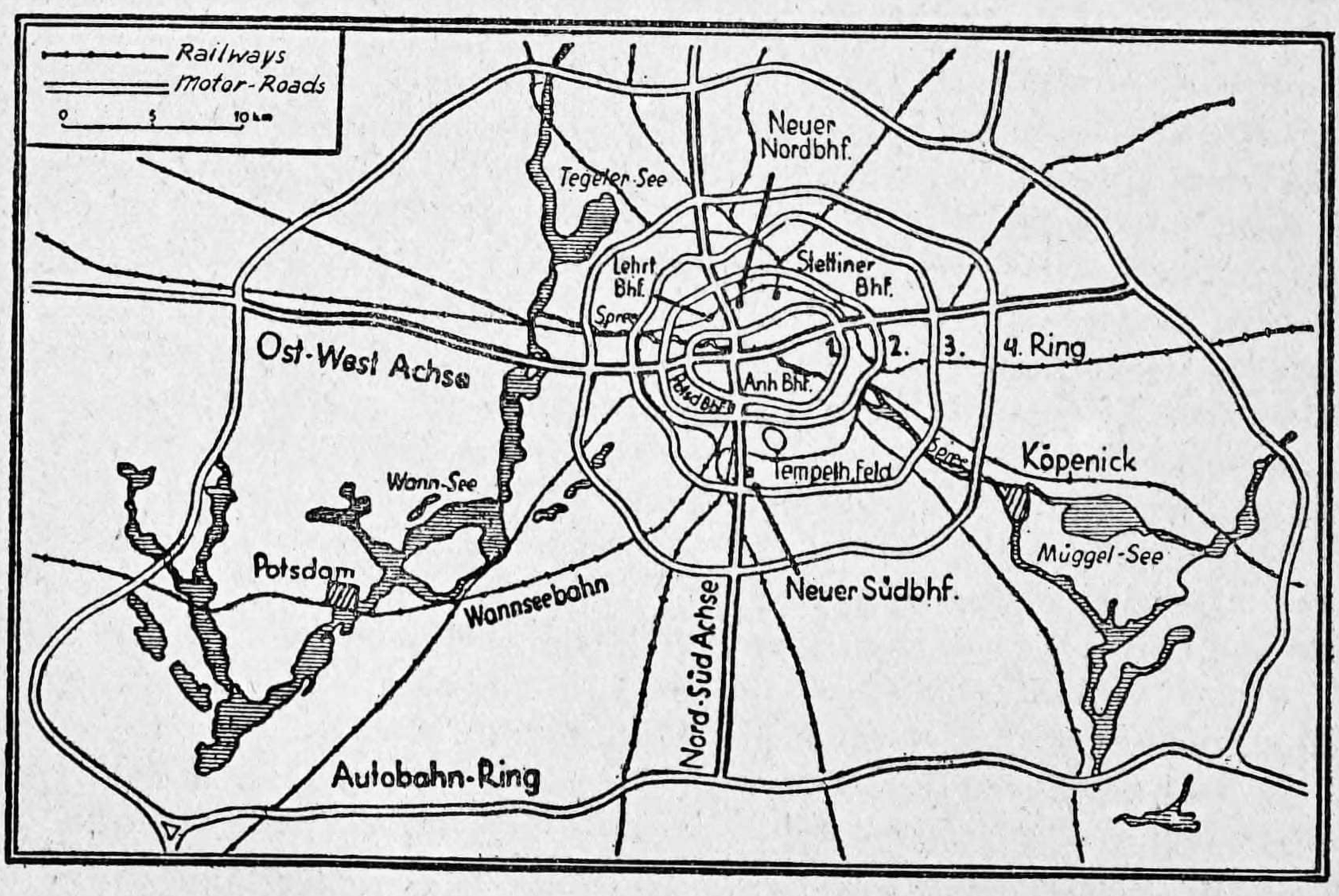
Among the great public buildings already constructed, or which are in course of construction, may be mentioned the Reich Air Ministry, The Reichsbank, and the new Reich Chancellery.

The innumerable visitors who came to Berlin on the occasion of the Olympic Games in 1936 were able to admire the incomparable Reich Sports Grounds which, together with the magnificent buildings constructed on them, were planned by the famous architect Prof. March (see Pict. 174). In the Reich Sports Grounds in Berlin and in the Party Congress Grounds in Nuremberg the intimate relationship between contemporary German and ancient classical art finds its truest and clearest expression.

Entirely new tasks have been initiated by the architectural programme of the German Labour Front. The educational establishments (*Schulungsburgen*) destined for the training of future party leaders represent a new architectural type, just as do the various buildings erected for holding popular festivals. Another type of this new architecture is to be found in the splendid bathing establishments to be built on the island of Rügen for KdF., which will accommodate 20,000 working class holiday-makers (see Pict. 108). A further notable example of the new style is to be seen in the buildings constructed in connection with the Reich motor roads.

One of the most noteworthy creations of German architecture was the "German House" at the Paris World Exhibition in 1937 (see Pict. 177). The somewhat solemn aspect presented by this edifice, the severe harmony of its lines, might perhaps have surprised those who expected a pavilion in an Exhibition to be less classical and more adapted to the purposes of advertisement. But it should be borne in mind that the aim was to show the new spirit inspiring architecture in the Third Reich. The most striking feature was the perfect harmony of architecture and plastic art, a harmony which had rarely been realised to such an extent before. This held good alike for the external aspect of the building, on which the symbol of national sovereignty and the group of sculptured figures were perfectly adapted to the style, and of its interior design, in which space and decoration contributed in equal measure to ensure the organic unity of the whole.

The prospects of German architecture, in which the striving of a healthy young generation towards a new ideal is clearly visible, are very hopeful. In



Future Plan of the Capital

contemporary German architecture there is nothing reminiscent of archaic forms. It all speaks of creation and growth.

The reconstruction of a number of big German cities, particularly the German capital, on lines laid down by the Führer and under the direction of Professor Speer, will furnish new and generous proof, declared Adolf Hitler in his Reichstag speech of January 30, 1938, of the ability of National Socialism to give a lead in art. On the occasion of the ceremony held on January 14, 1938, in connection with the laying of the foundation-stone of the Head Offices of the Foreign Tourist Association in Berlin, the Führer gave the signal for the start of the re-planning of the German capital. He predicted that, with the construction of the North-South axis, Berlin would in future be saved from problems of traffic congestion as it would have, apart from the new ring around the city, two main arterial roads running right through the capital and directly linked up with the network of motorways. He added that the plans were not drawn up to meet conditions obtaining in the year 1940 but to last for centuries to come.

At the same time, big arrangements have been made for the reorganisation of rapid transport facilities both within the capital and throughout the Reich. Order will be brought into a system of transport which came into being in a disorderly fashion. These plans are to be carried out by the *Länder*, the Movement, the Communes and private enterprise as well as by the State, all working under a centralised direction. Berlin, itself, would be enriched by a Palace of Justice and a number of big new administrative offices, quite apart from the realisation of extensive housing projects.

According to an old saying, music is "a rebirth of the soul and a source of perfection". Hence the importance of the Reich Chamber of Music. Music had shared the fate of all other branches of culture in the general decline of Germany after the War, when materialism reigned supreme. The economic distress of professional musicians was, moreover, appalling, and was augmented by their lack of unity and the decay of musical culture in Germany.

An indispensable condition of fruitful activity for the newly founded Chamber of Music was the creation of a corporative organisation of musicians, whether composers or performers. The Chamber was inspired by the two following fundamental principles:—

1. Increase of the average production of the German musical profession by suitable encouragement of individual talent;
2. the necessity of suppressing, as far as possible, unemployment among musicians.

Thousands of so-called "amateurs" were eliminated thanks to rigorous examinations. No profession contained such a number of "botchers" and ne'er-do-wells as the musical one, which had served as refuge for all those who were incapable of any useful work whatever. Hence a "purge" had to be undertaken among composers, performers, musical publishers, and music shops. A higher standard was henceforth required of all those who aspired to join the musical profession. At the same time a strict control of the music labour market was instituted with the double object of procuring work for 24,000 unemployed pro-

fessional musicians and of assuring a respectable minimum wage for upwards of 50,000 other musicians whose monthly earnings amounted to less than 100 marks.

The Chamber is not only the corporative organisation of professional musicians; it also takes care of the interests of amateurs and is particularly concerned with the development of the movements for the development of community singing and folk music. The Chamber plays a useful part as intermediary between professional artists and the broad masses of the people, notably in the domain of the German *Lied*.

The results obtained by the Chamber of Music during the first four years of its existence may be briefly summarized as follows:

The number of unemployed musicians was reduced from 24,000 to about 14,000. It must be remembered that many unemployed musicians cannot hope for reemployment as they have been condemned to idleness for eight years and longer.

A Provident Fund for composers has been established, thanks to which every composer, regardless of the amount of his subscription, receives the same old age pension.

The extension, in the case of deceased composers, of the period of copyright from 30 to 50 years after the composer's death has had the result of ensuring for his heirs a profit from the sale or performance of his works for a further 20 years.

A large number of so-called "cultural orchestras" have been created, which devote their efforts exclusively to the cultivation of really good music. About 100 of these "cultural orchestras" are to-day maintained thanks to subventions of the Reich, the Provinces, and the municipalities. 1,200 towns have appointed "municipal musical counsellors" whose duty it is to develop musical life among the community in cooperation alike with official and private organisations. Special attention is paid to affording young artists the possibility of appearing in public.

Simultaneously with the suppression of private employment agencies, a central employment agency was founded with 13 branch offices in the Reich. Up till the end of 1936 this agency had procured work for some 3,000 bands whose total earnings amounted to 4,535,000 marks. Under his engagement contract each musician was guaranteed one free day weekly. Monthly salaries were substituted for daily wages, and monthly notice was substituted for the previous practice of daily notice.

A considerable sum is spent by the Chamber on scholarships for young talented persons to help them to purchase the necessary instruments and to continue their studies; and also, in certain cases, to enable the publication of valuable musical works which otherwise, for lack of the necessary funds, might never see the light of day. The legal consulting department of the Chamber has in the past 18 months given advice in 43,000 cases and instituted legal proceedings in about 3,000 others, thereby obtaining a sum of 1,800,000 marks for its members.

A number of musical educational establishments have been created, among them the first military music school in Bückeburg. The three societies for the utilisation of musical performance rights were merged in the "State-approved society for the utilisation of musical copyright" (Stagma). By its activity the Stagma was able to increase the number of current yearly agreements with concert agencies from 30,000 to 80,000, representing a value of 2,800,000 and 4,975,000 marks respectively. At the same time the total income from broadcasting, films, and concerts increased from 5,700,000 to 9,700,000 marks.

Community singing and folk songs were encouraged by various public performances, the most notable of which was the performance of Georg Friedrich Händel's oratorio *Heracles* at the Dietrich Eckart Open Air Theatre on the Reich Sports Grounds in Berlin. This was the most remarkable artistic event at the XIth Olympiad. The magnificent performances of soloists, choirs, and orchestra, as well as the wonderful *mise en scène* and the admirable *régie*, aroused the wholehearted admiration of the audience. (See Pict. 182.)

The Reich Chamber of Literature comprises all persons concerned in the production and sale of non-periodical publications, i. e. authors, publishers, booksellers, proprietors of circulating libraries, etc. All such persons are obliged to belong to the Chamber.

The following tasks are assigned to the Chamber:—

1. ridding German libraries of objectionable and undesirable publications;

2. ridding the literary profession in Germany of Jewish influence and bringing the profession as such into line with the cultural policy of National Socialism;

3. encouraging deserving publications and facilitating the penetration of good literature into the masses of the population.

The police in Germany are authorised to prohibit the circulation of books, but only after having obtained the considered opinion of the Chamber of Literature. The books, the prohibition of which is chiefly aimed at, are those which come under the headings "trash" and "filth". In former times this censorship was conceived as destined for the sole protection of youth; grown-up people, according to this view, had the right to read whatever they liked. From the National Socialist point of view, on the contrary, the entire nation is entitled to be protected against publications of an obscene or otherwise objectionable nature. Severe repressive measures are alone capable of preventing such stuff from falling into the hands of children or adolescents. The Chamber of Literature, as a corporative organisation, is moreover more qualified to act as censor than the police.

The Chamber keeps two lists of "pernicious" publications. The first comprises those, the propagation of which is considered undesirable under all circumstances. The second comprises those books, the circulation of which is not prohibited *per se*, but which may not be exhibited and may not be sold to young persons under eighteen years of age.

This, however, is not sufficient. What is necessary is to prevent such "pernicious" writings being printed at all. Since no such thing as a "preliminary" censorship exists in Germany, the Chamber of Literature has created an "Advisory Committee for Popular Literature", the services of which are at the disposal of every publisher, and whose mission it is to advise publishers in the selection and utilisation of MSS. submitted to them.

Certain well defined principles govern the selection of booksellers (who, together with their own employees, with publishers and the employees of publishers, and the proprietors of circulating libraries, are organised in the Union of German Booksellers). Especial importance is attached by the Chamber to the training of prospective young booksellers. All apprentices, at the termination of their apprenticeship, must pass an examination. Everyone of them is also obliged to go through a four weeks' course of training in a professional school at Leipzig. Uniform rules have likewise been drawn up for circulating libraries, and a minimum tariff for lending books has been established with the result that it has become possible to place more expensive works at the disposal of those libraries.

It is the duty of the Chamber to regulate the relations between the various professional groups adhering to it. Special attention has been paid in this respect to the relations between author and publisher, and a so-called "normal contract" between the two has been drawn up with the twofold object of preventing a publisher from taking advantage of an author's business acumen, and of safeguarding the economic interests of the publisher.

Authors, all of whom are compulsorily organised in the Reich Union of German Authors, are assured of assistance by the Chamber of Literature in case of need. Two institutions—the Schiller Foundation in Weimar and the Literary Fund in Berlin—fulfil this aim. The Palm Foundation in Berlin fulfils a similar aim in respect of booksellers. A scheme of old age pensions for authors and publishers is being prepared; and various prizes for poets have been founded.

The annual "German Book Week" has greatly contributed to the circulation of good literature as well as to the success of the booksellers' advertising propaganda. Compared with 1933, the sale of German books had increased by 32% in 1936.

From the National Socialist point of view the Press is a means—and a powerful means—of exerting a spiritual influence on the nation; hence it is an educational instrument like the school, broadcasting, the theatre, or the film. It is consequently in the fullest sense of the term an institution for the safeguarding and furtherance of the public welfare. It was therefore not surprising that new enactments for the regulation of the status of the Press should have very soon followed the advent of the National Socialist Party to power. Emergency decrees of February 4 and February 28, 1933, concerning the protection of nation and State, and which gave extensive powers to the police, were only transitory measures. Later on the Reich Press Chamber was created and on October 4, 1933, the law defining the rights and duties of journalists was enacted.

The Reich Press Chamber comprises all persons who contribute to the production, sale, and distribution of daily newspapers or other periodical publications. It therefore embraces all professional groups, such as those of editors, publishers, newsagents, etc. The Reich Press Association, with about 13,000 members, is the professional organisation of German journalists.

The definition of the exact position of the "journalist" was essentially modified by the new law. Under the terms of the latter a journalist is a person who professionally participates, whether as editor or sub-editor, in compiling the news part of newspapers or political periodicals. Since the Third Reich considers the Press to be an especially important instrument of political education, the profession of journalist entails the discharge of public duties. Consequently a newspaper—apart from its advertisements—must not be regarded as a purely financial undertaking, but as a means to political education.

The enrolment in the list of professional journalists is rendered dependent on the fulfilment of a number of conditions. The person enrolled must be at least 21 years of age, a German citizen, of Aryan descent, in full possession of rights of citizenship. He can only marry a German or other Aryan and must possess the necessary professional education.

The professional duties of the journalist are regulated by the new law in an entirely different manner than heretofore. In former times the legal duties of a journalist were of a negative nature—i.e. he was merely under the obligation of not contravening the law; to-day, on the contrary, the positive duty is incumbent on him of telling what he knows to be the truth and of judging events in a conscientious and equitable manner. The obligation of being truthful implies the corresponding right of the journalist to uphold his convictions independently of all outside influences. He is obliged to eliminate from his newspaper everything calculated to confound works of public usefulness with egotistical interests in such a way as to mislead public opinion; everything susceptible of adversely affecting the interests of the Reich at home or abroad, of weakening the national will of the German people or the national defence; everything likely to damage German culture and the German economy, or to hurt the religious convictions of others. He must likewise scrupulously avoid publishing anything contrary to the honour and dignity of a German citizen, or any slanderous attacks, or in general anything incompatible with the unwritten laws of decency.

Under the new German law responsibility for offences against the above mentioned principles rests with the really guilty person and must not be ascribed to some "man of straw" who signs as "responsible editor". The system of "responsible editors" which led to so many abuses has been abolished. To-day the individual author is held responsible for his articles, the individual editor for the acceptance of articles that appear in his paper.

The moral and intellectual independence of the journalist with regard to the owner of the paper, on whom the former is economically dependent, is assured by a number of measures which define their mutual rights. The owner is entitled to draw up, in agreement with the editorial staff, rules concerning the policy to be pursued by the paper, but these rules must be of a general nature. The

owner not only has no right to intervene in matters of detail, but any attempt on his part to do so renders him liable to penalties. Compulsion in Press matters is punishable at law, as is also bribery, whether active or passive.

In respect of disciplinary control, journalists occupy an exceptional position. In cases of breaches of professional discipline they are amenable to their own special jurisdiction, represented in the first instance by Press District Courts, and in the second instance by the Press Tribunal in Berlin.

Such are the main principles at the basis of the Press legislation in the Third Reich, which are inspired by a desire to transform the Press into an efficient instrument for the carrying out of public duties. Similar legislation in Fascist Italy served as model—especially that part rendering it obligatory for every Italian journalist to be inscribed on the professional register, hence to be subjected to corporative supervision, failing which he cannot exercise his profession. But German legislation has taken into account the many differences between conditions in Italy and Germany, notably as regards the Press of the two countries. It has had regard for the variety of regional, economic, religious, and intellectual life in Germany.

The newspaper publishing business has been regulated by a number of decrees, the most important of which is the decree that aims at removing the publisher from the purely commercial sphere and imposing on him duties and responsibilities similar to those imposed on journalists. (It should be noted that as regards newspapers the terms "publisher" and "owner" are practically synonymous in Germany.) It was thus clearly emphasised that in the new Germany a newspaper is not to be regarded as a mere commercial venture, but on the contrary as an instrument for the promotion of culture; and that the Press has consequently to fulfil a cultural and political task of the highest importance. The prohibition of the foundation of new journals cleared the way for the creation of healthier economic conditions. Corporations, companies formed for industrial or trading purposes, cooperative societies, trusts and foundations of all kinds, associations (whether of a professional or religious nature) may no longer own or publish newspapers. The object of this provision was to abolish anonymity in newspaper proprietorship. The concentration of a number of newspapers in the hands of a syndicate is likewise forbidden. The owners and publishers of organs destined exclusively for a specific category of readers, i.e. belonging to a certain profession or religious body, etc., are excluded from the Reich Press Chamber. Another decree confers on the President of the Chamber the right to suppress newspapers in towns where their number is excessive, in order to reduce unnecessary competition and thus to improve the economic conditions of each paper. The application of this decree has already led to the disappearance of a large number of unremunerative undertakings. A further decree excludes from the Chamber the publishers of scandal-mongering papers.

Thus the rights conceded to the Reich Press Chamber are considerably more extensive than those possessed by the other Cultural Chambers in the Third Reich. But those rights are completely in harmony with the conception of an authoritarian State. It has always been so since the days of Napoleon, and it will always be so in the future.

Salesmanship Council of the German Economy

The National Socialist revolution also inaugurated a new era in the highly important domains of salesmanship and advertising. A reform in these domains was all the more necessary in view of the large sums—at least one milliard marks annually—invested in advertising, without which no industrial or commercial development is conceivable. For this reason, as well as on ethical and aesthetic grounds, the German Government decreed on September 12, 1933, the creation of the Salesmanship Council of the German Economy. The aim of the new law was the suppression, in the interest of the "protection of honourable advertisers", of various abuses which had crept into the advertising world under the former régime. Among those abuses, the following may be cited as typical examples: the disfigurement of the countryside by hideous posters, the issue of fraudulent statements by newspapers concerning their circulation, the disparagement of competitors, unfair business methods consisting of misleading statements. The variety of advertising tricks was not less great than the variety of advertisements.

The Salesmanship Council of the German Economy has put an end to this eminently unsatisfactory state of things by drawing up uniform rules for the whole domain of economic advertising. These rules are based on the principle of good faith in business life, and it is on this basis that the whole supervisory activity of the Salesmanship Council is exercised.

It would be wrong to attribute to the Council the *rôle* of a policeman or to suppose that its aim is to regulate salesmanship and advertising in a bureaucratic and dictatorial fashion. On the contrary, its object is mainly of an educational nature, and this explains why the great work of reconstruction initiated by it could be completed within so short a space of time. As the Chairman of the Salesmanship Council, Dr. Ernst Reichard, wrote in his foreword to the third annual report of the Council in January, 1937: "the era of great transformations in the sphere of economic advertising may be considered as closed. The necessary reforms have now been carried out. Henceforth the main thing is to supervise the application of the new measures and to take precautions lest similar abuses, which the new law is destined to prevent, should occur in the future."

The regulations drawn up by the Council are very extensive in their application. They apply to advertising agents and their methods of acquiring advertisements, to the organisation of fairs and exhibitions, to posters, to the advertisement of medicaments and similar articles, etc.

In addition to the general organisation of salesmanship and advertising, the Council is concerned with its encouragement; indeed, the Council itself carries on an active economic propaganda—frequently in the shape of communal propaganda—both at home and abroad. The propaganda carried on by the Council can, however, evidently only be of a supplementary nature since it is, of course, not destined to compete with the independent propaganda of individual business undertakings.

The Council is placed under the control of the Reich Ministry of Propaganda, a control which is exercised in collaboration with the other Ministries responsible

for the direction of the economic policy of the Reich. The Council consists of a Chairman, managers, a board of directors, and the members of the various technical committees. These committees comprise persons who are specialised in all branches of German economy, and whose duty it is to advise the Chairman, so that the latter's decisions shall not present a bureaucratic aspect, but shall, on the contrary, be taken conformably with experience.

The necessity of a regulation of salesmanship and advertising has also been recognised in other countries. This is certainly due in part to the indefatigable work of Herr Ernst Reichard, who has been a pioneer of national cooperation in this domain. At the invitation of a number of leading associations Herr Reichard has already delivered lectures on the subject in the United States, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary with the object of attracting attention to the importance of an international understanding regarding the questions of salesmanship and advertising. Herr Reichard had the satisfaction of seeing his work crowned with success by a resolution adopted at the Congress of International Chambers of Commerce in Berlin on July 2, 1937. This resolution demanded the creation of an International Council of Economic Propaganda, the task would be to assure the safeguarding of honourable methods of salesmanship and advertising in all countries in the interest of the restoration of sound economic relations.

XX.

German Church Policy

Is Germany facing a religious crisis?

In reply, we shall have to make an objective study, aided by documentary evidence, of the general religious situation in a country still split up into a number of different religious denominations, just as formerly it was torn by political, social and cultural dissension.

In their overwhelming majority, Germans are a Christian people. More than 46 million of them belong to the German Evangelical and more than 30 million to the Roman Catholic Church. Christianity is the religion of the German people. That is not merely a statement of fact, it is something guaranteed by the programme of the National Socialist Party. The 24th point of this programme says that "the Party as such advocates a positive Christianity without binding itself down to a particular church."

As already mentioned, the standpoint adopted by the German government in the religious issue was clearly outlined by Adolf Hitler in his programmatic declaration made before the Reichstag on March 22nd, 1933, when he said that the Reich government sees in the two Christian confessions the most important factor for the preservation of the German race. It intends to respect the treaties concluded between them and the provincial governments. It expects and hopes, however, that, on the other hand, the same respect and understanding will be brought to bear on the task undertaken by the government for achieving the national and ethical renascence of the German people. It will act towards all other religious faiths with impartial justice. Yet it cannot tolerate that adherence to a certain religion or a certain race is something which releases a person from the ordinary legal ties or constitutes a passport for unpenalised committal or toleration of crime. The Government is anxious to promote the sincere cooperation between Church and State. The fight against a materialistic outlook and for a genuine national community is a matter which serves alike the interests of the German nation and the welfare of the German Christian faith.

Roman Catholicism

It was by virtue of these principles that, on July 20th, 1933, the Concordat was concluded between the Holy See and the German Reich. In all its main essentials, the Concordat reaffirmed the already existing provincial concordats (Prussia of June 14th, 1929, Bavaria of March 29th, 1924, Baden of October 12th, 1932) and cancelled their diplomatic representation at the Vatican where the Reich is now represented solely by its ambassador.

In the 34 articles constituting the Concordat it is said, inter alia, that the Reich guarantees religious liberty and the public exercise of the Catholic Religion. It recognises the right of the Catholic Church to conduct and manage its own affairs within the limits of general law and, within the orbit of its competency, to enact laws and decrees binding upon its members.

Decrees, instructions, ecclesiastical letters, official diocesan communications and sundry enactments concerning the spiritual direction of the faithful may be published by the church authorities without let or hindrance within the scope of their competency and brought to the knowledge of the faithful in the ordinary and customary ways. In the exercise of their spiritual activity, the priests enjoy the protection of the State in the same way as State authorities. The Catholic church community, church societies and diocesan associations, the bishoprics and chapters, the orders and religious fraternites as well as the establishments and properties under the administration of Church organs retain or acquire legal standing according to the general prescriptions of the laws of the country.

Orders and religious societies shall be subjected to no special restrictions from the part of the State in respect of their foundation, locality, the number and the nature of their members, their activity in looking after spiritual welfare, their activity in the sphere of education, nursing and charitable effort, in the ordering of their own affairs and the administration of their property. Spiritual dignitaries, who have their seat of office within the territory of the German Reich, must possess German citizenship. Provincial church dignitaries and superiors, whose seat of office lies outside German Reich territory, are granted the right, even if they are citizens of other countries, to visit their establishments in Germany. The Holy See shall insure that the provincial organisations for the Catholic establishments existing within the German Reich shall be organised in a way which avoids as far as possible the subordination of the German establishments to foreign provincial dignitaries.

Before the bishops take possession of their dioceses, they shall take in the hand of the Reich Governor of the respective province, or in that of the Reich President, an oath of allegiance according to the following formula:—

"I swear and promise before God and on the Holy Script, as it behoves a bishop, loyalty to the German Reich and to the Province of . . . I swear and promise to respect the constitutional government and to see that it is respected by my clergy. In the dutiful solicitation for the welfare and the interest of the German State I shall strive, in the exercise of my duties, to prevent anything that might endanger it."

The Catholic religious instruction in the elementary schools, vocational schools, medium and higher grade institutes shall be regarded as ordinary subject to be taught in accordance with the principles of the Catholic Church. In the religious teaching, as in all other lessons, special emphasis shall be placed on imparting a sense of patriotic, civil and social duties as demanded by the Christian faith and code of ethics.

It shall be agreed, under reservation of a subsequent comprehensive regulation of questions affecting matrimonial law, that the church solemnisation of marriage may enjoy priority over that of the civic ceremony except in the case of one of the contracting parties taking dangerously ill so as not to permit of a postponement, but also in the case of great moral distress, whose existence must be confirmed by the competent episcopal authorities.

Those Catholic organisations and societies exclusively serving religious, cultural and charitable purposes and, as such, under the control of the church authorities, shall be safeguarded in their establishments and in their activity. Those Catholic

organisations which carry on missions other than serving religious, cultural or charitable purposes, shall enjoy such protection in so far as they undertake to develop their activity outside every political party.

By virtue of the special conditions obtaining in Germany as well as in view of the safeguards of a legislation preserving the rights and liberties of the Catholic Church in the Reich and in its *Ländern* created by the provisions of the present Concordat, the Holy See shall issue stipulations excluding priests and clergy from membership of, and activity on behalf of, political parties."

It will thus be seen that Germany is not confronted with a religious issue as far as the Catholic faith is concerned. Relations between Berlin and the Vatican are precisely defined. If these relations have not developed in an atmosphere of understanding and collaboration in which the Concordat was concluded, the reason for this is to be sought, apart from differences with regard to the interpretation of the Concordat, in two basic factors. On the one hand, in the so-called "political Catholicism", which is furiously combatted by National Socialism as opposed to the spirit of the Concordat and to national unity, and therefore damaging to governmental authority, and on the other hand, in the demand of the State that the Church must adopt a positive and affirmative attitude towards the political ideals of National Socialism.

The situation is sharply elucidated by the decree of July 20th, 1935, enacted by General Göring in his capacity as Prussian Premier and Chief of the Secret Police. The decree is a protest against the negative attitude adopted by a section of the Catholic clergy who had sought time and again to spread false notions concerning the nature of the National Socialism doctrine. They were induced to do so for the simple reason that they found their political influence disappearing[1].

The State authorities were therefore instructed to take legal action against such members of the clergy. The National Socialist State guarantees the inviolability of the Christian churches, including, of course, the Catholic Church. The Church, for its part, has therefore to refrain from continuing to preserve or from seeking to revive those political influences which lie outside the scope of its religious activity. The German State is no longer able to tolerate any aspirations of the sort formerly set on foot by the Centre Party. Included under this heading, said the decree, is the use by the clergy for their own purposes of expressions or symbols of militant National Socialism. Furthermore, the decree referred to the fact that, on repeated occasions, State institutions and measures had been inveighed against from the pulpit, and that matters had come to such a pass that professing Catholics were in the habit of coming away from divine

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[1] To understand this aright, it should be borne in mind that, for many years, and long before Imperial Germany was replaced by the Weimar Republic, the Catholic Party—although not strong numerically, seeing that only one third of Germany was under the heel of Rome in religious matters—had exploited its position as "Centre Party" in the Reichstag to exert a decisive influence on German politics. Every legislative decision was, in the last resort, dependent upon the approval of the Centrist group. For decades, no German cabinet could count on enjoying any measure of parliamentary security unless it had first insured the participation or, at least, the sanction of the Catholics.

service with the sole impression that the Catholic Church rejects the establishments of the National Socialist State.

The decree also said that, in principle, it must be demanded of the clergy who are actively engaged in serving the State, especially in giving religious instruction, that they not only refrain from adopting a negative attitude towards National Socialism during lessons but come forward in strong personal support of it. Only under these conditions, can National Socialism entrust the religious instruction of youth to the clergy. Furthermore, the Catholic youth societies must concern themselves solely with religious matters. The wearing of uniform and the holding of sports events must be left exclusively to the State youth and to the other Party formations. Non-compliance with these regulations will mean that the offending societies will be regarded as political organisations and forthwith proscribed.

As all previous warnings had merely led to a misuse of the leniency shown, henceforth the Public Prosecutor will see that the new stipulations are carried out to the letter. The power of the National Socialist State is so firmly established that it can afford to apply these measures with circumspection. The State wants to avoid anything in the nature of a *Kulturkampf*, and it has clearly proved through the Concordat that, in principle, it desires to live in pacific and ordered relations with the Catholic Church.

A few days later, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, in a speech delivered at Essen, expressed the same views. Turning to the question of religion, he reiterated that the National Socialist movement has all along been an advocate of positive Christianity. But just as National Socialism has come out in affirmation of Christianity so must the Church adopt an affirmative attitude towards National Socialism. Lip service is not enough, a profession of action is required. That churches still existed in Germany at all is due to the fact that National Socialism had succeeded in bringing about the defeat of Bolshevism.

To educate youth in matters of religion may be the affair of the churches, to enlighten youth in matters of politics, however, is the task of National Socialism. Church-controlled newspapers are superfluous as nobody wants to start a *Kulturkampf*. One cannot help getting the impression, all the same, that certain former Centre Party circles are seeking to bring about a struggle of this kind. For the church, there is only one solution able to guarantee peace, and that is, "Back to the Pulpit." The Churches are expected to serve God, whilst National Socialism undertakes to serve the people. There can be only one bearer of the political will in the State, and that is the Movement.

On the same occasion, Dr. Frick, Minister for the Interior, declared that Germany rejects the idea of a *Kulturkampf* but demands of the churches that they assume their proper place in the framework of the National Socialist State. The churches will not be allowed to interfere in politics as this is a matter conducted exclusively by the Party and its leaders.

Clearly it would be wrong to speak of a religious issue having arisen between the Holy See and the Wilhelmstrasse. It is solely a dispute which, in many respects although admittedly of greater import and significance, recalls the one

which broke out a few years ago in Italy between the Fascist State and the Vatican over the question of the education of the younger generation.

A solution of this conflict is extremely difficult to achieve, in that, primarily it is not a matter of how the Concordat should be interpreted but of certain cardinal issues involving facts and principles alike. The Vatican is inclined to see in the National Socialist philosophy[1] a more than worldly glorification of thc conceptions "Race, State or Form of Government" as well as the pagan-like idolisation of these ideas, and hence the violation of the divine order of things. If the provisions of the Concordat have not been kept, it is contended, not the Church is to blame but the German authorities. Berlin replied to this[2] by pointing out that the Concordat had remained solely a structural treaty as preparatory provisions for its realisation had not been implemented owing to the negative attitude adopted by the Vatican. Consequent upon the lack of any unambiguous arrangement there had naturally appeared certain gaps which tended to grow larger and larger.

Numerous trials of priests on charges of having infringed the regulations regarding the transference abroad of foreign exchange and the long series of trials at which priests had to answer charges of having committed gross sexual excesses, had naturally aggravated the situation. Berlin made no attempt to hide its indignation at these conditions and at the lack of energy displayed by the ecclesiastical authorities. The Holy See, on the other hand, saw in this merely a sort of persecution of the clergy and suspected a drive against the Church.

All these things have led to the creation of strained relations between Berlin and the Vatican. This tension, however, would be eased the moment both parties bring themselves to realise the mutual necessity of restoring normal relations. At any rate, these things have nothing whatsoever to do with religion.

Protestantism

Having shown that the Catholic Faith in Germany is not being challenged, we shall proceed to show that the same can be said of the Evangelical Faith in Germany. There is no challenge of faith but merely a dispute about the way in which the Church is conducting its affairs. It is a "Church Conflict" and nothing more.

The German Evangelical Church, which comprises nearly two-thirds of the entire German people and which constitutes the rallying point for Germans living abroad, is the largest evangelical church in the world. In this great religious community, however, there is a vast diversity of opinion, standpoints and trends of belief. There are the conservative and the progressive Christians, there are the Pietists who make an exaggerated affectation of the sentiment of piety, and, on the other hand, those Christians who seek to apply their religion to the test of daily life. Among these latter, we have the rationalists, who would ex-

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[1] See Encyclical "With burning anxiety." March 1937.

[2] See "Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz" of March 25th, 1937.

plain divinity with the aid of human reason, and the transcendentalists, who would explain all things that happen as the workings of the Divine Mind.

The map on page 377 will suffice to convey to the reader a convincing idea of the amazing extent of the dissension prevailing throughout evangelical Germany prior to the advent of the National Socialists to power. It will be seen that there existed no less than 28 evangelical churches and 15 ecclesiastical provinces. It is necessary to add to these the National Socialist movement of the "German Christians" and the oppositional groups which this movement created and to which we shall have occasion to refer later.

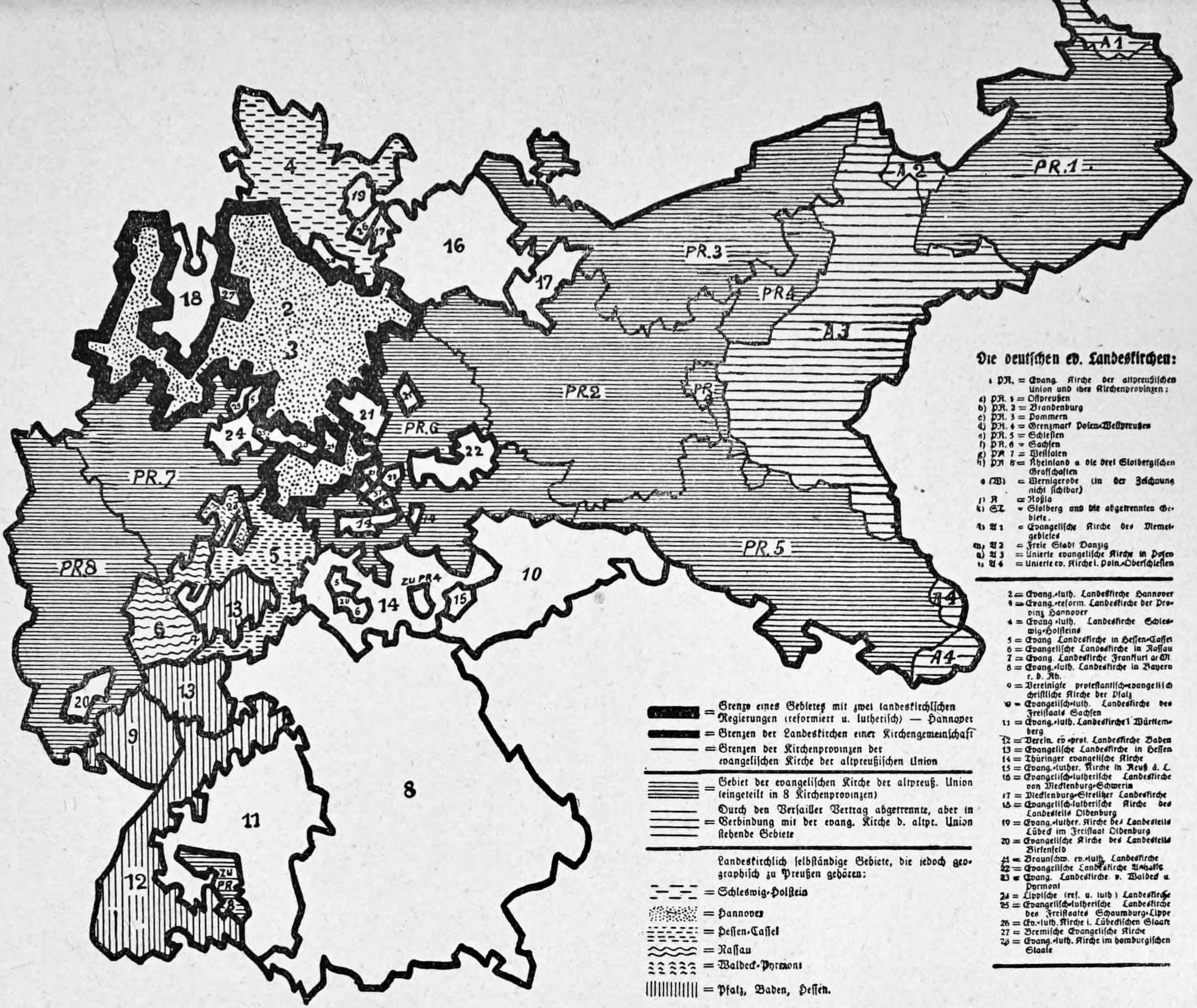
A first step to achieve unity was made in the year 1922, when the evangelical provincial churches were merged in the German Evangelical Church Alliance. But when the National Socialism revolution put an end to party strife and brought the *Länder* under the centralised control of the Reich, it was realised that the time had arrived for converting this alliance into a church. This was done in a constitution passed, on July 11th, 1933, by all church governments throughout the Reich.

According to this constitution, the German Evangelical Church is a united church which regulates all legislative aspects of German church life as a whole, prescribes its relationship to the State and defines its attitude towards other religious societies. It is organised in churches (provincial churches), which remain independent in their profession of faith and in their ritual. Its special solicitude is the welfare of the German people, particularly the younger generation. Its head is the Lutheran Reich Bishop, who is assisted by a Clerical Ministry. The appointment of church leaders and the passing of legislative measures are carried out with the cooperation of the German Evangelical National Synod. Advisory bodies insure that the vital forces of the German evangelical community are given creative freedom to serve in the Church.

The Reich Bishop is elected to give visible expression to the community of church life in the provincial churches and to insure a uniform direction for the work of the German Evangelical Church. The Clerical Ministry is elected to conduct the affairs of the Church under the leadership of the Reich Bishop and to enact the church laws. The National Synod consists of sixty members, two-thirds of whom are sent by the Provincial Churches and one-third are persons who have played a prominent part in the Church.

The Constitution was sanctioned by the German government three days later and the German Evangelical Church declared to be a public corporation in the sense of the Reich legal code. New elections were held and resulted in a two-thirds majority for the German Christians. The first National Synod elected Ludwig Müller, Prussian Provincial Bishop of the Old Prussian Union and Patron of the German Christians, as Reich Bishop.

The attempt to bring about the gradual amalgamation of the Provincial Churches under the protection of the Reich Bishop ended in failure. Inter-denominational strife created a state of affairs that disrupted the unity of the church congregation, affected the liberty of faith and conscience of each individual church-goer, had a pernicious effect upon the national community and



Protestantism in Germany. A graphic story of disunion and discord.

(Reproduction of an ecclesiastical map)

imperilled the existence of the Evangelical Church itself. The German government saw itself compelled to adopt a different course.

By virtue of the Law of September 24th, 1935, "for the safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church" the newly-appointed Reich Minister for Church Affairs, Hanns Kerrl, was authorised to issue decrees designed to restore ordered conditions in the Church world. Minister Kerrl now took energetic action and entrusted the Reich Committee of the Churches, whose members were drawn from the different denominations, with the conduct of church affairs.

The legal side of the dispute soon proved to be of no great consequence, and the dual claim to totality made by the German Christians (National Socialists) on the one hand, and the so-called "Provisional Direction" of the Evangelical Church, as the executive organ of the so-called "Confessional Church," on the other, was neutralised. In many of the provincial churches, special committees were formed to take over the direction of spiritual affairs, and it seemed at the outset as though the Christian and Church outlook of the various groups was at last being directed again to finding a basis for the unity of the Evangelical Church. Meanwhile the Reich Church Committee had failed in the long run to overcome the disruption. Things were back where they had been at the start of the dispute and, indeed, matters had grown worse as a result of the many charges and counter-charges, appointments and suspensions and endless negotiations. The development deteriorated from the initial desire to achieve Church unity and to safeguard the existence of the Church. Contention became embittered, with the German Christians being stigmatised as heretics.

The outcome of this development was that, on February 12th, 1937, the Reich Committee of the Churches informed the Reich Minister for Church Affairs of its decision to dissolve itself. Three days later, when matters were at their worst, the Führer published the following decree:—

"Following the failure of the Reich Committee of the Churches to bring about a unification of the church groups of the German Evangelical Church, it is now for the Church to constitute itself anew in full freedom and according to the wishes of the church congregation and thereby to create a new order of things. I therefore authorise the Reich Minister for Church Affairs to make to this end the necessary arrangements for the election of a General Synod."

As regards the trends at present obtaining in the German Evangelical Church, it can in general be said that there are those who are in favour of re-shaping the church in keeping with the changed times, and those who are strongly opposed to a revival of this sort. The two main parties are referred to as a rule as the "German Christians" and the "Confessional Christians."

The German Christians should not be confused with the "German Faith Movement" or any of the other neo-pagan trends. Actually, they take the Holy Script as the foundation of their belief. They rally under their banner Christians from all the various sects and have no intention of adopting a partisan attitude. First and foremost, they want to see the German Evangelical Church transformed into a living national church, in which there will be room for various

trends of belief. At the same time, they are loyal adherents of Adolf Hitler and want to see National Socialism exerting its vitalising influence upon religion.

This trend, which originated in Thuringia and calls itself the "National Church Movement" is indisputably a product of the hour. It sets out to face the issues, thrown up by the German revolution, concerning the relationship between Church and State. Its guiding principle is to reconcile Church and State and its watchword is to render possible the Christian mission of Germany—"Our Mission is Germany! Our Strength is Christ!" As Siegfried Leffler, one of the leaders of the German Christians put it, "The world, our people, the message of Christ must be saved and liberated from the churches and their doctrines by National Socialism. They must be awakened to new life and meaning." The German Christians stress the mystical, rational and humanitarian elements of Christianity in the sense of the older conception of liberalism. They are convinced that in doing so they are conforming Christian belief to the character of the German people and are purging it of remnants of Jewish thought. They are most emphatic in insisting that God has revealed Himself to the German people.

The German Christians, it must be freely admitted, have made their mark in history by founding the German Evangelical Church. The National Church was both their aim and their achievement. But in the task of organising the National Church they acted too impetuously and without the requisite preparation. Above all, they made the mistake of attempting to precipitate the incorporation of the existing provincial churches into the Reich Church. These are the things which have brought about the present crisis.

In face of the new development which had got under way before the advent of National Socialism to power, there grew up within the Church an oppositional movement which, although it succeeded in enlisting only a minor section of the congregation, soon began to exert a powerful influence. With the effective support of Professor Karl Barth and under the leadership of a group of clergymen, there was formed in all secrecy an organisation which took upon itself the militant task of overthrowing the National Socialist Reich Bishop, Ludwig Müller, and of setting up a church régime which would bring about the cleavage between evangelical Christianity and the Hitler movement. The resolute determination manifested by this organisation, which first called itself the Clerical Emergency League, and later on became the Confessional Community and Confessional Church, has led up to the present church conflict.

This group, like the German Christians, has enlisted its supporters from all camps. They are drawn together in common opposition to certain aspects of the religious life of our times. They are particularly sharp in their opposition to neo-paganism. These neo-pagans nourish and feed this opposition. Their claim to be true exponents of National Socialism gives rise to a great deal of confusion as many Confessional Christians are thereby led to believe that National Socialism is at bottom a pagan doctrine. The Confessional Front has been considerably reinforced of late as a result of the spreading opinion that the Christian

Belief is being menaced in New Germany. Its opposition is directed not only against the neo-pagans outside the church but against the German Christians within the church in that the latter are fondly described as "semi-pagans" or are bundled together with the neo-pagans despite the fact that the German Christians are themselves engaged in combating neo-paganism.

Furthermore, the opposition sought to obstruct the attempt at adapting the church constitution to the new social structure of the German people, that is, at shaping it in accordance with the new political conceptions. The alarm call was raised: "Church must remain Church."

The spirit of the oppositional groups was coloured in a remarkable way by the so-called "dialectical theology" which was introduced from Switzerland and expounded by Karl Barth. It has taken a great hold of the German clergy. This theology is based on a pessimistic and agnostic philosophy. It stresses the incomprehensibility of God, the cleavage between mankind and divinity, the imperfection of the deliverance, the separation between Church and the Secular World, the enmity between Church and State. From this standpoint, all energetic action in the conduct of the affairs of the Church is rejected as an arbitrary assumption of power and presumptious challenge to divine authority. This naturally explains its critical attitude towards National Socialism and the New State.

Moreover, an exceedingly strong radicalism dominates a small group within the Confessional Front. It is composed of a number of leading personalities and must be regarded as an attempt to get control of the Church. This group refers to itself as the "Confessional Church," has convoked synods and has even formed a "Provisional Governing Body of the German Evangelical Church." The members of this group are convinced that their own views, which are inspired by the spirit of dialectical theology, are identical with the Divine Command. They are convinced that they are acting under the direct influence of the Holy Ghost. They have even introduced new forms of belief. This radical group disputes the right to existence of every other trend within the church. Everything undertaken by the State with the object of restoring ordered conditions within the Church is regarded with suspicion and mistrust. Taken all in all, this radical wing of the Confessional Front lays claim to absolute power in the Church, thereby defeating every possibility of achieving a settlement of the church conflict.

The radicals have found their position strengthened through their connections with churches abroad, where it is generally believed that these circles are the true representatives of the German Evangelical Church and that the church situation in Germany is as they describe it. There is a profound cleavage between the State and the Church, it is contended, and the latter is being persecuted by the State. For this reason, Christians abroad feel called upon to side with the Confessional Church against the National Socialist régime.

Adolf Hitler's decree concerning the convocation of a General Synod of the German Evangelical Church for the purpose of drawing up a new Church Constit-

ution may turn out to be a milestone on the road to a satisfactory collaboration between the Reich and the Church. Nation, Church and state should, in the opinion of the National Socialist Government, work together in fruitful cooperation. In keeping with the basic principles of the Movement, the organisational, legislative and administrative matters should continue to be separated from matters of faith, spiritual ministry and questions of ritual and education. Politics should not interfere in church matters or with religious liberties but should seek to promote a national unity which, for its part, would work out to the advantage of the Church, and hence should receive its blessing. The German nation, like any other nation, cannot allow its policy to be determined by a church group or sect, and the Reich dare not lend its powerful support to any single one of the various confessional or religious groups.

Hitherto the evangelical Provincial Churches in Germany, numbering upwards of two dozen, have to their great detriment not been able to achieve unity. Blame for this state of affairs cannot be placed on the shoulders of German church-goers but is due to the obstructive attitude adopted by certain church leaders as well as to the relapse into a rigid, theological doctrinism whereby the conflict assumed especially baneful forms. "To constitute itself anew in full freedom and according to the wishes of the church congregation" is now to be the task of the General Synod of the German Evangelical Church when it assembles in accordance with the Führer's decree. The German government is hoping that these church elections will sweep away the obstacles that have been placed in the way of the establishment of a National German Evangelical Church, all the more so as it fully realises that it is not the legacy of the Reformation which is here at stake. All the church groups are united in upholding this legacy. In truth, no religious issue is to-day confronting the Protestant World in Germany.

Other Trends

Although National Socialism favours a positive Christianity, the church policy of the Third Reich is based, even within the Party, on the principle of religious tolerance. In a decree issued on October 13th, 1933, by Rudolf Hess, the Führer's Deputy, dealing with freedom of conscience within the National Socialist Party, it is stated, "No National Socialist shall be allowed to suffer because he does not ascribe to a certain religion or because he ascribes to no religion at all. Belief is a matter for each one to resolve in the light of his own conscience. Compulsion must not be exercised."

For this reason, there exist in Germany various non-christian and anti-christian movements, one of which is over a century old, whilst the rest date from the war and post-war period.

In the first place, there are the "Popular Freethinkers." The doctrine of this sect did not originate in Germany but is a product of the French Revolution. It recruits the bulk of its followers from the ranks of the freemasons and reformist Jews. "Man is for Mankind the Supreme Being. There is no super-

human God. Man is perfect by nature. There is no sin. Mankind derives its well-being from its own strength. There is no salvation." Such are its dogmas.

This doctrine was expounded over a century ago by the German philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach, and was later proclaimed in much more radical fashion by Karl Marx, who made it the foundation of his system of philosophy. The doctrine is not confined to the Marxists, however. In matters of religion, it was upheld in Germany, first and foremost, by Friedrich Nietzsche. Germany has still a few non-christian religious societies which cultivate this outlook and seek to gain adherents. They give their organisations names duly qualified, in keeping with the spirit of the times, by such adjectives as "German," "Germanic," "Nordic," "Aryan" and "National Socialist." They no longer regard themselves as "humanitarian" but "believers in German nature." They no longer idolise humanity but Race and People. At bottom, however, they remain anti-Christian, although National Socialism, which they make a point of professing, makes a stand in favour of a positive Christianity.

Towards the end of July 1933 there was founded in Eisenach a "Fellowship Association of the German Faith Movement" which, as a loose organisation, united the various non-Christian trends professing faith in a Germanic revelation. A year later, the formation of a unified "German Faith Movement" was announced from a place in South Harz. The new movement incorporated such fellowships as the "Friends' Circle of the New Society," the "Nordic Movement," the "Nordic-Religious Fellowship," the "League of Free Religious Communities" and so forth.

Until April 1936, the Movement was under the leadership of Professor Wilhelm Hauer, of Tübingen. Its guiding principles were:—

(1) The German Faith Movement seeks the religious rebirth of the German nation in the original wellspring of German character.

(2) German character is, in its divine origin, a command from the Eternal which it is the duty of the Movement to obey.

(3) In this command alone are Word and Custom united. To obey this command is to lead a German life.

The members have to affirm on oath that they are free from Jewish or coloured blood and that they belong to no secret society, masonic lodge, jesuit order and profess no other religion. The leader appoints a circle of collaborators. Contact between the leadership and the local fellowship is through the *Thing*, composed of office-bearers of the movement. These office-bearers wear as badge a golden solar wheel on a blue ground. Their leading organ is "Der Reichswart." Another of their publications is the "Deutscher Glaube."

The aims of this movement were expounded by Dr. Gericke and Count Reventlow (who edits the "Reichswart") on the occasion of a public demonstration. They maintained that the religious conception, far from being confined to the Beyond, pulsates through all phases and manifestations of Life. Mankind is called upon to strive with all its power to attain to perfection in this life. This

can be achieved, however, only by a conscious response to the dictates of Blood and Race. The Christian conceptions of Salvation and Original Sin are rejected, as well as the conception of Punishment and the Biblical notion of Sin. Ancestors of the German people of to-day were unacquainted with these notions, although they had a conception of Guilt. However much the German character demands an affirmative attitude towards existence on earth, the life-giving force is the Invisible Voice summoning onward and upward.

Professor Hauer has denied that his Movement is pagan in character. The term Paganism does not apply here and there was no truth, he said, in allegations of a return to the Cult of Wotan and the Edda. The belief in Divine Immanence in Man, who therefore needs no mediator in his search for God, is not Paganism. The German Faith Movement holds that true religion can dispense with rigid dogma. True religion goes direct to the eternal source of new strength. It is built up on character, race and inherited tradition and finds expression in the present moment and through human will power.

Dr. Frick, German Minister of the Interior, declared in an interview, that the German Faith Movement was not embarrassing the State in any way. It could develop without interference, like every other religious movement. In this respect, the State had adopted the standpoint that everyone should seek happiness according to his own lights.

Count Reventlow resigned from the Movement about two years ago. Interesting are the reasons he gives for his resignation. Writing in his "Reichswart," he says that although it must remain a paramount aim to open a new road to religious experience for those who have turned away from Christianity, nevertheless, the fight against Christianity as conducted by the German Faith Movement, should not be the essential or even sole object of the Movement, even quite apart from the fact that the National Socialist State has placed Christianity under its protection and has recognised it as moral truth.

A few days later, Dr. Hauer withdrew from the Movement on similar grounds.

Pronounced anti-Christian is the German Divine Perception Movement of Dr. Mathilde Ludendorff, the widow of the German War Chief, who was one of its most ardent adherents.

The object of this Movement is "to preserve and strengthen the spiritual defence of the German people and to liberate it from the influence of the Superstate Forces, such as Catholicism, Jewry and their secret societies, notably Freemasonry, and all their aiders and abettors. Only in a nation in which the national soul is not buried alive as a result of intermarriage with alien races and of the spread of alien doctrines, do compatriots come to realise how much their welfare is bound up with that of the nation to which they belong."

This group carries on a relentless struggle against Christians and Jews alike.

According to the tenets of this Movement, the Jewish race, aspiring to world dominance, has deliberately made Jahweh the focal point of the Christian doctrine because those peoples who have accepted the Christian doctrine are much more likely to be won over in support of a Jewish-controlled World State than by any other measures

conceived by the Jews. In other words, the Christian doctrine is "Propaganda for bringing about Jewish Dominance and the Dominance of the compliant Priesthood." If Jesus really existed on this earth, then he was a Jew and wanted to be nothing else than a Jew, that is, he sought to lead all peoples to worship Jahweh and the Jewish Race, as Jahweh had decreed this by law and through the mouths of the prophets, and as it is plainly written in the Old Testament. The Christian doctrine, which negates Race and Nationhood, and seeks to "save" each individual German from the "bonds" of Nationhood and lead him in to the Kingdom of Jahweh and of the "Chosen People" cannot possibly constitute a strengthening of the spiritual defence which is the unconditional prerequisite for national preservation.

God is, in the German perception of God, beyond Time, Place and Foreordainment, beyond the grasp of Reason and Ineffable. God is the Essence and Power of all phenomena in the Universe, whose Will working in Mankind has created Universal Consciousness.

The Ego of the Human Soul is able to experience the Divine Essence, the Reasoning Mind of Conscious Man makes possible an exploration of the Phenomenal World in accordance with the prevailing knowledge of the Natural and Mental Sciences. The Experience of the Soul, united with this exploration, gives Knowledge of the ultimate questions concerning the Meaning of the Universe, of Human Existence, of Human Imperfection, of the Necessity of Death, and of the Races and of the Peoples as Racial Personalities.

The Meaning of Human Life is to bring oneself, of one's own free will, into a Knowledge of God operating through one's earthly existence. No God rewards or punishes. The Life of the Soul ends with Death through which the Body is returned to Earth. The Purport of Races and Peoples as Racial Personalities is to live God in their manner and to allow the Divine Melody to resound accordingly. Conservation of the Racial Character, but also Knowledge of its Strength and its Weakness is imperative for an Experience of God by the Individual and by entire Nations, otherwise it is imperilled. This Knowledge demands for fulfilment on such inviolable foundations: Freedom of the Individual and of the Peoples to the end of enabling them to fulfil the Divine Will of Creation.

A few months before General Ludendorff died, he received a visit from Adolf Hitler. There had been an estrangement between the Führer and his former ardent protagonist. Now the veteran War Chief expressed his high appreciation of Adolf Hitler's achievement in tearing up the Versailles Dictate point by point and in restoring to Germany military sovereignty over its own territory. He informed the Führer of his endeavours to achieve spiritual solidarity for the entire nation and thus prepare it for its great mission. Adolf Hitler spoke of his experiences and expressed gratification at the fact that the Third Reich and its Armed Forces had re-established close personal contact with the Army Chief of the World War.

Ludendorff published the official communiqué on this meeting in his periodical "At the Sacred Source of German Strength" and added in comment:—

"The Führer and Reich Chancellor has removed the restrictions which I and my own folk have encountered up to now in our philosophical activities. Germans who are members of the German Divine Perception Movement (Ludendorff) henceforth enjoy full equality with those compatriots belonging to the faith and religious communities mentioned in Point 24 of the Party programme.

I thank the Führer and Chancellor for this. My struggle for the consolidation of the Totalitarian State will become happier for me and, I hope, more effective.

I now expect of all those who accept my teachings, including those who are members of the Party, that they steadfastly keep in mind that my aim is the Totalitarian State for the erection and consolidation of which they must be prepared to make every sacrifice, especially in the matter of defeating, once and for all, those efforts of the Superstate Forces to undermine our young Reich and to establish their dominion over our People."

The purport of all this was that the German Divine Perception Movement had been officially recognised.

The tolerance shown towards the agnostic and anti-Christian confessions is also extended to Jewish religious activities in Germany. I have already attempted to make it quite clear that the special treatment meted out to Jews in Germany is inspired solely by racial and not by religious motives. The Jews enjoy full liberty in the exercize of their ritual.

The State, in fact, has taken upon itself to preserve a strictly impartial attitude towards all the many confessional trends obtaining in Germany. A primary condition is, naturally, that the religious communities refrain from interfering in matters of State. "The protestant may remain protestant and the catholic catholic, and he who is neither and nevertheless owns Christ, may also remain what he is," declared Dr. Goebbels in his public reply to Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago.

It is not true that Berlin is planning to create a State religion. Religious doctrines are a matter for the churches alone. As Hanns Kerrl, German Minister for Church Affairs declared on October 16th, 1935, when addressing the Economic Council of the German Academy, "The protestant world is still under German leadership. There is no foundation for the fear, voiced abroad, that Germany will forsake the protestant world."

It is recounted that, on one occasion, when the French Empire was at the height of prosperity, an over-zealous counsellor flatteringly proposed to Napoleon that he should found a State religion. The great Corsican replied, "Do you wish, Sir, to see me crucified?"

XXI.

German Law

In surveying what has been done in the past five years of National Socialist government in the realms of justice, the outstanding achievement of greatest significance is the unification of administration throughout the Reich. For centuries supreme legal authority in Germany did not lie in the hands of the Reich but with the individual federated states. National Socialism which has applied the principles of uniformity to all spheres of the Movement and the State put an end to the sovereign rights of these various countries within the Reich on January 30th, 1934, and at the same time, their supreme legal authority.

In a quick succession of measures, Dr. Gürtner, Reich Minister of Justice, reconstructed the whole system of legal administration. With the Law of December 5th, 1934, the Reich Ministry of Justice took over the jurisdiction of the federal ministries, and the Law of January 24th, 1935, made all those connected with the administration of justice officials of the Reich, and the departments Reich departments. The solemn act of State which took place on April 2nd, 1935, in the presence of the Führer in the State Opera of Berlin, documented the completion of this phase of the work of reconstruction, a uniform Law for the Reich. The system of administration comprises 1,844 courts, 182 public prosecutors and approximately 90,000 other clerks and officers of the Law.

Uniform Administration of Justice and Legislation.

At the present time, the entire judicial administration as well as all legislation is in the hands of the Reich. The experience gained from day to day in the courts is made available to the central authorities concerned. Conversely, the uniform organisation throughout the Reich ensures that the will of the Government is implemented throughout the system right down to its very capillaries. For the individual seeking justice, the difficulties are removed which formerly existed as a result of the different legal conditions obtaining in the various states of the Reich.

The aims to be followed under National Socialist tenets in the administration of Justice were indicated by the Führer in his speech of March 23rd, 1933, as follows:—

"First and foremost, the Law serves the interests of the Community. The irremovable and independent status of the judges on the one hand, must go hand in hand with an elasticity in giving judgment for the good of Society.

Not the individual can be the primary concern of the Court but the people as a whole. The foundation to Justice can be no other than those of the Nation."

In fulfilment of this apart from the legal reforms necessary, the choice of staff is of equal importance. The Law anent Civil Servants and the Nuremberg Laws resulted in the elimination of all undesirable elements from the service. To ensure a rising generation actuated by the right motives, and a future judiciary which in addition to the requisite academic knowledge shall be imbued with the new spirit and a feeling of devotion to the Führer, the Law of July 24th, 1934, concerning legal training was enacted.

With the same idea the Decree of March 29th, 1935, outlining the training required for the office of judge and state prosecutor provides for a uniform system of selection inasmuch as from the large number of candidates only the most capable and those best suited as to personality may serve the interests of Justice. By a Decree of March 15th, 1937, the legal titles and salaries which until then had depended upon 16 different systems of classification, were unified under that of the Reich. According to the Decree anent the Civil Service, and the By-Laws governing this Service along with supplementary regulations of the Reich Ministry of Justice, all legal officials are under one Law. Legal dress and uniforms, with due considerations for a period of transition, are the same throughout.

The legal position of lawyers and notaries, too, has been subjected to a thorough change. The Law expects the lawyer to be the competent and independent representative of his clients in all legal matters, his calling is no trade but a vindication of Justice. By the Law of December 20th, 1934, the number of admissions to the Bar has been restricted and the selective principle applied to those desirous of taking up the profession. Articled clerkship, legal apprenticeship, admission to the Bar, the organisation of the profession in the Reich Law Society and the procedure of the Courts of Honour, were all put on a new basis by the Law of December 13th, 1935. The Reich By-Laws for the Profession of February 21st, 1936, now reflect the present legal status.

A similar development took place with regard to notaries who have been similarly organised by the By-Laws of February 13th, 1927. To prevent abusive practice the Law of December 13th, 1935, guards against unqualified persons giving legal advice.

The New Criminal Law.

Criminal law and the methods of procedure in pronouncing and executing judgment reveal an entirely new outline since 1933. Through the general Decree governing criminal procedure of April 13th, 1935, and the Memorandum on criminal affairs of May 21st, 1935, the public prosecutors have been given fundamental directives for combatting crime and for the method of procedure. Special emphasis is laid therein on the principle of criminal law to afford adequate security for the Community as a whole, and for the individual. In giving judgment the interests of the public are to come first. Heavy punishment is to be inflicted on habitual or dangerous criminals.

The procedure has been speeded up as much as specific circumstances will allow. Every precaution is taken to prevent any attempt to prolong proceedings or to impede the collecting of evidence. Thus punishment follows rapidly on the crime, for only prompt administration of justice can afford adequate public safety and command and maintain the necessary respect for the Law and those who administer it. To ensure sound verdicts a special regulation of October 7th, 1937, inaugurated a service of special investigation. This is practised by the Reich Union for Criminal Supervision and Investigation."

In addition, youth protection is provided for by the Decree of August 21st, 1937, which institutes special chambers to deal with all punishable offences liable to harm young people, such as moral delinquencies perpetrated on or in the presence of young folk, ill treatment and swearing.

For treasonable offences against the Führer and the Reich, and cases of high treason, the People's Tribunal was established in Berlin through the Law of April 24th, 1934, which court ranks with one of the Reich High Courts, the jurisdiction of which has been extended through the Law of April 18th, 1936.

New ways are being traversed in the matter of convictions through special regulations of December 7th, 1935. The method of sentencing has become readjusted to the fundamental intention of the Law, punishments being made sufficiently heavy to act as a deterrent to the professional lawbreaker. Much consideration is paid to the educational value of punishment, particularly in the case of young offenders where measures introduced on January 22nd, 1937, provide that their sentences should be served in special penitentiaries to get them used to discipline and regular living through suitable occupation, instruction, physical proper use and the proper use of spare time.

Administration of Civil Law.

This section of the Law has been thoroughly revised and the revision applied to all the courts. Formerly, the fundamental and greatly lamented evil of litigation, the dragging on of cases, has been removed and court proceedings expedited by avoiding all superfluous adjournments, elimination of the law vacation, formerly a big factor in holding things up. At the same time, the supplementary law of October 27th, 1933 for the procedure to be followed in civil cases, by a revised method of swearing-in litigants, has altered this from an unrestrained battle of interests to a true display of justice; and in place of a pedantic and complicated process of proving guilt, has placed the uniform and direct hearing of evidence before the court which is to pronounce judgment. The findings of the Reich courts are faced with new possibilities by the severance of all obsolete formalities, while newly established Benches guarantee the uniformity of judgment in the Supreme Courts.

In the sphere of levying distraint, there was an immediate need for comprehensive emergency measures providing legal protection. Then, as economic conditions improved and became more stable, it was necessary gradually to loosen measures and adapt them to a new economic-social procedure which would enable the Court to come to the assistance of worthy debtors, where reasonable,

as in the reverse, to frustrate deliberate underhand actions. The Decree of May 26th, 1933, governing the levying of distraint, that of October 24th, 1934, modifying the right to attack wages and salaries, and the Law of December 13th, 1935, against wrongly impounding, are all important stages in this development.

Farreaching innovations came with the regulations of February 26th, 1935, concerning settlements, which removed the serious deficiencies of the old system mainly by strengthening the influence of the Court on the proceedings.

In the registration of landed property, a sphere which had suffered considerably under the divergent provincial systems, the new system inaugurated on August 25th, 1935, with accompanying regulations, and the Register Decree of August 8th, 1935, materialised legal uniformity throughout the Reich.

In filing suits and the By-laws concerning costs, uniformity has been substantially promoted in the Reich inasmuch as there are now only two central courts of appeal, the Supreme Court in Berlin and the High Court in Munich.

Renewing the Law.

The law of a modern country should not be at variance with national ideas, customs and usages, and the prevailing social order. It should be a true reflection of popular sentiment and of all aspects of national life. Above all, it should not be a formal structure conceived as a basis of power, a structure to which the nation as a whole must adapt itself. On the contrary, the formal legal constitution must be an embodiment of the national conception of what constitutes law and justice.

This principle acquires added force when applied to Germany, now that a spiritual revolution has replaced the principles of the Weimar Republic by those of the commonweal of the Third Reich. It has therefore become the paramount concern of New Germany to see that the National Socialist doctrines are embodied in the new legal code and that judge and jury are alike imbued with conceptions of law and justice in keeping with this outlook.

As Dr. Frank, President of the Law Academy, declared in the course of an address delivered before the Economic Council of the German Academy in Berlin, the foundation of National Socialist jurisprudence is conceived in the administration of law in respect of five main tasks; namely, in respect of Race (racial legislation), of Soil (agrarian legislation, including the creation of hereditary farmlands), of National Honour (which is conceived as a decisive factor in determining the German attitude towards international issues, and has been made the basis for the reform of the Criminal Code and for other important legal changes), of Defence (which finds expression in the consolidation of Germany's territorial integrity), and of Labour (in the broadest sense, including brain and manual labour, all aspects of commercial and industrial life which have found expression in the new German Labour and Industrial Codes).

It will be seen from this that Germany is striving with all its might to achieve an entirely new codification of law. To this end, it has established the National Socialist Law Union, the biggest organisation of its kind, and has created in the Academy for German Law an institute which has already earned for itself

world renown. The legal professions have been organised with careful regard to their vital interests and the independence of the judge absolutely safeguarded. Finally, after three years of work the draft of the new Legal Code has been completed and is now awaiting its proclamation. The general task of reforming the Legal Code had been taken in hand thirty years ago but its progress had been constantly impeded by the confusion brought about by the parliamentary system of government.

Since its advent to power, National Socialism has noted how a large measure of the foreign criticism of its régime has, time and again, been directed with special severity to its system of jurisprudence. Time and again, allegations were made to the effect that the Party was bent on destroying the foundations of justice and that the present rulers of Germany are opposed to having law established on a stable basis. As this criticism has persisted down to the present, it is just as well to give here a brief summary of the principles incorporated in the new Legal Code and of the activities of the German Law Academy.

The New German Penal Code

"In the conviction that German criminal jurisprudence must be imbued with the National Socialist philosophy, the German Government has drawn up this Code which it presents to the German nation. The healthy instincts of the people in determining what is right and what is wrong has determined the content and application of the Penal Code. Atonement for injustice, protection for national interests, reinforcement of the urge to make personal interests subservient to those of the community as a whole, these are the aims and purport of the Penal Code. To conserve honour and loyalty, race and heredity, probity and assiduity, discipline and order is its task. The belief in the dictum, 'common welfare before private gain,' gives it its stamp. The Code is created in this spirit. In this spirit shall the law be interpreted by competent judges serving the German people as the guardians of justice."

The draft of the new German Penal Code begins with this foreword indicating the foundations of criminal jurisprudence in the Germany of tomorrow.

Three big legislative measures have been embodied in the draft. They anticipated the main ideas of the present reform and did away with some of the insufferable shortcomings of the existing code. The Law of November 24th, 1933, relating to dangerous habitual criminals and providing an increased measure of public protection created new weapons in the fight against the worst types of law-breakers: permanent control over professional criminals, sterilisation for depraved moral delinquents, asylums for persons whose criminal disposition is the result of mental deficiency, and who ought not to be "let loose on society." By virtue of its severe and drastic measures against law-breakers, this Law placed the conception of the national welfare before the welfare of the individual, and stressed the unqualified necessity of safeguarding the national community from the menace of criminal elements. The relentless fight for the extermination of the worst kinds of crime, announced by this Law, has in the

meantime, thanks to the effective measures taken by the police authorities, brought about a marked decrease in crime.

The Law of April 24th, 1934, entirely re-stated the position with regard to high treason and treasonable felony. It put an end to the sinister notion that high treason or betrayal of national secrets might in some cases spring from an honest conviction, and firmly established the National Socialist conception that loyalty to one's own people is the supreme duty of every citizen and the violation of this loyalty the greatest of all crimes. Consequently, it forbade judges to pass a sentence of fortress imprisonment on persons found guilty of high treason and enacted that only the severest, and in most cases, the supreme, penalty should be inflicted on those persons found guilty of treasonable activities.

The most important reform of all, however, was effected by a third piece of legislation, known as the Law of June 28th. It liberated the judge from the former compulsion to adhere closely to the wording of the law and gave him the possibility of inflicting punishment in cases where, although the letter of the law might not have been violated, the sound instincts of the German public demand, in accordance with the spirit of the Penal Code, retribution for a wrong. This, in itself, is a recognition of the principle that the source of all justice is the national conscience. It establishes in Germany a new conception of what constitutes right and wrong. Whereas, hitherto, a tort was understood to be a mis-demeanour of the sort for which the law of the land prescribes definite punishment, from now onwards every transgression will be regarded as punishable which receives the condemnation of the public conscience, and, in so far as it conflicts with the spirit of the Penal Code, will be combated with the instruments of punitive law.

Further amendments were added with the Law of June 28th, 1936, to combat child kidnapping for the purpose of extortion, and the Law of July 2nd, 1936, anent failure to report intended crimes, damage to military defences, breach of professional discretion and the unauthorised passing on of secret documents. Mobilisation of all forces for the carrying through of the Four Year Plan called for yet another protective measure. Thus the Law against economic sabotage was passed on December 1st, 1936, according to which penalty of death and confiscation of property threatens any German who deliberately and unscrupulously for reasons of personal gain or other low motives, acts contrary to the Law in removing or leaving property abroad, so causing serious damage to the German economic structure.

These legislative measures have already translated some of the basic conceptions of the new Penal Code into reality. They will in fact, be incorporated into the new Penal Code. Furthermore, the draft brings an abundance of new legal ideas rooted in the National Socialist conception of the rights and duties of the State. It will suffice at this juncture to make mention of only two of them.

The Law of June 28th, 1935, sees a tort in every offence committed against the moral order established by the public conscience. The draft of the

new Penal Code draws the conclusions arising out of this basic conception in determining guilt. According to the draft of the new Penal Code, a person is acting with intent if he recognises that his behaviour is at variance with the moral order sanctioned by public opinion, in other words, if he is conscious of committing an offence or of running the risk of doing so. A person is acting negligently if, with requisite care, he might and should have been able to perceive the wrongful character of his behaviour. In this way, the draft formulates a new conception of guilt. Hitherto, the question of guilt was allowed to stand apart from its moral aspects, the moral attitude adopted by the offender towards his own action was entirely ignored. If the offender declared that he was not aware of acting in a punishable fashion, then his offence was generally regarded as trivial, especially if he was able to cite the letter of the law in his favour. This way of looking at things had led to countless unjust verdicts. Actually, no other section of the former legal code had aroused so much opposition as this one. The draft of the new code clears away all obscurity in this matter. In future, an offender will be considered to have acted with intent if he knows he is breaking the law or if he has planned to do so.

The draft brings a complete reform in the Special Section dealing with the treatment of evidence in specific cases. The ethical forces of the German nation, summed up under the headings, family life, morals, religion, industry, national property, are safeguarded. Special mention should be made of the section dealing with labour protection. Hitherto, German law provided no special legal protection for labour. The penal code of National Socialism, on the other hand, has taken upon itself the important task of protecting Labour as one of the nation's most valuable possessions. To work, says the Party programme, is the duty and honour shared by every German, whereby it naturally follows that the Penal Code has to safeguard the labour of every German citizen, and of the nation as a whole, against every menace and disturbance. In this way, the draft of the new code protects the nation at work, establishes industrial peace, safeguards the right of the individual to a free choice of employment and offers security for permanent employment.

It will thus be seen that the new German Penal Code has been born of the German conception of life and has been made to accord with the requirements of modern Germany. Every hope is entertained that it will prove itself an effective instrument for maintaining German justice and industrial peace, for eliminating wrongdoing, for giving the nation every sense of security and, in this way, for serving the high ideals of true Justice.

...and Civil Law.

In the sphere of Civil Law, too, the process of renewal has made progress, the most important laws being the following:—

Of the Land Laws, the first deserving mention is that for the Entailment of Farms of September 29th, 1933, which protects the farmer against indebtedness, forced sales and the division of his lands, making him and his family a part of the soil. The practical experience gained in implementing this Law was codified in

a special Decree of December 21st, 1936, concerning hereditary estates. In addition, the Land Laws embody the idea that the rights of the individual must be set aside if in conflict with the common weal as is apparent, for instance, in the two Laws of December 13th, 1933, and October 18th, 1935, by which the rights of individual owners of real estate in respect of adjoining property have suffered a curtailment in favour of institutions that are of particular importance to the Community. The same idea inspired the Reich reforms of Agrarian Laws and the transfer of property, on which the Reich Ministry of Justice exerced all its influence. Special mention should be made of the public notices concerning the real estate business, the Reich Decree redistributing taxes, the Decree to ensure cultivation of land, as well as the Law to encourage suburban settlement and city improvements. Among the numerous measures for unifying the judicial code, the Law of November 24th, 1937, should be mentioned which amended and unified property rights.

With regard to mortgages, the work to be done was part of the politico-economic aim to bring existing indebtedness on a sound footing. Thus re-organisation of agricultural indebtedness has been transferred to a special division of the Court and to Bureaux for liquidation and amortisation. The legal measures adopted for the reduction of excessive rates of interest also belong here. In this connection, the Law of July, 31st 1935, which modified interest rates on rural credits is of special importance and no less the Law of July 2nd, 1936, which similarly adapted the interests on mortgages to present day conditions. For cases of threatening expiration the three Laws of 1933, 1934, and 1935, governing mortgage investments provided a working basis for a just settlement between debtor and creditor interests. In the case of foreign liabilities the urgent needs of national economy had to be considered through the Law of 1936, dealing with debts in foreign currencies, and of 1937, for the regulation of capital due abroad.

The greatly deplored confusing nature of regulations concerning relations between landlords and tenants has been clarified. The tasks with which legislature is faced at the present time in this domain have become apparent in the powers vested in the Reich Ministers of Justice and Labour by the Decree of August 28th, 1937, giving protection against notice of tenancy and affording further security to tenants.

Individual and family duties and privileges have been fundamentally influenced by the so-called Nuremberg Laws, the Reich Law of Citizenship and the Law to Protect German Blood. With the realisation that the Jew is to have no influence whatever on the life of the German people, and that purity of blood is the fundamental pillar of the race, the Law forbids marriage between Germans and Jews or half-Jews. The Law for the prevention of transmission of hereditary diseases of July 14th, 1933, and the Law of October 18th, 1935, anent the health and capacity of intending partners in marriage, both aim at keeping the population healthy. Similarly, the new Law of November 5th, 1937, anent the status of the individual, is part of the legislation bearing on race and public health. By introducing a family genealogical book, it is possible to ascertain at any moment the ancestors and descendants of a given person.

The National Socialist philosophy has also made itself felt in the laws regarding heritage. That of November 5th, 1937, debars any person deprived of citizenship (mainly directed against emigrés participating in anti-German agitation) from inheriting or being the beneficiary of a bequest from a citizen of the Reich. Furthermore, a testator of German or allied blood can withhold the legitimate share of a descendant of German stock who contrary to the Law contracts marriage with a Jew or a person of mixed blood. Finally, special regulations permit wills which were deposited with the Court prior to January 1st, 1924, and which presumably have lost all point on account of the inflation, to be withdrawn free of charges.

With regard to business companies the Law of January 30th, 1937, anent joint stock companies, with its regulations of September 29th and November 19th, 1937, effects re-organisation. The underlying principles can be summarised as follows: the legal form is preserved; the anonymous nature is curtailed; personal responsibility of the directors is increased and their share in the profits must be relatively commensurate to the social aid and facilities rendered by the firms for their employees. This latter can, if necessary, be enforced through a special judgment of the Court. Important laws had already been enacted to promote and alleviate the transformation of stock companies on a more economic basis. Thus, for example, the Law of May 14th, 1936, governing the purchase of shares, the enactment of June 10th, 1936, providing for an easy procedure in the reduction of capital, and the Law of July 5th, 1935, anent the transformation of joint stock into private companies, and the accompanying regulations.

From the wealth of other commercial measures the Law of June 3rd, 1937, demanding examination of annual reports and the Decree of July 7th, 1937, should find mention. This meets the necessity for a regular examination of the business reports of credit institutions, which examination can be extended to individual firms and private companies engaged in banking or investment business, as well as companies of limited liability. Moreover, the laws governing marine freights and the privileges attaching to bank deposits, have been revised. On April 1st, 1934, the new Law anent bills of exchange and the Cheque Law of 1933, came into force.

Material changes and modifications have also been introduced with regard to cooperative societies but space does not permit of enumeration in detail. They all aim, however, at regulating the cooperative system in terms of the National Socialist conception of justice and economy.

As regards trade protection, legislation concerning patents and trade marks, of May 5th, 1936, has embodied the fundamental principles of National Socialism. The measures protecting the inventor and his professional honour provide greater freedom for creative ability; impecunious inventors are given extensive alleviations with regard to costs incurred in taking out a patent etc. The confining of judgments in the case of possible lawsuits to a few High Courts has achieved a material improvement in the legal proceedings. The cooperation

of the Reich Patent Office in court cases, also an innovation, serves a similar purpose.

The German Law Academy

The foundation stone of the German Law Academy was laid five years ago by Dr. Hans Frank, President of the Law Academy. It was the first practical step towards the realisation of a bold plan destined to exert a far-reaching influence upon the entire German system of law. A newly-established institute, in fact, was asked to take the lead in re-shaping a cultural heritage of supreme value. Prior to this, the Reich had no establishment of this kind, despite its wealth of law tradition and experience.

The idea of setting up a Law Academy of this sort arose from the conviction that, in taking the lead in these matters, National Socialism must give a powerful foundation for the requisite new system of law. This, however, could be achieved only by gathering together a group of legal experts who, freed from the compulsion of professional duties, could devote all their time and energy to the attainment of the one great object. The Academy reflected National Socialist opinion in that it set out in the first place to adhere to a line of prudent moderation, holding the balance between the conservative system of law, with its extreme insistence upon legal forms, and the romantic conception of law with its tendency towards humanitarian extremism. The guiding principle adopted by the new Academy may be said to consist in the preservation of a clear and well-disciplined national life and in the repudiation of every obscuration of the legal position in favour of a cheap popularity or transitory ideology.

When the Academy began its work in the Autumn of 1933, it found a field of labour which had been lying fallow owing to the nature of the political developments in those and preceding days. It was called upon to adapt itself to the changing times even at a moment when it was still in process of formation. The tasks confronting it are of an extraordinary diversity. The former parliamentary committees, which had been responsible for the bulk of legislative work, no longer existed. The political situation made it necessary for the legislative measures to be put through with the utmost despatch, particularly in view of the fact that the existing law had become inapplicable to the new political situation. This was true in the domain of Civil Law as well as in that of general government.

This basic reversal in the general trend of German philosophy of law could not be effected by the Reich authorities alone, especially in view of the fact that they were so overwhelmed with work at the time as to be entirely incapable of giving adequate consideration even to the minor points of the new legal outlook. The entire matter had to be removed from the field of law practice and dealt with in the seclusion of academical study. The Academy has been able to fulfil this mission whilst, at the same time, remaining in close touch with present realities. It was able to do so for the simple reason that everybody recognised in it a child of National Socialism and hence accorded it absolute

right to shape the National Socialist conception of law. In this way, the German Law Academy became an independent establishment of the Supreme German Judicature.

This raises the question of Competency which, at first sight, appears to have been made problematic. Actually, however, from the statutes of the new Academy promulgated on July 11th, 1934, as well as in regard to its personnel and its entire procedure, it soon became evident that the nature of its tasks and duties would not bring it in conflict with other legal and governmental authorities. The various governmental ministries were left with the task of drawing up the new laws and issuing all enactments, ordinances, instructions and regulations in connection with them. Special care was taken to insure that the ministries continued to remain responsible for all technical aspects of the various new laws. A sharp distinction is drawn, however, in respect of legislation involving basic principles. Here it becomes a question of the National Socialist conception of things, and this provides the moment when the German Law Academy has to make its authority felt.

It does not consider itself an institute brought into existence for the purpose of drawing up sterile programmatical points which, in view of the plenitude of suggestions of a primary character supplied by life itself would acquire from the outset only a restricted practical importance. It confines its activities to a large extent to the task of outlining clear and useful lines of thought, either in the form of definite drafts or in the form of memoranda and statements.

The method adopted in each case for handling the substance of law is determined by the specific nature of the case; basic principles for the reform of the Divorce Law, for instance, are more suitably embodied in a memorandum than, say, in a supplementary law which the judges are then compelled to apply. In so far as new legislation drafted by the ministries is submitted to the various committees of the Academy for discussion, the latter confine themselves as a general rule to giving advice and suggestion. The working methods are elastic and are not laid down in hard and fast rules. Moreover, relations with the ministries are not determined on points of competency but on the principles of mutual regard and loyalty to the common cause.

The Academy is confronted with an important field of activity in the matter of scientific cooperation with the universities. Here it will not be so much a question of defining the principles of law in view of the fact that the Academy will have to concentrate all its energies on dealing with problems of legislation which have acquired great urgency as a result of political developments in Germany. The Academy sees its cardinal mission in getting the universities to concern themselves with legislative tasks. The new legislation will itself supply an abundance of dogmatic problems and both the legal profession and the legislature will know how to appreciate any assistance, in the form of constructive criticism, contributed by scientific quarters.

The German Law Academy is organised in accordance with the principle fo responsible leadership. It is placed under the direction of Dr. Frank, Leader

of the German Law Front. As Dr. Frank is also at the head of the two other sections of the Law Front, namely, the German Law Union and the Reich Law Office, it is therefore linked up with these two bodies. It has a Presiding Board composed of representatives of the supreme Reich authorities, leading industrialists and scientists and outstanding members of the legal profession. This Presiding Board acts in an advisory capacity.

The Academy proper is made up of about 300 members, a number which is kept purposely low. All are notable representatives of German intellectual and industrial life. It has also built up in a relatively short time a big society known as "Friends of the German Law Academy" which undertakes to represent and promote the interests of the Academy in foreign countries.

Apart from the purely representative side of the organisation, there is a working organisation. Pursuant to the enactment issued by the President of the German Law Academy on December 15th, 1936 relating to the Academy's efforts to enlist the services of all those persons most likely to bring about the reconstruction of German law in the spirit of the National Socialist philosophy, the general body of ordinary members was divided into three departments:—

1) Honorary Senate.
2) Department for Law Reform.
3) Department for Law Research.

The allocation of the members to the various departments and sectors is determined by the President. To the Department for Law Reform belong the existing and projected committees. The Department for Legal Research is divided into three classes with the following domains of activity:—

Class 1: Historical Research and Study of the Fundamental Problems of Law (History of Law and Philosophy of Law).

Class 2: Law Research in respect of Reich and German Nation—this class comprises State and Administrative Law, Ecclesiastical Law and International Law, Criminal Law and Procedure, Juvenile Law, Transport and Labour Law.

Class 3: Communal Law Research—this class comprises Civil Law, Industrial Law, Right to Intellectual Labour, Civil Administration of Justice, and the Economic Sciences.

Each Class is under the direction of a Class Secretary, who also has to attend to the wishes and suggestions of the chairmen of the various committees. The secretaries have furthermore to bring about a smooth collaboration between the members of the various departments. Each department has a number of rapporteurs and assistants who have to attend to the administrative and scientific side of the work of the department and of the various classes, as well as to sort and redact the material sent in to the Academy.

The main work consists in dealing with the numerous queries, suggestions, complaints and criticisms sent in by the general public. They have to be examined

and answered and, in some cases, they must be made the subject of scientific research. Along with a plethora of useless trivialities there is quite a lot of material deserving attention. When this is so, the material is passed on to the competent working committees for investigation. A specially difficult but fruitful task consists in the utilisation, for improving the present system of legislation, of the material that has been examined by the working committees.

These working committees, about fifty in number, are the real bearers of the tasks and duties devolving upon the Academy. They confine themselves mostly to practical matters, relegating the discussion of abstract problems to the background. They are composed of experts in the various fields and special care is taken to see that all the professional groups concerned are given an equitable share in the debates and proceedings. Industry is no longer excluded from having a voice in the making of the country's laws as its interests are effectively represented by its spokesmen on the various working committees.

The Academy does not confine itself to German jurisprudence alone, but also makes a close study of law reforms in foreign countries. This side of its work has been entrusted to the Academy's Foreign Department, which thus is able to supplement the work of the juristic departments. The Foreign Department fosters and promotes relations with all universities and legal institutes abroad. It has already done much to enlighten world opinion on the true character of the German legal reforms and has gained a lot of friendly support for the projects and ideals of National Socialism. First and foremost, it has made arrangements for an exchange of literature on all legal subjects and has invited many foreign guests to visit the Academy. Another part of its mission is to act in a representative character at international meetings and assemblies, or on the occasion of visits of notable foreign personalities to Germany.

In this connection, mention should be made of other missions of a representative character devolving upon the Academy. It has been particularly successful in holding five annual congresses and different plenary meetings. These gatherings have already come to be regarded everywhere, particularly in the daily press, as events of outstanding importance. They bring together leading members of the legal profession and win their support for the work of the Academy. They constitute a valuable contribution to international understanding in view of the fact that, as a general rule, foreign jurists are requested to take over the task of reporting on the plenary sessions.

An important role in the fulfilment of these representative duties is played by the attractive building forming the home of the Academy in Berlin. It is becoming ever more renowned as a gathering-place of the legal world.

The Academy publishes its own periodical which, however, is not designed to displace any of the other well-established legal publications, and for this reason, confines its contents for the most part to articles on legal reforms. Furthermore, the Academy is publishing a series of treatises on topical subjects of law written by prominent German savants. The quarterly reports of the Academy bring a survey of the progress and results of the discussions carried on

by the various committees. These are then summed up in an annual review.

Finally, mention should be made of the magnanimous project with which the Führer has honoured the German legal profession, namely, the erection of the House of German Law in Munich, which city will then become the law centre for the entire German Reich. The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone for this magnificent building took place on October 24th, 1936, on the occasion of the Academy's third annual congress. When completed, it will be a centre where the future leaders of the German legal profession will round off their scientific education in the various branches of law. Savants from all parts of Germany and from foreign countries will foregather here to pursue their special research work with the aid of a library covering the entire domain of law.

XXII.

The German Postal System

Following the accession of National Socialism to power a basic reform was brought about in the collection and distribution of news, a vast domain of activity which falls under the administration of the German Post Office. The pronounced liberalistic and capitalistic outlook prevailing prior to the year 1933 saw in the postal system a purely business undertaking which had to pay its own way and contribute its part towards the advancement of industry in order to justify its existence. As against this, National Socialism holds that the Post Office should serve the interests of the nation as a whole as a cultural institution unhampered by any policy of a particularist character. Outwardly, this new outlook has been expressed in the dissolution of the Governing Board of the German Post Office. Prior to this change, private industry in Germany was able through this Governing Board to exert a decisive influence on the affairs of the German Post Office. It often occurred, in fact, that this influence was used to further the interests of private enterprises.

Moreover, the total repeal on March 5th, 1937, of the commercial edict of the year 1925 which considered the Post Office as a purely business undertaking, was altogether in keeping with the new trend of developments as it liberated the German Post Office from all those ties which, in the mere conduct of its affairs, had bound it down to private enterprise. To be sure, this measure was not intended to mean that, in future, the Post Office is prepared, let us say, to work at a loss or to neglect the demands of business. The Post Office has, as its first and sole task, to serve the nation as a whole and in doing so, it stands to reason that business and industry will receive the attention and consideration they deserve.

This principle, set up by National Socialism, excludes the possibility of the various German *Länder* putting forward their own special demands in postal matters to the detriment of the nation considered as a whole. The agreements concluded by the German Post Office with Bavaria and Württemberg were therefore abrogated on April 1st, 1934 and the postal establishments of these *Länder*, which had up to then managed their own affairs, were taken over as an integral part of the general administrative apparatus of the German Post Office. The organisation has thus been tightened up and the employment of the means of communication based on the principle of a more centralised control leading to an abandonment of restrictions formerly necessary for economic reasons.

This new conception of the mission of the Post Office as a national institution has led to a basic reform of its tariff policy. Whereas formerly this policy was dictated in the first instance by the urge to obtain the maximum surplus of revenue, it now aims at fixing the postal fees and tariffs in a way most likely to help the German people as a whole in the conduct of its economic activity.

These principles have been followed by the German Post Office in all its various departments. The tremendous growth in the work achieved by the Post Office in the course of the last five years has served to testify to their soundness. A few figures will serve to bear out this statement: the number of letters forwarded rose from 5,609,000,000 in 1932 to 6,437,000,000 in 1937 representing an increase of 14.78 per cent; parcels delivered rose from 227,000,000 in 1932 to 296,000,000 in 1937, that is, an increase of 30.39 per cent. Over the same period, the number of postal cheque accounts rose 9.55 per cent from 1,021,819 to 1,119,372 and the assets, taking the yearly average, from 461.6 million marks to 729.6 million marks, an increase of 58.06 per cent. The total revenue of the German Post Office grew from 1,658,900,000 marks in the year 1932 to 1,940,000,000 marks in 1937, representing a rise of 16.9 per cent. Furthermore, the number of persons employed by the German Post Office rose 11.2 per cent from 350,814 to 390,000.

In all this, the German Post Office has been faithful to its mission as the servant of the public. It has felt itself bound in a special sense to promote to the utmost the economic revival brought about by the National Socialist government. To this end, it has speeded up the modernisation of all its establishments.

It has, to take one instance only, endeavoured to bring the telephone within the reach of all. As early as the year 1933 it abolished the fee of 50 marks which had been demanded for the installation of a telephone, whilst in May 1934 it reduced the monthly rental an average of 25 per cent.

The success of these measures is evinced by the fact that the number of telephone subscribers which, affected by the after-effects of the years of mock prosperity, had reached its high peak of 3,247,000 in 1930 to sink to 2,960,000 at the beginning of 1933, had by the year 1936 exceeded its high peak of 1930 and amounted to upwards of 3,578,000 at the end of 1937. The number of telephone calls dealt with over the lines of the German Post Office last year was 500 million in excess of the figure for the year 1932, whereby local calls showed an increase of 34 per cent. The total length of telephone lines was increased from 23,656,268 kilometres in 1932 to 26,362,640 kilometres in 1937, an increase of 11.4 per cent.

Whilst in 1932 there were only 4,300,000 wireless set owners in Germany, by the year 1937 this number had increased upwards of 111.32 per cent to 9,078,000.

Similarly, the German Post Office is engaged in making improvements and introducing new facilities in all other branches of its work in order to meet the growing demands that are being made upon its establishments. Mail services have largely fallen within the scope of the Führer's motorisation plan, although

this has by no means led, as it would have done formerly, to a lifeless mechanisation of the mail services. Stress is laid on two main considerations. Firstly, the motorisation is intended to furnish the preliminary conditions for an improvement in the postal connections, secondly, it is designed to bring about an improvement in the working conditions of the personnel of the German Post Office.

A few figures will serve to illustrate the extent of the progress made by the German Post Office in this field:—

At the beginning of 1933, the German Post Office owned 15,967 automobiles. This figure had increased 26.9 per cent to 20,261 by the beginning of 1938. The total length of the mail coach lines had increased from 47,694 kilometres in 1933 approximately 13 per cent by the beginning of 1938 and the mileage covered from 79.6 million kilometres in 1932 by 18 per cent over the same period. In 1932, 60.4 million persons were conveyed by the mail autocars, in the year 1937 the figure was 84.11 million, representing an increase of 39 per cent.

As regards the extent of the omnibus services of the German Post Office in comparison with the German Railways, a few figures which appeared in the last March issue of the publication "Wirtschaft und Statistik" deserve attention:—

Traffic returns for the year 1937 (Compiled 1st April 1938)

	German Post Office	German Railways
Number of omnibus routes (all the year round or during the summer months only)	2,377	58
Total length of routes operated (kilometres)	54,136	4,492
Number of omnibuses	4,169	125
Yearly mileage (kilometres)	96,310,000	7,500,000

The network of omnibus routes operated by the German Post Office in Austria already comprises nearly 60 per cent of the entire Austrian omnibus network.

Apart from the conveyance of passengers, the mileage covered by cars operated solely as a mail service increased in the same period from 180 million kilometres to approximately 230 million kilometres. To-day about 13 million persons make use of the rural mail services which operate in the more outlying districts and are served with mail twice a day, as compared with 8 million in the year 1932. Approximately 450 new rural omnibus services were established during the last three years, which has meant the setting up of some 6,000 additional postal stations. To-day the 1,788 overland mail lines have a network totalling upwards of 50,000 kilometres in length. That the German Post Office is having recourse, in ever-growing measure, to the latest scientific inventions is apparent in the progress achieved by the air mail service which during the last year or two has made rapid strides towards its goal, namely, to become the chief carrier of inland and foreign mail. Large quantities of mail are now regularly entrusted to the high-speed aeroplanes. A few figures will serve to indicate the growing

importance of the air mail—1932: 64,000 kg., 1937: 3,000,000 kg., that is, an increase of 4,587 per cent. In addition, parcels and huge bundles of newspapers are being daily transported by air. It will thus be seen that the air mail service is no longer an institution to be made use of by those prepared to pay extra fees. It has developed into an indispensable national and European institution serving the interests of the public at large. The length of the air mail lines has grown from 31,000 kilometres in the year 1932 by 101.6 per cent to 62,500 kilometres in the year 1937.

A typical example of an advance whose progress is so vehement as to sweep away all fears and misgivings has been furnished by the National Socialist management of the German Post Office in the matter of its inauguration of the German television service.

Germany has, in point of fact, taken a real interest in the practical side of television only during the last five years. To be sure, in the years preceding the accession of National Socialism to power, there were German technicians and scientists who, not allowing themselves to be discouraged by the distressful conditions prevailing throughout the country, dedicated themselves to the task of developing the basic elements of television. In view of the fact that these labours failed to interest the public at large, prior to 1933 television was strictly confined to the laboratory. Hence the German people had no conception of the tremendous possibilities of television.

With characteristic courage and faith, National Socialism set about tackling the problem of television and entrusted the practical side of it to the new management of the German Post Office. First requisite was to sweep away the bureaucratic misgivings of the preceding years and to set off the materialistic arguments as to whether television would pay its way by insisting on the inassessable spiritual and cultural benefits which the nation as a whole would derive from television. It was also necessary to justify the confidence reposed in German skill and efficiency by setting the aims as high and as definite as possible. To this end, the entire domain of television was brought under a rigid centralised control.

The success achieved during the last five years has testified to the soundness of this venture. Whereas there was formerly the danger of Germany being surpassed by other countries in the development of televison, the lead taken by Germany in 1933 in the practical side of this science has been consolidated with each succeeding year.

The television-telephone service of the German Post Office was inaugurated between Berlin and Leipzig on March 1st, 1936, after the laying down of a new type of cable. This service was then extended to Nuremberg on the occasion of the 1937 Party Congress. It has recently been announced that plans are well under way for linking up Munich with this telephone-television system, whilst later on, it is proposed to include such further towns as Hamburg, Francfort-on-Main, Stuttgart and Vienna. This is an unique achievement as nowhere else in the world is it possible to both see and talk with a person several hundred miles away.

The other branch of television science, the broadcasting of television programmes, was introduced to the general public about two years ago. The first German television broadcasting station at Berlin-Witzleben was put into service on April 4th, 1936. The picture composed of 180 lines was sent out on ultra-short waves. A definite improvement in the quality of the picture occurred after the German Post Office had fixed the new German television norm (441 lines). This step, announced at the opening of the Radio Exhibition 1937, has led to the completion of two further television broadcasting stations, on the Brocken and on the Feldberg (Taunus), and the speeding up in the production in Germany of television sets.

In this way, the German Post Office has intruded into a domain that had formerly been regarded as the preserve of theoretical science, namely, the field of exploration. With a view to promoting work of this kind, Dr. Ohnesorge, German Postmaster-General, has created a special research Institute, the Research Institute of the German Post Office, which devotes itself to developing long-distance communications, primarily however to the development of television. It will thus be seen that since 1933 a complete change has occurred in the structure of the postal system in Germany. No bureaucratic spirit dominates this administrative body but a refreshing urge to attain to great achievements.

As Dr. Ohnesorge has forcibly put it: "More so than in any other big administrative undertaking, the system of communications is animated by that human urge to probe into things still unknown, that negation of the term 'impossible', whose outcome is presented to us in the achievements of scientific discovery. We see in scientific discovery one of the most important aspects of our work. It will help the German system of communications to attain to achievements of ever growing significance. It has never been alien to us and it will animate our endeavours in collaborating, during the next four years, in the Führer's great plan."

XXIII.

German Sport Evolution

The exemplary manner in which Germany organised the 1936 Olympic Games and the brilliant results achieved by the German athletes on this outstanding occasion have naturally focussed world interest on the evolution of German sport.

When, in the year 1933, Adolf Hitler entrusted the supreme command of all branches of German sport to Herr von Tschammer und Osten, the situation in the German sport world was anything but promising. A sport-loving nation was hampered in all branches of sport by a bureaucratic organisation, composed for the most part of persons interested in drilling which was thus elevated to a position of national importance far exceeding that of sport pure and simple. The inevitable result was a strong tendency on the part of these authorities to belittle the value of certain branches of sport.

At the outset of the 19th century, the urge felt by the German people to achieve physical fitness began to find expression, no longer in certain traditional customs, but in the formation of countless groups for the promotion of gymnastics. There was nothing in the nature of centralised control. Those young persons wishing to take part in popular games, such as running, jumping, throwing, simply joined the local group, organised maybe by a political party, by the school authorities, or by a group of genuine sport enthusiasts. Most of these were then loosely linked together to form federal sports organisations, corresponding to the Minor States into which Germany was then divided, and governed in a general way by the Reich authorities. It was under conditions of this kind that the German people proved its all-round capacity for sport by developing a proficiency in football, hockey, handball, skittles, billiards, aquatic sports, swimming, rowing, canoeing, roving, mountaineering, fencing, boxing and wrestling. Each of these branches of sport had set up its own organisation.

Germany, then, had a tremendous number and variety of sport groups and organisations. But, until some time after the outbreak of the Great War, they were all still far too much dominated by the idea of physical training. The great change occurred when the growing popularity of sport in Germany necessitated the formation of a unifying and governing federation.

The Reich Sports Commission

German Sport in its totality thus came under the guidance and control of the Reich Sports Commission, which very soon began to make its authority felt. The German military authorities, as well as the school and municipal

authorities, took a steadily growing interest in the aims and objects of the Commission, lent support to its aspirations and thus endowed it with a practical measure of official standing.

That Germany was entrusted with the task, and accorded the honour, of organising the 1936 Olympic Games was due as much as anything to the indefatigable and authoritarian activities of the Reich Sports Commission.

Nevertheless, this form of organisation was found to be inadequate for the requirements of the new authoritarian State. The principles of physical training, as understood by National Socialists, demand a totalitarian organisation capable of creating the preliminary conditions for giving scope and outlet to the vitalistic energies of the younger generation.

The Reich Sports Commission failed to get the various sports associations and physical culture societies to adopt this outlook. There was a distinct cleavage in Germany between sport and physical training. The German Gymnastics Union was the largest organisation in the domain of physical culture. Affiliated to it were about 13,000 societies comprising a total membership of upwards of 1.6 million persons. Their outlook was basically different from that of the sport organisations.

Denominational cleavage also exerted its baneful influence on the position of Sport in Germany. In the post-war era, the various church-controlled sport groups, notably the catholic "*Deutsche Jugendkraft*" and the evangelical "*Verband Eichenkreuz*" had enlisted in their ranks nearly one million young Germans. The number of independent physical culture societies amounted to about 300. In all, some six million Germans could claim membership of one or other of these federations and societies. These figures will serve to convey an idea, not only of the strength of the sport and physical training movement in Germany, but also of the senseless waste of energy and money consequent upon the lack of any centralised management. This was not achieved until the advent of the National Socialists to power in the year 1933, when they included a re-organisation of sport among the sweeping changes they made in the national life and outlook.

The German Reich Sports League

The first measures taken in this direction brought about the dissolution of the existing sport federations and their re-organisation under National Socialist control in a Reich Sport Ring in which each branch of sport now has its allotted place. It proved to be a big task, but it was carried out with untiring energy and without interruption of programme. One year after the accession of National Socialism to power, the first measures were adopted for uniting all German gymnastics and sport federations and societies in the German Reich Sports League. Relations with sport organisations in other countries were placed on a broader basis.

All this met with the unqualified approval of the German sporting world. The governing body of the German Gymnastics Union, the biggest sport organisa-

tion in Germany, decided on dissolution and instructed their members, nearly two million strong, to join the German Reich Sports League.

Actually, the German Reich Sports League put an end to the federations and societies without destroying the cells of sporting life engaged in cultivating national fitness. It is understood that some 49,000 federations and societies were incorporated into the Reich Sports League which then proceeded to give testimony to its power and efficiency by the manner in which it organised the Olympic Games in Berlin.

It was not the intention of the Sports League to control the activities of the 49,000 federations and societies from its headquarters in Berlin. That would have been technically impossible, and false from a political point of view. Germany is made up of a variety of different landscapes. Its people are composed of Prussians, Bavarians, Friesians, Austrians and so forth. It was therefore decided to constitute a number of regions (*Gaue*) corresponding to these geographical units. With the recent addition of Austria, there are now seventeen of these regions. Each region is divided up into districts. The district sport authorities act as mediator between the regional authorities and the governing bodies of the individual sporting and physical cultural societies, which are thus brought into the fold of the Reich Sports League. It stands to reason that this central authority exerts a decisive influence in an educational as well as administrative sense.

The mission devolving upon the Sports Authorities has been cleverly solved in that they carry out their work without making their presence felt. Nevertheless, gigantic tasks have been successfully accomplished without the risk of setting up a new sports hierarchy. Direct contact with sportsmen themselves and with the sport-loving public is the first aim and guiding principle. The House of German Sport on the Reich Sports Field was built for this very purpose. It is here the Reich Sports Authorities have their headquarters. The situation is well chosen as the building is surrounded by halls and playing-fields so that those responsible for the organisation and administration of German Sport do not find themselves isolated from realities.

A new type of German gymnastic instructor is being formed at the Reich Academy for Physical Culture, also situated on the Reich Sports Field. He has become a State official. Here, too, National Socialism has achieved great things, having realised how much the future depends upon the health and virility of the present younger generation. From now onwards, gymnastic instructors in the elementary, vocational and high schools, as well as in the colleges and universities, are all enlisted in one single front, because the Modern State demands the schooling not only of its youth and its adult population but also of its children. The gymnastic instructors have become the guarantors of manly strength based on physical training.

Since the advent of National Socialism to power there has been introduced, apart from physical training ordered by the State, the voluntary training of the younger generation within the Party and its formations, namely, in the *Jungvolk*, Hitler Youth, Storm Troopers, Defence Guards and Political Organisa-

tion. To these must be added the Labour Service which has not been created as a military establishment but as a Spartan training school in which every German, especially the brain-worker, has to spend a period of his life earning his living by manual toil. The Labour Service is a school in which the younger German generation gets to know the meaning of German socialism. As in the Party, the main accent lies on the educational side, with special emphasis on political enlightenment. A schooling in politics has become an integral part of education in the Third Reich. Every German has to make himself acquainted with the fundamental principles of National Socialist ideology. Discipline of mind and body forms one of these basic principles.

Physical instruction in Germany is not something given in doses; it must never be allowed to become spasmodic. All physical training in the school and in the Party as well as in the Labour Service is so arranged that the one supplements the other in every respect. Each phase of training is thus regarded as a means to an end. Taken altogether, it provides the prelude to military training in Germany's armed forces. Needless to say, the German Army Command is well aware of the fact that the trained sportsman furnishes the best type of soldier. It knows how to appreciate the value of physical training as part of military service. It has introduced into the German Army certain types of sport designed to develop those traits of dexterity, skill, tenacity and quick reaction which constitute the make-up of the modern soldier.

The Reich Leader of Sport has concluded agreements between the Reich Sports League and the National Socialist Party and its formations, particularly with the Hitler Youth and Labour Service, also with the German Army, with the object of assuring permanent cooperation. The collaboration of the German educational authorities has also been assured to the great advantage of the teaching profession and the scholars themselves.

In this way, the entire German people is able to take an active and joyful part in sport and physical exercises.

The idea of getting the State to take a direct interest in the promotion of physical fitness found its ultimate expression in Germany in the creation, towards the end of December 1936, of a new department in the Ministry of the Interior for handling all matters connected with sport and gymnastics. As an authoritarian body responsible to higher quarters, it is entrusted with the task of executing the orders and enactments of the Ministry of the Interior. Herr von Tschammer und Osten was appointed head of this department with the rank of a state secretary.

Meanwhile an agreement has been concluded between the German Labour Front and the Hitler Youth concerning the problem of finding ways and means for enabling young employed persons to compensate, by sport or exercises carried on at or near the place of employment, for any tendency towards physical abnormality engendered by the nature of the specific task engaged upon during working hours. It is left to the officials of the Youth Section of the German Labour Front to conduct negotiations for the introduction, at the place of em-

ployment, of this "Normalizing Sport". They have to see that the juvenile workers of a firm or factory put in a regular and punctual appearance at the drill halls. All the other arrangements have been made over to the *Sportamt* of the "Strength through Joy" movement. The drilling of these young workers has, in principle, to be carried out during working hours and a minimum of two hours a week should be devoted to this task.

An appeal for a Workers' Olympia was made by Dr. Ley on the occasion of the Fourth Annual Congress of the "Strength through Joy" movement, held in Hamburg in the latter part of April, 1938. Three months later, the First German Gymnastic and Sport Festival was held in Breslau in Silesia. The programme was divided into three parts, namely, the "Day of Youth", "Day of Competitors" and "Day of the Team". In the course of his opening address, Dr. Frick, Minister of Interior, announced that the State had decided to grant a sum of 100.000 marks annually to a Foundation to be known as "Deutscher Sportdank". It would be the mission of this Foundation to provide permanent assistance to persons who had been seriously injured whilst engaged in the pursuit of sport. Germany, he pointed out, was the first country in the world to make provision for persons crippled by sport.

The Olympic Games

No more convincing testimony to the work achieved by this organisation could be wished than that furnished by the successes obtained by German athletes and sportsmen at the Eleventh Olympic Games in 1936.

A total of 147 golden, 145 silver and 147 bronze medals were to be gained in the Winter and Summer Games. Of these Germany obtained 36, 29 and 30 respectively, whilst the United States of America captured 25, 20 and 15, and Hungary gained 10, 1 and 6 medals. In addition, Germany won 5 golden, 5 silver and 2 bronze medals in the art competitions, so that here, too, Germany came out on top. In 129 events of these gigantic games, German contestants were victors on 33 occasions, were able to claim the second place on 26 and the third place on 30 occasions. In 89 of 129 events, Germany's entrants met with success.

Germany was hence able to claim a triumph which, in the history of modern sport, has been surpassed only by America's achievement in the Los Angeles Games in 1932 when it carried off 46 golden, 37 silver and 31 bronze medals. On that occasion, Germany came away with only 3 golden, 13 silver and 4 bronze medals. This, in itself, signalises the amount of progress that has been made in Germany in the domain of sport during the last four years.

It stands to reason that the country which stages these Games derives a great advantage from the fact that its athletes play on their own ground before their own public and under customary climatic conditions. But these factors do not suffice to explain the magnitude of the triumph achieved in Berlin, especially when it is borne in mind that the German athletes belong for the most part to the so-called war generation, that is to say, they were born in the years of the starvation blockade.

Success is the aim but not the sole purport of Sport. The human side of Sport, so to speak, has its deep significance and appeal. Visitors from all parts of the world felt themselves at home in Berlin and at Garmisch-Partenkirchen. They admired the perfect mastery shown by the athletes, they admired the huge stadium and the exemplary organisation; they were thrilled by the drama of the games and delighted in the glorious spirit of sportsmanship. Verily, it is a great honour for a country to be chosen as the venue of the Olympic Games. Germany has shown how greatly it appreciated this honour. By paying visits to all the scenes of the various contests, Adolf Hitler signalised the deep interest of the German nation in Sport.

The foreign press in its entirety paid a tribute to the exemplary way in which the Games were organised, alike on the technical side of the programme, in the splendid buildings, in the way in which arrangements were made for conveying the vast crowds of spectators to the scenes of the contests, and in all the other measures adopted. The holding of the Olympic Games in Berlin also contributed towards removing a host of preconceived notions on conditions in Germany. The sight of the crowds assembled in the Wilhelmplatz waiting for hours to catch a glimpse of the Führer, or of the fifty thousand uniformed members of the Party doing voluntary duty at the various festivals and lining the gaily decorated streets of the capital, did not fail to make a deep impression upon the foreign guests.

The 1936 Olympic Games established, in truth, a bridge of friendship between Germany and other nations (see Picts. 178 to 181).

The National Socialist Games

"What once appeared to our minds as a phantastic project is now being translated into reality: the international Olympic Games which we celebrated in Berlin only a few weeks ago have acquired a profound significance for our nation as a whole. What has become of our modest party congresses of yesterday? The grand national review in which an entire people displays its achievements in the political, military, spiritual, cultural and ecomonic domains. And in the measure in which the splendid layout of the Reich Party Congress Field in Nuremberg takes form and nears its completion will occur the incorporation of sporting contests. A new Olympia, although in modern forms and under a different name!"

The 1936 Reich Party Congress was drawing to a close. The Führer was delivering his concluding address. He began it with the above sentences. General astonishment was no doubt felt in many quarters that the question of national physical fitness should be accorded so much prominence in an important political address. Actually, it was the proclamation of a new venture of outstanding significance.

The National Socialist doctrine sees in the conservation of the race the purpose of the existence of the State. The national games of the ancient Greeks, especially the Olympic Games, were likewise bearers of the racial conception.

Racial sentiment was a valuable constituent of the Olympic Festivals of the Ancient World. Adolf Hitler has revived this way of thinking and given physical training, regarded from the viewpoint of race, an important place in the national life. He has ordered that physical fitness should be given its own festival as a permanent part of the programme of the annual Party Congress. In this way was created the German Olympic Games.

The foundation stone of this imposing venture was laid by the Führer on November 27th, 1936. "Pursuant to my proclamation at the Reich Party Congress of Honour, I create herewith the National Socialist Games to be held in future at each Reich Party Congress. Bearers of these Games in preparation and execution is the Storm Troopers organisation. The requisite stipulations concerning the holding of the Games will be enacted by me in accordance with the proposals made by the Chief of Staff of the Storm Troopers organisation."

The National Socialist Games are destined to become, like other big events arranged in connection with the Reich Party Congress, the expression of a new outlook rooted in the philosophy of National Socialism. Whilst the spiritual élite of the nation will celebrate its Olympia in the vast congress halls of the City of Nuremberg and testify to the achievements of the past year, the other forces of the nation will in future assemble in a gigantic stadium to take part in contests of a sporting and military character for the purpose of displaying the national ability to keep in the peak of form in the face of growing demands made upon its physical and nervous energies. These Games are thus intended as a revelation of national strength and vitality. Just as Olympia was the sacred city of the ancient contests, in the same way it is intended to make Nuremberg the Olympia of the German nation.

On September 9, 1937, the Führer performed the ceremony, on the occasion of the Nuremberg Party Congress, of laying the foundation stone of the *Deutsche Stadion* where, just one year later, the National Socialist Games were held for the first time.

This gigantic new stadium, unlike the Olympic Stadium in Berlin, has been constructed in horseshoe form. This gives it a still most imposing effect and opens up for the spectators, upwards of 400.000 when filled to capacity, a view of the adjacent buildings. It was designed by Professor Speer. The stands are flanked, positioned at each of the horseshoe ends, by towers one hundred metres in height. The dimensions of the interior space are 445×625 metres and of the playing field 383×150 metres. It is, at the time of writing, the world's biggest arena. "May it continue for all time to be an exhortation to German men and women, leading them to that strength and beauty which are the supreme expression of the nobility of a real freedom", declared the Führer in dedicating the vast structure.

The National Socialist Games have already acquired outstanding significance as one of the factors contributing towards a national and cultural renascence in Germany. They differ on many respects from other sporting events and are, in fact, a combination of military, riding and sport exercises whose participants are drawn from the formations of the Movement and from the armed forces,

police and labour service. Special emphasis is laid on team work, especially in the military exercises, which include shooting and grenade throwing competitions, obstacle races, orientation games and a military version of the decathlon contests. The sport exercises comprise light athletics, swimming, boxing, weight lifting, wrestling, fencing, handball, football, waterball, basket-ball and gymnastics.

These Games, declared Storm Troop Leader Lutze, are an entirely new form of military exercises, born of a new outlook and new national upbringing. They are an embodiment of the spirit of national defence. They can be regarded as a true expression of German national character. Moreover, they will not only render possible a selection of the élite, but serve to build up a solid community of all those who feel and think German and are prepared to dedicate themselves to the conservation of the German race. It is the high mission of National Socialist schooling and training to achieve the unity of strong soul, healthy mind and steeled body. Sport should not be taken up for its own sake or in order to establish records but in the service of national fitness. This does not mean the rejection of the idea of record-breaking but main emphasis is laid on the average achievement. The Führer has given instructions for *Wehrsport* (military sport) to be promoted on a broad basis. It stands to reason that team contests should play a paramount part in the sports programme of the Storm Troopers Organisation. Everyone must feel himself to be a member of the community and in this type of physical training expression is given to the most basic principle of the Storm Troopers' organisation . . . not to achieve records but to shine as a team.

Conclusion

It is to be hoped that the reader has obtained the impression that I have given him a true picture of the new Germany and of her achievements in the most heterogeneous spheres of public life, that I have clearly explained the motives of her internal policy and indicated the lines followed by her foreign policy. All these questions encounter many prejudices abroad, the reason for which resides in the lack of knowledge of persons and things in the Third Reich.

This *exposé* could have been easily completed by the discussion of other, less essential, institutions and aspects of the new régime. I have purposely refrained from such a discussion since I did not wish, by multiplying details, to distract the reader's attention from the main achievements of Hitler and his collaborators.

Germany under Hitler's Guidance

Those persons who expected a new Germany inspired by imperialist aims requiring the subordination of everything to the one purpose of reestablishing Germany's military power, have naturally been disappointed. The Third Reich, owing to its geographical and political situation and to the necessity of defending its frontiers, had to create an Army, a Navy, and an Air Force worthy of a Great Power. The task was incumbent on the Third Reich of putting an end to the state of absolutely unilateral disarmament which constituted a permanent danger for European peace. But this rearmament policy has not implied the neglect of other domains of activity; far from it. Intense activity has been displayed with conspicuous success in the most varied spheres—particularly in all those involving questions of national solidarity, such as social legislation, education, and public assistance. The work accomplished in all these spheres has been Socialistic in the best sense of the term.

New measures were necessary to ensure these successes. The measures taken were not inspired by a mere desire for innovations, but by the peculiar and truly distressing conditions imposed on Germany after the Great War. Germany lacked gold reserves. The fertility of her soil is limited, whilst, on the other hand, her population is extremely dense. It should, moreover, not be forgotten that she is deprived of colonies which afford to other nations possibilities of overseas settlement and of obtaining foodstuffs and raw materials.

The promises made by Hitler on February 2, 1933, had already been completely fulfilled in the summer of 1936—i. e. some six months before the completion of the period of four years for which he had asked for the realisation of

his first programme of reconstruction. When the annual Congress of the National Socialist Party assembled in September, 1936, Germany had become a united nation and a homogeneous State; her parity of rights with the other Great Powers and her own military sovereignty had been reestablished; and the problem of unemployment had been solved. Thanks to a magnificent development of economic activity in all its branches, her national economy had recovered its strength; the national and ethnical character of German culture had been restored; political and administrative life had been placed on a new basis. Hitler was consequently able to announce a new four-year programme destined to ensure the independence of the German nation in respect of its food supplies and its general economic requirements.

The first five years of the National Socialist régime were mainly and most conspicuously characterised by the radical transformation of the spiritual attitude of the German nation, by what may be appropriately called the fundamental renewal, equivalent to a re-birth, of the soul of that nation. The universal feeling of discouragement which marked the closing years of the Weimar Republic has disappeared and given place to new hopefulness and new confidence in the future. The suggestive force emanating from Hitler's personality and from his speeches conquered the German people by its magnetic influence even before his arguments became intellectually comprehensible to the latter. The best proof of this was furnished by the devices inscribed on banners or above the doorways of houses on the occasion of mass demonstrations: "we will follow you, Führer, wherever you order us," „the will of the Führer is the law of the people," etc. Whenever the Storm Detachments march through the streets of the German capital they sing: "we march through Berlin and we die for Adolf Hitler."

True, there is in Germany no lack of sceptics and grumblers who have as yet been unable to adapt themselves to the new ideals and methods. These dissatisfied elements are admittedly to be found among the most varied classes of the population—among the middle classes who distrust the new social policy, in "big business" circles who fear the consequences of a possible economic autarchy, among the older generation of University Professors and other teachers, among the landowning classes, to say nothing of disgruntled would-be "politicians." Needless to say, the Jews, whose business is no longer as lucrative as it used to be, must be included in this category. On the other hand, however, it should be borne in mind that no nation can be radically transformed and reorganised without certain resistances manifesting themselves. The National Socialist Government has only been in power for a few years. Every impartial observer must nevertheless admit that the foundations on which it is built up are unshakable, since the régime is based on the unswerving faith of the overwhelming majority of the German people in the Führer.

Hitler has succeeded in reawakening the natural sentiments of patriotism, love of country, and pride of race, which had been temporarily eclipsed among the German people after the War. In the course of its history the German

nation has experienced two spiritual upheavals which have had the result of accentuating within it the consciousness of its essential unity, namely, the Reformation and the National Socialist Revolution. This conception does not necessarily imply—and this is of the greatest importance from the standpoint of international politics—the conquest of all European territories inhabited by Germans. But what it does imply is the duty of the Reich to look after the cultural and other natural rights of German minorities outside its borders.

Hitler's Nationalism is not based on aristocratic tradition, but on popular sentiment. In its essence it is Socialist. As Dr. Goebbels once said "as Nationalists we are Socialists, and as Socialists we are Nationalists."

Hence the Third Reich must not be regarded as the continuator of pre-War Nationalism. Hitler has clearly recognised the mistakes made by the latter. He is a resolute opponent of pre-War imperialist ambitions and of the reactionary and class-conscious aims of the latter. Hitler's ideal is the effective fraternity of all classes in the consciousness of their respective duties towards their own nation, in their common respect for other nations, and in common desire to refrain from any attempt to "Germanise" other peoples.

Similar observations to those recorded by me on the work accomplished by Hitler have been made by a number of prominent foreigners. The opinion of these foreigners is all the more weighty since they belong to circles whose principles are diametrically opposed to the principles on which the new Germany is based.

Mr. Lloyd George, who was one of the authors of the Treaty of Versailles, visited Germany during the summer of 1936, and during his stay had an opportunity of conversing twice with Chancellor Hitler. He communicated as follows to the *Daily Express* his impressions of those conversations:—

"I have spoken to the German Führer and have also seen something of the great change which he had wrought. Whatever one may think about his methods, which are assuredly not the methods of Parliamentary countries, there can be no doubt that he has achieved an extraordinary transformation of the spirit inspiring the Germans, of their mutual relations, and of their social and economic views. Hitler rightly claimed in Nuremberg that the movement initiated by him had created a new Germany within the space of four years. It is no longer the Germany of the first six years following the War—broken, dispirited, beset by anxieties, and humiliated by a feeling of inferiority. Germany is now full of hope and confidence and is inspired by the determination to lead her own life henceforth independently of foreign influences. For the first time since the War a general feeling of security is observable. The people are merrier and throughout the country one notices an increased joyfulness. In other words, Germany is happier to-day.

I noticed that everywhere. English people whom I met during my journey and who knew Germany well, were greatly impressed by the change. One man has accomplished this miracle. He is a born leader of men, possessed of a magnetic and dynamic personality, who pursues one single aim. He has an inflexible will and he knows no fear.

He is not only nominally, but in fact, the national leader. He has protected the German nation against potential enemies surrounding it. He has likewise cured it

of its lasting fear of starvation born of reminiscences of the last years of the War and of the first years of peace. During that sombre epoch more than 700,000 persons died of hunger. The fact that Hitler has been able to relieve his fellow-countrymen of the nightmare of a recurrence of that epoch of despair and humiliation has given him uncontested authority in the new Germany. There can be no possible doubt about the tremendous popularity which he enjoys especially among German youth.

The older generation confides in him, the younger generation simply adores him. It is not only the admiration for a popular leader; it is the divinisation of a national hero who has saved his country from the depths of distress and despair.

Hitler is Germany's George Washington, the man who has achieved her independence in the teeth of all her oppressors. For those who have not seen and felt for themselves how great is the domination exercised by Hitler over the hearts and minds of the Germans, this description might appear exaggerated. But it is the plain truth. That great nation will work better, will sacrifice more, and if necessary will fight with greater determination because Hitler invites it to do so. Those who do not understand this fundamental fact are incapable of understanding the possibilities of the new Germany.

On the other hand, people who imagine that Germany has returned to her old imperialist way of thinking lamentably fail to understand the real nature of the change. The idea that Germany could intimidate Europe by threats, that her irresistible Army could march victoriously across her frontiers, plays no part in the new philosophy.

What Hitler said in Nuremberg is true: 'the Germans will resist to the uttermost any attempt to invade their country. But they have no longer themselves any desire to invade any other country.' The leaders of the new Germany know full well that Europe is too powerful to be attacked and overrun by any single nation, however gigantic the latter's armaments may be. The War has taught them this lesson. Hitler fought as a soldier during the whole War and therefore knows from his own experience what war means. The establishment of German domination in Europe, which was the aim of the old pre-War militarism, finds no place in the doctrine of National Socialism."

The editor of the famous London monthly periodical *The Nineteenth Century*, Sir Arnold Wilson M. P., who has visited Germany seven times since the advent of National Socialism to power, published in the issue of that review for October, 1936, his impressions of the annual Party Congress in Nuremberg in the preceding year. At the same time he took the opportunity of describing the various changes in German public life.

"Health statistics in Germany" (wrote Sir Arnold Wilson) "are satisfactory. Infant mortality has been greatly reduced and is considerably inferior to that in Great Britain. Tuberculosis and other diseases have noticeably diminished. The criminal courts have never had so little to do and the prisons have never had so few occupants. It is a pleasure to observe the physical aptitude of the German youth. Even the poorest persons are better clothed than was formerly the case, and their cheerful faces testify to the psychological improvement that has been wrought within them. Economic conditions in Germany, abstraction made of the influence exerted by rearmament, are steadily progressing. Unemployment has greatly decreased."

Sir Arnold Wilson went on to express his admiration of the organisation of the Party Congress at Nuremberg, where he had been particularly impressed by the march past of the Labour Service battalions. The memorial service in which the Labour Service participated was, according to Sir Arnold Wilson, so simple, and at the same time so solemn and sincere and moving, that the impression created by it was greater than that left by some of the most elaborate religious ceremonies.

After having translated the hymns sung by the choirs, Sir Arnold Wilson said that he observed the faces alike of the spectators and singers. He came to the conclusion that if all this was intended as propaganda, then it was propaganda in the cause of peace. The whole ceremony, transmitted by the radio to the remotest parts of Germany, reflected, in Sir Arnold Wilson's opinion, the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Germans. In his view it was an outburst of popular feeling bordering on ecstasy.

Among many other verdicts of foreign observers on Hitler's policy, one of the most remarkable was that of the late Jacques Bainville in the French Royalist organ *l'Action française*, on the occasion of the conclusion of the Pact between Germany and Poland in 1934. Jacques Bainville wrote on that occasion:—

"Is Hitler's policy the result of his own unaided efforts? Or is it influenced by his counsellors? At bottom, this is more or less indifferent; then he who is capable of following sound advice is just as clever as he who gives such advice.

Hitler is undoubtedly lucky. Hitherto he has succeeded in everything, since even in his most impulsive moments he is a prudent calculator, and he shapes his foreign policy with the same bold imagination as he shaped the policy which was foreordained to make of him the master of Germany's destinies.

Thus he is always ahead of other Governments, who are invariably a day or an idea—let us hope not an Army—behindhand . . . When our Ministers were asked if they were prepared to negotiate with the Head of the German Government they replied evasively that they were certainly ready to do so, but only in full agreement with our allies. At that very time Hitler had already concluded his non-aggression pact with Poland.

Poland's leading newspaper writes: 'Hitler is the first German statesman who has found the right language at the right time. Hitler has always stressed that any treaty signed by him is worth more than the Treaty of Locarno. For Stresemann represented political parties which no longer exist, whereas Hitler enjoys the confidence of the whole of Germany as expressed by the votes of over forty million electors'."

The question arises as to whether the German nation has purchased its material and moral progress, its enhanced prestige in the eyes of the world, the increased prosperity of the individual citizen, at the price of the sacrifice of freedom of thought and action?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to observe that the Germans differentiate between the conceptions of "liberty" and "license." The first of these conceptions is limited in contemporary Germany by a number of regulations corresponding to the National Socialist philosophy. This is attributable to the

fact that the Weimar Republic was characterised above all by license—which is in itself foreign to the nature and traditions of the German people, accustomed to discipline, obedience, and order in all spheres of life. Provided it finds a personality capable of commanding and directing it, the German nation prefers organisation and subordination to that particularism which was mainly responsible for the frequently tragic developments in German history during the centuries. This natural tendency of the German mind has been strengthened by the unfortunate experiences made with the post-War parliamentary régime. Hence it is not surprising that the German nation to-day welcomes a Government which, although depriving the individual citizen of some of his personal conveniences and liberties, assures the welfare of the whole nation to whom it has restored its freedom of action and its dignity in the world.

National Socialism has openly proclaimed the principle that the interest of the collectivity predominates over that of the individual—a principle which had already been voluntarily adopted by millions of Germans who rallied to Hitler's cause before his advent to power. It must not be forgotten that Hitler's advent to power was not the result of a *coup d'Etat* by a minority, but that it was legally achieved by the votes of the electors on the basis of a clearly defined programme which had been worked out in every detail during fourteen years and which plainly told everyone, without any possibility of misunderstanding, what a National Socialist Reich would be. As I have often recalled in the present book, Hitler has repeatedly taken the opportunity of consulting the nation and has each time obtained its wholehearted approval of his policy and methods of government.

For nations accustomed to totally different political conceptions and methods, and who differ fundamentally from the German nation in respect of race, culture, and temperament, a psychology such as that outlined must necessarily remain incomprehensible, like the entire movement initiated by the formerly unknown German soldier Hitler. But in this connection it is well to bear in mind the oft quoted words of Frederick the Great that "everyone should be allowed to be happy according to his lights." It should further be remembered that if a great nation boasting an ancient civilisation and remarkably endowed with physical and moral qualities of a high order emphatically declares itself in agreement with such a Government, this is clear evidence that the latter corresponds to the nation's elementary racial instincts.

Does the National Socialist doctrine constitute the foundation of a new era in history? It is not the purpose of the present book to serve as an instrument of propaganda for a doctrine in regard to which I wish to maintain an attitude of strict impartiality, and which, moreover, is according to its own adherents not "an article for export." My only aim is to make known the success actually achieved by Hitler. If, however, this success be compared with the failures of other Governments; and if the present political, economic, social, and cultural situation of Germany be compared with that of other countries, the question inevitably arises as to whether the National Socialist doctrine is not a great step forward in social evolution; and if, on the other hand, antagonistic systems

and methods do not incorporate conceptions doomed in the process of time to ultimate disappearance.

But it must be left to history to give an answer to these questions.

The new Problems

Great as the achievements of the National Socialist Government have been, immense problems have still to be faced, the solution of which will tax all the resources of the régime to the uttermost. Some of these problems are of an internal nature, but most of them concern exclusively Germany's domestic policy.

Among the international problems, is that of the civil war in Spain in which Germany is not only interested as a great European Power, but also because she sees in the events in the Iberian Peninsula a manifestation of the world revolution which is the ultimate aim of Moscow. In the chapter on Germany's foreign policy I endeavoured to expose the reasons why National Socialism has not thought fit to modify its attitude towards the Soviet Union. The interest of the Reich in developments of a Communist régime in that country are easily comprehensible. Germany, no more than Italy, could afford to countenance such a solution of the Spanish conflict.

There is also the colonial problem. The standpoint of the new Germany was clearly defined in Hitler's declaration at the annual Party Congress in Nuremberg in September, 1936, and in the Chancellor's speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1937. I would recall that in the aforesaid declaration Hitler stated: "Germany cannot renounce her colonial claims. The German nation has just as much a right to live as have other nations." In his Reichstag speech the Chancellor stressed that the German nation had built up a colonial empire without robbing anyone, without violating a single treaty, and without waging a single war. Germany had been deprived of this colonial empire. The arguments by which it was sought to justify this spoliation were devoid of foundation. The Chancellor concluded by emphasizing that "the demand for colonies will always be raised as a natural claim in our so densely populated country."

Germany demands the return of the colonies of which she was deprived by the Treaty of Versailles and which have been mandated by the League of Nations to England, various British Dominions, France, and Japan. Clause IV of the Treaty by which Germany was robbed of her overseas possessions is regarded by the National Socialist Government as unjustifiable because based on the erroneous assertion that Germany was incapable and unworthy of administering colonies. This accusation was contained in the covering note of June 16, 1919, signed by Clemenceau and which was handed in to the leader of the German delegation together with the reply of the Allied and Associated Powers. The note in question stated that the Powers had convinced themselves of the energetic refusal of the natives to be governed again by Germany. It went on to say that the history of German rule, the traditions of the German Government, and the utilisation of the German colonies as a basis of preying

on the trade of the world, rendered it impossible for the Allied and Associated Powers to restore her colonies to Germany and to confide to the latter the responsibility for the welfare of the native populations.

Various works which have been published in the meantime in Germany, especially the book *Die koloniale Schuldlüge* by the former Governor of German East Africa Dr. Schnee, have successfully refuted, on the basis of the evidence of foreign witnesses, this thesis of the incapacity and unworthiness of Germany to administer colonies. Germany therefore demands the return of property to which, from her point of view, she is legitimately entitled, and which she needs alike in order to give sufficient space for expansion to her surplus population, and to procure the indispensable raw materials for the requirements of her inhabitants.

Germany affirms that her colonial demands do not conceal any imperialistic aims. The Anglo-German naval agreement is destined to prevent the recrudescence of rivalry on the high seas between the two nations. Opposition to Germany's colonial aspirations is regarded by the Germans as a survival of the spirit which inspired the Treaty of Versailles and as an unjustifiable discrimination to the detriment of the Reich.

The Second Four-Years Plan

In the domain of Germany's domestic policy the second Four-Years Plan—which, in its turn, is closely connected with the question of Germany's colonial demands—is in the forefront of the problems awaiting solution. The carrying-out of this plan was announced by Hitler at the Party Congress in 1936 in the following words: —

"Within four years Germany must be rendered entirely independent of foreign countries in respect of all those materials which our own chemical and machine industries, our own mines, can supply themselves.

The reconstruction of this great German industry of raw materials will also procure for the masses who will become free once our rearmament is completed, an occupation profitable for the national economy. We hope to be able thereby to again increase the national production in many domains and thus to reserve the revenue derived from our export trade for the purchase of foodstuffs and of those raw materials which we still lack. I have given the necessary instructions in view of the execution of this vast economic scheme, which will be pursued with true National Socialist energy."

The Chancellor added that he knew that this new programme represented a colossal task which, however, had already been fulfilled in several domains. He continued: "the methods of production are already being tested; some have already been definitely prescribed. The accomplishment of this programme is consequently only a question of our energy and determination. As National Socialists we have never known the word *impossible*, and we shall never include it in the future in our vocabulary. Within four years we shall be in a position to render again account to the nation of this tremendous work undertaken with the object of assuring its food supplies, consequently of guaranteeing its independ-

ence and its very existence." It will he recalled that in the first week of September 1938, Hitler was able to proclaim in one of his speeches at the Nuremberg Party Congress that, in future, a blockade of Germany would prove ineffective.

By a decree of October 18, 1936, Field Marshal Göring was entrusted with the task of carrying out the second Four-Years Plan. This decision of Hitler was inspired by the conviction that so great a work required unity of leadership of all the forces of the German people and a rigorous concentration of all departments of State and Party which are called upon to take part in the realisation of the Plan. Field Marshal Göring is thus empowered both to consult and to give instructions to all State departments, not excluding the highest, and also all the various services of the Party and of the associations connected with it.

Ten days later Göring exposed in a speech the underlying principles of this total mobilisation of the German nation in view of the accomplishment of a single fundamental aim which he defined as "security of German honour and of the existence of the German nation"—in other words, the consolidation and development of Germany's economic strength.

In his speech Field Marshal Göring enumerated the results obtained by the first Four-Years Plan which was characterised by the recovery by Germany of her military sovereignty, by the safeguarding of her food supplies, by the successful struggle against unemployment, and by the "battle of production." During this time Germany had reasserted herself in the world as a great Power, whilst at home the ideal of a national community had been realised. A great miracle had been performed in Germany during those four years, but Germany could not afford to rest either in the political or in the economic sphere, and she must understand that nobody would help her forward if she lacked the will to help herself.

After the war Germany had been deprived of her colonies and thus been cut off from her basis of supplies of raw materials. No one could reproach Germany with wishing to have her share in the riches of this world, and the world should be grateful that she is endeavouring to obtain it by peaceful means. When we are told that there is nothing to prevent Germany from buying the raw materials which she needs, it may be replied that Germany has been completely impoverished by the reparations which exhausted her gold reserves.

Turning to the problem of food supplies Göring observed that Germany was not in a position to satisfy her requirements. Consequently a shortage might make itself felt from time to time in respect of one or other article of food. Such a shortage was all the more likely in view of the fact that 5½ million people had again found work and that consumption had been increased in proportion. All measures would be taken to intensify agricultural production to the utmost possible limit and to assure a sufficient harvest. The Labour Service can be relied upon to help at any moment in any part of theReich. And if a shortage of meat should occur, fish, the nutritive value of which was just as great, could be substituted for it. In the case of fats it was necessary to import large quantities. If a hitch should occur in this direction, then, of course, a general restriction of the consumption of fats would be inevitable.

It was of the greatest importance that the workers and in general the poorer classes of the population should under all circumstances be assured of a sufficient supply of food. If everyone in Germany was reasonable it ought to be possible to find a solution

without resorting to food cards. It was the duty of every German to give preference to those articles of food which were produced at home.

Field Marshal Göring went on to say that conditions were similar as regarded the supply of raw materials. The reason for the deficiency of raw materials was to be sought in the fact that Germany possessed no colonies. Hence it was necessary to consider in how far it would be possible to make up for this deficiency by the discovery of new chemical substitutes. This was one of the main duties incumbent on him and his collaborators. It was now necessary to pass from the domain of experiments to that of realisations. New factories would shortly be erected for the purpose of manufacturing artificial rubber and fabrics derived from cellulose fibres. Petrol and mineral oils would be obtained from German coal. German coal, timber, and ores would form the basis from which factories would in future derive the raw materials which they need, and Germany would show the world that she does not intend to capitulate.

The German workers must apply their whole strength to the realisation of this aim, the attainment of which likewise presupposes the existence of absolute confidence between employers and employed. If it had not yet been possible for the Government to raise the general level of wages, the German worker was entitled to demand from the Government that it should assure fixed and stable prices, and this would be the case. Chancellor Hitler had appointed a Commissar for Prices whose duty it was to prevent under all circumstances a rise in the cost of living and, if necessary, to reduce exaggerated prices. The Commissar would also be able to prevent accumulation of stocks for speculative purposes—an evil which must be rooted out. Draconic measures would be taken against all persons guilty of demanding excessive prices or of keeping back goods.

Göring made an appeal to all inventors to place themselves at the disposal of the nation, and to all workers and peasants on whose cooperation the success of the Four-Years Plan depended in so large a measure.

After, having stressed Hitler's indefatigable labour for his country and his formidable responsibility for its future destinies, the speaker continued: —

"We are living in great times and we can be proud of it. We must rid ourselves of mediocrity and egotism. A great epoch demands a great nation. It is for us to prove that we are such a nation. We must show ourselves worthy of our great leader. Each one of us should ask himself every day what he can do, how he can contribute to the success of the common effort. Let this be our manner of proving our gratitude to our Führer, our confidence and our belief in him. It is he who rescued the German nation from scepticism and despair and who has thus made us infinitely strong.

We believe in the powerful mission of the German nation, we believe with passionate ardour that under the leadership of the Führer a Reich will be established based on strength, on honour, and on liberty. Let this be our watchword at the present hour, and now that we are about to commence our task let us from the depths of our heart offer up a fervent prayer to Almighty God that He may bless our Führer, our nation, and our work."

On December 17, 1936, after Field Marshal Göring had addressed a meeting of the leading personalities of German economic life, Hitler himself delivered a speech in which he surveyed the duties incumbent on German economy in the carrying-out of the Four-Years Plan. The Chancellor reminded his hearers of the indomit-

able energy shown by the National Socialist movement in its conquest of the Reich and of the unbending resolution thanks to which the German Government had within the short space of scarcely four years rendered Germany free and independent. The same energy and resolution would inspire the work now undertaken with the aim of utilising to the utmost all the national resources. For that reason, said the Chancellor, he had entrusted the execution of the Four-Years Plan to a man of inflexible energy of will to whom the word "impossible" was unknown. That man, the Chancellor's old and trusted fighting companion, would be able to fully accomplish the difficult mission confided to him.

Hitler concluded his speech with a pressing appeal to his hearers: —

"Have confidence in the man designated by me. He is the best man for this job, a man of iron will and determination. Therefore march in serried ranks behind him. It will thus be possible to build up German economy on an impregnable foundation which has its roots in the strength, stability, and security of the German Reich. If we have a fanatical sentiment of our obligation to fulfil this duty, two things will remain in the minds of posterity: the political leadership, because it has willed and attained its object, and the German economy with all its cooperators because it has consecrated its whole strength to the accomplishment of this task."

Hitler could not have expressed more clearly his confidence in the man to whom he had confided the mission of carrying out the second Four-Years Plan. As a matter of fact, in the opinion of all those who are acquainted with the situation in Germany, no better choice could have been made. Apart from his personal qualities Field Marshall Göring, as one of the leading personalities in the Party, as Reich Minister and Prussian Premier, as Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force, represents the Army, the National Socialist Party, and the State. He is thus fully qualified to realise the concentration of all the forces of the nation in view of the accomplishment of the proposed aim and to overcome any resistance on the part of certain interested circles.

Some economic circles, for instance, fear the establishment of an autarchy susceptible of disturbing international trade relations and also of jeopardising their own interests; as against those elements the Army, in the person of Field-Marshal Göring, represents the needs of national defence. Other circles criticise the maintenance of an artificial rate of exchange in regard to countries which have devaluated their currencies; this criticism is especially prevalent among industrialists who have to pay large sums in order to compensate the difference between the reichsmark and the most important foreign currencies. As we have already observed when discussing Dr. Schacht's monetary policy, the President of the Reichsbank is resolutely opposed to any depreciation of the reichsmark, which would only increase the burden of Germany's foreign indebtedness. In this question Dr. Schacht will benefit by the support of Field Marshal Göring in the latter's capacity as one of the earliest champions of the Party. In this connection it may be recalled that since April 27, 1936, Field Marshal Göring has been virtually a dictator in the domain of foreign exchange regulations. It should further be noted that the second Four-Years Plan provides for an increased consumption of German substitutes for raw materials, although those substitutes

are generally more expensive than the natural products obtained abroad. This policy could only be carried out thanks to the inflexible determination of a leading member of the Government.

The task assigned to Göring is one of vast scope and importance. The manner in which this task has been organised clearly shows that the aim in view is not only to regulate anew the production and economy of raw materials. Under the new Four-Years Plan the repartition of labour is methodically directed by the State, as are also the repartition of capital and the repartition of consumption. Special attention is paid to the parallel development of wages and prices, since an excessive disparity between the two might well lead to a tension susceptible of imperilling the entire scheme. All industrial associations, and especially the trusts, have from the National Socialist point of view the duty of combating all movements dictated by egotistical considerations and likely to be detrimental to the national interest.

The second Four-Years Plan aroused the fear in foreign countries that Germany intended withdrawing altogether from world trade. All the leading personalities of the Reich have protested against this assertion. Hitler himself has denied it on several occasions, in a speech at Würzburg he declared: "There can be no question of that. On the contrary, we desire to develop and extend our commercial and other business relations with foreign lands. A proof of that desire is to be found in our balance of trade. Germany's export and import trade are both increasing continuously and will, it is to be hoped, continue to do so."

From the opinions expressed in all sections of the population, the conclusion may be drawn that Germany wishes to develop those of her national forces which are necessary to protect her economic life against possible disturbing foreign influences and against the manoeuvres of certain foreign speculators. Germany desires to utilise more systematically than heretofore the riches of her soil and to increase the synthetic production of substitutes for natural raw materials. This will entail a transformation of her foreign trade; far, however, from implying a diminution of the latter, such a transformation may conceivably result in increasing it in a notable degree.

No secret is made in Germany of the fact that the second Four-Years Plan has also a military aspect. Fuel is essential for a mechanised Army and for a powerful Air Force. The Great War proved how fatal a blockade can be from the point of view alike of military necessities and of the food requirements of the civilian population. The present international situation renders precautionary measures in these respects comprehensible.

But the ultimate aim of the Plan, as Hitler said in his Nuremberg speech in September, 1936, is to procure work for the German workers. The fight against unemployment has been victorious, but the fruits of victory must not be lost. Once the Army has been equipped with everything it needs, it must necessarily give less employment to the various factories. Within a few years the Reich motorways, the buildings constructed for the annual Party Congress in Nurem-

berg, and similar public works will have been completed. What will then happen to the numerous workers now employed in their construction? The answer is that the newly created industry of substitutes for raw materials will furnish them with employment.

A fundamental condition of the accomplishment of the second Four-Years Plan is the maintenance of peace. Hence the Plan affords—apart from the assurances given by Hitler—the best guarantee that the German Government will strain every effort to prevent international conflicts, should events occur which would be likely to disturb the peace of Europe.

This spirit of moderation inspiring Germany's policy found expression in her attitude towards the provocations to which German ships were exposed which had been sent to Spain on international missions of peace.

It is a great satisfaction for every sincere advocate of international understanding to observe this attitude of the German Government which, *nota bene*, is conditioned by the recognition of Germany's absolute parity of rights in the council of the nations, which has become a sacred principle of National Socialist policy. The recognition of Germany's equality conforms to common sense. It is only surprising that the other Powers took so long in admitting it. Had they done so earlier the way would have been paved for an effective cooperation with Germany. The League of Nations failed lamentably in its task in this respect.

In view of the peaceful intentions of the German Government, the indignation felt in Germany, and which finds its echo in the German Press, caused by the unjust treatment of German minorities in the neighbourhood of certain frontiers of the Reich is easily explicable.

Hitler's standpoint in regard to this question is well known and may be defined as follows: the fate of Germans outside the boundaries of the Reich, who, incorporated as specific ethnic groups in foreign States, are struggling for the preservation of their language, their culture, their traditions, and their religion will always determine the Reich to intervene with all the means at its disposal for the internationally guaranteed rights of those German minorities.

The debates at the Congress of Minorities in London again showed that the problem of the protection of minority groups is still as urgent as ever, and that its solution is not only one of the most arduous, but also one of the most pressing tasks incumbent to-day on European statesmanship. It is a mistake to consider the existence of ethnic minorities as an inevitable evil, instead of seeing in it a possible link of international solidarity. But a much more dangerous error is to regard the eviction and denaturalisation of minorities as a laudable aim of national policy. Those who recommend such a policy are blind to the dangerous consequences arising therefrom for the maintenance of concord and friendship between the nations.

From the German point of view a satisfactory settlement of the irritating problem of national minorities is indispensable to prevent international friction. Such a settlement would best serve the cause of international friendship and confidence.

It is for this reason that the recent declarations of the Hungarian Minister of the Interior, M. de Szell, concerning the protection of minorities in Hungary were received with marked satisfaction in Germany. M. de Szell was rightly inspired when he stated that Hungary was prepared to grant to foreign ethnical groups established on Hungarian territory the same rights which the Hungarian Government claim for Magyars residing in regions which had been detached from Hungary after the Great War. The application of this principle not only constitutes the moral basis for corresponding claims on other States; it also implies the appreciation of a foreign culture, the respect and protection of which is guaranteed at home. The action of the Rumanian government in drawing up a minority statute which, apart from formulating the rights of the various national minorities in Rumania, will be embodied in the Constitution, has been likewise welcomed in Germany, where it has been interpreted as a sincere desire of the Rumanian government both to implement its earlier pledges made in respect of minority treatment and to normalize its relations with countries naturally interested in the fate of their racially related minorities.

If I close my exposition of the achievements of the Third Reich by thus recalling the German standpoint in the question of national minorities, it is because I am in a position, owing to my personal knowledge of men and events in Germany, to measure the importance attached alike by the German Government and German public opinion to that problem. I am also in a position to appreciate the profit which would accrue to the cause of international understanding from a satisfactory settlement of this vexed and thorny problem.

Peace is surely a much too precious asset to admit of it being imperilled by inconsiderate acts or by excessive nationalism.

Addendum

XXIV

German Foreign Policy from the Sudeten Problem to the Paris Declaration

That concludes the first English edition of my book. Meanwhile events of international significance have taken place which merely confirm my concluding remarks in regard to the German Minorities problem abroad. These events have not only brought Europe and in all probability the whole world to the brink of a sanguine conflict of unparalleled dimensions, but they have also brought about an international political tension which, although it cannot be termed a state of war, is nevertheless certainly not a state of peace.

Everybody knows that the wish of the Sudeten Germans to return to the Fatherland dates back to the concluding stages of the World War. Their desire, however, was thwarted by the Versailles "peacemakers", who had made up their minds that defeated Germany was to remain crippled for all time. It was for this reason that the Sudeten Germans—a body of 3,500,000 men and women inhabiting a compact area directly adjacent to the frontiers of their mother country—were incorporated in the newly created Czecho-Slovak State against their plainly expressed will.

Not less than twenty-two petitions protesting against the Czech régime were addressed by them to the League of Nations during the post-war period, but nothing came of them. Thereupon their leader, Konrad Henlein, decided to try another method and expressed the readiness of himself and his followers to be represented in the Central Government at Prague. But this attempt was equally devoid of success, and no notice was taken of his offer.

The Sudeten German movement for autonomy received a powerful stimulus last March 1938, when Austria was incorporated in the Reich; and on April 24th Herr Henlein—feeling certain that, in view of the assurances given by the Führer in his speech to the Reichstag on February 20th, he could rely upon support from that quarter—formulated the demands of his party in the Eight Points which he announced at Karlsbad.

The demands were as follows:—

1. The granting of the same rights and the same status to Germans which the Czechs already enjoy. 2. Recognition of the German-Sudeten Group as the executive body for administering their title to equal status in the State. 3. The determination and the

recognition of the German domicile territory. 4. The appointment of German self-administrative offices in predominantly German districts controlling all sections of public life insofar as German interests are concerned. 5. Legal machinery for protecting those nationals living outside the special domicile areas. 6. Abolition of the injustice done to Sudeten Germans since 1918 and reparation for the harm they have suffered. 7. Recognition and the application of the principle: German administration for German districts. 8. Complete freedom for adherence to German national customs and German *Weltanschauung*.

At this stage the Sudeten question became an international one.

At the end of April, on the occasion of a meeting in London of English and French Ministers, an official *communiqué* was issued which stated inter alia: that the Ministers were paying special attention to the situation in Central Europe and that they were united in their views respecting the steps to be taken in bringing about a peaceful and just settlement of the prevailing problems in this territory.

One was able to gather from the reports of various official press agencies that the consulations in regard to Central European affairs were based on two *Memoranda*,—one from the Czecho-Slovak Government requesting assistance and making certain counter-proposals to the Henlein demands,—and the other from the French Government. This latter *Memorandum* debated the danger which confronted Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary as the result of an economic oppression brought about by an increase in German economic influence after the *Anschluss*. Furthermore, the question was raised of economic and financial assistance from England and France for the two States in question.

The French Government emphasised that it was prepared to uphold in every respect its obligations resulting from the Czecho-Slovak Alliance. The English Government on the other hand could not see its way clear to go beyond the statement made by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on 24th March. The British Prime Minister declined to commit himself to take military action in the Czecho-Slovak dispute. Such action, he declared, in which no vital British interests were at stake—as in the case of Belgium and France—was not compatible with British policy. But whilst openly proclaiming this decision Chamberlain added that when the issue was war or peace, legal obligations were then not alone the main factors. If war broke out, he said, there was little doubt that it would not be confined to those who had taken upon themselves such legal obligations. The inexorable pressure exerted by facts could soon prove to be stronger than formal declarations. In such a case, Mr. Chamberlain said, it was well within the bounds of possibility that countries other than those who had originally started the hostilities would become involved. That refers particularly, so Mr. Chamberlain added, to two countries such as Great Britain and France, who are old friends, with many common interests, the same ideals of democratic liberty and who are determined to uphold those ideals.

It was resolved that a combined effort be made in Prague in regard to the exercize of moderation in the Minorities question. This step was taken on 7th May when the ambassadors of both the Western Powers expressed their Governments'

hope that the Czecho-Slovak Cabinet would do its utmost to bring about a solution of this problem. It was emphasised in English and French circles that this démarche was a step taken within the framework of the 1919 Minorities Treaty of St. Germain, when it was laid down that minority problems were an international affair.

The German Foreign Office was advised about this step by the British Ambassador in Berlin.

Thanks to Anglo-French intervention, the negotiations between Herr Henlein and the Czecho-Slovak Government assumed a more active character, but it became clearly evident that the latter were merely playing for time. Their reluctance to come to an agreement with the Sudeten Germans caused anxiety in London and Paris, as it was felt that military action on the part of the Reich might have disastrous consequences in view of France's commitments under her treaty of alliance with Czecho-Slovakia and of the close ties that bound Great Britain to assist her.

This brings us to the Sudeten crisis of May 1938 in which Europe, for the first time since the Great War, found itself on the brink of a new conflict.

On 21st May the Czecho-Slovak Minister of War, called up certain reserve classes of men (totalling 100,000) for an emergency training. The reason for this measure, according to the official statement, was the necessity for making these men familiar with the latest weapons of modern warfare,—a step which it was stated, other countries also took. At the same time this force of men was to deal with the unrest that had become apparent in various parts of the Republic where they were to be used to establish law and order. The Czecho-Slovak press agency stated in this connexion that the measure did not mean mobilisation, as such would necessitate the authority of the constitutional powers. A Cabinet meeting decided to prohibit all assemblies and demonstrations in public.

During the municipal elections demonstrations and severe clashes took place between Czechs and Germans. The political committee of the Sudeten German Party resolved to inform Minister-President Dr. Hodza, that the Party was not in a position to conduct negotiations with the Government respecting the Minorities Statute as long as law and order were not re-established in Sudetenland, and as long as the elementary constitutional rights of expression of opinion, press freedom and the right to hold meetings of Sudeten Germans were not guaranteed. It was added that evidence showed that an agitating mob in Prague were hunting down Germans, that all administrative organs for exercising law and order had failed in their duty and that even parliamentary deputies were unable to render assistance to the unfortunate German victims of Czech agitation. Nothing was done, it was said, to prevent the continuance of Czech election propaganda and the agitation by the marxist and communist parties against the Sudeten Party and its leader Henlein. This agitation, it was declared, was being fully supported by the whole of the Czech press whereas the Sudeten press, by reason of a rigid and unfair censorship, was forbidden to comment on all this injustice that was taking place.

In Eger, two Germans, Georg Hoffmann and Nikolaus Böhm were murdered and during this period many incidents took place on the German-Czecho-Slovak frontier. At the same time, the British Ambassador in Berlin had three preliminary conversations with the German Foreign Office. According to English press announcements, the Ambassador drew attention to the reports about movements of German troops on the Czecho-Slovak frontier but at the same time expressed his country's desire for an early and peaceful settlement of the dispute. The British Ambassador, it is said, referred to that part of Mr. Chamberlain's speech of 24th March in which it was stated that the heavy weight of facts could prove stronger than formal declarations and that that referred in particular to England and France as old friends with many common interests. This was an indication that in the event of war England would be found at the side of France.

The Germans on the other hand declared that this movement of troops was a natural one and that the troops were merely taking up their summer quarters. The fate of the Sudeten Germans, however, was still a matter of great concern to them. The Germans also drew attention to the intense provocation which the Sudeten Germans had to endure at the hands of armed Czech civilian forces,— also to the innumerable incidents brought about by the Czechs, especially in Eger. Finally they also drew attention to the calling up of Czech reserve and special troops which had undoubtedly aggravated the whole position.

The British Government thereupon advised Prague to do all in its power to avoid these unpleasant incidents and make every effort, by means of negotiation with the representatives of the Sudeten German Party, to arrive at a broad and lasting settlement. A meeting was then arranged between Konrad Henlein and the Czecho-Slovak Minister-President.

This short-lived crisis had thus—outwardly at least—been overcome, but it did not fail to leave a powerful impression on the German mind. Owing to the increased political tension, Chancellor Hitler ordered the construction of a line of fortifications on the western frontier of the Reich, concerning which I shall have more to say later-on.

Reviewing the most recent developments, Reuter's Agency pointed out that the decrease of tension was not attributable to the attitude of any single Power, but to the reserve generally manifested. Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary had, it was thought, each of them contributed to this result.

But even if the situation appeared to have become momentarily less acute, the tension between Berlin and Prague, due to the intolerable situation in the Sudetenland and the reactions produced by it in Germany, steadily increased during the summer months.

At the same time that the funeral of the two murdered Sudeten Germans was taking place in Eger, the German Minister in Prague saw himself compelled to lodge an energetic protest with the Czecho-Slovak Government against six new violations of the frontier by Czechoslovak airplanes. Shortly afterwards, two members of the Sudeten German Party were assaulted in Eger by a Czecho-Slovak

non-commissioned officer. A complaint had to be made in Prague by the German Legation concerning the removal by force of a German flag from the house of a family of Reich Germans in Nieder-Ullersdorf by Czecho-Slovak soldiers, as well as concerning the maltreatment of a Reich German subject in Mährisch-Schöneberg.

Mr. William Strang, of the East European department of the British Foreign Office, undertook a journey of an informatory nature to Berlin, Prague, and Paris. While in Prague he expressed to the Czecho-Slovak Government the opinion of the Foreign Office that at least a partial demobilisation of the Czecho-slovak Army might contribute to diminish the existing tension. Notwithstanding this advice, only a section of the reservists was discharged, whilst on the other hand the Statute of Nationalities so often promised by Dr. Hodza still remained a fairy tale.

Semi-official statements issued in Berlin stressed that the constantly recurring efforts of the Czecho-Slovak Government to reduce the Sudeten German question to the limits of a question of the protection of a minority, were in reality nothing else than an attempt to elude the real issue and to reach a so-called solution which would necessarily be unsatisfactory, because it would leave essential elements of the crisis out of consideration. It was pointed out that a minorities' problem, in the usual acceptation of the word, did not, and could not, exist in Czecho-Slovakia, since its existence presupposed that of a strong homogeneous national majority. The fact that the Czech population had for the past twenty years claimed the position of such a majority at the expense of the other ethnical elements of the Czecho-Slovak State, did not create either a moral or a *de facto* right in its favour. On the contrary, the assertion of this claim was responsible for a permanent crisis which could not but accentuate the exasperation of all those ethnical elements, which considered that their legitimate hopes had been betrayed. The struggle of the Sudeten Germans and the Slovaks was motivated by the desire of both communities to obtain equality of rights.

The results of the municipal elections held on three consecutive dates (May 22, May 29, June 12) in the Sudetenland clearly showed anew that the population of the region was well nigh unanimously (91,44%) in favour of the demands put forward by Konrad Henlein. Hence the last pretext alleged by the Prague Government for continuing to treat the Sudetenland as an "occupied territory", fell to the ground. An indefinite continuation of such conditions could only have the result of widening the breach between Germans and Czechs to such an extent as to render impossible any attempt to bridge over the ideological gulf separating the two peoples. A further result must have been to pile up a mass of inflammable material in Central Europe—a result hardly conducive to the maintenance of peace.

In consequence of the presentation of a memorandum by the Sudeten German Party with the object of clarifying the famous "Eight Karlsbad Points", various "informative conversations" took place between representatives of the Party and of the Prague Government. These conversations had not, however, the character of negotiations. On June 18 the Government issued a communiqué

stating that the bill destined to bring about a definite solution of the problem of nationalities would probably be laid before Parliament in July, and that special committees of the Chamber and the Senate would be appointed for the purpose of working out its details.

On the occasion of the tenth congress of the Sokols in Prague, President Benes delivered a speech in which he said that every nation only constitutes a fraction of the human race and that its duty is to serve the ends of humanity. It was in this sense, added President Benes, that the Sokols should interpret the contribution which the Czecho-Slovak State was prepared to make within the next few days to the cooperation of the various national groups comprised within it.

But how could such promises be reconciled with reports of new mobilisation measures taken in the whole frontier region from Troppau to Trautenau, where the roads were again occupied by troops, and where frontier barricades had again been erected?

In a speech in Paris on July 12, the French Premier M. Daladier admitted that Germany's attitude afforded no justification for such measures. M. Daladier said "a few weeks ago events in Central Europe appeared to be putting the maintenance of peace to a difficult and terrible test. Meanwhile, however, the rupture of equilibrium which would inevitably have plunged the nations into an irreparable catastrophe has been avoided thanks to the cooperation of all Governments of good will, whereby the firm resolve of England and France to preserve peace found its counterpart in the similar resolve of other nations, notably—and it is my duty to say this—of Germany."

It was then decided that Lord Runciman should go to Prague as a mediator between the two parties to the dispute. Although his investigations took place in an atmosphere of confidence, the gap that divided the two standpoints became wider and wider, so that he arrived at the conviction that it was no longer possible for the two races to live peacefully side by side of one another as citizens of the same State. Meanwhile, the oppression of the Germans exposed to Czech domination increased in violence from day to day, thus giving rise to bitter resentment in Germany—a resentment which found unanimous expression in the German Press.

The organ of the Sudeten Germans *Die Pressebriefe* observed that for months past only members or adherents of the Sudeten German party had been killed or injured in the course of the various frays. Hundreds of *dossiers* had been compiled, containing the descriptions of no fewer than 684 so-called incidents which all of them showed clearly the calm and disciplined attitude of the Sudeten Germans in the face of Marxist and Czecho-Slovak aggressions. A copy of the descriptions thus obtained had been remitted to the Premier. The Sudeten German Party having under these circumstances claimed also for its members the right of self-defence recognised by the law for all citizens, it was announced that anyone who ventured to act in accordance with this claim would "come to grief because confronted by the vigilant and energetic action of the State-appointed organs of public security." This meant, in reality, that the said organs of public security

were without a single exception on the side of the aggressors. As against this refusal to admit the legal right of the victims to self-defence, it must be pointed out that it was precisely the Sudeten German Party which in the days of the most violent political agitation had never ceased to exhort its adherents to maintain strict discipline. There was no question, in the proclamation of the Sudeten German Party, of any illegal "self-defence". On the contrary, the exact meaning of the term "self-defence" was carefully defined in a special paragraph.

The Sudeten German Party thereby issued its first appeal to armed resistance.

On September 2 Chancellor Hitler received at Berchtesgaden Konrad Henlein, who conformably with the wish expressed by Lord Runciman made a report concerning the stage which negotiations with the Prague Government had then reached. An official *communiqué* issued afterwards stated that Chancellor Hitler had heard the report with the greatest interest and that he and Henlein were fully agreed in their opinion as regarded the situation.

Three days later the Havas Agency published the following statement:—

"In consequence of the international situation and of the extensive measures taken by Germany to strengthen her troops and increase her war material on our North-Eastern frontier, the French Government has found itself compelled to adopt a certain number of measures of security. In order to bring the fortification divisions to their full strength, reservists have had to be recalled to the colours. Officers and soldiers on leave have likewise been ordered to return to their respective garrisons. These are inevitable precautionary measures which must not alarm public opinion, whose absolute calm is one of the most essential elements of peace. According to the latest information available, the general situation seems moreover to be developing in the direction of a noticeable decrease of tension."

This Havas *communiqué* was commented on as follows by the semi-official German News Agency: "The announcement of the military measures taken by France on our Western frontier is all the more remarkable as the same *communiqué* speaks at the same time of a noticeable decrease of tension. Germany has never contested the right of any country to do what was necessary for its defence. This attitude was also maintained by Germany with regard to the Maginot line. On the other hand, Germany may legitimately claim a similar right in order to avoid possible dangers threatening her, and for this reason she has correspondingly organised her own defences on her Western border. Just as Germany did not consider the preparations made at the time by France to constitute a direct and deliberate menace, it would be unjustifiable if France saw in the measures taken by Germany, which merely correspond to the French measures, a menace to herself, and France would be well advised to avoid taking any extraordinary steps."

On the same day a statement was issued in Prague to the effect that at a Cabinet Council presided over by M. Benes a definite proposal for the solution of the question of nationalities had been adopted and would be communicated to the Sudeten German Party at an early date, and the communication did in fact take place. But negotiations were broken off by order of Konrad Henlein in

consequence of certain incidents in Mährisch Ostrau, where Sudeten German deputies were assaulted by the police, and they were resumed only after the Government had intimated to the party its intention to "liquidate" the said incidents.

Numerous conferences were held in London in connection with the Czecho-Slovak crisis, in which the "inner Cabinet" consisting of Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Halifax, Sir John Simon, and Sir Samuel Hoare was assisted by the Diplomatic Adviser to the Cabinet, Sir Robert Vansittart, and by the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Alexander Cadogan. The former Foreign Secretary Mr. Anthony Eden was received by Lord Halifax, and contact was maintained between Mr. Chamberlain and the leader of the Labour Opposition Mr. Attlee. On the other hand, the British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Nevile Henderson, who was in Nuremberg during the annual National Socialist Party Rally, took the opportunity to have frequent conversations with leading personalities of the Reich.

In the course of these conversations Sir Nevile Henderson drew attention to Mr. Chamberlain's speech of March 24, as well as to Sir John Simon's speech at Lanark, and pointed out that England was under no circumstances disinterested in a conflict in which the integrity of France might be threatened. The Ambassador also pointed out that Germany could not reckon on a "short war" against Czechoslovakia without incurring the certain risk of an intervention, not only of France, but also of Great Britain. Sir Nevile Henderson did not fail to call attention at the same time to the solidarity of the Dominions with the Mother Country, to the Anglo-French alliance, and to the fact that the Government of the United States was being kept constantly informed of all developments.

By that time, events had developed so far that grave apprehension was felt throughout the world, and everybody was waiting to hear what Hitler would have to say on the occasion of the Nuremberg rally of the National Socialist Party. After a fierce denunciation of the policy pursued by the Prague Government, he demanded that their oppressive methods must cease forthwith and that the right of national self-determination must be granted to the Sudeten Germans.

Let us recall some of the most important passages of Chancellor Hitler's speech dealing with the Sudeten German question.

Germany's attitude towards Czecho-Slovakia. "This State is a democracy, that is to say it was founded on the basis of democratic principles, by forcing the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants to enter the edifice artificially constructed at Versailles without their having ever been consulted as to their wishes. Conformably with the principles of true democracy, the majority of the inhabitants of the new State was thereupon oppressed, maltreated, and deprived of its right to existence. On the other hand, it was sought to convince the world that this State was destined to accomplish a political and military mission of a quite special nature.

The former French Air Minister M. Pierre Cot has recently explained the nature of that mission. According to him, the destiny of Czecho-Slovakia is to bombard German towns and German industries in the event of war breaking out. Presumably M. Cot had in view those well-known bombs, the explosion of which has a civilising effect.

This mission, however, is contrary to the vital conceptions, the vital interests, and the desires, of the majority of the inhabitants of the Czecho-Slovak State. Hence that majority had to keep silent, since any protest against the fate imposed on it would have been interpreted as incompatible with the mission of the Czecho-Slovak State and with the constitution of that State. It is true that the constitution, since it is a democratic constitution, is not founded on the national rights of the majority, but on the political opportuneness of the oppressors. This opportuneness demands the discovery of a theory according to which the Czechs naturally occupy a predominant position as sovereign people. Every adversary of this theory is an 'enemy of the State', consequently an outlaw. The so-called predominant Czech people are designed by Providence, whose instrument in this case is the Treaty of Versailles, to carefully guard against any uprising against this theory of the State. And should anyone, from the midst of the majority of the oppressed peoples, venture to raise a protest, it is permissible to arrest or even to kill him, as circumstances may demand."

The Rights of the Sudeten Germans and their Claim to Assistance. "If this were merely the case of a foreign country which did not concern us, we might be content with observing and taking note of it as of yet another characteristic illustration of the democratic conception of national rights and national self-determination. But this is not so, and we as Germans are under a natural obligation to take what I may call a 'participating interest' in the problem. Among the oppressed nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia are 3½ million Germans, that is to say a number approximately equivalent to the entire population of Denmark. These Germans are as much creatures of God as anyone else. God did not create them for the purpose of being arbitrarily handed over by the Treaty of Versailles to the tender mercies of a State which they detest. And God certainly did not create the seven million Czechs for the purpose of supervising the 3½ million Germans, of holding them in tutelage, much less for the purpose of violating their rights and inflicting suffering on them.

As is generally known, conditions in Czecho-Slovakia are intolerable. From a political point of view, over 7½ million citizens are deprived, in the name of the right of self-determination proclaimed by President Wilson, precisely of that right. From an economic point of view, those people are systematically ruined and doomed to slow destruction. The misery of the Sudeten Germans is indescribable. As human beings they are subjected to intolerable oppression and ignominious treatment. If 3½ million members of a nation which counts nearly 80 million inhabitants are not allowed to sing a song to which the Czechs object; if they are assaulted because they wear stockings disagreeable to Czech eyes; if they are maltreated because they exchange between themselves —and not with Czechs—a sign of greeting which the Czechs do not like; if, in other words, they are mercilessly hunted down like defenceless game for every manifestation of their national sentiments—all this may be indifferent, nay, sympathetic, to the worthy representatives of our democracies, since it is only a question of the fate of 3½ million Germans.

But I can only assure the representatives of the democratic Powers that this state of affairs is not indifferent to us, and that if it be impossible for these tortured creatures to assert their rights by their own means, they may rely on our assistance. The state of outlawry in which these people are placed must come to an end. This necessity was already clearly indicated by me in my speech on the twentieth of February. The statesmen who were responsible for the Treaty of Versailles and the creation of the abnormal Czecho-Slovak State were shortsighted. The task o foppressing and maltreating national minorities counting several millions could only be carried out so long as the mother

nations to which those minorities ethnically and historically belong were themselves suffering from the consequences of universal injustice. It would, however, be an almost inconceivable error and delusion to believe that such a régime could last eternally. In my aforementioned speech on the twentieth of February before the German Reichstag I declared that the Reich could not tolerate any further oppression and persecution of these 3½ million Germans, and I would request foreign statesmen to be convinced that this was no mere hollow phrase."

Self-Determination for the Sudeten Germans. "I think I serve the cause of peace best by leaving no doubt about that. I have not claimed the right of oppressing 3½ million French or English, but I do demand that the oppression of 3½ million Germans in Czecho-Slovakia shall cease and that those 3½ million Germans shall be conceded the right to determine freely their own destiny. We should be sorry if our relations with other European States should suffer on this account."

The Czecho-Slovak refusal to accept the Führer's demands greatly aggravated the international tension. It was then that Mr. Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, acting in agreement with the French Government, took the initiative and suggested to the Führer that they should both meet and discuss the situation between themselves. Adolf Hitler agreed at once, Mr. Chamberlain left for Germany by air (the first time he ever travelled that way), and on the same day —September 15th—the two statesmen met at Berchtesgaden where they had a comprehensive interchange of views.

After Mr. Chamberlain's return to London, immediate discussions took place there between the competent representatives of the British and French Governments, who agreed that the following proposals should be put before the Prague Government:—

1. The complete cession to Germany of all areas containing a preponderant German majority (50 per cent or more). No plebiscite will be necessary in these districts, but an international commission is to fix the new frontier in accordance with the recent municipal election results, and arrangements are to be made for a possible transfer of populations.

2. A large measure of autonomy, as set forth in the latest proposals of the Prague Government, for Germans inhabiting areas in which they do not form a majority.

3. The neutralisation of Czecho-Slovakia, i. e., the cancellation of the military alliances with France and Soviet Russia.

4. A guarantee of the new Czecho-Slovak State by all her neighbours and by Great Britain, France, and Italy.

The Czecho-Slovak Government had no choice but to accept the Anglo-French proposals. The Sudeten German problem, therefore, was solved, and all that was still necessary was to determine the method of giving effect to the proposals. To do so, was the object of the second meeting which Mr. Chamberlain had with the Führer, this time at Bad Godesberg. The German proposals in this respect were set forth in a written *Memorandum* which Adolf Hitler handed over to Mr. Chamberlain, requesting him to pass it on to Prague. By that time the position had become exceedingly serious, some Powers having already stated what their attitude would be in the event of war, and accompanying their declarations,

in some instances, by partial mobilisation. But the crisis reached its climax when the Czecho-Slovak Government flatly rejected the Godesberg *Memorandum*.

The following was the text of the German *Memorandum*:—

"The hourly more numerous reports of incidents in the Sudetenland prove that the situation has become wholly intolerable for the Sudeten Germans, and therefore constitutes a danger for European peace. It is consequently indispensable that the cession of the Sudetenland, to which the Czechoslovak Government has already consented, should be effected without delay. The Sudeten German territory to be ceded is marked red on the accompanying map (which will be brought by the German delegation). Those parts which, outside the occupied areas, are also to be ceded, are marked green.

The definite demarcation of the frontier must be carried out conformably with the will of the populations affected. In order to ascertain the will of the inhabitants a certain time is necessary for the preparation of the elections, and disorders must under all circumstances be prevented. Hence a commission must be formed on a basis of parity. Those territories which are indicated as German on the accompanying map will be occupied by German troops, whether or not the plebiscite should perchance result in a Czech majority in one or other of the districts. On the other hand, the controverted region is occupied by Czech troops, without taking into consideration the fact that large German enclosures are included therein which will doubtless vote for Germany at the plebiscite.

The German Government submits the following proposals in view of an immediate and complementary clarification of the Sudeten German problem:—

1. Withdrawal of all the Czech fighting forces, police, gendarmes, Customs House officials, and frontier guards from the territory to be evacuated (as shown on the accompanying map) and which is to be surrendered to Germany on the first of October.

2. The evacuated territory to be handed over in its present condition (*cf.* Appendix). The German Government agrees to the appointment of a plenipotentiary of the Czech Government or of the Czech Army to the headquarters of the German fighting forces, for the purpose of settling the details of the modalities of the evacuation.

3. The Czech Government to discharge immediately all Sudeten German members of the fighting forces and police, and to permit them to return to their homes.

4. The Czech Government to release all German prisoners who have been arrested for political offences.

5. The German Government agrees that a plebiscite shall take place not later than November 25 in all regions to be defined hereafter. The modifications of the new frontier resulting from the plebiscite are to be determined by a German-Czech or by an International Commission.

6. The plebiscite shall take place under the control of an International Commission. Those entitled to vote are persons who were domiciled in the regions in question on October 28, 1918, or who were born there before that date inclusively. The majority of votes is to be accepted as the expression of the desire of the population to belong either to the German Reich or to the Czech State.

7. From the regions to be hereafter determined, the troops must be withdrawn on both sides before the plebiscite. Date and duration of their withdrawal will be agreed upon by the German and Czech Governments. For the settlement of all other details the German Government proposes the constitution of an authorised German-Czech Commission.

Appendix: The surrender of the evacuated Sudeten German territory must take place without any military, economic, or traffic plant or constructions having been destroyed or put out of working order. The same holds good of airports and aerodromes and wireless plant. Railway and other traffic material, especially the rolling stock of the railways, must be transferred in an undamaged condition. The same applies to all works of public utility (such as gasworks, power works, etc.). Foodstuffs, goods, cattle, raw materials, etc., must not be removed."

Martial law had meanwhile been proclaimed in some Sudeten German districts, a measure which elicited strong protests by the Sudeten German Party. In a *Memorandum* to the Government, the Party declared that it would be impossible for it to negotiate freely and without bias with the Cabinet if the Decree proclaiming martial law were not rescinded, if the Czechoslovak police were not removed from all districts where Germans formed the majority of the population, if the activity of the gendarmes were not limited to their normal functions, and if the troops were not confined to barracks and to the discharge of their purely miitary duties. In the event of these demands, formulated in the *Memorandum* in question, not being fulfilled within six hours, the Party would be compelled to decline any responsibility for future developments.

Since the Government did not reply, Konrad Henlein announced that the indispensable conditions for a continuation of negotiations no longer existed. Bloody clashes occurred in the Sudeten German region. Tanks and machine-guns were drawn-up in front of the head office of the Party, which was then occupied by troops. Konrad Henlein issued a proclamation, which concluded with the words: "in this hour of distress for the Sudeten Germans, I appear before you, before the German nation, and before the whole civilised world, and I declare that we wish to live as free Germans, we want again peace and work in our home, we want to go back home to the Reich. God bless us and our just struggle!"

The Party was dissolved. After it had been pointed out from Sudeten German quarters that there was no legal justification for the dissolution of any party in Czechoslovakia, the official decree was modified, and it was stated that the party was not to be regarded as dissolved, but as having ceased to exercise its activities. An official report of the issue of a warrant of arrest against Konrad Henlein was similarly watered down into an announcement that proceedings had been instituted against him under the law for the protection of the Republic. At the same time further classes of reservists were called up in Czechoslovakia, whereupon the Sudeten German Party in a proclamation urged its adherents not to comply with the summons, so far as it was possible to avoid doing so.

On September 17 Konrad Henlein ordered the "Sudeten German Free Corps" to take up positions along the frontier of the German Reich. The answer of the Czechoslovak Government was the adoption of exceptional measures, whereby certain constitutionally guaranteed rights were provisionally abolished or limited. At the same time a constant stream of refugees began to pour into the Reich from the Sudeten German areas. In a single day over 84,000 refugees were counted in the camps established for them on the Silesian and Bavarian frontiers.

In the critical situation thus created, a great impression was made by an article by Mussolini, in which, under the heading "Open Letter to Lord Runciman", he pointed out that after Chancellor Hitler's speech the time for compromise was definitely past, that "Carlsbad was henceforth out of date", and that President Benes had "lost the race". The article went on to say that Lord Runciman should propose a plebiscite, not only for the Sudeten Germans, but for all other nationalities which expressed a desire for it. Should President Benes refuse a plebiscite, it would be well to let him know that England would reflect seven times before going to war for the maintenance of a State, the geographical boundaries of which were in themselves not only fictitious but monstrous. If Hitler aspired to incorporate 3½ million Czechs in the German Reich, Europe would be justified in becoming excited and "getting under way". But Hitler was only concerned with the fate of 3½ million Germans, and no one could oppose the fulfilment of his duty in this respect.

There were "compact regions", in which a plebiscite could only produce the result of confirming the long felt aspiration of the inhabitants for reunion with the Mother Country. There were, on the other hand, "composite regions", the population of which was mixed and where it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation between the heterogeneous ethnical elements. In these last named regions it might be possible to introduce a régime of separate cantons on a basis of parity, or something similar, corresponding to the democratic tradition. Once the zones in which the plebiscite was to be held had been determined, there only remained to settle the date, the modalities, and the control of the plebiscite. The control would have to be international, like that which had been exercised at the time of the plebiscite in the Saar region, and which had yielded satisfactory results.

Prague would be alike stronger, more secure, and more reliable, if it were "deflationed". While it was impossible for Italy to pursue under existing circumstances a policy of friendship with Czechoslovakia, such a policy might well be conceivable to-morrow with Bohemia. In this manner, an equilibrium might be established and new possibilities for a future evolution be created. First and foremost, however, Europe would be spared the tragedy of a war. There was a great difference between frontiers traced by the Divine Will and those traced by human blood.

Mussolini reverted to this idea in a speech delivered by him in Trieste, in which, after emphasising the necessity of an early solution, he said: "in this eleventh hour we desire a peaceful solution, such as we have always desired. Should this not be possible, we desire that an eventual conflict be limited and localised. If, however, even this should prove impossible, and if the watchword "For or Against Prague" should become the signal for a general mobilisation, then there can be no doubt that Italy has already chosen her position."

At the same time the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs M. Litvinov declared, in a speech before the Plenary Assembly of the League of Nations, that the Soviet Government was determined to fulfil its obligations under the Pact, and to come to the assistance of Czechoslovakia with all the means

at its disposal at the same moment that France should deem it necessary to do so.

On September 26th, Adolf Hitler made his eagerly awaited speech in the Berlin Sports Palace, in which he dealt with the situation. He reminded his audience of the repeated proofs of his peaceful intentions and emphasised that Germany would put forth no more territorial claims in Europe once the Sudeten German problem had been definitely solved. He asked Dr. Benes, the President of Czecho-Slovakia, to choose between peace and war, and demanded the cession of the German-speaking areas by October 1st, as originally embodied in the *Memorandum*. "M. Benes", he said, "will either accept this offer and give these Germans their freedom, or Germany will set them free herself" (see Pict. 184).

In the following words Chancellor Hitler expressed the conviction that the *Memorandum* contained an essentially reasonable proposal:—

"The substance of these proposals is very simple. Every region that is German from an ethnical point of view will come to Germany, now, immediately, and not in an hypothetical future, when President Benes will perhaps have succeeded in driving out one or two million Germans. I have selected those frontiers which, on the basis of material collected during several decades, correspond to ethnical and linguistic divisions in Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless I am inspired by a greater sense of justice than is President Benes, and I do not desire to take advantge of our force. Hence I decided from the outset that this region shall be placed under German sovereignty since the majority of its inhabitants are Germans; but I am content to leave the final demarcation of the frontier to the choice of the population living on it. I therefore decided that a plebiscite should take place in the region in question. And in order to forestall the criticism that "things would not be done fairly," I decided that the statute of the Saar plebiscite should likewise apply to this referendum.

I was, and still am, further prepared to admit a plebiscite in the entire region. But President Benes and his friends are opposed to such a solution. They desired a plebiscite only in certain parts of the region. Again I agreed to that. I went farther still, and consented to the results of the plebiscite being examined by an international commission of control. In fact, I went even farther, and agreed that the demarcation of frontiers should be confided to a mixed German-Czech Commission. When Mr. Chamberlain suggested that it should be an international Commission. I agreed to the proposal. I even went so far as to offer to withdraw the German troops during the whole time fixed for the plebiscite, and I have to-day declared my readiness to accept the proposal of the British Legion to send its members into the region to ensure order and peace. I was further prepared to let the definite frontier be fixed, and all modalities connected therewith to be settled, by a mixed Commission of Germans and Czechs. This memorandum proposes nothing else than the practical realisation of the promises already made by President Benes, with the additional advantages of still more extensive international guarantees."

After that, the fear of a world-wide conflagration became universal. The shadow of war was upon everybody, and it was felt that nothing short of a miracle could prevent its outbreak. President Roosevelt repeatedly urged the responsible European statesmen to adhere to the method of negotiation until the very last moment.

And then—the miracle did happen. This happy outcome was once more initiated by the British Prime Minister, who asked Mussolini to make a final appeal to the Führer.

On the morning of September 28 the British Ambassador in Rome called on the Foreign Minister Count Ciano, and on behalf of the British Government requested him to ask Mussolini to exert his influence with Chancellor Hitler with a view to the postponement for 24 hours of the military action, which according to the Chancellor's statement to Sir Horace Wilson was scheduled to commence at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of September 28. The Italian Ambassador in Berlin was immediately instructed to see the Reich Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, and to inform him that, while Italy was prepared to fulfil all her obligations towards Germany, the Italian Government nevertheless considered the importance of the British request to be such as to justify the hope that the German Government would find it possible to postpone its projected action for 24 hours, in order to give Mussolini time to examine the situation with the object of attempting to reach a peaceful solution. Chancellor Hitler agreed to postpone mobilisation for 24 hours, and, ignoring all normal diplomatic étiquette, directly invited the heads of the Governments of Great Britain. France, and Italy to a conference with him at Munich (see Pict. 185 to 188).

At this Conference a method was agreed upon for affecting the transfer to Germany of the area already ceded to her, and the agreement was guaranteed by the other three signatory Powers.

The text of the Agreement was as follows:

1. The evacuation will begin on the 1st of October.

2. The United Kingdom, France and Italy agree that the evacuation of the territory shall be completed by the 10th October, without any existing installations having been destroyed and that the Czechoslovak Government will be held responsible for carrying out the evacuation without damage to the said installations.

3. The conditions governing the evacuation will be laid down in detail by an international commission composed of representatives of Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia.

4. The occupation by stages of the predominantly German territory by German troops will begin on the 1st of October. The four territories marked on the attached map will be occupied by German troops in the following order: the territory marked No. I on the 1st and 2nd of October, the territory marked No. II on the 2nd and 3rd of October, the territory marked No. III on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of October, the territory marked No. IV on the 6th and 7th of October. The remaining territory of predominantly German character will be ascertained by the aforesaid international commission forthwith and be occupied by German troops by the 10th of October.

5. The international commission referred to in paragraph 3 will determine the territories in which a plebiscite is to be held. These territories will be occupied by international bodies until the plebiscite has been completed. The same commission will fix the conditions in which the plebiscite is to be held, taking as a basis the conditions of the Saar plebiscite. The commission will also fix a date, not later than the end of November, on which the plebiscite will be held.

6. The final determination of the frontiers will be carried out by the international commission. This commission will also be entitled to recommend to the four Powers,

Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, in certain exceptional cases minor modifications in the strictly ethnographical determination of the zones which are to be transferred without plebiscite.

7. There will be a right of option into and out of the transferred territories, the option to be exercised within six months from the date of this agreement. A German-Czechoslovak commission shall determine the details of the option, consider ways of facilitating the transfer of population and settle questions of principle arising out of the said transfer.

8. The Czechoslovak Government will within a period of four weeks from the date of this agreement release from their military and police forces any Sudeten Germans who may wish to be released, and the Czechoslovak Government will within the same period release Sudeten German prisoners who are serving terms of imprisonment for political offences.

The following is the text of the Annex to the Agreement:

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the French Government have entered into the above agreement on the basis that they stand by the offer, contained in paragraph 6 of the Anglo-French proposals of the 19th September, relating to an international guarantee of the new boundaries of Czechoslovak State against unprovoked aggression. When the question of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia has been settled, Germany and Italy for their part will give a guarantee to Czechoslovakia.

The Declaration of the four Powers states:

The Heads of the Governments of the four Powers declare that the problems of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia, if not settled within three months by agreement between the respective Governments, shall form the subject of another meeting of the Heads of the Governments of the four Powers here present.

The text of the statement in regard to the Composition of the International Commission is as follows:

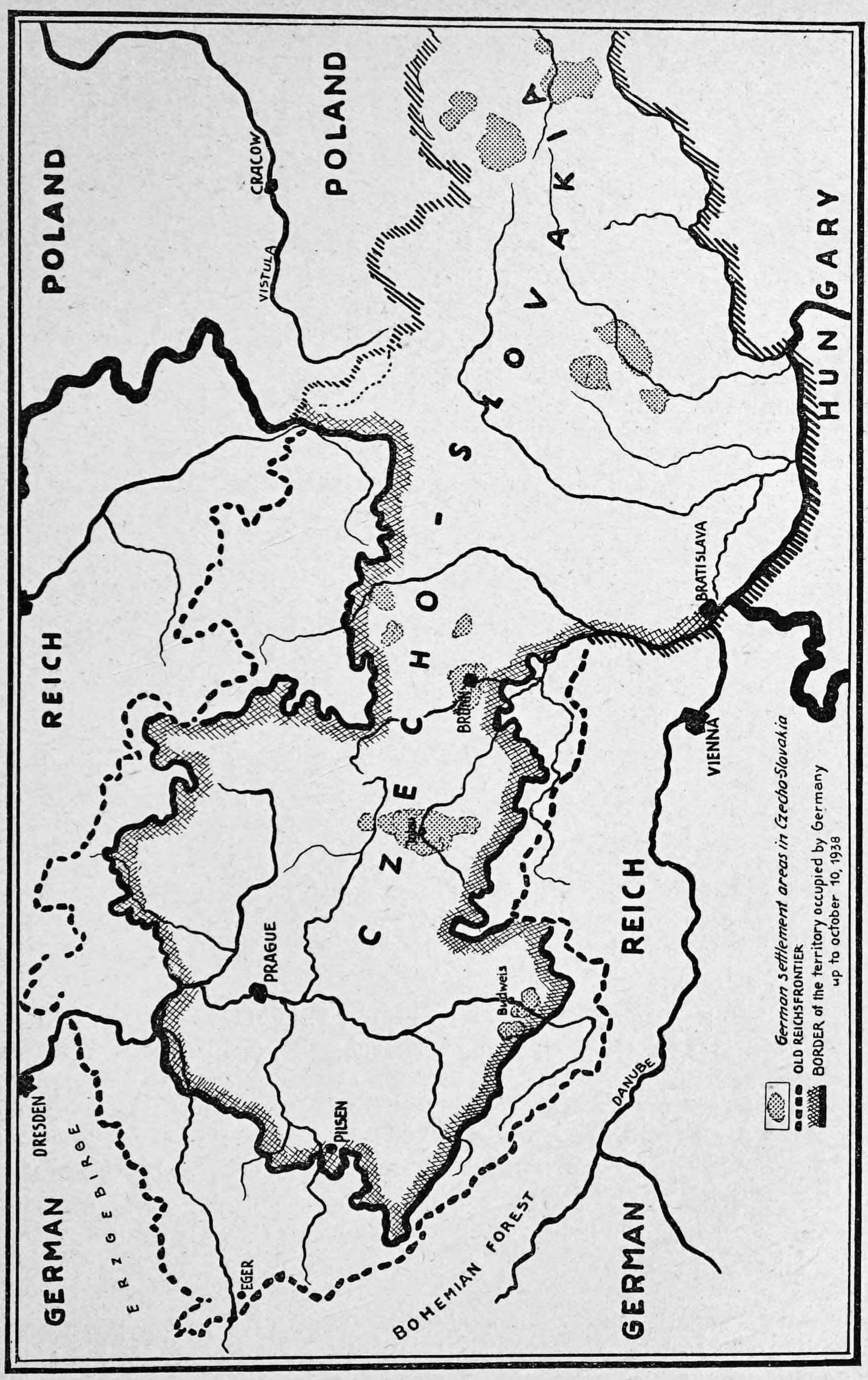
The four Heads of Government here present agree that the international commission provided for in the agreement signed by them to-day, shall consist of the Secretary of State in the German Foreign Office, the British, French and Italian Ambassadors accredited in Berlin, and a representative to be nominated by the Government of Czechoslovakia.

Finally, a Supplementary Declaration adds:

All questions which may arise out of the transfer of the territory shall be considered as coming within the terms of reference to the international commission.

A feeling of indescribable relief came over the world when this result became known, and found expression in the enthusiastic ovations accorded to the four statesmen who had saved mankind from the threat of immediate disaster.

But great though this achievement is, it is not the only constructive result of the Munich Conference. Peace was not, at that moment, threatened by any fundamental differences between the Powers, but by divergent views on the method by which an agreement already arrived at was to be given effect. It was clear to all that *le jeu n'en valait pas la chandelle*, but the strain on both sides had become so severe that a catastrophe would have been inevitable had it not



Sketch map of Western Czecho-Slovakia, showing the territories, which the Germans have occupied in accordance with the Munich agreement

been for the vigorous action of Mr. Chamberlain and the accommodating spirit of the "Big Four".

The Munich Conference has given its endorsement to the principle of national self-determination—a principle of which it may be said that it has so far been honoured as much in the breach as in the observance. Henceforth, the life of the nations and the demarcation of their frontiers are to be governed by their own wishes as expressed through the medium of internationally controlled plebiscites.

The Munich Agreement constituted the first instance of the application of Article IX of the League Covenant govering the revision of treaties containing clauses that have become obsolete. Many an international conflict could have been averted if the nations represented at Geneva had availed themselves of the possibilities afforded by this Article. The four statesmen who discussed matters in the Führer's Munich office took the initiative in repairing the resultant damage and actually removed the fatal consequences.

Seeing, moreover, that the Munich Agreement is the first of its kind inasmuch as it had been concluded between the heads of governments representative of the most varied political tendencies, the hope may be expressed that they will meet again in the near future to solve other international problems, notably the Spanish problem. Here, too, mutual agreement should be possible, in my opinion, of attainment.

Finally, the Munich gathering enabled the Führer and Mr. Chamberlain to exchange their views on the subject of Anglo-German relations, the outcome of their conversation being set forth in the following declaration signed by both of them:

"We, the German Führer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting to-day and are agreed in recognising that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe.

We regard the Agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our peoples never to go to war with one another again.

We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe."

This declaration embodies a personal aspiration of the Führer as expressed long ago in his book, *Mein Kampf*, and, more recently, by the 1935 Naval Agreement, under the terms of which he undertook that—in order to eliminate any rivalry between British and German policy—the aggregate tonnage of the German Navy should not exceed 35 per cent of the British tonnage.

The enthusiasm with which Mr. Chamberlain was greeted during his three brief visits to Germany has given irrefutable evidence of the sincerity with which the German people endorse the policy of understanding so strongly advocated by himself and the Führer.

The military occupation of the Sudetenland by German troops was carried out perfectly normally and in terms of the Four Powers Agreement. No incidents

whatsoever occurred thanks to the excellent discipline of the troops on both sides. The German troops were enthusiastically cheered by the population and welcomed as liberators (see Pict. 190).

On the 3rd of October the German Führer and Chancellor paid his first visit to the Sudetenland. He received a warm welcome on his journey to Eger via Asch and Franzensbad. In Eger he was welcomed by Reich Commissar Konrad Henlein. Replying to an address of welcome the Führer stated that the greetings which he brought to the population of Eger were also simultaneously addressed to all Germans in the Sudeten district, which, in a few days time, would once more belong to the Reich. His greeting, the Führer added, was at the same time a solemn vow that never again would this territory be wrenched from the Reich. The whole nation, he said, had been ready to take up the sword for the Sudeten Germans who, on the other hand, were equally prepared to do their share if ever German territory and the German nation should be threatened. In future their fate would be a common one and no power on Earth would ever be able to menace them.

The Führer re-visited the Sudenland on succeeding occasions and was everywhere received with tumultuous applause (see Pict. 189).

As was to be expected, M. Benes very soon retired. General Syrovy was appointed to act in his place pending new elections. In his final message, M. Benes stated *inter alia* that historical events had led to a fundamental change in the structure of the State and that the conditions now prevailing were entirely different to those when he was elected. He added that his continuance in office would merely obstruct developments which were vital for rapid appeasement and the establishment of harmonious relations and co-operation with neighbouring countries.

Shortly before M. Benes's retirement a change took place in General Syrovy's Government in which Dr. František Chvalkowsky—the former Envoy in Berlin and Rome—was appointed Foreign Secretary in place of Dr. Kroftas, and Dr. Josef Tiso became Minister for Slovakian Affairs. A representative for Carpatho-Russian Affairs was also appointed to the Cabinet. The new Government issued a statement in which they expressed the intention of building up a new Czecho-Slovakia and the desire to establish friendly relations with all countries.

This was undoubtedly a clear sign of a totally different policy between Prague and Berlin and a first step towards a development which a few months later led to events of historic significance.

A few days after the conclusion of the Munich Agreement a debate on foreign policy was held in the House of Commons in which Mr. Chamberlain stated *inter alia*, that the real success of Munich lay in the fact that the four Powers had been able to settle a difficult and thorny question by means of discussion instead of war, thus averting a catastrophe which would undoubtedly have brought about the end of civilization.

Mr. Chamberlain emphasized that Hitler had made a real and a substantial contribution towards the success of the Munich Conference inasmuch as he was

prepared to discuss matters on which he had already made emphatic declarations. With regard to Mussolini, his contribution, Mr. Chamberlain added, was certainly notable—perhaps decisive, as it was on his suggestion that the final stages of mobilization were postponed for 24 hours. Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain said that it was Mussolini and Count Ciano who produced the *memorandum* which M. Daladier and he were able to accept as a basis of discussion. M. Daladier, he said, had in some respects the most difficult task of all four, because of the special relations uniting his country and Czecho-Slovakia. Roosevelt, on the other hand, had showed that the voice of the most powerful nation in the world could make itself heard across the ocean and sway the minds of men in Europe.

"I entered into no pact", Mr. Chamberlain added, "I made no new committments. There is no secret understanding with Germany, and our conversation was hostile to no other nation. The object of that conversation, for which I asked, was to try to extend a little further the personal contact which I had established with Herr Hitler and which I believe to be essential in modern diplomacy. The entirely non-commital conversation was carried on with a view to seeing whether there could be points in common between the head of a democratic Government and the ruler of a totalitarian State. I believe . . . that this declaration signed by the German Chancellor and myself is something more than a pious expression of opinion."

Concluding his speech of the 6th October Mr. Chamberlain stated:

"As regards future policy it seems to me that there are only two possible alternatives. One of them is to base yourself on the view that any sort of friendly relations . . . with the totalitarian States are impossible . . . on that hypothesis war has got to come . . . and not only must we arm ourselves to the teeth but clearly we must make military alliances with any other Powers whom we can get to work with us. We must then hope that we shall be allowed to start the war at the moment that suits us and not at the moment that suits the other side. That is what some hon. and right hon. members call 'collective security'. If I reject this, as I do, it is because to my mind it is a policy of utter despair. If that is your conviction there is no future hope for civilization or for any of the things that make life worth living. It seems to me that the strongest argument against the inevitability of war is to be found in the universal aversion to war of the people, their hatred of the notion of starting to kill one another again."

"I do indeed believe that we may yet secure peace in our time—Mr. Chamberlain added—but I never meant to suggest that we would do that by unilateral disarmament. On the contrary, weakness in armed strength means weakness in diplomacy . . . The emergency has thrown a vivid light on our preparations for defence."

The Opposition severely criticized the Munich Agreement as a disastrous moral and political defeat for England and France and an act of treachery towards Czecho-Slovakia. Peace, they said, was not permanently assured. An Armistice was all that had taken place. Lord Baldwin, the former British Prime Minister, supported the British Government's policy.

The British Government's policy was subsequently confirmed by a decisive majority of 222. Among those who did not vote on the motion were Amery, Churchill, Duff Cooper, Lord Cranbourne, Eden, Harold Nicholson. Eighteen members of the Labour Party also refrained from voting.

At the same time, Viscount Halifax, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was invited to make a statement in the House of Lords on the international situation. His speech was along similar lines to that of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. He declared that the solution of the Czecho-Slovakian question was nothing less than a revision of treaties. "We could no doubt have engaged in a war of indefinite duration—Lord Halifax said—but if we had won no statesman, drawing the boundaries of the new Czecho-Slovakian State would have redrawn them as they were left by the Treaty of Versailles."

After reviewing the question of treaty revision, the Foreign Secretary stated in connexion with the Anglo-German Declaration at Munich: "Is it a small thing that the German and British Governments declare that they will never permit war between one another and their determination to employ the method of consulation in any differences that may rest between them? No man, of course, can predict the future and no declaration can absolve a nation like ours from doing whatever is necessary to secure itself against all eventualities." Lord Halifax then took the opportunity of emphasizing the necessity for further re-armaments.

Concluding, Lord Halifax thanked the German Chancellor for his contribution towards peace which the Munich Conference had made possible. He saw in Munich not only a conference—he added—at which hard terms were imposed on Czecho-Slovakia but an occasion on which it was found possible by discussion to effect a real victory for reason and understanding.

In the subsequent debate, the House of Lords expressed similar views to those held by the House of Commons. An outstanding speech was made by the Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who supported the Government's policy and expressed thankfulness for the deliverance which had been brought to them. He added: "Was it not clear that provinces overwhelmingly occupied by Sudeten Germans could not have been permanently part of the Czecho-Slovak State."

In the French parliament a statement was read on the Government's foreign policy with special reference to the Czecho-Slovak crisis. After a review of the Sudeten problem up to the time of the Munich Conference, the question was put why it had been possible to avoid war and obtain some notable successes during the course of the consultations. That had only been possible, it was said, because France had always demonstrated her desire for justice and had always been loyal, and conscious of her own strength, had during the discussions sought to obtain everything by peaceful methods. This strength, it was added, was neither an instrument for intimidation nor for extortion. There was just as little hope of intimidating Germany as there was of intimidating France. One could discuss matters with a man or a nation, it was said, but only when one had won his respect. "Now—concluded the Minister-President—it is necessary that all France remains in a state of constant mobilization in the cause of peace and national interest."

These declarations by the responsible English and French statesmen were received with great satisfaction in Germany as they served to unmask the efforts of the war-mongering pacifists who were ready to plunge their country and the whole of Europe into a ghastly war. Others also were taken by surprise who

believed that at the last moment an insane chauvinism was capable of reversing history. All these elements of unrest and malicious agitation against Germany received an appropriate answer at the hands of the representatives of the English and French governments.

In the German press however there appeared comments which expressed a certain amount of surprise at the passages in the speeches above referred to which envisaged a continuance of the policy of re-armament. The race in armaments, according to the Western Powers, was therefore to be intensified. Germany had accepted and acknowledged England's superiority in naval armaments and effectives and such a concession should at least have led to some reserve on the other side. Germany's geographical position on the other hand made it imperative for her to re-arm on land.

The first cloud on the Munich horizon . . .

On 6th October an Agreement was signed at Sillein by all the Slovak Parties concerning the full autonomy of Slovakia on the basis of the Pittsburg Treaty. At the same time, the first Slovak Government was formed under the leadership of Dr. Tiso, a clergyman and for many years the deputy of Father Hlinka.

In a proclamation to the Slovak peoples, the newly-elected Minister-President stated that their victory had been the result of a long struggle for the rights of the Slovak nation. The Slovak Peoples' Party, under the leadership of Father Hlinka, had conducted this struggle with conspicuous courage and persistency. Now it was necessary to uphold law and order and unite all their forces in order to show the world that the country was worthy of having won back its liberty. It was further said that the Government would make every effort with a view to removing all the causes of friction which had hitherto existed between Slovaks and Czechs. Slovak Nationalism, it was said, had never had feelings of hatred for the Czechs. The Slovaks had always strived to live at peace with all their neighbours. Those efforts would be continued in the future.

At the same time the parliamentary representatives of the Carpatho-Russians and the Ukranian National Council concluded at Uzhorod an arrangement whereby the same demands were put forward for the settlement of the Carpatho-Russian autonomy question as those which the Slovak Peoples' Party had concluded at Sillein. Under the chairmanship of M. Brody, a government was then formed for that country. The representative of the Prague Government, who was present, declared that Carpatho-Russia would receive the same rights as Slovakia.

A German official declaration stated that future developments would depend on the integral fulfillment of these demands. The Reich, it was stated, had no other interests than the removal of the pre-War macedonian conditions in this part of Europe and an early settlement would be welcomed. Thanks to the former unity of interests existing between Slovaks and Carpatho-Germans, there appeared to be excellent prospects for constructive and friendly co-operation between Carpatho-Germans and Slovaks as an alternative to waging a struggle against the Central Government at Prague. But as long as the fate of the Magyars in this

territory was not decided on the basis of the rights of self-determination, the path of peace in this sector of Europe could not be regarded as secure.

After the solution of the Sudeten problem on the basis of the Principle of Nationalities, the German Government applied these just principles in their support of the Hungarian demands. They became the subject of a discussion in Berlin between Hitler and M. Chvalkowsky, the newly appointed Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister. At these discussions Hitler emphasized the necessity for removing these dangerous sources of friction.

From Prague came the news that a commission of experts had been entrusted with the task of drawing up a new Constitution for Czecho-Slovakia—partly on the lines of the Austro-Hungarian Constitution of 1867 and partly on the Swiss Cantonal system. The three countries, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia would each receive their own Diet which would meet once or twice a year in a common State Parliament. The Central Government was to be composed of the governments of these three countries and the three respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. Theoretically, therefore, this was an excellent Constitution on the basis of which the new Czecho-Slovak State—although now somewhat reduced in size—could nevertheless maintain itself. But we shall see later on that in actual practice Prague policy continued its old methods, which then led to the inevitable consequences.

A new domestic political order—that is a swing to the Right and the suppression of the communist party—was also forecasted by the Czecho-Slovak press. The communist party had already been suppressed in Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia. After Dr. Chvalkovsky's visit to Adolf Hitler the necessity was emphasized for a change in foreign policy and the desirability of good relations with Germany and Italy. A Delegation of four Ministers left for Berlin.

When the new *Gau* or provincial theatre was opened in the Saar Palatinate on 9th October, the Führer held a speech at Saarbrücken. He stated *inter alia* that early that year he had decided to bring back into the Reich the ten million Germans who were still living beyond the frontiers. He realized that this could only be done by the country's own initiative.

A number of conditions had been necessary to bring this about. 1. The united strength of the nation. Contrary to the opinion held abroad he (Hitler) knew that the German people of 1938 were not the same as those of 1918. To-day a national community had been established never before known in the history of the country. 2. The national re-armament of the Reich—a policy which he had unflinchingly pursued for the last six years. He was able to say that he was convinced that no power on Earth would ever succeed in crossing the Reich's Western line of fortifications[1]). 3. The security of the Reich. 4. Germany had

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(1) The announcement about the socalled Siegfried Line—advice of which had been kept a strict secret—was made by the Führer a month previously at the Party Congress at Nuremberg. Instructions for building the fortifications were issued on 21st May, 1938, when peace was threatened for the first time. Four months later, October 1938, during the international crisis, progress had been made to such an extent that these fortifications were

won foreign political friends. The Axis, which is so often ridiculed abroad, has become a permanency and has proved its worth in times of stress.

Continuing, Hitler said that one must be thankful that the return to the mother country of these ten million Germans had been accomplished without bloodshed. His thanks were also due to other countries and especially Germany's only true friend, Benito Mussolini. Mention had also to be made of the other statesmen who did their best in trying to find a solution for the establishment of peace. But in their particular countries the possibility always existed that they could be summarily replaced by others who were not particular champions of peace. These others were undoubtedly on the spot. Anyone of these war mongers could replace Mr. Chamberlain and then a fresh world war would soon break out.

Hitler added that the power of that international press which disseminated lies and calumny was also well known. That meant that they had to attend to their national security. He had, therefore, resolved to intensify the work on the Western fortifications. The two great sectors, Aachen and Saarbrücken, which hitherto had remained outside the general line of fortifications, would now be included in the whole scheme.

As a strong and powerful nation—Hitler added, Germany was always ready to conduct a policy of understanding with her neighbours. Germany had nothing to demand from these countries and desired only peace. One thing however was necessary, he said, and this applied particularly to England: it would be well if certain circles in England would gradually forget some of the charms of the era of the Treaty of Versailles. Germany had no patience with attempts to chaperone her. Efforts by British politicians to meddle with the affairs of German subjects within our boundaries were entirely out of place. We do not make it our business —Hitler said—to interfere in English affairs. Let us give all these people the advice to mind their own business and leave Germany alone. That also was a contribution to peace.

The Führer had thus taken the opportunity of replying to some of the members of the Opposition in the British Parliament and at the same time, he emphasized the point that if other Powers continued their programme of re-armament then Germany, too, would be compelled to follow suit.

According to a communique issued by the German High Command territory No. IV defined in the Munich Agreement was occupied on the 8th of October. Thus the first stage in the occupation of the territories Nos. I—IV in the Sudetenland had been accomplished.

The International Commission for the settlement of the Sudeten-German question resolved unanimously not to hold a plebiscite as laid down in Article 5 of the Munich Agreement. Any small alterations in frontier as suggested on 5th October could still be adjusted by the Commission. An agreement between

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already impregnable. Half-a-million workers, pioneers, labour service men and experts had worked day and night to accomplish the huge task. To-day the whole Line is complete and a system of fortifications has been erected that will withstand every attack.

the German and the Czecho-Slovak Governments made it possible to commence at once with the task of fixing the final boundaries. Furthermore, a German-Czecho-Slovak Committee, prescribed by Article 7 of the Munich Agreement, was established with the object of attending to the rights of option.

On 20th October the Führer paid his fifth visit to the Sudetenland and visited the Moldau Valley in the Bohemia Forest. Everywhere he received an enthusiastic welcome and frequently he addressed the population. Thorough-going German administration very soon made it possible to incorporate this territory into the Reich.

The territory occupied by the military authorities up to 10th October (see map on p. 443) possesses a total area of 28,193 sq.km. According to the census of 1st December 1930, the population is 3.6 million and the average number of people per square kilometre is 128. The total population of Greater-Germany thus increased to 78.7 millions and the total area, including Austria, to 583,600 sq.km. The principle cities in the Sudetenland are: Reichenberg with a population of 38,600, Troppau with 36,000, Gablonz 33,900, Komotau 33,300, Eger 31,500, Teplitz-Schönau 30,000, Brüx 28,200, Znaim 25,800, Karlsbad 23,900, Jägerndorf 23,500, Asch 22,900 and Warnsdorf with 22,600.

The economic structure of Sudetenland is largely determined by its geographical position. First class agricultural soil is comparatively scarce. Only in South Moravia and the Saazer Basin are large tracts of rich arable soil to be found. Small and medium farmers form the principle mainstay of Sudeten agriculture. Large German estates have suffered severely through Czech agricultural legislation. Large forest tracts however are a prominent feature of the Sudetenland. Approximately 33.7% of the whole Sudeten area is forest land, particularly the Bohemia Forest, the large tracts in the Erz Mountains and in North Moravia. The small scope for agriculture very soon made it necessary for the population to turn their attention to industry, so that to-day this territory is one of the oldest industrial districts in Europe. In fact the Sudeten districts are more industrialized than Germany herself and find their equal only in England and Belgium.

According to a broadcast report by Lt.-Colonel von Wedel, the Chief of the Military Press Service, 5 army groups—totalling 10 army corps with nearly 30 divisions—advanced concentrically into Sudetenland. Half of this force were motorized and armoured units. The German Air Force also participated to the extent of nearly 500 planes. The whole of the operations passed off in perfect order and without incident.

The election which took place in Sudetenland on the 4th December 1938, simultaneously a supplementary election for the German Reichstag, showed the following results. These include the votes cast by persons entitled to poll who were domiciled in former Austria and in the actual German territories:—

Number of voters	2,532,863
Total of votes cast	2,497,604
Assenting votes	2,464,681
Dissenting votes	27,427
Invalid votes	5,496

Expressed in percentage, the figures are as follows:—98.90% assenting votes; 1.10% dissenting votes. Through this supplementary election the number of seats in the German Reichstag was augmented by 41.

The memorable day upon which the population of Sudetenland unanimously demonstrated their sympathy with Germany is a further date of victory and achievement in the annals of German history. Following the example set by the population of the Saar and by the former Austrian Nation, this youngest member of Greater Germany demonstrated by this election that the younger members of the Reich, have acquired and developed the same national unity and self-assertion as the older parts of Germany. This confession of faith simultaneously adequately proves the justification of the claims made by the German Nation, a Nation which, subjugated for many years, has been led to final victory by Adolf Hitler's undeviating and resolute guidance.

This new event, by which the reunion of an additional component part to its original mother-country was accomplished, naturally gave food for thought to other nations. Such a mighty and overpowering development uncompromisingly opened other nations' eyes to the piteous state of their own foreign affairs. This same development also disclosed the atrocious mistakes which had been committed, as, in direct contradiction to the generally accepted principles of self determination, millions of Germans were compelled to live under foreign rule. During the following years, numerous foreign statesmen did their utmost to consolidate and maintain this injustice. Indeed, only a very short time ago the outbreak of a war was imminent. This would have been a direct consequence of the oppression under which people of German blood had to suffer,—the very same people who have now so clearly demonstrated their political inclination.

This memorable event permitted the whole world to recognize that the policy adopted by the Führer to attain the liberation of Sudetenland was amply and wholly justified by the clear and unanimous desire expressed by the Sudeten population to form part of the German Reich.

In view of the justified claims submitted by Adolf Hitler in regard to Sudetenland, it was quite logical that other countries should also try to obtain recognition of their own demands, of which they had already previously and repeatedly acquainted the Czecho-Slovakian Government. These countries were Hungary and Poland.

The former was interested in certain territories in Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia situated on the farther side of the Danube. The Hungarian claims were based upon the figures of the census of 1910, which showed that these regions were populated by Hungarians to the extent of more than fifty per cent. The demands made by Poland regarded the Olsa territory, including the district of the border town Teschen, which is actually traversed by the frontier, as well as the district of Freistadt. According to the Munich Agreement, these problems were to have been solved by the respective Governments within a period of three months. In the event that no understanding should be arrived at, these questions were to form the topic of further discussions by the "Big Four".

In its capacity as signatory of the Munich Agreement and pioneer in the campaign in favour of the rights of the Minorities, the German Reich was actively interested in the prompt solution of these questions. In view of its excellent relations to Budapest, Germany, jointly with Italy, was prepared to support the Hungarian claims.

Shortly before, Admiral von Horthy, Regent of Hungary, had paid a visit to Adolf Hitler in Berlin. On this occasion this question was no doubt discussed and toasts were exchanged between the two leading statesmen, reiterating the solid foundation and depth of the amicable relationship existing between Germany and Hungary.

A few weeks later, the "Parliamentary Club of the United Hungarian Parties in Czecho-Slovakia" announced a Resolution demanding a plebiscite for the Hungarian population in Czecho-Slovakia. Since that event the situation rapidly changed and developments followed each other in quick succession, in the shape of military measures, violations of frontiers, protests in Prague and the exchange of diplomatic notes. Finally, the respective Delegation met at Komárom. To create an atmosphere permitting negotiations to take place, several points regarding the surrender of these territories to Hungary were conceded at the outset of the meeting. However, it was not possible to arrive at a final understanding with regard to the definite borders, although both Durkansky, deputy of the Slovakian Prime Minister Tiso, as well as the Hungarian Prime Minister, Daranyi, visited Adolf Hitler at Munich, whilst Count Csaky, the Foreign Minister, conversed with Mussolini at Rome. The mobilization of five further classes was ordered at Budapest.

In this connection it is interesting to note that, in consideration of the critical state of the situation at that time, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Beck, travelled to Galatz to confer with the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comnen and with King Carol. The press reported that the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs had submitted a plan for the division of the Carpatho-Russia territory between Hungary, Poland and Rumania with a view to satisfying the Polish desire for a mutual border with Hungary. Rumania, it was stated, declined this proposal with the motive that Rumania was not interested in a further reduction of Czecho-Slovakian power and that the Rumanian Government regarded itself as being bound by the terms of the Agreement of the Small Entente.

After a further fruitless exchange of proposals and counter-proposals, the two controversing Governments finally requested Germany and Italy to act as arbitrators. This suggestion was accepted. On the 2nd of November the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop, and his Italian colleague, Count Ciano, met at Belvedere Castle at Vienna, where the following arbitral decision was proniunced:—(see Pict. 191)

1. The territories to be surrendered to Hungary by Czecho-Slovakia are designated on the appended map. The final determination of the frontiers is to be settled on the spot by a Commission consisting of Hungarian and Czecho-Slovakian delegates.

2. The evacuation of the territories to be surrendered by Czecho-Slovakia and their occupation by Hungary shall commence on the 5th of November 1938 and shall be com-

pleted by the 10th November 1938. The various stages of the evacuation and occupation, including the procedure to be adopted in connection with these actions shall be immediately determined by a Hungarian-Czecho-Slovakian Commission.

3. The Czecho-Slovakian Government shall adopt the necessary precautions to ensure that the territories to be surrendered are in proper condition at the time of their evacuation.

4. All details pertaining to the surrender of the above territories, particularly all questions regarding nationality and options, shall be settled by a Hungarian-Czecho-Slovakian Commission.

5. A Hungarian-Czecho-Slovakian Commission shall also decide upon the measures to be adopted for the protection of persons of Magyar nationality remaining in Czecho-Slovakia, as well as for the protection of persons in the surrendered territories of other nationality than the Magyar. This Commission shall take adequate steps to ensure that the Magyar nationals in Pressburg shall be granted the same privileges as those accorded to the other national groups there.

6. Should any disadvantages or difficulties of an economic nature or in connection with ways and means of communication and transport arise for the remaining Czecho-Slovakian territories as a result of the surrender of the above mentioned territories to Hungary, the Hungarian Government shall do its utmost to eliminate such disadvantages, acting with the approval of the Czecho-Slovakian Government.

7. In order to avoid any difficulties or doubts arising in connection with the practical application of this procedure, the Hungarian and Czecho-Slovakian Governments shall enter into direct communication regarding such procedure. Should no understanding ensue from such negotiations with regard to any such questions, such question shall be submitted to the German and Italian Governments for final decision.

This arbitral sentence is of great economic and historical importance. It terminated twenty years of feud and misunderstanding between nations which had been forced into apparently irreconcilable controversy and animosity through a so-called "Treaty of Peace",—a Treaty which blatantly disregarded the generally accepted principles of self-determination and by the instrumentality of which an arbitrary and unjustifiable amputation had been practised upon Hungary. Whilst the conception of "historical boundaries" was interpreted in favour of the Bohemian part of the newly founded Czecho-Slovakian State and to the disadvantage of $3^1/_3$ millions of Germans at St. Germain, the theory of the integrity of the countries forming part of the territories originally under the rule of the Hungarian Crown was repudiated in the case of Hungary at Trianon, where Slovakian and Ukraine nationals' rights of self-determination were used as an official pretext for this procedure. In practise, however, this ideal was never attained. Neither the Slovakian nor the Ukraine nationals ever enjoyed the benefit of this deed, inasmuch as the promised autonomy was never actually granted them. Quite apart from that, territories inhabited nearly entirely by a Magyar population were arbitarily severed from Hungary in view of mere economic or strategic considerations, or because such a re-adjustment offered improved facilities of communication and transport.

In accordance with the principles established at Munich, the arbitral sentence to be pronounced at Vienna necessarily had to aim at a complete reparation of the

damages caused by the injustice committed at Trianon. This redress had to be carried out according to purely national considerations. It was imperative to completely disregard both the historical factors which Hungary submitted to support her claims, as well as the above mentioned economic or strategic factors or such concerning communication and transport, which formed the basis for the arguments the possessors of those territories brought to bear to oppose the surrender of the territories in question. A reparation in the strictest sense of the term had to be achieved, in which connection the expulsion of the many thousands of Magyars by the former Prague Government had to be taken into account.

Considering the principles according to which this reparation had to be carried through, it must be generally admitted that the re-adjustment of the frontiers as determined at Vienna corresponds to all exigencies. Expectations entertained by both parties had necessarily to be disappointed. On the part of Hungary, these hopes were based on historical considerations and the desire to extend the frontier lines, whilst the Czecho-Slovakian claims were founded upon economic factors and the desire for transport facilities. It was absolutely imperative to avoid repeating the error committed at Versailles, where groups of nations were moved about in accordance with certain voluntary desires like figures on a chess-board. Economic considerations and the demand for transport facilities could not be allowed to prevent the reunion of national groups related by blood and tradition and the re-establishment of the *status quo ante* of old national possessions.

The settlement of the controversy between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia found complete approval in Germany and it was generally emphasized that the Axis Berlin-Rome had satisfactorily fulfilled the mission it had accepted to act as promoters of peace and as guardians of order and equity in Europe. Germany and Italy had not sought to shirk the responsibility incumbent upon them; on the contrary, they courageously faced and tackled the task awaiting them. They soon accomplished what was expected of them, thereby putting an end to a seemingly interminable conflict.

The Polish claims were settled in accordance with the Polish desires through an ultimatum given by Warsaw, after correspondence had been exchanged between the Polish President, Moschicki, and Dr. Benes. The *Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz*, official organ of the German Foreign Office, wrote as follows:—

"The German public will be glad to realize that the principles of national justice and equality, which have been so firmly established at home so as to form an integral part of our own ideology, have now also received recognition abroad in what was hitherto known as the Czechoslovakian State. Apart from this joyful fact, general satisfaction will also be felt that this positive result eliminates all possibilities of an acute conflict. Every decision of this nature, exclusively based upon the principles of national self-determination and justice, completely avoiding all incentives which are likely to provoke the covetousness of nations, may be regarded as a positive factor to avoid actual military complications and to remedy unbearable conditions. Indeed, such decisions

play an essential role in the consolidation and establishment of sound relations in the whole of Central Europe."

The Munich Agreement was bound to have a beneficial influence upon the relations between Germany and France. This influence could be observed at the Radical Socialist Congress at Marseilles which was accompanied by such tragic events and it was also reflected in M. Daladier's victory over the general strike which had been propagated by Marxistic elements.

General admiration was felt in Germany for the loyal and unprejudiced speech held by the French Prime Minister. The German Nation recognized in him a man who feels the responsibility weighing upon him, a man who had fought at Verdun and had not forgotten the sentiments he experienced there. The synopsis of his political ideas on the Franco-German relations was generally regarded as a very fair and honest standpoint, as he said: "As I heard the heart of the German Nation beating during my stay at Munich, I could not refrain from the thought which assailed me many a time during the War that, inspite of all difficulties, there are many important reasons why the French and the German Nations should esteem and respect each other and that these reasons should lead to loyal collaboration. I have always ardently desired such collaboration. Whatever differences may exist between the two régimes, these two Nations, which have so often measured their forces on the battlefield, should at last recognize that war cannot be regarded as a final solution in modern times and that only joint co-operation between nations can bring about a solution of all problems."

Another point in M. Daladier's declaration which naturally aroused considerable interest in Germany was his definite separation from the Communist Party. In Germany the opinion prevailed that, whatever course French politics may adopt in the near future, those last days of October, ablaze with the flames of the *Magasins de la Cannebiére*, will certainly form the foundation stone for that policy.

The decision arrived at was regarded as an extremely beneficial one for France herself. But quite apart from that, it left an open door for an understanding with the German Reich. Inspite of the various attempts made to prevent such an understanding, it has come about nevertheless. The practical result was the joint declaration made at Paris on the 6th of December, 1938 (see Pict. 192).

This declaration, signed by von Ribbentrop, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bonnet, was formulated as follows:—

1. The German Government and the French Government are of the joint conviction that peaceful and neighbourly relations between Germany and France are one of the essential elements for the consolidation of the European situation and the maintenance of general peace. Both Governments will therefore do all in their power to develop such relations between the two countries.

2. Both Governments agree that no questions of a territorial nature exist between the two nations any more and solemnly declare that they regard the frontiers between their two countries, as they exist at present, as ultimate and final.

3. Subject to any particular relations to third Powers, both Governments are resolved to remain in direct touch with each other in regard to all questions concerning both countries and to convene a conference in the event that the future development of such questions should lead to international complications.

In testimony of which the Representatives of both Governments have set hands to this Declaration which comes into force immediately.

The original has been laid down in duplo in English and French, Paris, 6th Decsember 1938."

Immediately after the signature of this declaration, confidential discussions took place between two Ministers. The following official communiqué was issued as a result and made public by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bonnet:—

"The visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris afforded an opportunity for a detailed Franco-German exchange of opinions. In the course of the discussions between Herr von Ribbentrop and M. Georges Bonnet the most important European problems were examined, particularly those questions directly concerning the political and economic relations between France and Germany. Both parties agreed that a development of the relations between the two countries, based upon the formal recognition of their respective frontiers, would not only further their mutual interests but would also represent a valuable contribution to the maintenance of Peace. In this spirit the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of both nations have signed a declaration which, subject to any particular relations entertained by the Governments to third Powers, expresses their determination to peacefully collaborate, mutually respecting each other. This declaration is consequently an important step forward on the road to the establishment and maintenance of general Peace."

Thereupon further declarations were made by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop and Bonnet, in which they emphasized the termination of a century old controversy, object of which had been the question of frontiers, also dwelling upon the mutual respect the two nations entertain for each other and the great intellectual value of the exchange of ideas which takes place between them.

As I already stated in previous chapters, German foreign policy has, for many years, aimed at an understanding with France. Adolf Hitler repeatedly emphasized the fact that no questions existed between the two nations any more which could prevent amicable relations and collaboration.

The Paris Declaration, expressing the desire for friendly and neighbourly relations between Germany and France, was regarded in Germany as an event of great political consequence and as an additional success achieved by Adolf Hitler's policy of peace.

An attempt was made on the life of one of the diplomats of the German Embassy at Paris, vom Rath, on the 7th November in one of the office rooms of the Embassy. The assassin, a Jew of Polish nationality called Herschel Seibel Grynszpan, tried to escape, but was arrested. During the inquest which took place immediately afterwards, he declared that he had shot vom Rath to avenge the Jewish race. Vom Rath succumbed to his wounds on the 9th November.

As the death of the German diplomat became known, anti-Jewish demonstrations spontaneously took place in the whole of Germany. In many instances German people gave vent to their indignation and anger by emphatic actions directed against Jews which left no doubt as to the attitude of the German nation. Fire was set to the majority of the Synagogues. Groups of demonstrators entered Jewish shops and offices, destroying furniture and objects exposed for sale. A proclamation issued by Dr. Goebbels read:—

"Last night the German Nation gave vent to justified and comprehensible indignation at the cowardly Jewish assassination of the German diplomat at Paris. In many towns and localities of the Reich actions of avenge were undertaken, directed against Jewish buildings and shops.

The entire population is now summoned to immediately cease all demonstrations and actions of every kind against the Jewish race. The ultimate reply to the Jewish assassination at Paris will be given to the Jewish race through the intermediary of the Law, that is to say, by legislative measures."

On the same day an order was issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the German Police, prohibiting all persons regarded as Jews in the sense of the Nuremberg Decrees the possession of every kind of arms. All infringements were to be punishable by confinement in concentration camps for a period of twenty years. A Decree issued by Reichsminister Dr. Frick followed on the 11th November, prohibiting Jews to buy, possess or carry firearms or any other category of weapons and ammunition. Furthermore, this Decree prescribed the relinquishment of such arms and weapons without indemnification. Exceptions can be made in the case of Jews of foreign nationality. Infringements are liable to imprisonment or fines; in particularly grave cases to hard labour not exceeding five years.

Discussions regarding the urgent necessity of solving the Jewish problem took place between various German Ministers under the auspices of the Chief Executive for the Four Year Plan, Field Marshal Göring. As a consequence, three well-known decrees were issued. The first prohibited Jews to participate in any manner whatsoever in German business and economic life. The second decree prescribed that the Jews themselves should bear and repair all damages incurred. The third decreed that Jews of German nationality should pay a contribution of one milliard Marks to the German Reich. Furthermore, Jews were forbidden the attendance of all public performances and entertainments.

This fundamentally German matter need not have been treated in the scope of this chapter were it not for the reaction which took place in many countries of the world, whereby the question received an international aspect. Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels felt obliged to receive representatives of the foreign press at Berlin and to energetically protest against the ludicrous exaggerations and distortions which were printed in some of the hostile foreign newspapers. He requested the journalists to report fairly and accurately upon the occurrences of the last days. In an article published in the *Völkische Beobachter*, Dr. Goebbels drew comparisons between the assassination of vom Rath and the Gustloff case in Switzerland in 1935. Gustloff, it will be remembered, was also the victim of a Jewish murderer, David Frankfurter. Dr. Goebbels went on to say that he regarded the

international Jewish clique as the instigators and intellectual inspirers of this treacherous deed. In their circulation of calumnious and maledictory reports on Germany those foreign papers which propagate a hostile attitude towards Germany and which are, in the majority of cases, in Jewish hands, had published such countless contradictions that little perspicacity was required to detect their falsehoods. The reaction of the German Nation to the Paris assassination had been an absolutely spontaneous one and had been terminated by the German Government with utmost dispatch.

During an interview he granted one of the special Reuter correspondents, Dr. Goebbels declared that Germany's attitude in the Jewish question was not in any way influenced by any measures Great Britain thinks fit to adopt or reject in this matter. On the other hand, it was no concern of Great Britain's how Germany deals with the problem. The fine of one milliard Marks will be collected in the shape of a tax, Dr. Goebbels informed the reporter. Jewish capital in Germany amounts to approximately eight Milliard Marks. The German Nation has no intention of exterminating Jewish cultural and intellectual life by the measures that have been adopted, but it is desired that they should cultivate their own art and pursue their own intellectual interests. The German Government regards a distinct separation between Germans and Israelites as essential. Jews possess their own Winter Relief Fund and well-to-do Jews are in a position to support their less fortunate brethren.

The ultimate solution of the question whether the new provisions are qualified to finally settle the Jewish problem in Germany depends entirely on the Jews themselves. It is up to them to decide whether they are willing to accept the position in public life the German Government is ready to concede. They will always be regarded as aliens, of whom it is taken for granted that their attitude towards the German Nation is a hostile one. In the event of Jews endeavouring to evade the new legislative measures, additional and harsher enactments will ensue in order to avoid new demonstrations on the part of the population. Germany has no other choice but to adopt this course, said Dr. Goebbels. The German decrees regulating the Jewish question will not be applied to Israelites of other nationality, whom the German Reich regards and treats as foreigners.

The German Government had absolutely no intention of compelling Jews to live in ghettos. However, certain measures will no doubt be taken sooner or later to remedy the unbearable paradoxy that numerous Jewish families, consisting of only two or three members, should dwell in apartments with twenty or thirty rooms, whilst adequate accommodation is lacking for the Aryan population at present. Jews, Dr. Goebbels stated, can sell their businesses and live on their capital or take up some kind of useful occupation. In the event of Jews recommencing provocative actions tending to aggravate the present situation such activity will also have to be restricted.

Dr. Goebbels emphasized that Israelites abroad render their brethren in Germany a very poor service indeed by undertaking extensive propagandistic campaigns against Germany. The new legislative measures have not been undertaken

in a spirit of revenge, but in consideration of purely practical motives. In those cases where Jewish passports have been detained, these will be handed out again to their owners. Germany has the greatest interest that Jews leave the country. They are entitled to take a certain percentage of their capital with them, subject, of course, to Germany being in a position to supply them with foreign currency. Such measures are naturally not applied to foreign capital and foreign enterprises in Germany.

Dr. Goebbels expressed the wish that the English press should adopt a similarly fair and reserved standpoint when reporting on internal German events, as the German press had the custom of taking in regard to essentially British affairs, particularly in the case of critical situations, such as, for instance, the developments in Palestine.

Dr. Goebbels terminated the interview with the assurance that he firmly believed in the possibility of more cordial relations between Germany and Great Britain, which entirely depend upon the creation of the necessary psychological atmosphere.—England must recognize once and for all that Germany is an equal partner and has ceased to be the Nation it was in November 1918[1]).

Lively discussions accompanied with sharp attacks and criticisms soon began to take place in the House of Commons in regard to the Jewish question in Germany and the fate of emigrants. Prime Minister Chamberlain announced that the British Ambassador in Berlin had been instructed to protest against newspaper articles which brought British Ministers and members of Parliament into connection with the assassination of Herr vom Rath. The British Government was considering every possible means of assisting the Jews involved. The advisability of convening the Commission for German Emigrants was examined. This Commission was created at the Evian Conference and is composed of one delegate from the United States, France, Holland and Brazil, under the presidency of Lord Winterton. It was resolved that the Director of this Committee,

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(1) One of the leading Berlin newspapers published the following official figures regarding the number of Jews in Germany.

In November 1938 there were in Germany approximately 700,000 Jews in the sense of the Nuremberg Laws, — including half-castes-approximately 1,500,000. Inspite of the emigration of approximately 180,000 Jews from the actually German territories since 1933, the percentage of Jews in large towns had hardly decreased. The greatest number were in Vienna (14%), Frankfurt a/Main follows with 7,4%, Berlin with 3,7%, Breslau, in its quality of transit station, with 3,2% and Würzburg with 2,1%.

German national income amounted to approximately 200 Milliard Marks, to be divided amongst a population of 80 Millions. There were 700,000 Jews in Germany who possessed, according to accurate official researches, 8 Milliard Marks. The average wealth of the German citizen was therefore 2,500 Marks whereas the individual Israelite owned 11,428 Marks. Jewish capital amounted to approximately 4 Milliard Marks in 1918. During the subsequent years this capital was doubled, naturally at the expense of the German population.

During the years of the Inflation nearly half of all real estate in Berlin passed into Jewish hands. Consequently more than half of Berlin belonged to Jews. A fraction of the wealth extorted from the German population will be returned to the German Nation by the financial atonement the Jews in Germany have to make.

Rubly, an American, should travel to Germany to discuss details in connection with Jewish emigration.

The British Minister of Finance, Sir John Simon, emphasized in a speech held at Thyl that the hopes of better relations with Germany which had been entertained after the Munich Agreement had not been strengthened by the occurrences of the last days. The Minister for India, Lord Zetland, also remarked in a speech held in Torquay, that the hopes awakened by Munich had been strongly shaken by the events which had recently taken place in Germany. The desire expressed by the German Government that England should not interfere with Germany's way of solving the Jewish problem could not suppress the British conscience and that of the whole civilized world.

In Washington information was received that the Ambassador of the United States at Berlin had submitted a sharp note of protest to the German Government in regard to the damage done to American property on the occasion of the recent events in Germany. The Ambassador, this information goes on to state, had received instructions to immediately return to Washington to report upon the happenings in Germany. In reply, Berlin advised that the German Ambassador had been recalled to Berlin in order to report.

A motion of the Labour Party was accepted in the House of Commons, expressing sympathy with the sufferings of certain racial, religious and political minorities in Europe and welcoming immediate international action, to be undertaken jointly with the United States, to arrive at a policy of understanding in view of the increasing importance of the problem of political fugitives.

The facts described above demonstrate that an intentionally hostile spirit was fostered by various countries against German policy in the Jewish question. It was felt in Germany that such a reaction clearly proved that certain circles abroad had very speedily forgotten the primary causes which had led to such a critical situation.

The signature of the Franco-German Pact at Paris was the last significant historical event of German foreign politics in 1938. This year had been one sequence of successes which verily gave the Reich the right to the epithet "Greater Germany". It would, however, be incorrect to overlook several occurrences of minor importance which terminated this period and formed the link to coming events.

The election for the Memel Diet was one of these events. 1,826,981 votes of the entire number of 2,093,466 votes cast (87.3%) were in favour of the Memel-German list, whereas only 266,485 votes were cast for the united Lithuanian list. The mandates, calculated on the basis of these results, were apportioned between 25 German and 4 Lithuanian deputies. Lithuanians consequently lost another mandate to the Memel-German Party.—All commentaries are superfluous.

The South African Minister of Defence and Commerce, Pirow, paid a visit to Germany. After an exchange of opinions with German official quarters, he was received by Adolf Hitler at Obersalzberg, where King Carol of Rumania conversed with Hitler shortly afterwards.

A Cultural Agreement was concluded between Germany and Italy. The relations between the two nations are extended and consolidated by this Pact which is intended as a cultural supplement to the political Axis Rome-Berlin. Von Ribbentrop, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, had several conversations with Mussolini and Count Ciano at Rome during the last days of October. On this occasion all current problems of European politics were discussed, including the Czechoslovakian-Hungarian conflict, the reaction of democratic countries to the Munich Agreement, the German Colonial question, the Spanish problem, the re-organization of Eastern and Southern Europe and finally the mutual relations between Italy, Germany and Japan. Italian and German opinions on all these topics absolutely coincided and the friendly spirit of collaboration and mutual support characteristic of the Axis Rome-Berlin was again apparent.

The year terminated with a German communication to the British Government that the German Government had the intention of practising the rights to which it is entitled by the German-British Naval Treaty of June 12, 1935 and July 1937. Representatives of the British Admiralty came to Berlin to confer upon the application of submarine tonnage quotas by Germany and Germany's claim to parity, as well as on the armament of the two 10,000 ton cruisers, "Seydlitz" and "Lützow", now in construction, which were relegated from Category B to Category A. A perfectly amicable atmosphere reigned during the discussions and an understanding was soon reached.

All German papers were unanimous in their recognition of the manifold successes attained by German foreign policy during 1938. The words pronounced by the Führer that the year 1938 will for ever remain "great, glorious and unforgettable" in German history formed the basis for many an enthusiastic article of applause.—Adolf Hitler's words are true. Ten millions of Germans, formerly under Austrian and Czechoslovakian rule, were enabled to return to their mother-country and were liberated from the duty to submit to Viennese and Prague policy, a policy which had always been hostile to Germany and had stood under foreign influence. Adolf Hitler has thereby created a nation of eighty million people, the nation with the greatest population in Europe; homogeneous from an ethnical standpoint and, with the exception of the Polish Corridor and the Memel territory, compact from a geographical and strategical point of view.—

The old German dream had at last come true!

XXV

From the Reichs Protectorate Bohemia-Moravia up to the return of Memel

In the diplomatic world the year 1939 commenced with a visit which Col. Beck, the Polish Foreign Secretary, paid the Führer on the Obersalzberg in the presence of Herr von Ribbentrop. At a subsequent date it became known that those conversations touched upon the subjects of a continuation of the German-Polish Agreement—which was due to expire on January 26, the Danzig problem, the construction of a motor highway through the Corridor and the conclusion of a 25-years non-aggression pact.

Col. Beck's visit was reciprocated three weeks later by Herr von Ribbentrop in Warsaw on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Agreement. According to the official *communique*, Herr von Ribbentrop's visit passed off in the most friendly atmosphere and the results of his conversations proved once more that the past five years of German-Polish collaboration had not only shown a steady development in German-Polish relations but had also brought about a valuable contribution towards general appeasement in Europe.

On January 12, Adolf Hitler received the foreign diplomatists at the customary New Year reception. Replying to the New Year greetings of the Papal Nuncio he stated *inter alia*:

"Full of gratitude, the German nation thinks of the fact that the year 1938 also brought for our people materialization of our absolute rights, and that this has been achieved without interrupting, even for one day, the peace of Europe is due to the policy of wise insight which found its expression in the Munich Agreement. From another platform I have taken the opportunity to express the thanks which the German people feel to those statesmen who in 1938 undertook to find, together with Germany, ways for a peaceful solution of open problems. That we succeeded in reaching the peaceful success that we all desired we owe not only to the will to peace and a sense of responsibility of all the Governments so concerned, but especially to the recognition that sooner or later these historical developments and the natural need of individual peoples or States must be recognized and must not be refused or rendered impossible by force. The Powers concerned have drawn the necessary conclusions from this recognition for their political decisions and have thus contributed their share not only to the preservation of European peace but also the creation of a healthier and a happier Europe. This event also, in my opinion, justifies the hope that in the future, too, the common friendship of leading European statesmen may succeed in preserving for Europe that peace which gives fullest justice to the justified interests of nations."

These were indeed happy and at the same time timely words of advice to bring about a peace that would not only do justice to Germany's demands but also to those other countries as well. With regard to the demands which Germany made we shall soon learn what the Führer had to say about them.

The next day, the German, Italian, and Japanese Ministers in Budapest visited Count Csaky, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, and on behalf of their respective countries invited Hungary to join the anti-Comintern Pact. Count Csaky expressed his thanks and declared that his Government were prepared to accept the invitation.

Hungary had thus taken a step which was merely the result of her historical experience and which gave full expression to public opinion and official policy in its campaign against bolshevism. In this connexion let us remember that it was Hungary which first fell a prey to communism and that it was Admiral Horthy, the present Regent, who succeeded in establishing a National Government. Hungary's decision to join the anti-Comintern Pact was celebrated in Germany as a conspicuous success for German policy towards Hungary and official German satisfaction found its expression on the occasion of Count Csaky's visit to Berlin shortly after.

The international unrest, as the result of the demands submitted to France by the Italian Chamber and by public opinion in Italy, as well as the subsequent French re-action and tension between Rome and Paris, gave an added interest to the speech which the Führer was due to hold on January 30. The professional alarmists and all those who believed that Hitler would make further demands were however sadly disappointed.

The Führer's speech was based on three main issues: Firstly, a review of the events in 1938 which led to the *Anschluss*, the return of the Sudetenland to the Reich and therewith the creation of Greater Germany. Secondly, a statement of Germany's economic position, the necessity for exports and the return of German colonies. Thirdly, a statement addressed in particular to countries abroad explaining various German domestic problems that had been the object of much criticism in other countries. Among these were the Jewish and the religious problems. Finally, Hitler made a *tour d'horizon* in respect of the Reich's relations with other countries and the chances of war or peace.

The last part of the Führer's speech was obviously that which was most keenly awaited abroad. Hitler however was very optimistic and stated that he firmly believed in a long period of peace. "In the event of Italy being involved in a war", he stated, "Germany will be found at her side". His emphatic belief in peace however showed that he was doing everything possible to avoid war. Particular significance attached to his reference to Anglo-German and Franco-German relations. "What conflict of interests exists between England and Germany?" Hitler asked. "I have repeatedly declared that there is not a single German and certainly not a single National Socialist who has the slightest intention of doing any harm to the British Empire. It would be a blessing for the whole world if both countries could settle down to peaceful and harmonious co-operation. The same applies to our relations with France."

A wave of optimism spread throughout the world as the result of this speech—an optimism that was confirmed with a speech held at Hull by the British Foreign Secretary. Lord Halifax stated that no one desired more than himself that Hitler's words should come true and that a long period of peace was in sight. The conclusion of the Coal Agreement between Germany and England, he said, was a practical contribution towards co-operation and a hopeful sign for the future. Such co-operation was not only desirable but also necessary. The requirements of the world gave sufficient scope for both countries, Lord Halifax concluded.

Commenting on Czecho-Slovakia in his Reichstag speech, the Führer hoped that it would be possible for this small neighbouring State to find a way to internal peace and order which would exclude the possibility of a return to the former Benes system.

These words were dictated by the situation which had meanwhile arisen in Czecho-Slovakia.

On March 5, M. Revay, the Carpatho-Ukrainian Minister, was removed from office by Dr. Hacha, the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The reason given for this step was that serious differences of opinion had arisen between M. Revay and the Czech General Prchala in regard to the application of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Autonomy Laws. According to a Decree signed by Dr. Hacha the new Carpatho-Ukrainian Government was composed of M. Woloschin as President, and MM. Clocurak and Prchala as Ministers. President Woloschin, however, lodged a protest in Prague and declared that the appointment of a Minister of non-Ukrainian nationality represented a vote of no-confidence in the Ukrainian people and a miscarriage of justice. The appointment of General Prchala was based on no political necessity. The Ministry of the Interior, which had been allotted to Prchala, was subordinate to the President of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Government and he, Woloschin, demanded, with a view to calming the feelings of the general public, full powers in respect of this Ministry.

On March 8, M. Sidor, the Slovak Minister and Vice-President of the Central Prague Government, as well as M. Teplansky, another Slovak Minister, arrived in Prague to conduct negotiations. According to press reports these negotiations proved abortive as the result of the demands for a separate Slovak army and an independent foreign policy. The Slovak Ministers who had remained behind in Pressburg refused to go to Prague despite a peremptory order to do so.

On March 10, the Slovak Minister-President Dr. Josef Tiso and the Slovak Ministers Dr. Pruzinsky and Dr. Durcansky were removed from office by State President Dr. Hacha. M. Josef Sivak, Slovak Minister of Education and formerly Deputy Minister-President was now appointed Minister-President for Slovakia. As the result of incidents, a state of emergency was declared in Bratislava, Pistyan and Neusol. Bratislava, and all roads leading to the town were occupied by Czech troops. The Hlinka Guard and the Civil Guard of the Carpatho-German Party were summarily disarmed. Professor Tucha and M. Mach, the Slovak

Propaganda Chief, who were regarded as the intellectual heads of the Slovak autonomists, as well as sixty leaders of the Hlinka Guard were arrested.

Karl Murgas, the Chief of the Hlinka Guard, who was able to escape, declared in a statement that Teplansky and Sidor were responsible for the greatest act of treachery that the Slovak people had ever known. The Slovak nation, he said, stood united in support of Dr. Tiso and Durcansky against the Czech invasion. Adolf Hitler, the saviour of national Europe had laid his protective hands on the small Slovak nation. The Slovaks must unite, he added, with their German comrades for the creation of a free Slovakia. Herr Karmasin, the leader of the German group, declared in a speech that it would be intolerable if former Czech rule were again allowed to dominate Slovakia.

Dr. Durcansky, who was also able to escape arrest, held a broadcast speech in Vienna on March 11 regarding the events in his country. He declared that the Czechs were undoubtedly following a policy of self-interest at the expense of Slovakia and its future. The Czechs and their leaders had learnt nothing from history and were now making the attempt to rob the Slovaks of the rights for which they had struggled for twenty years. He added, that the policy of the Prague Government was illegal, that the Prague President had acted contrary to the oath he had taken. He, Dr. Durcansky, spoke as the legal representative of the Slovak nation and with the full support of all Slovak Government circles when he expressed the hope that complete victory would come about for Slovak interests.

M. Sivak, whom Prague had appointed as Minister-President, declared in Rome—where he was attending the papal election ceremony—that he declined to form a government. Thereupon, on March 13, a Sidor Government was formed in Prague.

That same day, The Führer received Dr. Tiso, the Slovak Minister-President and Dr. Durcansky, who had both travelled by plane to Berlin with the object of discussing all pending problems.

Meanwhile grave incidents had taken place as the result of large military transports which had been drafted into Slovakia. Many casualities were reported and there were serious clashes between Czech communists and military units on the one hand and Germans on the other, especially in the cities of Brünn, Iglau and Budweis in Bohemia and Moravia. The German national flag was insulted and cheers were called for Benes and Stalin.

As the policy of constantly changing ministers in the small Carpatho-Ukraine had seemingly proved satisfactory, Prague thought it desirable to risk the same method in Slovakia. The arrest of Slovak leaders and their substitution by Czechs, it was thought, would re-create the old status quo. The dissolution of the Diets in Bratislava and Chust was another step which it was thought would avoid any protest being lodged.

But the continuance of this dangerous manipulation very soon led to the total collapse of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Let us summarize the events as follows:

Dr. Josef Tiso, the Slovak Minister-President who had been removed from

office by the Prague Government, as well as Foreign Minister Durcansky returned home from their visit to the Führer on March 13. After his return, Dr. Tiso demanded that the Slovak Diet should meet the next day. This was agreed to by Sidor, who had been appointed by Prague as Minister-President in Slovakia. Dr. Hacha, President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic sanctioned the meeting.

After the session had been opened, the Premier, Sidor, reported on the negotiations which had taken place and then tendered his resignation and that of his Government, which was accepted. Dr. Tiso, the recently dismissed Premier, then gave the deputies an account of his conversation with Adolf Hitler. After Dr. Tiso had spoken, the Speaker read the Slovak Declaration of Independence—a document of five paragraphs. He then put the question: "Are you for an independent Slovak State?" All the deputies rose to their feet to signify assent and joined in the Slovak National Anthem. Later in the morning Dr. Tiso announced the first Cabinet of the Republic as follows: Dr. Tiso, Prime Minister; Dr. Tuka, Deputy Prime Minister; Dr. Sidor, Interior; Dr. Durcansky, Foreign Affairs; Dr. Sivak, Education; M. Pruzinsky, Finance; M. Medriczky, Trade and Economics; M. Stano, Railways; Colonel Catlos, National Defence; Dr. Fritz, Justice.

An appeal issued by the new Government drew attention to the fact that all efforts to reach an understanding with the Czechs had been without avail. After the session, Dr. Tiso sent a telegram to Adolf Hitler in which he announced the establishment of Slovak independence and requested Germany's assistance.

The reports in the German press of Czech acts of terror and oppression were increasing day by day. President Hacha, accompanied by M. Chvalkovsky, the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, arrived in Berlin at 10.40 p.m. on March 14. The next day, Dr. Goebbels announced the following agreement (published hereunder in facsimile) which had been signed at 3.55 a.m. by Hitler, Hacha, Ribbentrop and Chvalkovsky. Field Marshall Goering was also present at the meeting.

Dr. Goebbels then read the following proclamation of Hitler to the German people:

"... In order once and for all to remove the intolerable terrorist regime of Czecho-Slovakia, particularly in the populous German language islands and to create the conditions for the necessary new ordering of affairs in this area, I have decided to permit to-day German troops to march into Bohemia and Moravia. They will disarm the terrorist bands and the Czech armed forces which protect them, and will take under their protection the lives of all threatened people and thereby ensure the foundations for the introduction of a fundamental regulation which will correspond to the feeling of a 1,000 year-old history and the practical needs of the German and Czech people."

The special order to the armed forces was as follows:

"Czecho-Slovakia is in dissolution. In Bohemia and Moravia intolerable terror against German national comrades reigns. Beginning with March 15, units of the German Army and Air Force will therefore enter Czech State territory in order to assure the safety of the life and property of all inhabitants of the land uniformly. I expect from every German soldier that he behaves himself towards the inhabitants of the territory

to be occupied not as an enemy but only as the bearer of the will of the German Government to create in this territory an enduring order. Where resistance is offered it will be broken at once with all means. In conclusion be conscious that you tread Czech soil as representatives of Greater Germany."

(Signed) Adolf Hitler,
Führer and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

Late on March 14, German troops of the VIII Army Corps crossed the Czech frontier and occupied the cities Mährisch-Ostrau, Witkowitz and Mistek without encountering any resistance by Czech troops. Olmutz and Pilsen were occupied early the next day. Advance troops reached Prague at 9.15 a. m. and Iglau and Brünn later in the morning. M. Sirovy, Czech Minister of Defence, gave instructions that all Czech officers and troops were to remain in their barracks.

On the morning of March 15, the Führer joined his troops and reached Prague on the evening of the same day (see Picts. 193—194). On March 16, at l. p. m. Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop who was also in Prague read the following proclamation on behalf of the Führer:

"Bohemia and Moravia have for thousands of years belonged to the *Lebensraum* of the German people. Force and unreason have arbitrarily torn them from their old historical setting. Above all their incorporation in the artificial structure of Czecho-Slovakia created a breeding ground of constant unrest. Year by year there grew the danger that from this region there might emerge—as already once in the past—a terrible threat to European peace. For the Czecho-Slovak State and its rulers had failed to organize on a reasonable basis the communal life of the several nationality groups arbitrarily united within it. It had failed therefore to arouse and to preserve the interest of each group in the maintenance of the common State structure. It thus showed its innate incapacity to live and has now crumbled in actual fact. In this region, which for its own peace and safety as well as for the common weal and the general peace, is of such decisive importance that the German Reich cannot tolerate continued disturbances. Sooner or later the Reich, as historically and geographically the Power most interested in that region, would have to bear the heaviest consequences. It is in accordance, therefore, with the principle of self-preservation that the Reich is resolved to intervene decisively, to re-establish the bases of a reasonable Central European order, and to take all measures which in consequence arise. For in its long historical past it has shown itself, through the greatness and the qualities of the German people, as being alone fitted to fulfil these tasks.

Imbued with the sincere wish to serve the interests of the peoples living in this region, to secure the independent existence of the German and Czech nations, and to further peace and social welfare, I therefore order, in the name of the German Reich, that the future communal life of these peoples be established on the following basis: —

TERMS OF PROTECTORATE

Article I.

(1) The territories of the former Czecho-Slovak State occupied by the German troops in March, 1939, belong henceforth to the territory of the Great German Reich, and enter under its protection as the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia".

(2) In so far as the defence of the Reich demands it, the Führer and Reich Chancellor makes arrangements which diverge from this rule for isolated portions of territory.

Der Führer und Reichskanzler hat heute in Gegenwart des Reichsministers des Auswärtigen von Ribbentrop den tschechoslowakischen Staatspräsidenten Dr. Hacha und der tschechoslowakischen Außenminister Dr. Chwalkowsky auf deren Wunsch in Berlin empfangen. Bei der Zusammenkunft ist die durch die Vorgänge der letzten Wochen auf dem bisherigen tschechoslowakischen Staatsgebiet entstandene ernste Lage in voller Offenheit einer Prüfung unterzogen worden. Auf beiden Seiten ist übereinstimmend die Überzeugung zum Ausdruck gebracht worden, daß das Ziel aller Bemühungen die Sicherung von Ruhe, Ordnung und Frieden in diesem Teile Mitteleuropas sein müsse. Der tschechoslowakische Staatspräsident hat erklärt, daß er, um diesem Ziele zu dienen und um eine endgültige Befriedung zu erreichen, das Schicksal des tschechischen Volkes und Landes vertrauensvoll in die Hände des Führers des Deutschen Reiches legt. Der Führer hat diese Erklärung angenommen und seinem Entschlusse Ausdruck gegeben, daß er das tschechische Volk unter den Schutz des Deutschen Reiches nehmen und ihm eine seiner Eigenart gemäße autonome Entwicklung seines völkischen Lebens gewährleisten wird.

Zu Urkund dessen ist dieses Schriftstück in doppelter Ausfertigung unterzeichnet worden.

Berlin, den 15. März 1939.

The Führer and Chancellor of the Reich in the presence of Herr von Ribbentrop, Minister for Foreign Affairs, today received Dr. Hacha, President of the Czecho-Slovak State, and Dr. Chvalkovsky, the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, in Berlin at their request. At this meeting the serious condition of affairs which has arisen in the territory of what has hitherto been the Czecho-Slovak State as a result of the happenings of the past weeks was subjected to a completely frank examination. Both sides were unanimous in expressing their conviction that the aim of all endeavours must be to ensure calm, order and peace in this part on Central Europe. The President of the Czecho-Slovak State declared that, in order to serve this aim and to attain a final appeasement, he trustingly placed the destiny of the Czech people and country in the hands of the Führer of the German Reich. The Führer accepted this declaration, and expressed his determination to take the Czech people under the protection of the German Reich and to guarantee to it an autonomous development of its national life in keeping with its nature.

In witness whereof this document has been signed in duplicate.

Berlin, March 15, 1939.

Adolf Hitler
Ribbentrop

Dr. E. Hacha
Dr. Chvalkovsky

Article II.

(1) The German inhabitants of the Protectorate become German nationals and, in accordance with the Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935, Reich citizens. The regulations for the protection of German blood and German honour therefore hold valid for them. They are subject to German jurisdiction.

(2) The other inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia become nationals of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

Article III.

(1) The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia is autonomous and administers itself.

(2) It exercises the prerogatives which fall to it within the framework of the Protectorate in accordance with the political, military, and economic importance of the Reich.

(3) These prerogatives are exercised through its own organs, and its own authorities, with its own officials.

Article IV.

(1) The Head of the autonomous administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia enjoys the protection and the rights of the Head of a State. The Head of the Protectorate must have the confidence of the Führer and Reich Chancellor for the discharge of his office.

Article V.

(1) As the protector of Reich interests the Führer and Chancellor appoints a "Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia". His seat of authority is Prague.

(2) As the representative of the Führer and Reich Chancellor, and as the delegate of the Reich Government, the Reich Protector has the task of seeing that the lines of policy laid down by the Führer and Reich Chancellor are observed.

(3) The members of the Government of the Protectorate are confirmed by the Reich Protector. This confirmation can be withdrawn.

(4) The Reich Protector is authorized to inform himself about all measures taken by the Government of the Protectorate and to give advice. He can object to measures which are calculated to injure the Reich, and when delay seems dangerous can himself take measures necessary in the common interest.

(5) The promulgation of laws, decrees, and other orders, as well as the execution of administrative measures and judicial decisions, is to be stopped when the Reich Protector objects to them.

Article VI.

(1) The foreign affairs of the Protectorate, and in particular the protection of State subjects abroad, are managed by the Reich. The Reich will direct foreign affairs in such a way as to consort with the general interest.

(2) The Protectorate is to have a representative accredited to the Reich Government with the official title of "Minister".

Article VII.

(1) The Reich provides for the military defence of the Protectorate.

(2) In carrying out this protection the Reich keeps garrisons and military establishments in the Protectorate.

(3) For the maintenance of internal security and order the Protectorate can set up its own bodies. Their organization, strength, number, and armament are determined by the Reich Government.

Article VIII.

(1) The Reich takes direct charge of communications, as well as of the post and telephone system.

Article IX.

(1) The Protectorate belongs to the Customs territory of the Reich and is subject to the Reich Customs authority.

Article X.

(1) Until further notice the crown will be legal tender along with the mark.
(2) The Reich Government fixes the ratio of each money to the other.

Article XI.

(1) In so far as the common interest demands it, the Reich can promulgate orders applicable to the Protectorate.
(2) In so far as there is a common need for it the Reich can take administrative branches into its own administration and set up the requisite Reich authorities.
(3) The Reich Government can take measures necessary for the maintenance of law and order.

Article XII.

(1) The law now in force in Bohemia and Moravia remains valid except in so far as it contradicts the spirit of the protection undertaken by the German Reich.

Article XIII.

(1) The Reich Minister of the Interior promulgates, in agreement with the other competent Ministers, the legal and administrative rules necessary for the execution and amplification of this proclamation."

Prague, March 16, 1939.

(Signed) The Führer and Reich Chancellor,
Adolf Hitler,
The Reich Minister of the Interior,
Dr. Frick,
The Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs,
von Ribbentrop,
Reich Minister and Head of the Reich Chancellory,
Dr. Lammers.

Adolf Hitler received the delegates of the Prague Municipal Administration and those of the German National Group in Czecho-Slovakia together with President Hacha on the 16th March at 2.30 p. m. Shortly before, von Ribbentrop, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, had handed President Hacha the Proclamation issued by the Führer regarding the creation of the German Protectorate. At 11 p. m. President Hacha addressed the Czecho-Slovakian population through the radio.

President Hacha commenced his speech by recalling to memory the situation as it was twenty years ago. Already at that time fears had assailed him whether "despite the

remarkable success achieved, all inner and exterior securities prevailed to guarantee the durability of our success." He declared that he was compelled to recognize with great sorrow that the adjustment which, during a period of twenty years, had been regarded as the basis of a satisfactory solution, had only been a brief episode in the history of the nation. The future, President Hacha said, will be able to pronounce an unbiased judgment on those who are responsible for the fate which has befallen our country. "I am, however, of the conviction," Hacha continued, "that it is our duty to accept our fate with manly tranquillity and, in this spirit, to do all in our power for the benefit of our future, so that coming generations have no cause to reproach us. For this reason I have finally decided, with the consent of our Government, to ask the Führer and Reichs Chancellor Hitler for his protection."

President Hacha then described the journey he undertook to visit the Führer. "I was received with countless attentions and with all the respect due to the head of a nation. After lengthy discussions with Adolf Hitler and after recapitulation of the whole situation, I decided to declare that I entrusted the fate of the Czecho-Slovakian Nation to the guidance of the Führer. In reply to this manifestation of confidence, the promise was given me that the individuality and tradition of our Nation as well as our right to own national development will be absolutely respected. The Proclamation of the Führer dealing with the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia, proclaimed from the Castle at Prague, was the realization of this promise.

President Hacha recalled the ten centuries during which Germans and Czecho-Slovakians had lived together in peaceful harmony and drew the attention of his listeners to the fact that the former territorial unity of the German Reich has now been re-established. He then continued to say: "The Führer assured me of the confidence he placed in me. The proof of this confidence is the promise he gave me to grant us his support in the event that circumstances of our national existence should make such support necessary. Just as I do not desire to disappoint the constitutional bodies to whom I owe my nomination as President, I do not wish to disappoint the confidence Adolf Hitler has reposed in me. This confidence obliges me, however, to apply all measures, even the most rigorous, in case of necessity, if the interests of our Nation are in danger.

I confidently expect that, also under the new governmental régime, our Nation will be successful in its striving and will attain great prosperity in future." In his capacity as "responsible head and President of the Czecho-Slovakian Nation", Hacha terminated his radio address with the remark that he had resolved to act with all possible dispatch in taking the necessary and decisive steps to bring about complete unity among all classes of the population. Centrifugal tendencies could not be tolerated in future. In conclusion, President Hacha entreated all to actively participate in joint positive and fruitful work.

On the 16th March the following telegrams were exchanged between Adolf Hitler and Tiso with respect to the protection Adolf Hitler had consented to grant the Slovakian State.

Tiso, Slovakian Prime Minister, addressed the following telegram to Adolf Hitler:

> "Reposing complete trust in you, the Führer and Reich Chancellor of the Greater German Reich, the Slovakian State places itself under your protection. The Slovakian State requests you to undertake this protection. — Signed Tiso."

Adolf Hitler replied:

"I acknowledge receipt of your yesterday's telegram and herewith undertake the protection of the Slovakian State.—Signed Adolf Hitler."

German troops occupied the Western territories of Slovakia (approximately to the Waagtal) on the 15th and 16th March. Several divisions of German military forces also advanced as far as Eastern Slovakia.

The Slovakian Minister of Propaganda, Macha, emphasized that the telegrams exchanged between Hitler and Tiso guaranteed the security of the Slovakian State and that this protection was not identical with a Protectorate. German troops would protect the frontiers and consequently safeguard peace and order in the whole country. The integrity of the Slovakian State was not in any way endangered by these measures. Opinions voiced in the press remarked that this occupation, like the opportune invasion of Mährisch-Ostrau and Witkowitz, also represented a preventative measure of safety to counteract any possible steps planned by Poland.

To complete the portait of the historical termination of the Czecho-Slovakian State, it will be interesting to describe the circumstances which simultaneously led to the occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine.

Already on the 14th March the Hungarian Government had sent an *ultimatum* to Prague which stipulated a delay of twelve hours for the reply. This *ultimatum* provided that "in consideration of the recent events in the territory of Carpatho-Russia and the constantly recurring incidents which, on the one hand, endanger the peace of the Hungarian population inhabiting the border territories and which, on the other hand, create the possibility of an assault on Slovakian nationals who are contending for their independence in accordance with the right of self-determination of nations, the Hungarian Government demands

(a) That Hungarians confined in internment camps shall immediately be set free;

(b) that the persecution of persons of Hungarian race shall immediately cease and the possibility be granted them to freely organize themselves;

(c) that weapons be supplied to the Hungarian Military Leagues of Self-Protection;

(d) that Czecho-Slovakian-Moravian troops shall commence the evacuation of Carpatho-Russia within 24 hours;

(e) that property belonging to Hungarian subjects and persons of Hungarian nationality shall be fully respected.

Prague immediately replied to the demands formulated by the Carpatho-Ukraine Government. The Czecho-Slovakian Government agreed to protect life and property of Hungarian nationals and also assented to the military evacuation of Carpatho-Ukraine, whereas it was not willing to admit the establishment of an armed Hungarian Military League of Self-Protection. Hungarian troops traversed the Carpatho-Ukraine border north of Munkacs and occupied several villages.

The Carpatho-Ukraine Diet was convened for the 15th March and the Independence of the Carpatho-Ukraine State was proclaimed. Simultaneously Germany and Italy were asked for their protection. On the same day the Hungarian Government addressed an *ultimatum* to the Carpatho-Ukraine Government, providing for an answer until 8 p. m. This *ultimatum* demanded that, in order to avoid the shedding of blood, the executive authority *de facto* vested in the Government should be transferred to the Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian troops which were taking possession of the Carpatho-Ukraine territories. The Carpatho-Ukraine Government replied that it would send three delegates to Budapest for negotiations and expressed the desire that military operations should be suspended. The Hungarian Government answered that it was ready to receive the negotiators, but that the suspension of military operations was not possible.

On the following day the Carpatho-Ukraine Government fled to Rumania, requesting the Rumanian Government to incorporate Carpatho-Ukraine in the Rumanian Nation. The Rumanian Government paid no attention to this request. On the same day Hungarian military divisions reached the Polish frontier on their advance through Carpatho-Ukraine and occupied the capital Chust. The Hungarian troops encountered considerable and partly vehement resistance on the part of the Ukraine military League "SJC", and embittered skirmishes took place. The Czecho-Slovakian troops and Gendarmes, who had received instructions from the Prague Government to retreat, partly deserted, escaping to Polish or Rumanian territory, where they surrendered their arms.

The Hungarian Prime Minister Count Teleki read the following declaration on the 17th March in the Hungarian Upper House regarding the occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine:

"It is generally known what circumstances led to the urgent necessity of a speedy decision on the part of the Government and the occupation by our troops of Carpatho-Ukraine, a territory inhabited by Ruthenes. These steps were imperative because we have been called to intervene by the population itself, a population intimately related to our own Nation, which has been subjected to years of oppression and is now endangered by prevailing anarchic conditions. Not only the population, but also their chief executive and the Central National Carpatho-Ukraine Council have appealed to us. These steps were also necessary because not only the Ruthenian population, but also Hungarians and other groups of nationals living in this territory suffer under such anrchic conditions. Our present decision and mode of action were made possible by the speedy decision taken by Germany and by the close friendship which Germany and Italy, those two mighty and ancient friends of Hungary, have shown us in the past and at present, and also by the policy which we, enjoying their support, have adopted. Our heroic Honved troops have already occupied the greater part of the Ruthenian country. At Verecke, as well as at other points of the frontier, our Honved troops were able to greet their Polish brethren. The Hungarian Upper House is aware of the fact that the occupying Honved troops have received strict injunctions not to endanger the territorial interests of the countries bordering on the former Russinsko sphere, as we desire to avoid any misapprehensions in this direction.

By the means of this action we have now again taken possession of and restituted to its mother country this soil which is an intrinsic factor of Hungarian economic life and

which has belonged to Hungary for a thousand years. We shall grant our Ruthenian brethren the right of autonomy in the scope of our Constitution.

The declaration made by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Polish Senate on the 13th March coincided with that of Count Teleki. Beck had emphasized Poland's readiness to let bygones be bygones and to begin an absolutely new chapter in the relations to Czecho-Slovakia. The first hindrance in the way of good relations had been eliminated by the surrender of the Olsa territory. The second obstacle consisted in the fact that Czecho-Slovakia stretched like a long ribbon through Central Europe, cutting Poland off from all communication with the South East. The third impediment consisted in the toleration of anti-Polish tendencies in Czecho-Slovakia. Poland, Minister Beck said, still maintained its standpoint that the incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine in Hungary was the best solution of the problem. Slovakia should be given the opportunity of being subject and not object in international politics.

Confronted by this unanimous wish of Hungary and Poland regarding the Carpatho-Ukraine, the Führer then decided to waive all claims to this country.

On the 18th March Hitler appointed Reichsminister Konstantin von Neurath Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, with official head-quarters in Prague. Baron von Neurath maintained his offices as Reichsminister and President of the Privy Council.

The election of this eminent, experienced and capable diplomat to occupy such an important and responsible office was not only welcomed in Germany, but also abroad. This choice was regarded as the best guarantee for an unbiased and equitable policy *vis-à-vis* of the Bohemian-Moravian population. Von Neurath emphasized in an article published in the *Europäische Revue* dealing with the tasks incumbent upon him, that it was now imperative, after twenty years of deplorable misunderstanding, to give the inhabitants of the whole country the firm conviction that they would enjoy perfect justice and security and to re-awaken their confidence in a happier future, convincing them that an equitable compensation between existing divergencies and contrasts will take place. The Reichs Protector went on to say:—

"In consideration of the fresh wounds and scars left on all sides by recent events, I can also fully comprehend the sentiments of the population for whose security and fruitful development I am responsible to the Führer, and I respect these feelings. I consequently regard it as my foremost duty to demonstrate to the world that the German Nation knows how to further the national individuality of a population entrusted to its protection, to respect their national rights and, without encroaching on the honour and dignity of such a nation, to win the new member of the community to take active part in the common striving of the nation to which its historical and geo-political destiny has joined it. The political, cultural and administrative scope, as it has been set forth in the Proclamation of the Führer, is wide enough to guarantee an unhindered development of the great talents and possibilities inherent in Czecho-Slovakian tradition and national life and to lead the Bohemian-Moravian provinces, to which both Germans and Czechs are attached with glowing patriotism, to new cultural and economic prosperity."

An article by Dr. Hacha appeared in the same number of the journal. Dr. Hacha wrote that he was of the opinion that the newly created economic and political system decided upon with regard to Bohemia and Moravia was absolutely the best solution of the question in the prevailing circumstances, inasmuch as this adjustment at last gave justified hopes for final peace and the necessary security which alone permit an unhindered pursuance of national aims and endeavours. Dr. Hacha continued:

"On the occasion of the reception given at the Castle at Prague, the Führer and Reich Chancellor declared to the delegates of the town of Prague, that a loyal attitude on the part of our nation would guarantee a prosperous future for our country. The Führer had already made a similar statement in Berlin. I firmly believe in this promise and my conscience is tranquil when I think of my historical responsibility."

The text of the Treaty signed on March 23 between the German Reich and Slovakia is as follows:

Article I.

(1) The German Reich takes over the protection of the political independence of the Slovak State and the integrity of its territory.

Article II.

(1) For the execution of the protection undertaken by the German Reich the German armed forces have at all times the right to erect military bases in a zone west of the border of the Slovak State and east of the general lines—eastern edge of the Little Carpathian Mountains, eastern edge of the White Carpathians, and eastern edge of the Javoric Mountains.

(2) The German armed forces also have the right to keep these bases occupied in the sense which it considers necessary. The Slovak Government will arrange that the necessary ground be put at the disposal of the German armed forces for these bases.

(3) Furthermore, the Slovak Government will agree to the necessary regulation for the Customs-free provisioning of the German troops and the Customs-free supplying of the military bases from the Reich.

(4) In the above-mentioned zones the military sovereign rights will be exercised by the German armed forces. Persons of German nationality who are concerned with the erecting of the military bases in the prescribed zones in a private capacity are under German jurisdiction.

Article III.

(1) The Slovak Government will organize its own military strength in close co-operation with the German armed forces.

Article IV.

(1) In conformity with the agreed regime of protection the Slovak Government will always conduct its foreign policy in close understanding with the German Government.

Article V.

(1) This treaty comes immediately into force on being signed and is valid for 25 years. The two Governments will come to an understanding about its prolongation before the period lapses.

Berlin, March 23, 1939.

(Signed) von Ribbentrop, Dr. Tiso, Dr. Tuka, Dr. Durcansky.

State President Dr. Hacha submitted his decision for the dissolution of the National Assembly to M. Beran. That ended the Czecho-Slovakian Parliament after a non-too glorious period of 19½ years and the curtain was finally rung down on the tragedy of the Czecho-Slovak Republic whose history had been so similar to that of Austria.

Bohemia and Moravia together have an area of 49,362 square kilometres and a total population of 6,804,876—composed of 95.85% Czechs, 3.49% Germans and 0.31% Jews. Population density is 137 people to the square kilometre. Out of the whole population, 27.8% are employed in agriculture and afforestation, 38.17% in industry and commerce, 8.34% in trade and banking professions, 6.2% in public commerce, 8.34% in trade and banking professions, 6.2% in public communications, 6.84% in the public services and the liberal professions, and 12.65% in other trades or professions. The principle agricultural districts are situated along the Rivers Elbe and March (Morava). Centres of industry were determined according to the mineral wealth of the country. Coal and ore deposits in Kladno, Beraun and Mährisch-Ostrau have developed the iron and metal industries at Kladno, Prague, Pilsen and Mährisch-Ostrau. The food, wine, beer and spirits industries are found in the populous areas—Olmütz, Göding, Prague and Pilsen (particularly such products as sugar beet, spirits, malt, beer and starch). The textile industry is situated at Iglau, Nachod and Brünn, The shoewear industry is in Zlin. In Bohemia, 2.3 million tons of hard coal, 745,000 tons of iron ore, 109,000 tons of silver, lead and zinc ores, and 43,000 tons of manganese ore have been mined. In Moravia, 5.29 million tons of hard coal, 0.38 million tons of brown coal and 1.34 million tons of natural gas have been mined. The foundries have produced a total of 1.14 million tons of iron.

The new territory of Slovakia, as delimited by the Vienna Arbitration Award, comprises 38,456 square kilometres. The inhabitants number 2½ millions, of whom 85,6% are Slovaks, 5,6% Germans, 3,7% Carpatho-Ukrainians, 2,7% Hungarians, and 1,6% Jws. 57% of the population are employed in agriculture and forestry, 30% in industry. The forests constitute the main source of the country's resources. The industry founded on the rational exploitation of the forests is relatively undeveloped, and the riches of the soil have not yet been systematically explored. The latest output figures were as follows: lignite 730,000 tons annually; iron ores 770,000 tons; manganese ores 63,000 tons; silver, lead, and zinc ores 60,000 tons; gold ores 40,000 tons; antinomy ores 5,000 tons; crude oil (naphta) 13,000 tons; natural gas 118,000 cubic metres. The foundries produced 47,000 tons of big iron and 79,000 tons of raw steel.

Carpatho-Ukraine comprises 11,085 square kilometres, including 572,000 hectares of forest, and counts 552,124 inhabitants, of whom 70,6% are Ukrainians, 12,5% Hungarians, 12% Germans, 2,5% Rumanians, 1,3% Slovaks, and 0,8% of other nationalities.

As was to be foreseen, the annexation of Czecho-Slovakia by Germany produced a strong reaction in the democratic countries of Western Europe. The result of this reaction was to destroy all the advantages obtained in Munich in the direction of an international understanding, and to still further intensify the European tension already accentuated by the controversies between France and Italy.

Germany's policy was severely criticised in the British and French Parliaments, as well as in the Congress of the United States. The British and French Governments lodged protests in Berlin stating that they regarded the latest events as in absolute contradiction to the Munich Agreement, and to the idea of peaceful co-operation based on that Agreement. Both Governments refused to recognise the new state of things created by the action of the German Government. The German Foreign Office replied that it was unable to admit these protests, which it considered to be devoid of any political, legal, or moral justification. The British and French Ambassadors in Berlin were recalled by their respective Governments "to report". At the same time, the German Government recalled its Ambassadors in London and Paris for a similar reason.

At the same time, British Press reports spoke of alleged threats to the Rumanian Government by the German Trade Delegation then in Bucharest, and asserted that on receipt of a German ultimatum King Carol had appealed for help to London. These reports were subsequently denied in official Rumanian quarters.

President Roosevelt, in a statement to a Press conference, declared that he considered it essential that the neutrality legislation of the United States should be revised by Congress. The Under Secretary of the State Department, Mr. Sumner Wells, stressed that the United States unequivocally condemned the action taken by Germany. The United States Treasury announced the introduction of countervailing duties on German-imported goods, and motivated this measure by the German export suventions. The countervailing duties were fixed at 25% of the invoice price of all dutiable goods.

The Government of the Soviet Union likewise informed the German Government that it could not recognise the legality of the annexation of Czecho-Slovakia.

Mr. Chamberlain announced a few days later that the trade negotiations between Great Britain and Germany would be terminated for the time being, and that under no circumstances could the British Government admit a method of proceeding by means of which independent States were compelled under duress to give up their independence. Mr. Chamberlain added that the British Government was determined to oppose any attempt to repeat such a method of proceeding with all the forces at its disposal.

The German Press reacted unanimously to all these attacks. More especially did it question the right of Great Britain to sit in judgment on Germany, recalling in this connection the methods by which the British Empire had itself been built up, and alluding to the Gospel parable of the beam and the splitter. A semi-official statement issued in Berlin stressed that the recall of the German Ambassador in London "to report" was not a mere formality, but that it was intended to express the German Government's displeasure at England's attitude towards the solution of the Czecho-Slovak question. The statement pointed out that the German Government had at the express wish of the legal Czecho-Slovak Government clarified a situation which had become generally intolerable, and particularly so to Germany herself, and had settled a matter that concerned Germany exclusively. An agitation, alike in speeches and in the Press, had thereupon

commenced in England which revealed a total lack of any sense of responsibility with regard to European co-operation. The efforts made to incite Rumania against Germany by means of false reports, and to induce that country to adopt towards Germany a similar policy to that pursued by President Benes, could, according to this statement, only be described as criminal.

In connection with events in Palestine, England was reproached with gross hypocrisy; and it was, moreover, observed that certain information derived from official quarters in Prague clearly showed that up till quite recently the British Government had by no means helped to solve the Czecho-Slovak question. Hence it appeared doubtful whether Mr. Chamberlain's mission had been undertaken exclusively in the interest of peace, and whether it had not also been inspired by the desire to conceal the definite fiasco of British policy in Central Europe by means of a pacific gesture and a compromise.

The statement went on to emphasise that Germany had invariably and in all spheres endeavoured to reach an understanding, nay, to establish friendly relations, with England. This desire on the part of Germany had inspired the Anglo-German Declaration on the occasion of the Munich Conference. Neither the Agreement nor the Declaration bore an opportunist character, neither could be considered separately from the other as an isolated phenomenon; they were, on the contrary, correlated, since both were mutually conditioned expressions of a political conviction. If, therefore, the British Government declared that the solution of the Czecho-Slovak question was a violation of the Munich Agreement, it could only have in view the Anglo-German Agreement concluded in Munich. Hence one got the impression that England regarded, not only all agreements, but also all problems, exclusively from the standpoint of her own "power position", that she was hostile to any strengthening of Germany, and that she was bent on creating difficulties for Germany whenever the latter tried to ensure peace and security in the German *Lebensraum*. Under these circumstances Germany would find herself compelled to fundamentally and definitely revise the attitude she had hitherto adopted on principle towards Great Britain.

In order to understand the passage in the above cited semi-official German statement, that "the German Government had . . . clarified a situation which had become generally intolerable, and particularly so to Germany herself", and to properly appreciate the fundamental factors underlying Germany's policy in Central Europe, it should be recalled that, in the view of the Germans, the statesmen of the Allied and Associated Powers who drew up the Treaty of Versailles twenty years ago were less concerned with promoting the interests of the Czech nation, than with erecting a bastion by means of which it would be possible to perpetuate the servitude of the German nation. Already during the Great War skilful agitators had been entrusted with the congenial task of persuading the world that the historic mission of the Czechs was to serve as a bastion against German expansion. After the War, the self-satisfaction engendered by the consciousness of having formed part of the victorious *bloc* of nations not unnaturally increased the willingness of the Czechs themselves to fulfil the mission

thus assigned them—a willingness which could not be anything else than fatal to the hope of harmonious co-operation with other nationalities, both within and without the frontiers of the Czecho-Slovak State. Little by little, the Czechs became familiarised with the thought that they were pre-destined to be a thorn in the flesh of the German Reich, and, when the time came, to serve so to speak as "aircraft carrier" for Soviet airplanes on their way to bombard German towns.

But only if the Treaty of Versailles had proved immutable, could such an illusion have been transformed into reality. Quite apart from this, however, Prague placed such reliance on the solidarity of the Allied Powers with Czecho-Slovakia, even in the most unlikely conjectures, that it remained deaf to the well-meant warnings of its friends and persisted in adhering to a policy dictated by megalomania. Prague was unable to understand the signs of the times. Not even the reawakening of the German nation was able to persuade the Czecho-Slovak Government of the unvoidable and imperative necessity, not merely of a modification, but of a total change, of the policy hitherto blindly pursued by it.

A bitter, but most instructive, lesson was taught by the Munich Conference, which indicated that the time had arrived for serious heart-searching and for a real effort to grasp concrete realities, should the Czechs be able to maintain and justify their claim to independence—a claim lacking any historic basis. But even if Prague was subsequently inclined to be cautious in respect of its foreign policy, Czech jingoism could not refrain from manifesting itself within the State. In a proclamation to the Slovaks, the Slovak Premier, M. Tiso, stated that what had occurred on Slovak territory under the pressure of the Czecho-Slovak Government and of Czech troops was contrary to the natural rights of humanity. What the Germans who still remained in the Czecho-Slovak State had to expect was shown by the excesses of a twenty-year long deceived Czech population in Prague, Mährisch-Ostrau, Brünn, Iglau, and several other towns.

At last the day dawned when even those who had been entrusted with the political leadership of the Czechs were obliged to recognise themselves that the experiment of entrusting to Czech hands alone the responsibility of government in the Bohemian lands had definitely failed. Already before the arrival in Berlin of President Hacha, a broadcast message from Prague had indicated that the President's journey would be undertaken at his own personal wish, and had pointed out that his mission was dictated by recognition of the fact that, alike historically and geographically, the destinies of the Czech people had invariably lain within the sphere of power of the German Reich. The conversations in Berlin between Chancellor Hitler ans President Hacha resulted in the drawing-up of a jointly signed protocol according to which the Czech nation, whilst being granted an autonomous development of its national life conformably with the preservation of its ethnical peculiarities, was henceforth taken under the protection of the German Reich.

An interregnum which had lasted twenty years thus came to an end. The Bohemian land was again incorporated in the German Reich, within which, for upwards of a thousand years, it had successfully developed its own culture, and within which its welfare had been assured.

As regards Slovakia, conditions were different, since for the past twenty years that country had fought shoulder to shoulder with the Germans for its autonomy, and had thus been able to obtain the conviction that the proved friendship as well as the regained strength of the Reich afforded the surest guarantee of its national independence.

The dissolution of the union of Czecho-Slovakia raised inevitably the question of the fare of Carpatho-Ruthenia. When recalling the history of the origin of Carpatho-Ruthenia, it should not be forgotten that the Czech advocates of the incorporation of this territory with Czecho-Slovakia were mainly inspired by the consideration that it formed a useful bridgehead in the neighbourhood of the Soviet Union—a conception by no means calculated to inspire confidence in Germany. Later on, after the events in October, it was maintained that Germany pursued certain obscure aims and regarded the territory in question as a "corridor". The most recent happenings have shown that such assertions were mere fables. Developments have taken an entirely different turn. The Hungarian Premier Count Telecki expressly stressed in a speech to the Lower House of the Diet that the inhabitants of Carpatho-Ruthenia—or Carpatho-Ukraine—would be accorded the right of self-government.

It suffices to glance at the history of Bohemia and Moravia to obtain the conviction that these regions form a part of a German cultural *enclave* innumerable centuries old, and which, moreover, formed an integral part of the German Empire for something like a thousand years. History records that these regions invariably flourished as long as they were bound-up with the Reich, and deteriorated when their organic historical, geographical, cultural, and economic connection with the Reich was arbitrarily severed. As I do not wish to bore the reader with a long historical dissertation on the subject, I will content myself with a few details:—

According to Tacitus, the name Bohemia is derived from its oldest known inhabitants, the Celtic "Boier." The "Boier," in their turn, were driven out by the Germanic Markomans, who arrived in the country under their leader Marbod in the Year 9 B. C., and alongside of whom we find the Langobards and other Germanic tribes. Marbod founded there an empire which, owing to internal dissensions, soon became dependent on Rome. About the same time the Germanic Quads invaded Moravia, where they replaced a Celtic tribe. After the downfall of the Roman Empire, part of the Germanic tribes entered the regions thus evacuated in the South and the South-West in the fifth century, so that in the sixth and seventh centuries Slav tribes could enter the region and create various sovereign domains.

The first Western Slav State was founded by the Frank merchant Samo, who freed the Slavs from their dependence on the Avares, with whom they had come into the region. After Samo's death, the Slavs proved incapable of maintaining the independence of their State, which was dissolved in 660, whereupon the Avares regained their ancient predominance.

The second liberation of the Western Slavs from the domination of the Avares

was also accomplished by a Frank. In 805 Charlemagne undertook a campaign, as a result of which Bohemia and the lands connected with it became fiefs of the Carolingian empire. Thus was the epoch of their close connection with the Holy Roman Empire inaugurated—an epoch which lasted throughout the centuries until the downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918. Under the protection of the German Empire, the Western Slavs settled in Bohemia and Moravia experienced their gradual development to a Czech nation.

The first essential period of that epoch was the period of the Germanophile Przemyslides, who vanquished the other tribes. In 822 Bohemian Princes made their appearance at the Hoftag in Frankfurt, to do homage to the German Emperor. In 845 no fewer than 14 Bohemian Dukes were baptised. An attempt by the Dukes in Moravia to pursue an independent policy failed. At the assembly of the Reich magnates in Regensburg, the Dukes Spitignev and Vratislav took the oath of allegiance to Emperor Arnulf, and in the battle on the Lechfeld in 955 Duke Boleslav I helped the German Emperor to repulse the onslaught of the Magyars. On the other hand, the Germans lent the Przemyslides armed assistance to recover their domains which had been lost to the Poles, and in 1004 Emperor Henry II was the guest of the Przemyslides in Prague. Already before that date a Bishop of Prague, who was a scion of the House of the Przemyslides, had been nominated Chancellor of the Empire.

At the Reichstag in Regensburg in 1041 Emperor Henry III gave back, undiminished in size, their Bohemian fief to the Przemyslides. During the ensuing years the relations between Bohemia and the Empire became closer, and in 1085 Emperor Henry IV bestowed the Regal Crown on Duke Vratislav at the Reich Synod in Mayence. Henceforth the Przemyslides were also raised to the dignity of Hereditary Cup-Bearers of the German Emperor. In 1158 the Regal Crown was bestowed for the second time on a Przemyslide, in 1212 for the third time (by Emperor Frederic III), and from this date onwards the title of King became hereditary in the House of the Przemyslides.

The rule of the Przemyslides, which lasted until the final extinction of the dynasty in 1306, over the fief held by them as vassals of the German Crown, was extremely fruitful in results, which are still to-day everywhere visible. One of the most eminent of the Przemyslide rulers was Ottokar II, whose aim it was to create, within the framework of the Empire, a State of impressive dimensions with Prague as its capital.

King Ottokar II, himself a grandson of Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, had, moreover, at a certain time the prospect of becoming the heir of the Hohenstaufens as German Emperor. He was in possession of an extensive and powerful dominion that reached from Bohemia to the Adriatic Sea. Already during the lifetime of his father, Ottokar in his capacity as Margrave of Moravia had acquired the Dukedom of Austria after the extinction of the Babensbergers. He had, in addition, conquered Styria from the Hungarians, and had subsequently subjugated Carinthia and Carniola, thus extending his reign as far as the shores of the Mediterranean.

The duration of this Greater Bohemian State was, however, cut short by Em-

peror Rudolph of Habsburg, who, having defeated Ottokar II in the battle on the Marchfelde, compelled him to surrender his newly-gotten possessions. But the attempt to extend the authority of the Bohemian Crown was renewed the Bohemian lands passed to the Luxemburg dynasty. Henceforth German Princes wore the Bohemian Crown, and Prague, the "Golden City", became capital of the Holy Roman Empire. To the German Emperor and King of Bohemia Charles IV that city owed the highest degree of prosperity to which it has ever attained. In 1348 Charles IV founded here the oldest university, not only in Germany, but in Central Europe, to which he succeeded in attracting the leading architects and scholars of his day. In a Golden Bull he declared Bohemia to be the "first land of the Empire", thus leaving the Czechs to play the part, to which they were undoubtedly entitled, of a co-operating nation within the German Empire. As a matter of fact, a Czech independent State never existed until 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles made the attempt, since proved to have been unsuccessful, to establish one. Charles IV rendered greater services to the Czechs than to the Empire.

Ecclesiastical controversies, complicated by a social problem arising out of the demands of the peasantry, inspired the anti-German Hussite movement at the commencement of the fifteenth century. The murder of John Huss in 1419 by order of the Council of Constance was followed by a series of devastating wars, which resulted in a serious set-back for the Germans in the whole of Bohemia, but also in a not less serious retrogression of the whole country in all domains.

Four centuries of Habsburg rule followed, in the course of which the Czechs enjoyed complete freedom of development, which, however, they failed to properly appreciate. It is interesting, in this connection, to observe that after the Great War the Czechs immediately overthrew the monuments of Emperor Joseph II, although it was to him that they owed the abolition of the serfdom of their own peasants which had been imposed by their own Czech aristocracy. In the domain of culture, the educational policy of Empress Maria Theresa opened for the first time considerable possibilities of development to the Czechs. The number of schools established conformably with Maria Theresa's legislation constantly increased, a Czech university was created in Prague side-by-side with the ancient German university. At the same time Czech influence asserted itself ever more and more at the Court of Vienna, while Czech influence also rose steadily in all branches of economic life.

The Czechs constituted an integral part of the Holy Roman Empire until its dissolution in 1805. They subsequently continued to form an integral part of the realms of the Habsburg Monarchy until 1918.

The twenty years' existence of the Czecho-Slovak Republic created after the Great War proved, also in the view of many thoughtful Czechs, to be a period of "independence" which was more apparent than real. A small, and by no means homogeneous, nation had assumed tasks that exceeded its strength and exhausted its resources. The purely theoretical construction of a Czech State as dreamt of by a Masaryk and a Benes turned out in practice to be a blessing to no one— neither to Europe nor to the Czechs themselves. The attempt to realise the

illusory promises made in 1919 deprived the Czechs of the requisite leisure for accomplishing their natural destiny, which lay in their self-development—a self-development which they had successfully pursued for centuries during their incorporation and intimate association with the German Empire. Up till the outbreak of the Great War, the history of the Czechs had been one of continuous progress, whereas in the ensuing years Czecho-Slovakia inevitably became an element of European unrest and a source of danger for European peace.

The work of Adolf Hitler has re-established a condition of affairs that conforms to all historical, geographical, economic and cultural requirements. Developments already show that the promise given by Reichs Protector von Neurath—that Bohemia and Moravia will once more enjoy prosperity—will shortly be fulfilled. It is certainly in Germany's interest to see in the midst of her *Lebensraum* a happy and contented people instead of seven million people in dire distress and enemies of the Reich (see Picts. 195—196).

On April 28, 1939, the Führer took the opportunity in his Reichstag speech of replying direct to his foreign critics. After describing the results of the Munich Conference and the subsequent developments, Hitler drew attention to the fact that after the Vienna decision had been arrived at, two countries had at once lodged their protest. Hungary demanded the Carpatho-Ukraine on general and particular grounds and Poland demanded a direct connexion with Hungary. It was clear, therefore, in the circumstances that the remants of the State which the Treaty of Versailles had created, was doomed to death. As a matter of fact there was perhaps only one country, viz. Rumania, that was interested in the maintenance of the old status. Rumania had officially expressed the desire for a direct route to Germany via the Ukraine and Slovakia.

"I mention this"—said the Führer—"as an illustration of the feeling of being menaced by Germany from which the Rumanian Government—according to the American clairvoyants—are supposed to be suffering. But it was now clear that it could not be Germany's task permanently to oppose a development or actually to fight for the maintenance of a state of affairs for which we could never have made ourselves responsible. The stage was thus reached at which in the name of the German Government I decided to make a declaration to the effect that we had no intention of any longer incurring the reprobation of opposing the common wishes of Poland and Hungary as regards their frontiers, simply in order to keep open a road of approach for Germany to Rumania."

"Since moreover the Czech Government"—the Führer continued—"resorted once more to its old methods, and Slovakia also gave expression to its desire for independence, the further existence of the State was out of the question. The construction of Czecho-Slovakia worked out at Versailles had had its day. It broke up, not because Germany desired its break-up, but because in the long run it is impossible to construct and uphold around the conference table artificial States which are incapable of survival. Consequently, in reply to a question regarding the guarantee, which was submitted by England and France a few days before the dissolution oft his State, Germany refused this guarantee, since all the conditions for it laid down at Munich were lacking. On the contrary.

When the whole structure of the State had begun to crumble and practically speaking had already dissolved itself—the German Government finally decided also to intervene, and did so only in fulfilment of an obvious duty. For the following point should be noted: on the occasion of the first visit of the Czech Foreign Minister, M. Chvalkovsky, in Munich, the German Government plainly expressed their views on the failure of Czecho-Slovakia. I myself assured M. Chvalkovsky on that occasion that provided loyal treatment was meted out to the large German minorities remaining in the Czech territory, and provided a general appeasement of the whole State was attained, we would guarantee a loyal attitude on the part of Germany, and would for our part place no obstacles in the way of the State.

But I also made it clear beyond all doubt that if the Czechs were to undertake any steps in line with the political tendencies of Dr. Benes, the former President, Germany would not put up with any development along such lines, but would stifle it in its earliest stages. I also pointed out at that time that the maintenance of such a tremendous military arsenal in Central Europe for no reason or purpose could only be regarded as a focus of danger."

After detailing the enormous quantities of war material confiscated by German troops in Bohemia and Moravia, the Führer dealt with the contention that this confiscation was contrary to the Munich Agreement and to the Anglo-German Declaration. He went on to say:

"The contention that this solution is contrary to the Munich Agreement can neither be supported nor confirmed. This Agreement could under no circumstances be regarded as final, because it admitted that other problems required and remained to be solved. We cannot really be reproached for the fact that the parties concerned—and this is the deciding factor—did not turn to the Four Powers but only to Italy and Germany; nor yet for the fact that the State as such finally split up of its own accord and there was consequently no longer any Czecho-Slovakia. It was, however, understandable that long after the ethnographic principle had been made invalid Germany should take under her protection her interests dating back a thousand years, which are not only of a political but also of an economic nature.

The future will show whether the solution which Germany has found is right or wrong. However, it is certain that the solution is not subject to English supervision or criticism. For Bohemia and Moravia, as the remnants of former Czecho-Slovakia, have nothing more whatever to do with the Munich Agreement. Just as English measures in say Northern Irland whether they be right or wrong, are not subject to German supervision or criticism this is also the case with these old German Electorates.

However, I entirely fail to understand how the Agreement reached between Mr. Chamberlain and myself at Munich can refer to this case, for the case of Czecho-Slovakia was settled in the Munich Protocol of the Four Powers as far as it could be settled at all at that time. Apart from this, provision was merely made that if the interested parties should fail to come to an understanding they should be entitled to appeal to the Four Powers, who had agreed in such a case to meet for further consultation after the expiration of three months. However, these interested parties did not appeal to the Four Powers at all, but only to Germany and Italy. That this was fully justified moreover is proved by the fact that neither England nor France have raised any objections thereto, but have themselves accepted the decision given by Germany and Italy.

No. The Agreement reached between Mr. Chamberlain and myself did not relate to this problem but exclusively to questions which refer to the mutual relationship be-

tween England and Germany. This is clearly shown by the fast that such questions are to be treated in future in the spirit of the Munich Agreement and of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, that is, in a friendly spirit by way of consultation. If, however, this Agreement were to be applied to every future German activity of a political nature, England, too, should not take any step, whether in Palestine or elsewhere, without first consulting Germany.

It is obvious that we do not expect this; likewise we refuse to gratify any similar expectation of us. Now if Mr. Chamberlain concludes from this, that the Munich Agreement is for this reason annulled, as if we had broken it, then I shall take note of this, and proceed accordingly."

The Führer then continued on the subject of Anglo-German relations, the German demands for colonies, and then announced the cancellation of the Naval Treaty.

We have now arrived at the final stage of National Socialist foreign policy in the year 1939—the stage that ends with the return of Memel to the Reich.

An official Declaration was issued in Kowno between March 21 and 22 as the result of a conversation which M. Urbsys, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister had with Herr von Ribbentrop at Berlin. This Declaration stated that Germany had suggested to the Lithuanian Government the return of the Memel territory as the means for arriving at an amicable settlement. Von Ribbentrop,—the Declaration added—had further stated that if the return of Memel was carried out as the result of open negotiations, then the economic interests of Lithuania in the Memel port would be given every possible consideration. The German Foreign Minister had also declared that this would be in conformity with the wishes of the German population in Memel and further, that such a step would bring about a still closer relationship between the two countries.

The Lithuanian Cabinet gave its consent for the return of Memel to the Reich and the Sejm was informed the same day. A Lithuanian Delegation headed by M. Urbsys, left for Berlin where a German-Lithuanian Agreement was signed. The terms of this Agreement were as follows:

Article I.

(1) The Memel district, separated by the Treaty of Versailles from Germany, is reunited from to-day with the Reich.

Article II.

(1) The Memel district will be immediately evacuated by the Lithuanian military and police forces. The Lithuanian Government will see to it that the territory remains in an orderly condition in the course of evacuation.

(2) These partners will appoint commissioners in so far as this is necessary to carry out the handing over of the administrations which are not in the hands of the autonomous authorities of the Memel district.

(3) The settlement of the remaining questions arising from the change in sovereignty, especially of economics and finance, questions dealing with officials as well as questions of citizenship, will be reserved for a special agreement.

Article III.

(1) In order to give consideration to the economic needs of Lithuania a free port zone will be provided for Lithuania in Memel. Details will be settled according to the lines laid down in the annex to this Treaty.

Article IV.

(1) In order to strengthen their position and the security of friendly development between Germany and Lithuania, these partners shoulder the obligations never to resort to force against one another, nor to support the use of force by a third party against one of the two partners.

Article V.

(1) This Treaty comes into force with its signing.

Berlin, March 22, 1939.

(Signed) von Ribbentrop, Urbsys, Skirpa.

The annex follows in connexion with the free port zone at Memel, where a Memel Harbour Company is to be established with nearly all Lithuanian capital. The Company is to be granted appreciable taxation relief.

On March 23, the Führer left for Memel on board the armoured cruiser "Deutschland" accompanied by light naval units. He received an enthusiastic welcome on arrival at the port. Naval and military detachments and air squadrons completed the occupation of the city (see Picts. 197—198).

Another injustice of the so-called Peace Treaty of Versailles had therewith been removed.

When, in 1919, Germany was forced to waive her claim to Memel, it was still a moot point who would eventually claim this territory. Only in January 1923—during the occupation of the Ruhr Valley—was the problem solved. A coup d'etat was staged by so-called Lithuanian irregulars (actually they were officers and men of the regular army) and within a very short time the French civil authorities were forcibly removed. No notice of course was taken of public opinion.

To cover up this unjust and illegal act, the draughtsmen of the Versailles Treaty drew up a Statute for the Memel territory which embodied full "autonomous rights" for the German-Memel population. The Guarantor Powers, however, took little if any interest in their obligations and left Lithuania the way open to undertake an intense anti-German campaign of oppression in Memel which was, of course, in full accord with the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles.

This carefully laid plot to destroy law and order in Europe has proved abortive. During long years of suffering and oppression the Germans in this territory have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner. Their loyalty has never been questioned by the Reich. It was, however, clear from the beginning that a New Germany would never content herself with conditions on her frontier that were proving detrimental to good relationship and good neighbourly feeling.

The Lithuaniam Government shared this opinion. Twenty years of a po' y which she was forced to conduct through no fault of her own, had shown Lithuania that it was senseless to burden herself in the long run with a territory whose inhabitants desired to remain loyal to the Reich.

For the Reich, it was a great satisfaction to know that the inhabitants of Memel had not only remained loyal and therefore received their just reward, but also that the sensible policy of the Lithuanian Government had brought about a closer and warmer friendship and understanding between the two countries. The creation of a free port zone at Memel does full justice to vital Lithuanian economic requirements. On the other hand, the stipulation that Germany and Lithuania, as partners, shoulder the obligations never to resort to force against one another, nor to support the use of force by a third party against them, is not only a happy sympton for the new German-Lithuanian relationship but also a valuable contribution towards security in North Eastern Europe. (1)

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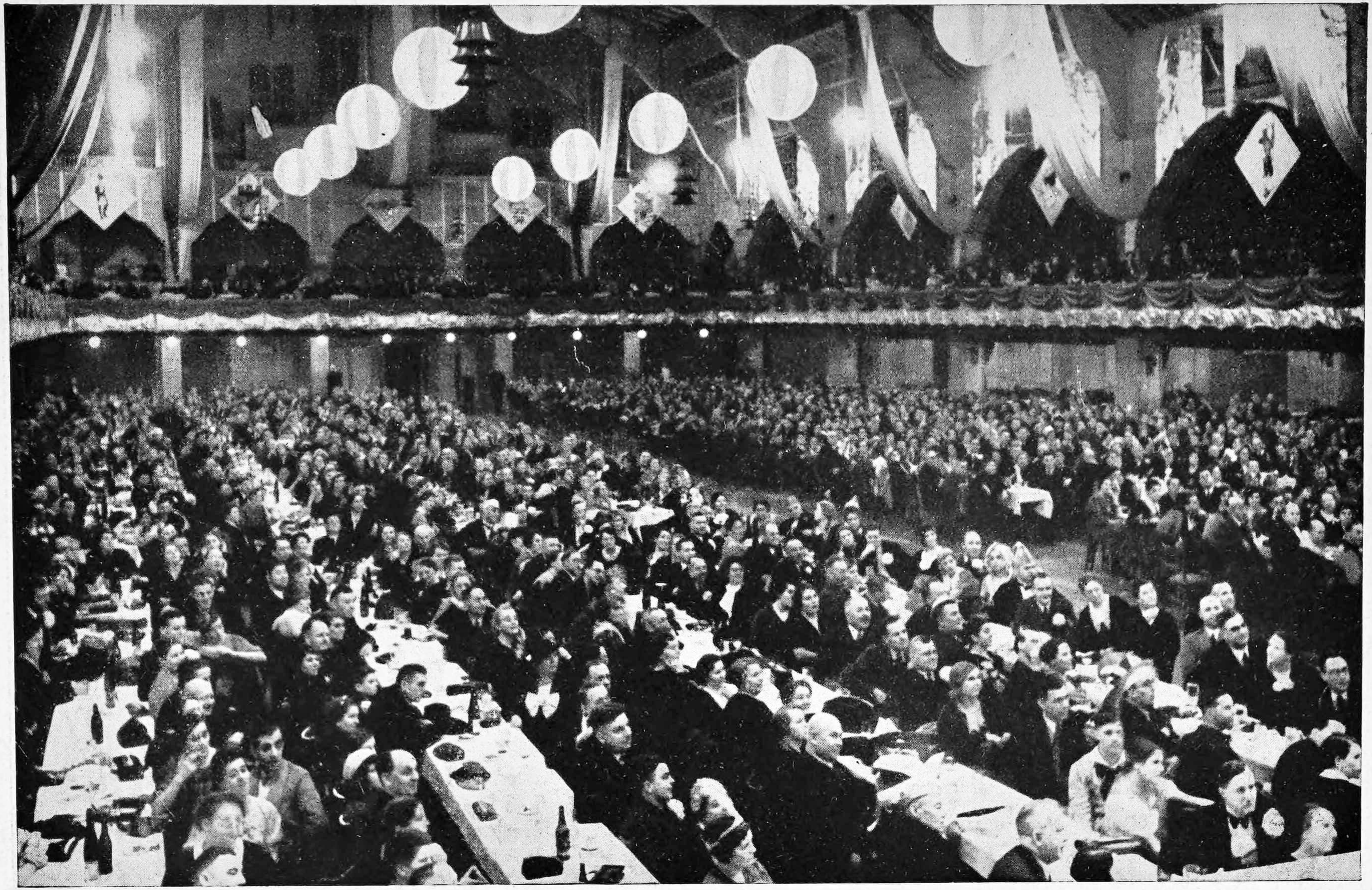
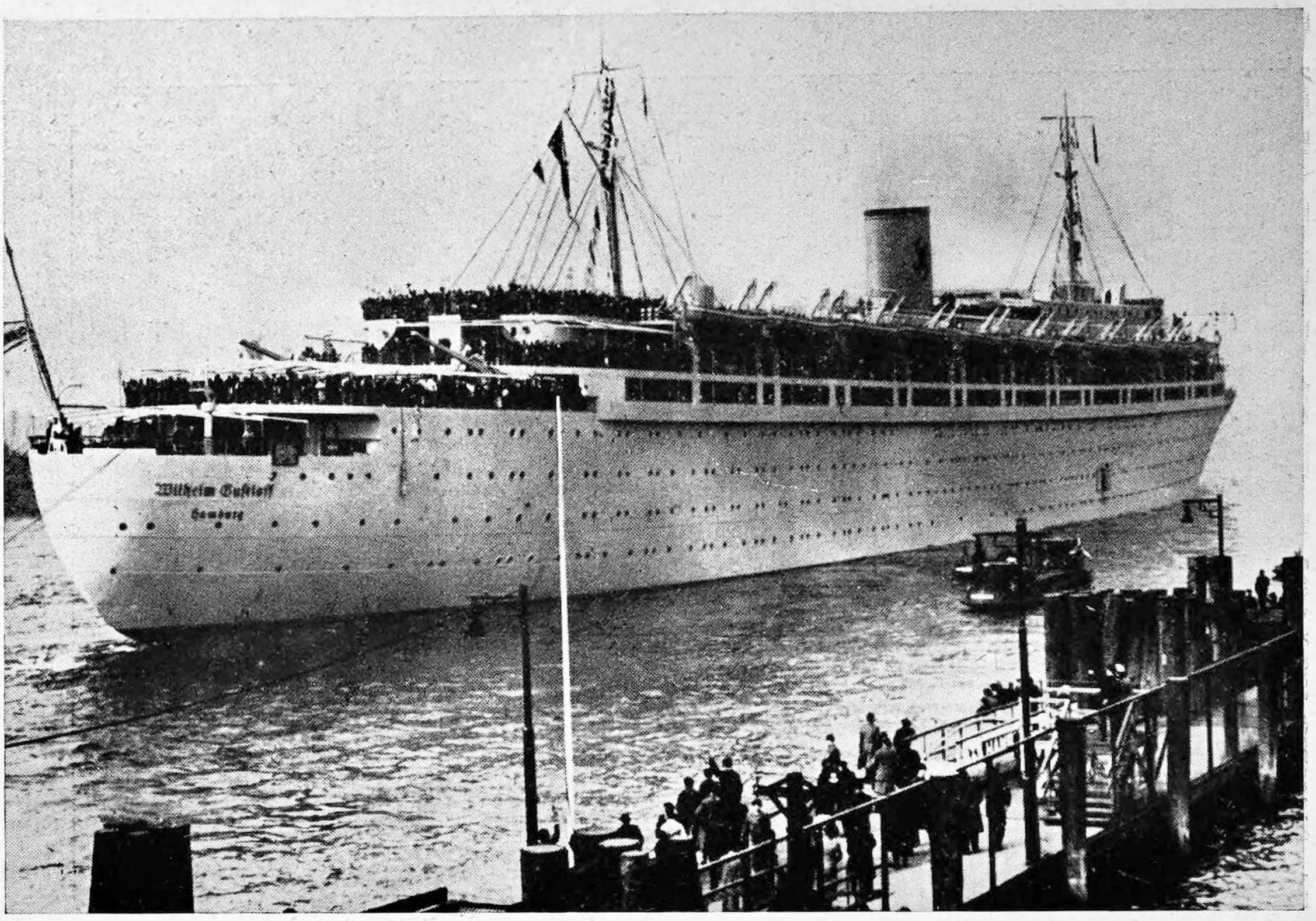
(1) Memel has an area of 2,657 square kilometres and a population of approx. 150,000 of whom 42,000 live in the city of Memel. Half of the soil of the country is utilized for agricultural and garden requirements. Twelve percent are grasslands and meadows and 14% forest. Approx. 75% of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture. The next important branch of industry is fishing. Industries are still more or less undeveloped. 163 industrial centres employ 8,100 people. Textile, food, and paper industries must also be mentioned besides the wood industry. An important pillar of Memel economic life is the port of Memel. In pre-War years the total tonnage handled was 705,000 which increased in 1938 to 1,6 million tons. In 1938 this tonnage was divided as follows: Germany 568,412; England 345,200; Sweden 245,046; Lithuania 132,396; followed by Denmark, Norwey and Holland.

The port of Memel is the natural outlet for one of the most important Eastern river districts extending via Lithuania and Poland into Russia. For timber transport it represents a cheap and easy method of transport from the rich forest lands.

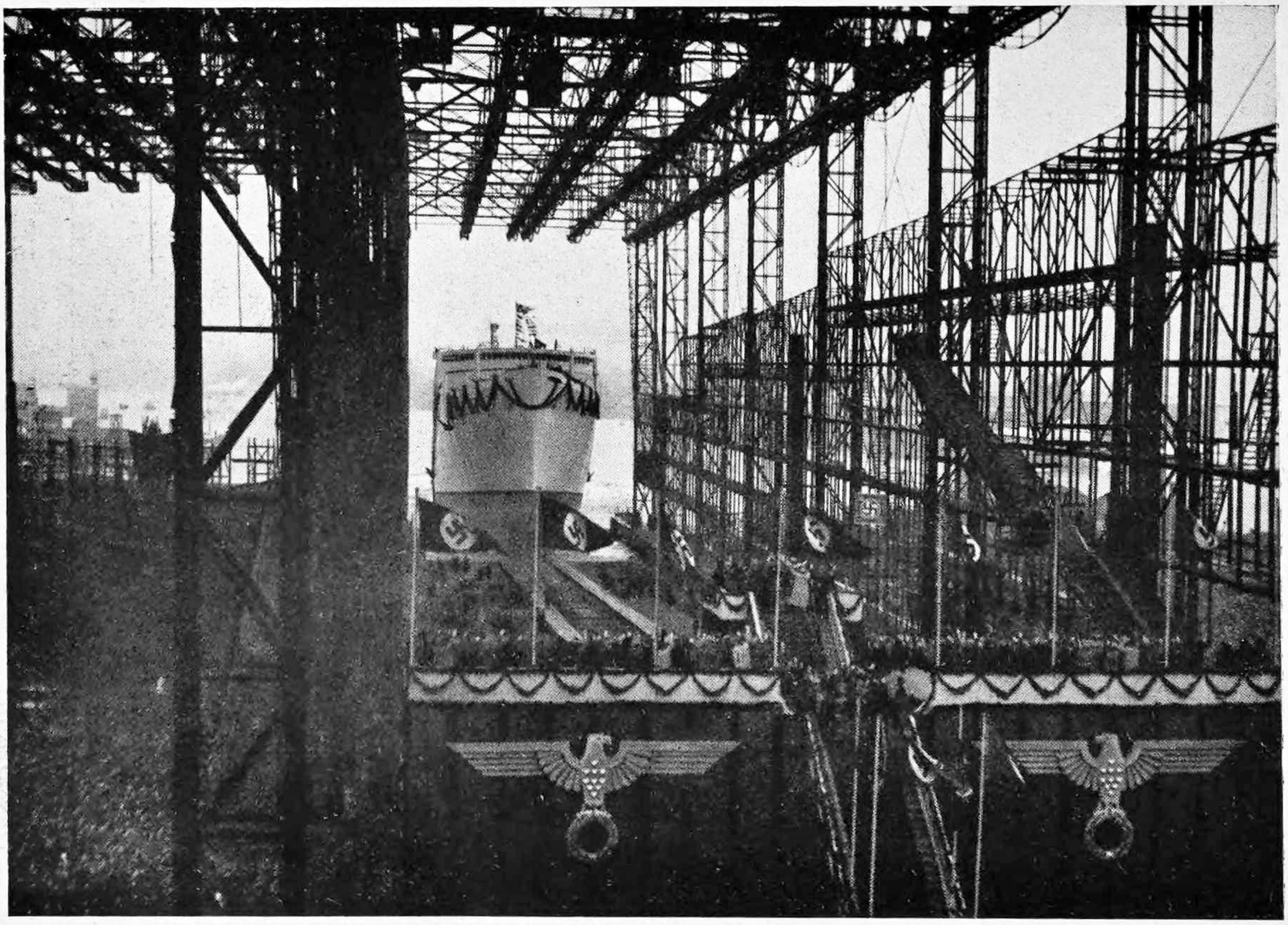


102. A festive evening of German workers

SOCIAL POLICY



103. The 25000-ton "Strength through Joy" ship, — a pioneer in the service of holidays for German workers



104. The launch of its sister ship the "Dr. Robert Ley"

SOCIAL POLICY



105. Workers on board a "Strength through Joy" liner en route for Madeira



106. How they are served and generally looked after

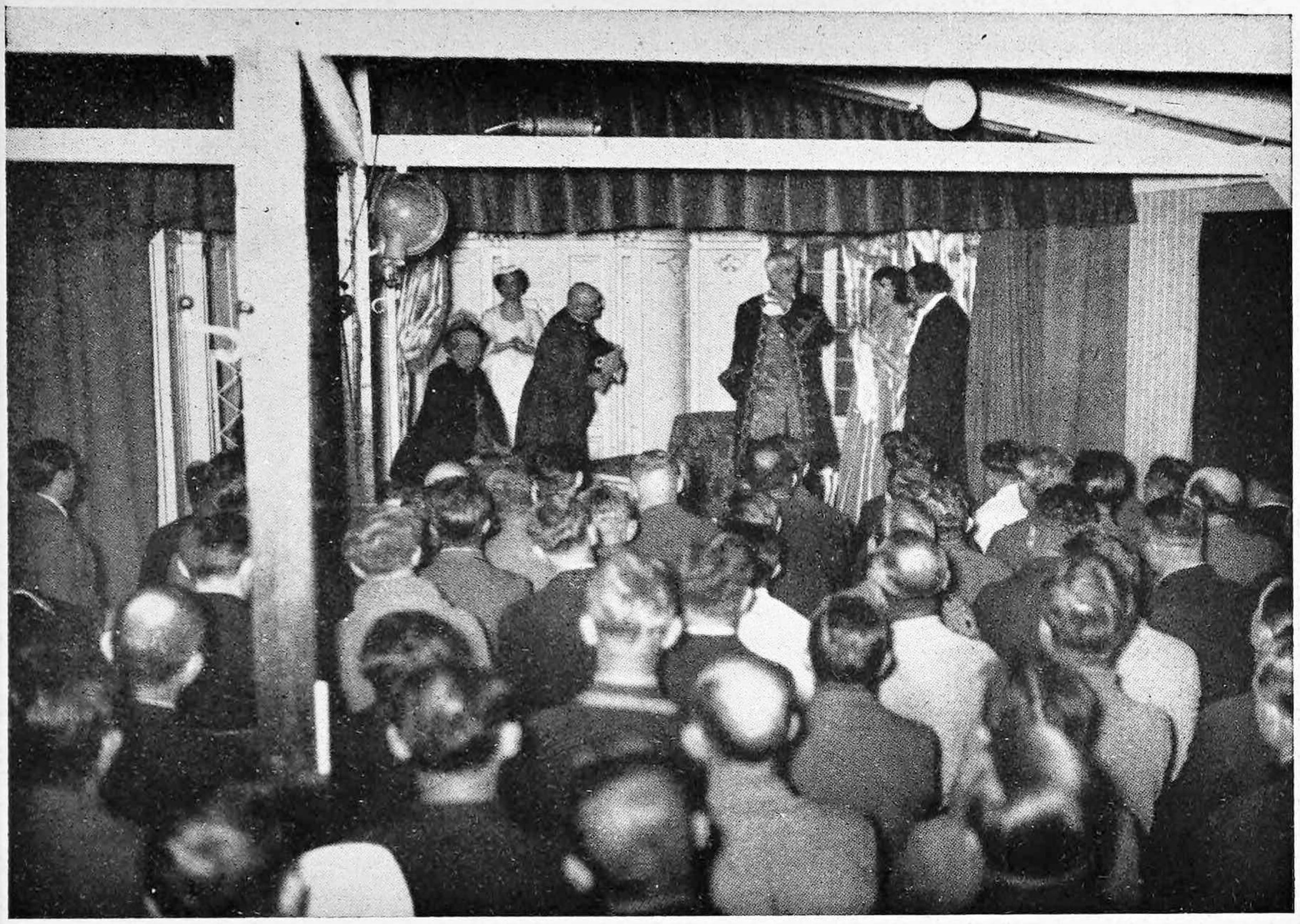
SOCIAL POLICY



107. Enthusiastic "Strength through Joy" tourists arriving at Ponta Delgada in the Azores



108. The plan of the "Strength through Joy" seaside resort, accomodating 20,000 workers on the island of Rügen (Baltic)



109. Itinerant theatre for workers on the Reich motor-roads

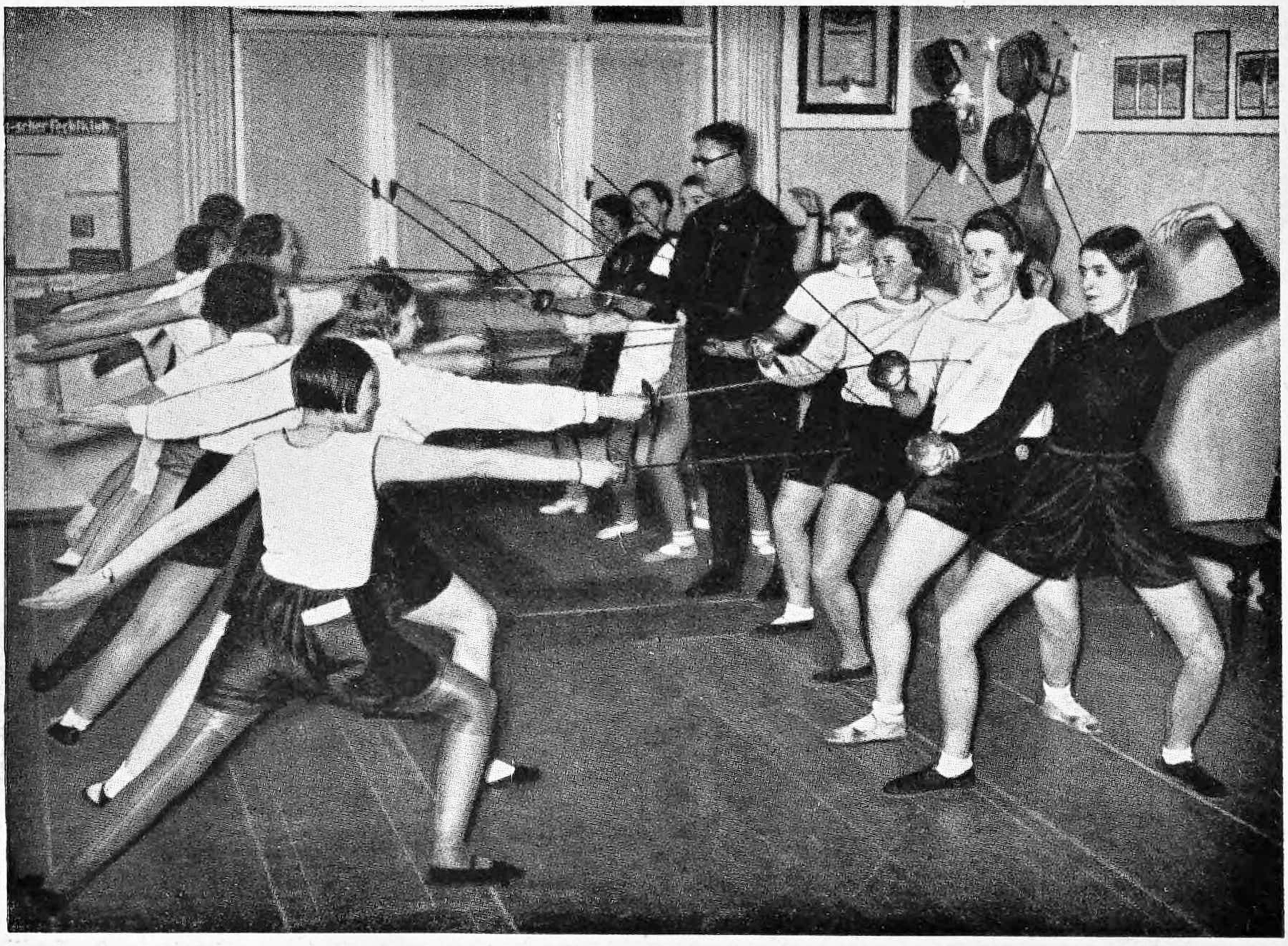


110. Sailing on board one of the numerous yachts belonging to the "Strength through Joy" community

SOCIAL POLICY



111. The community also teaches its members how to ride and

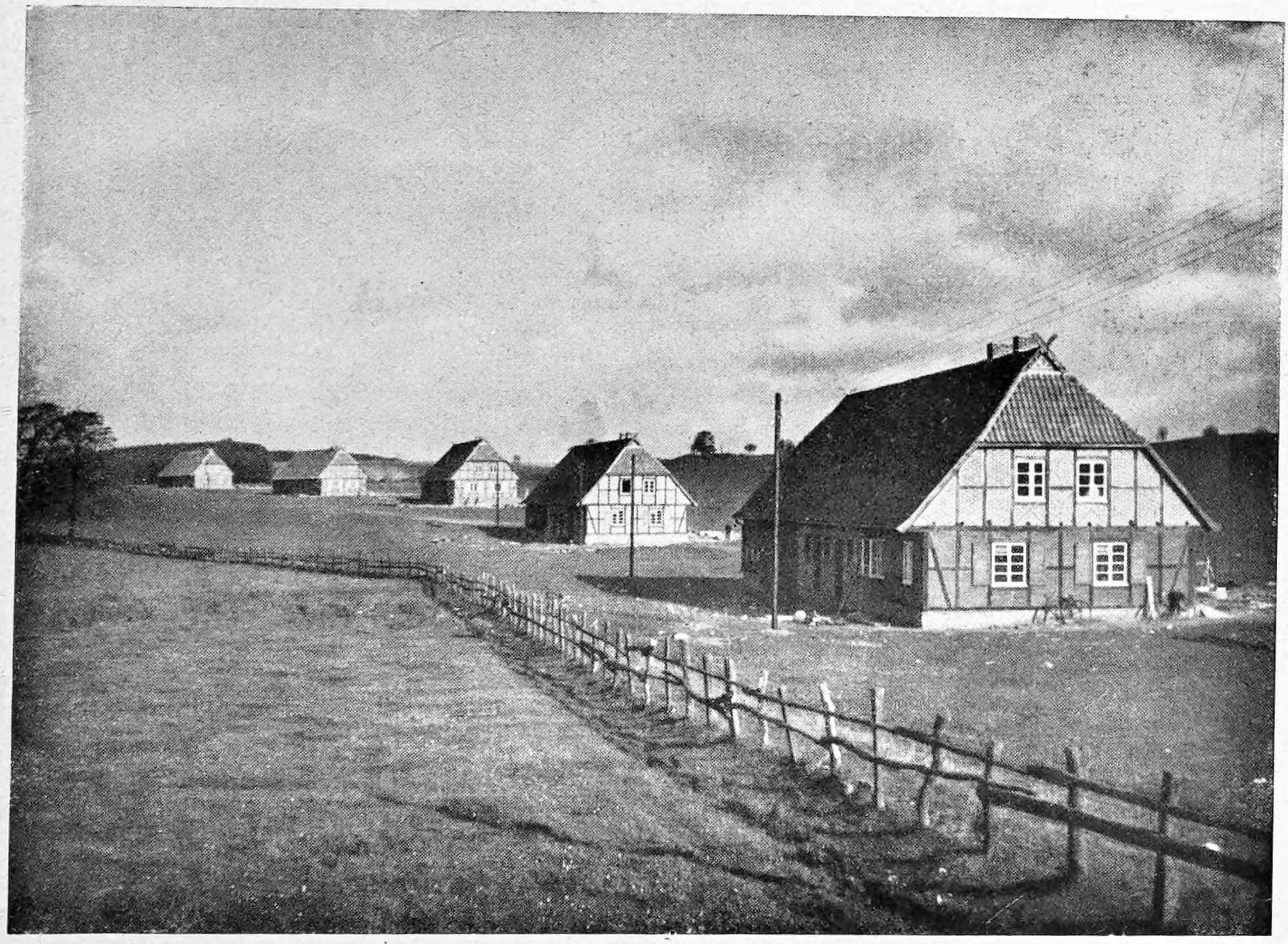


112. . . . how to fence

SOCIAL POLICY



121. Flat style of workers cottages

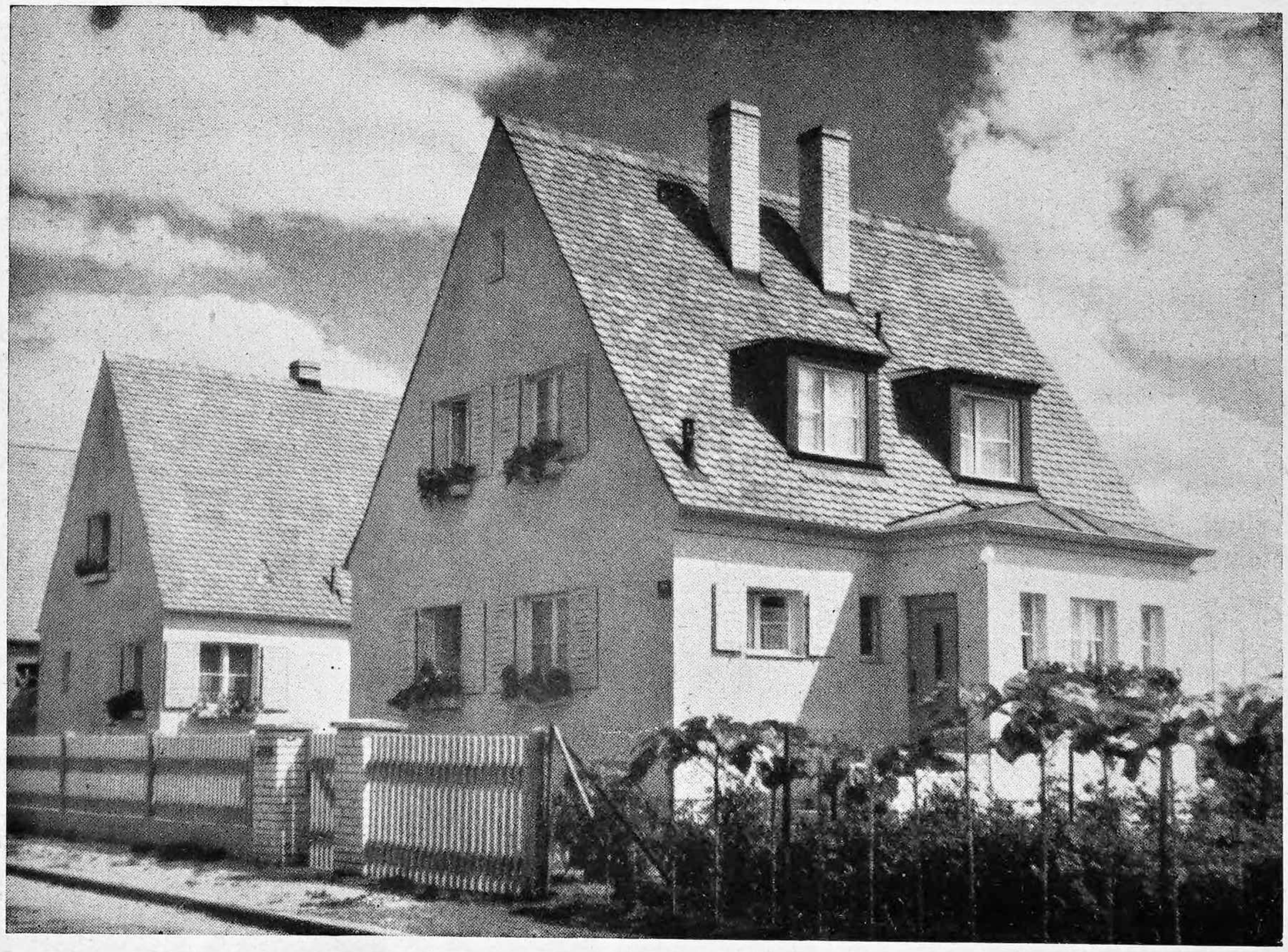


122. Homes for farm labourers

HOUSING

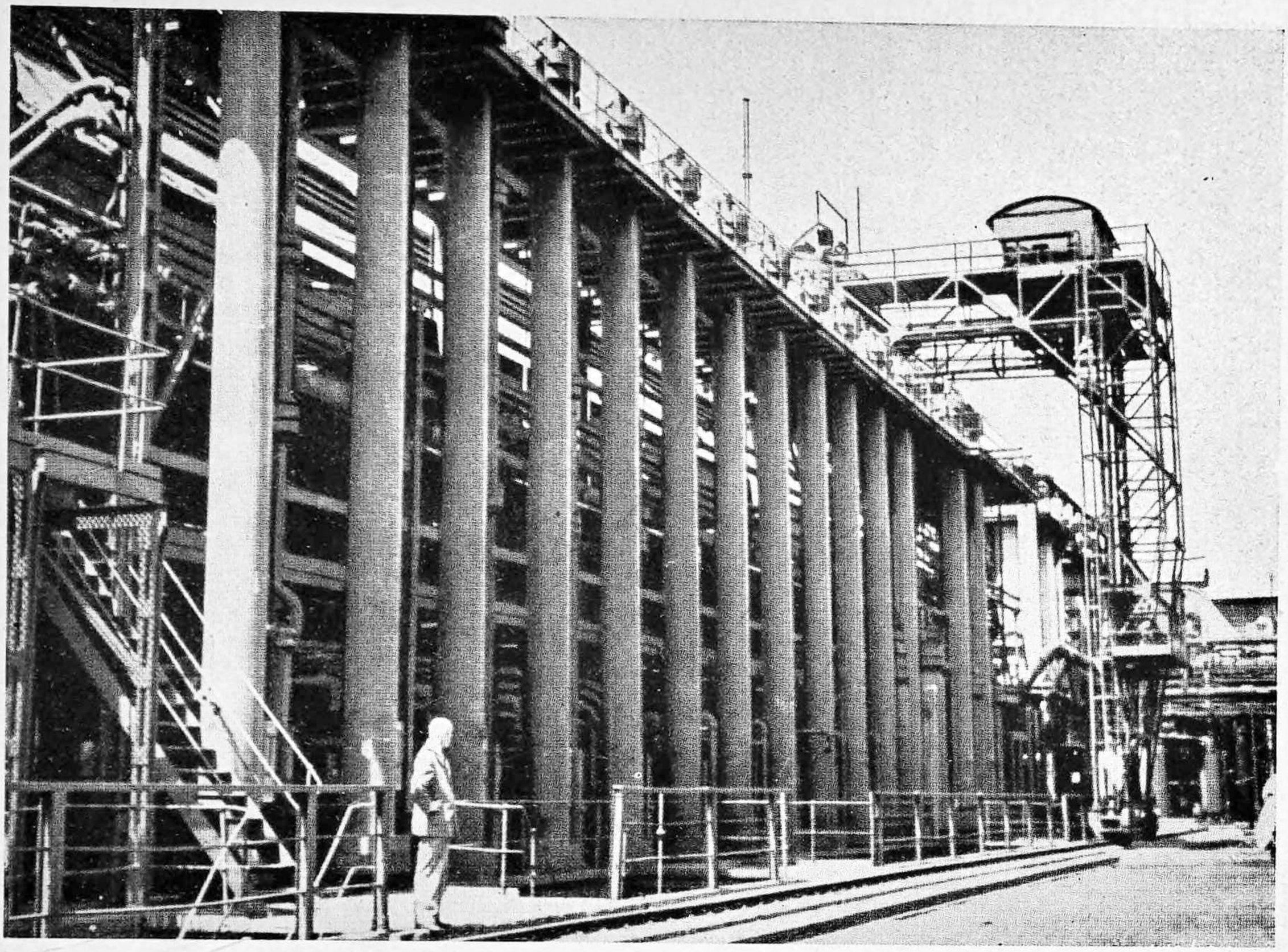


123. A small settlement

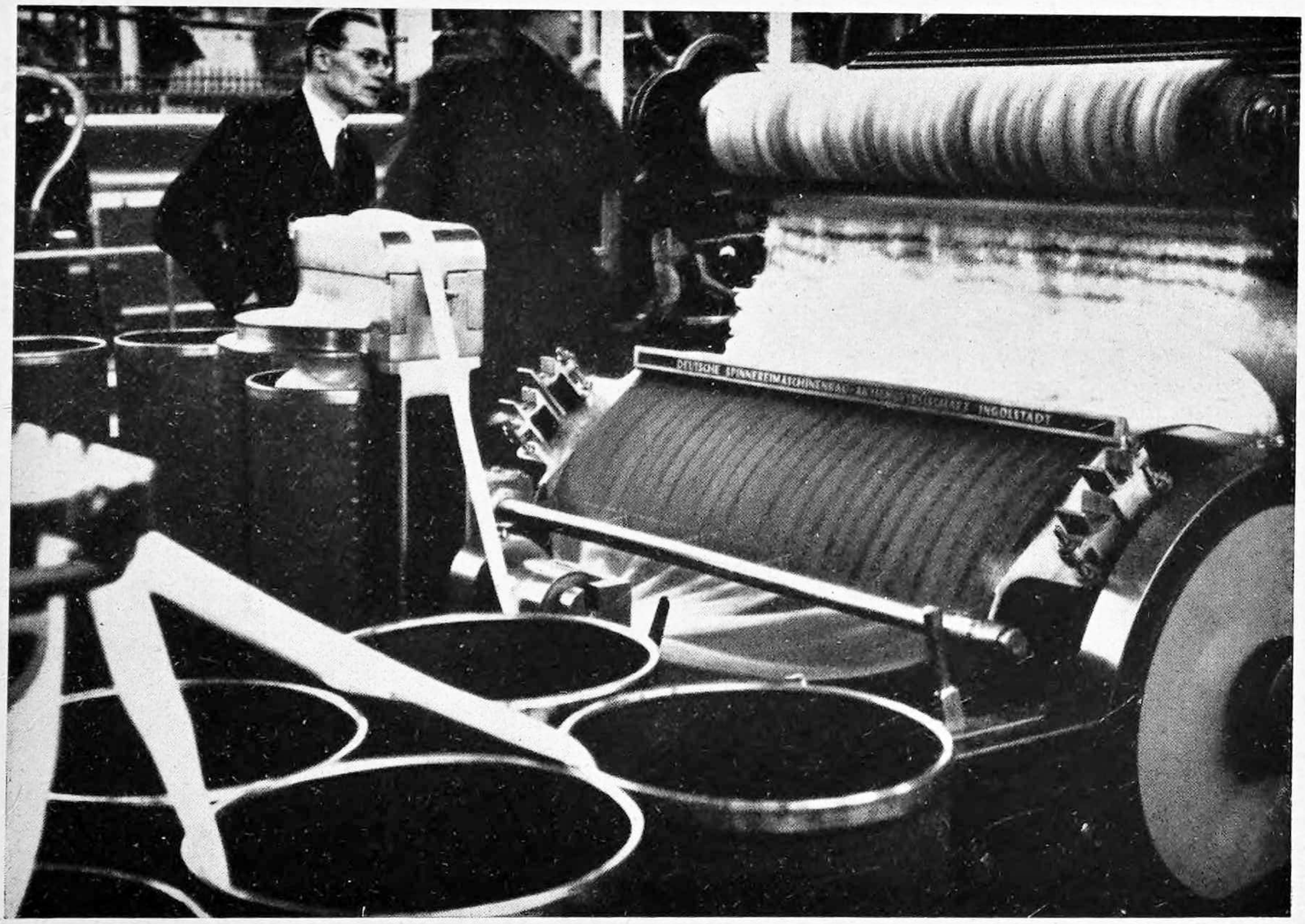


124. "The Family Home"

HOME SETTLEMENTS

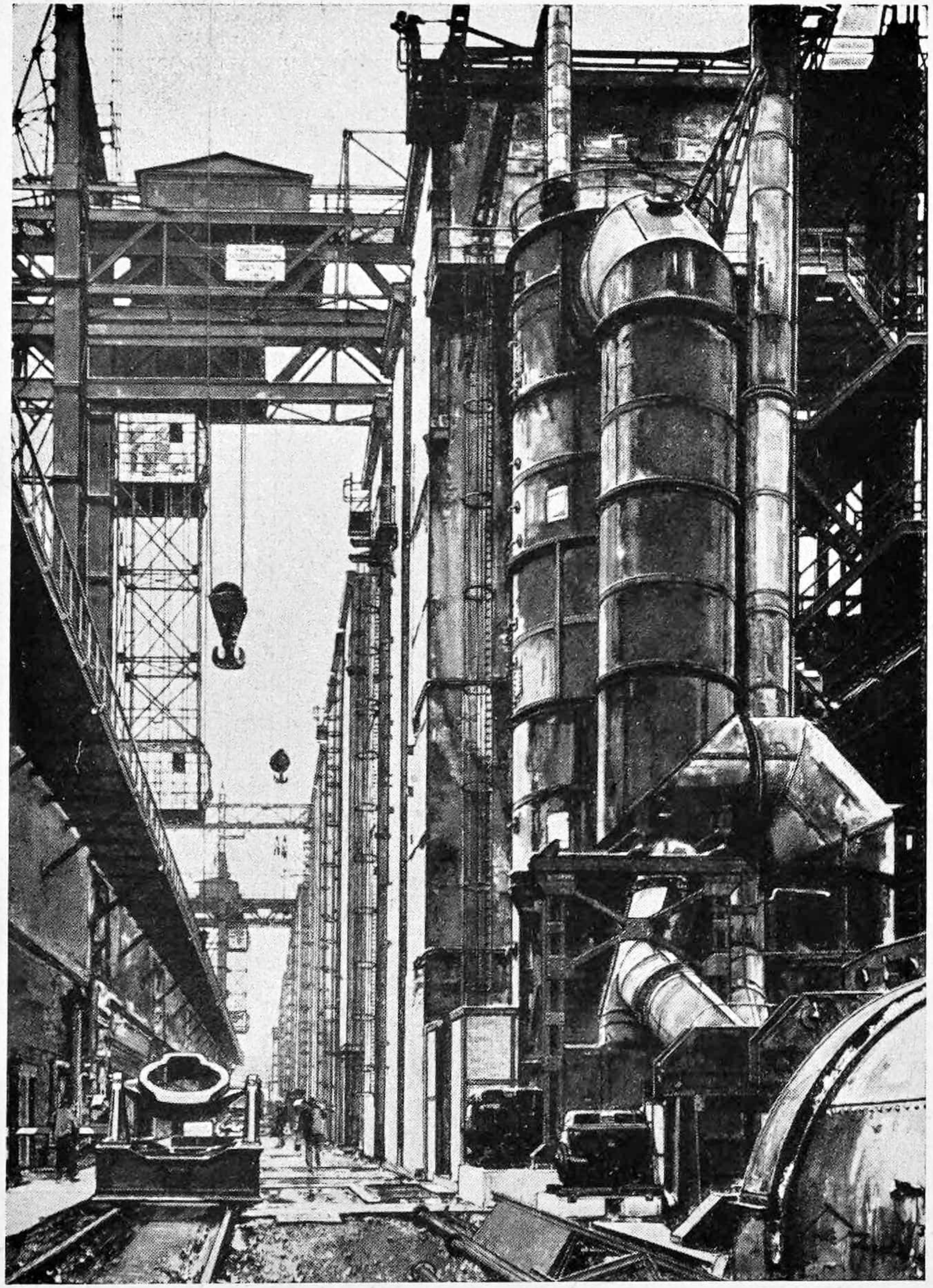


125. A workshop of the German Dye Trust in which synthetic benzine is manufactured

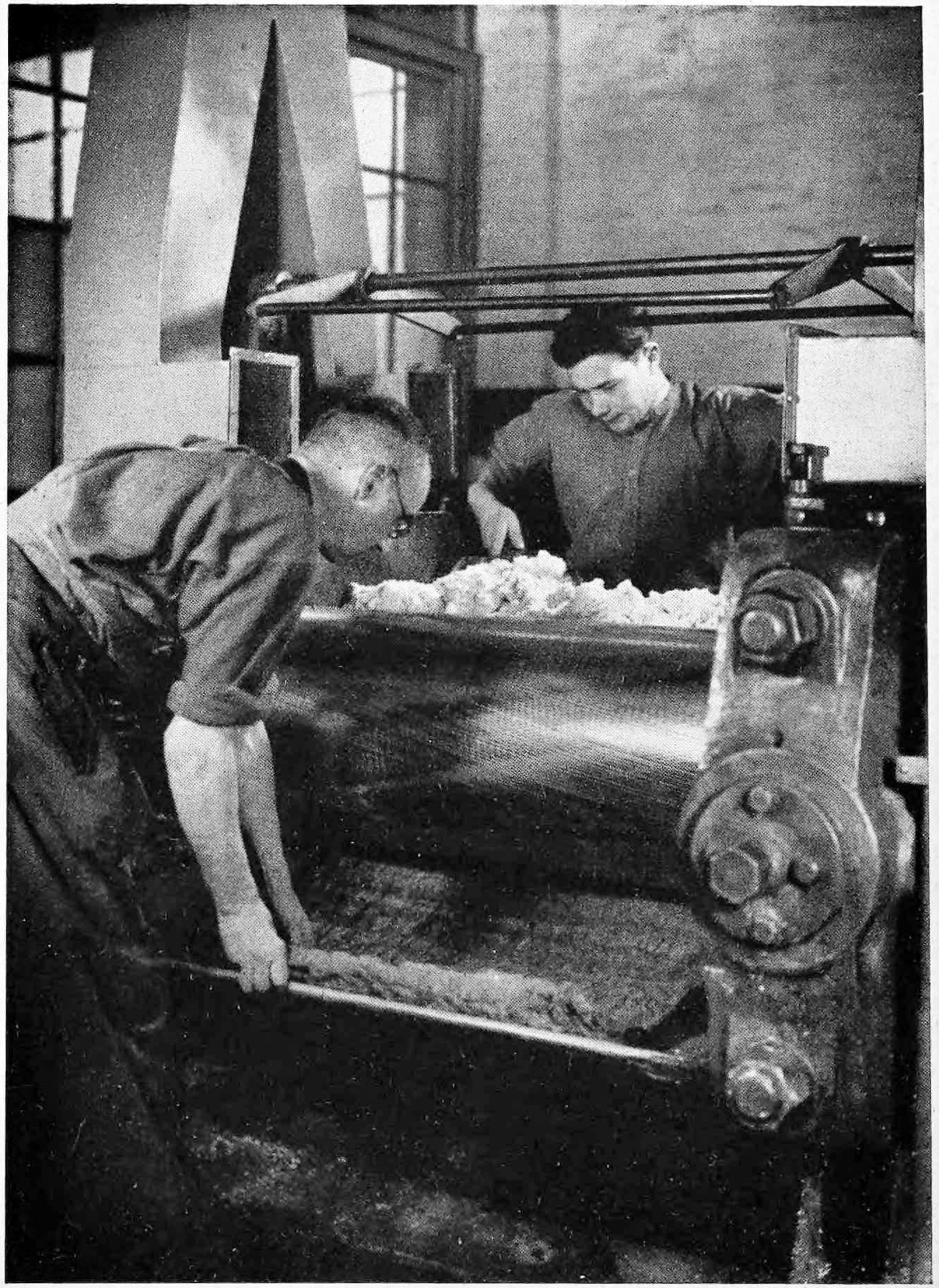


126. Machine for producing cellulose

NATIONAL ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE



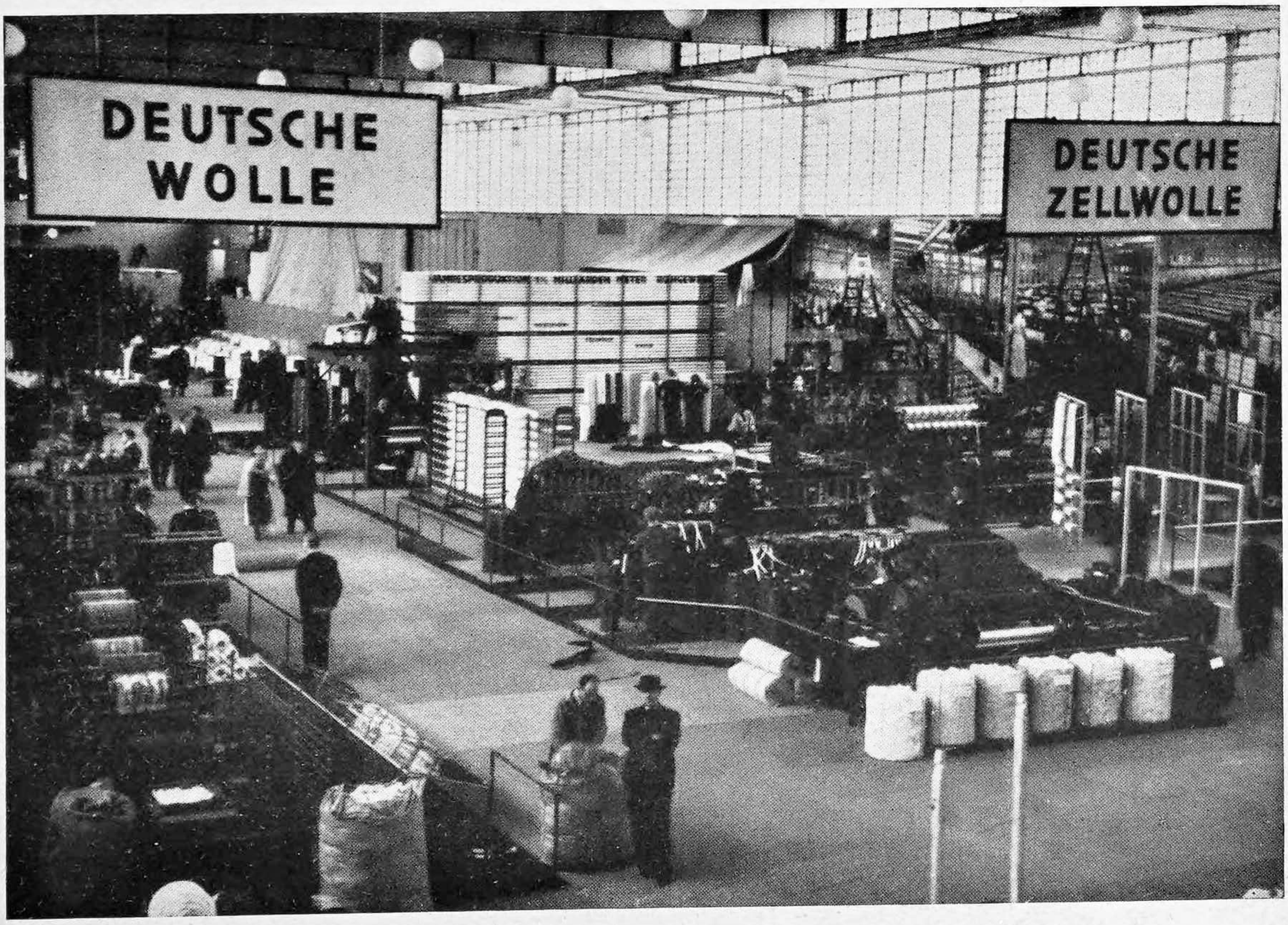
127. Hydrogenation plant of the Leuna Works of the German Dye Trust



128. Finishing process in the manufacture of synthetic rubber

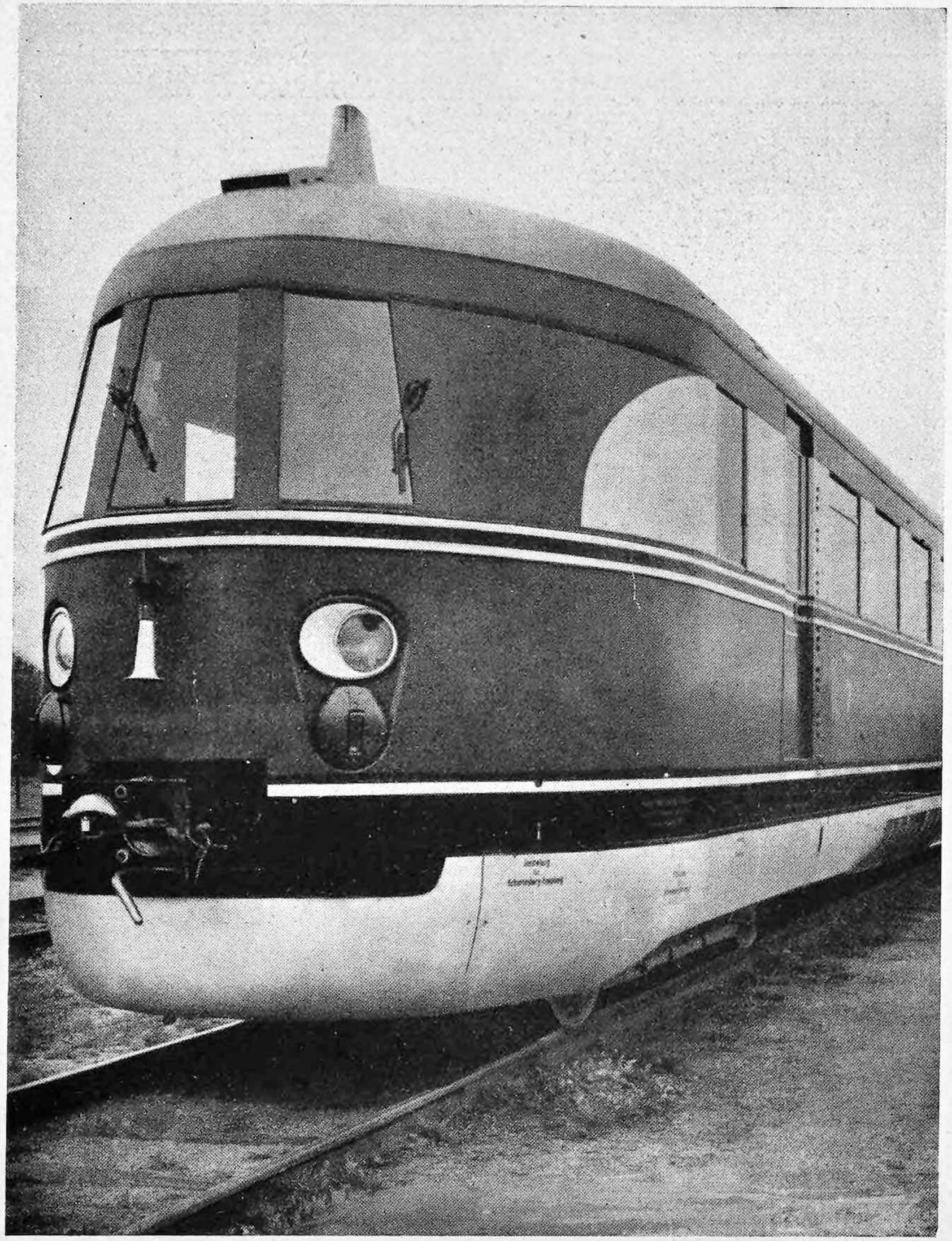


129. Storage and packing of synthetic rubber

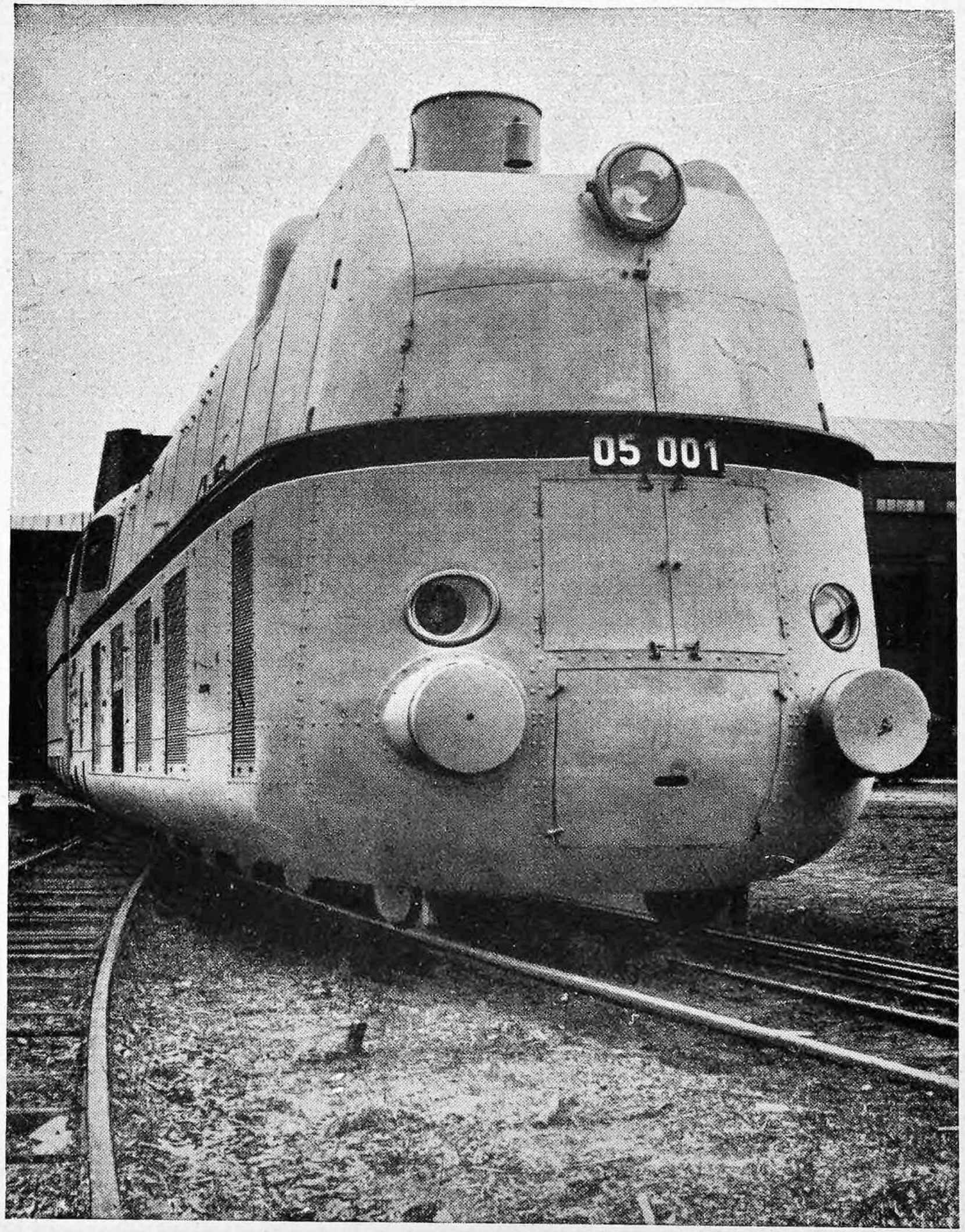


130. A view of the textile exhibition in Berlin

NATIONAL ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

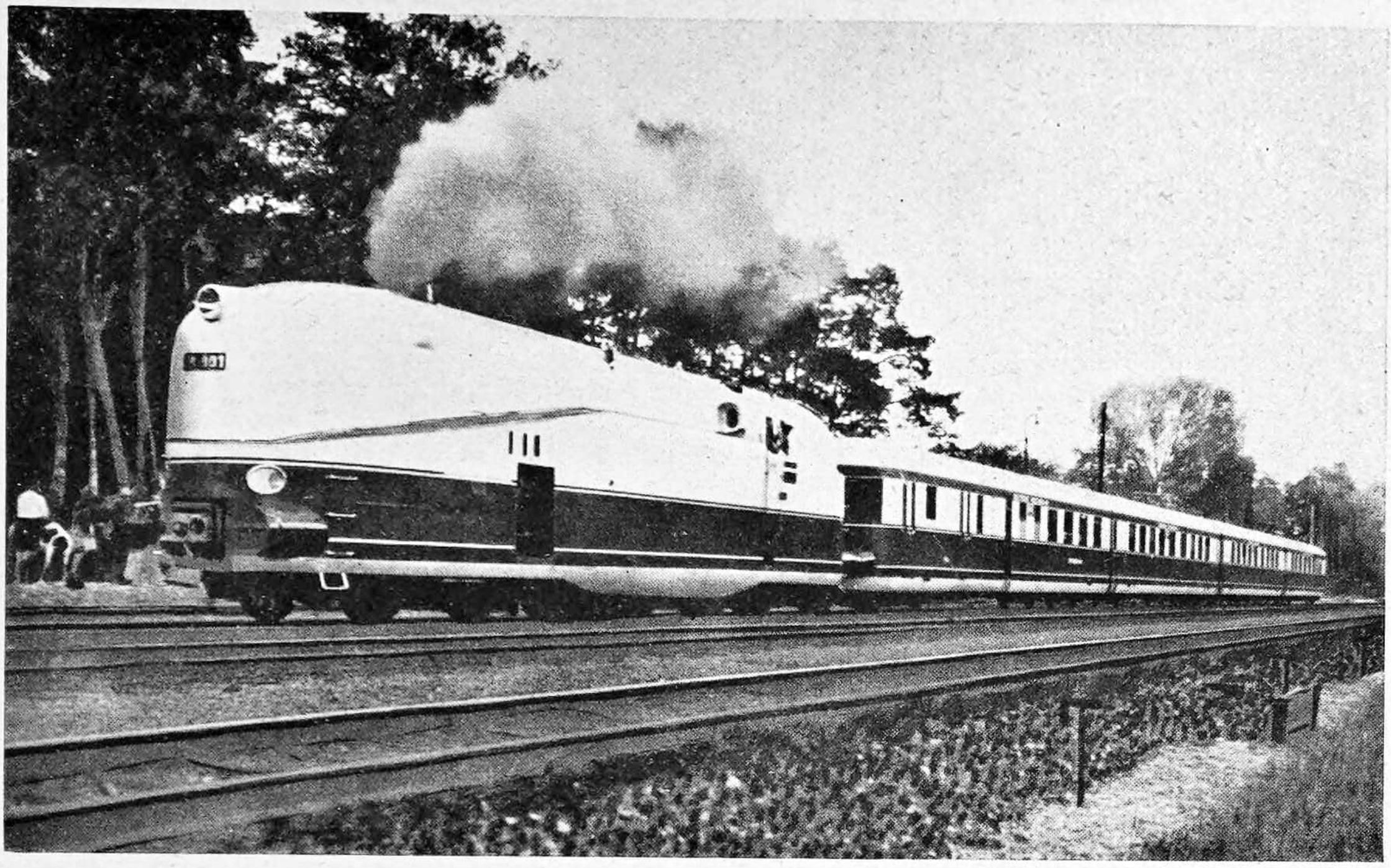


131. Front view of streamlined super-express

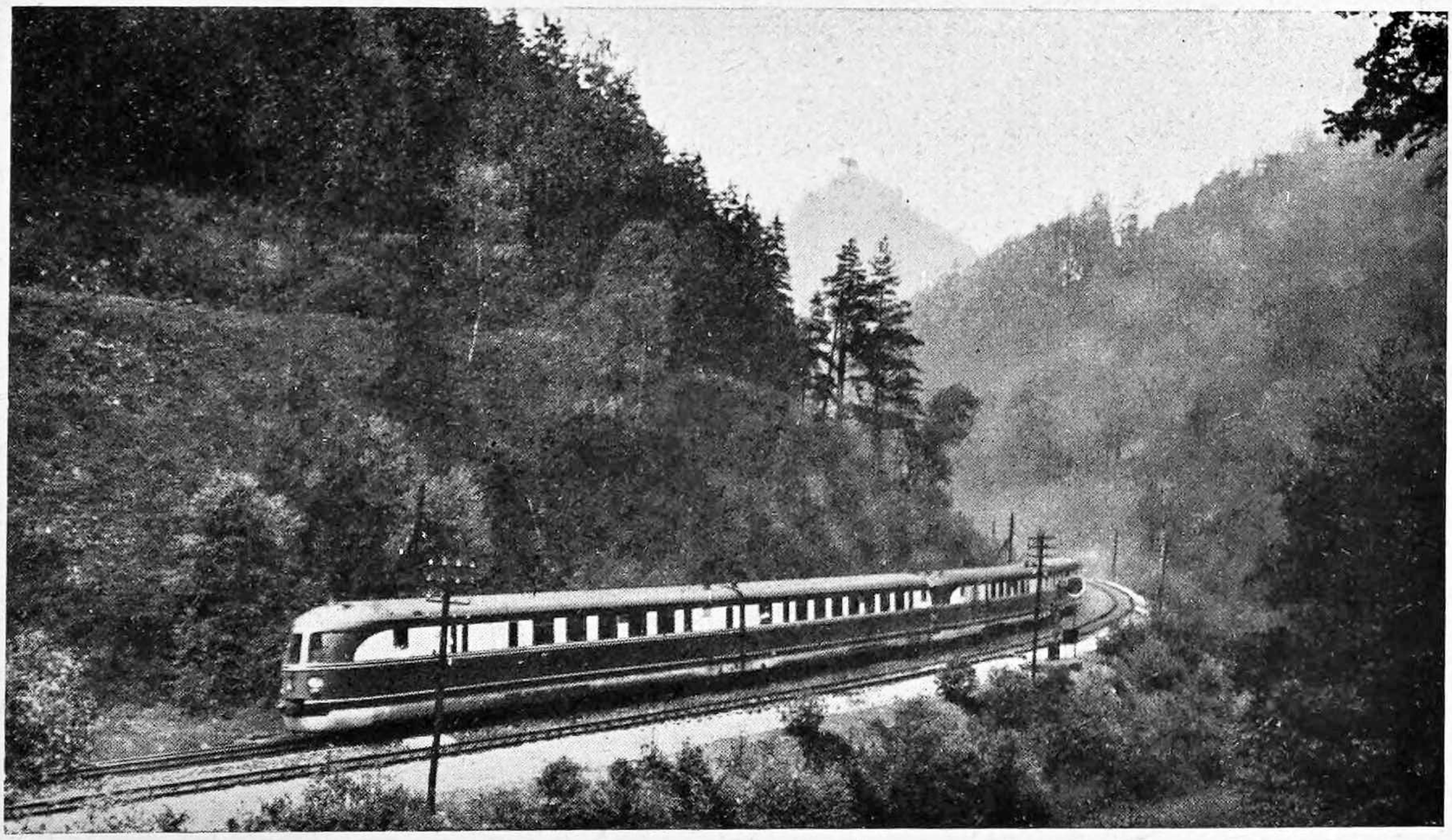


132. Heavy three-cylinder streamlined locomotive (2,700 hp. capable of maximum speed of 110 miles an hour)

COMMUNICATIONS



133. Henschel-Wegmann streamlined locomotive



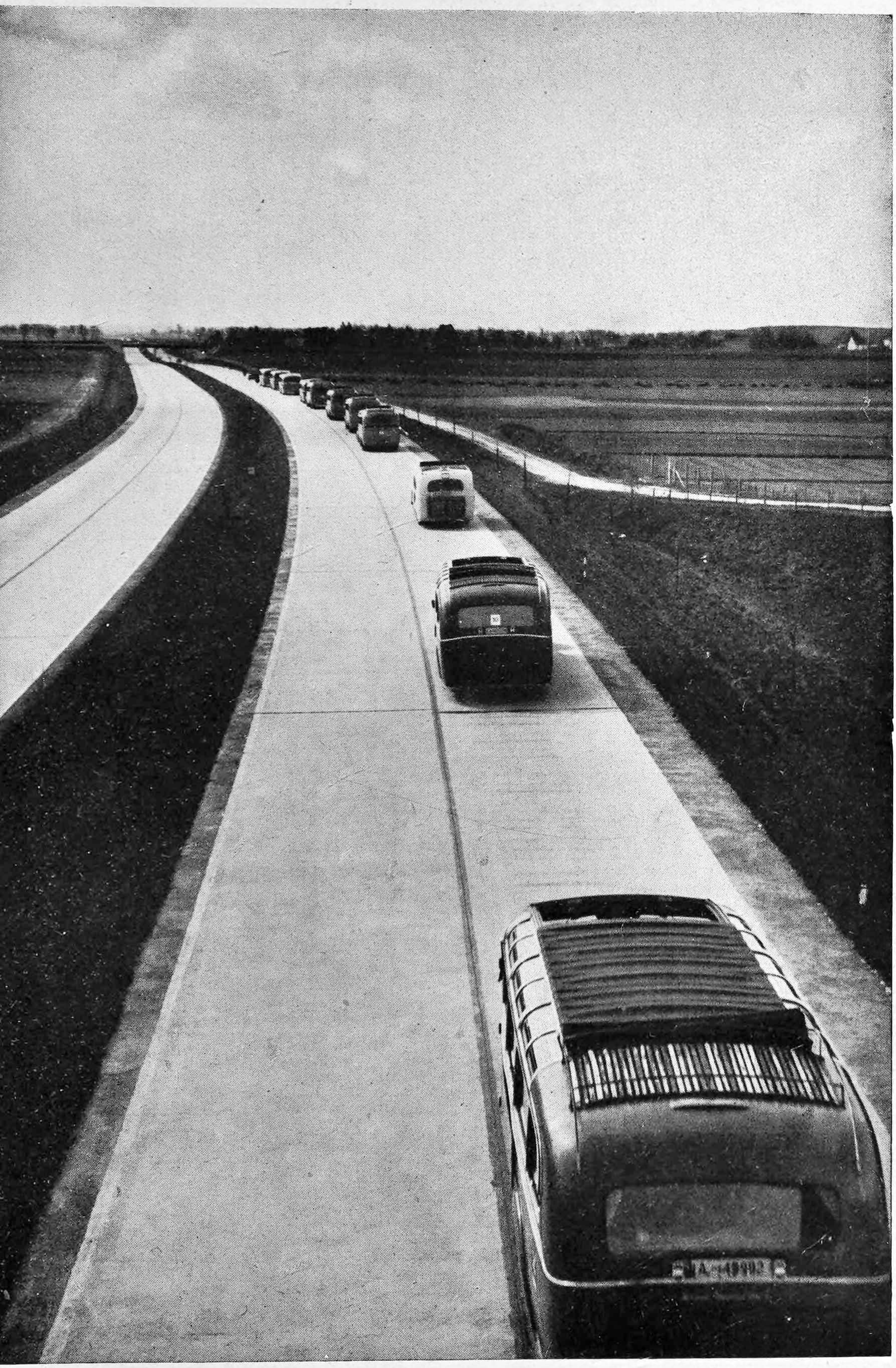
134. The "Flying Münchener" and the "Flying Stuttgarter" combined

COMMUNICATIONS



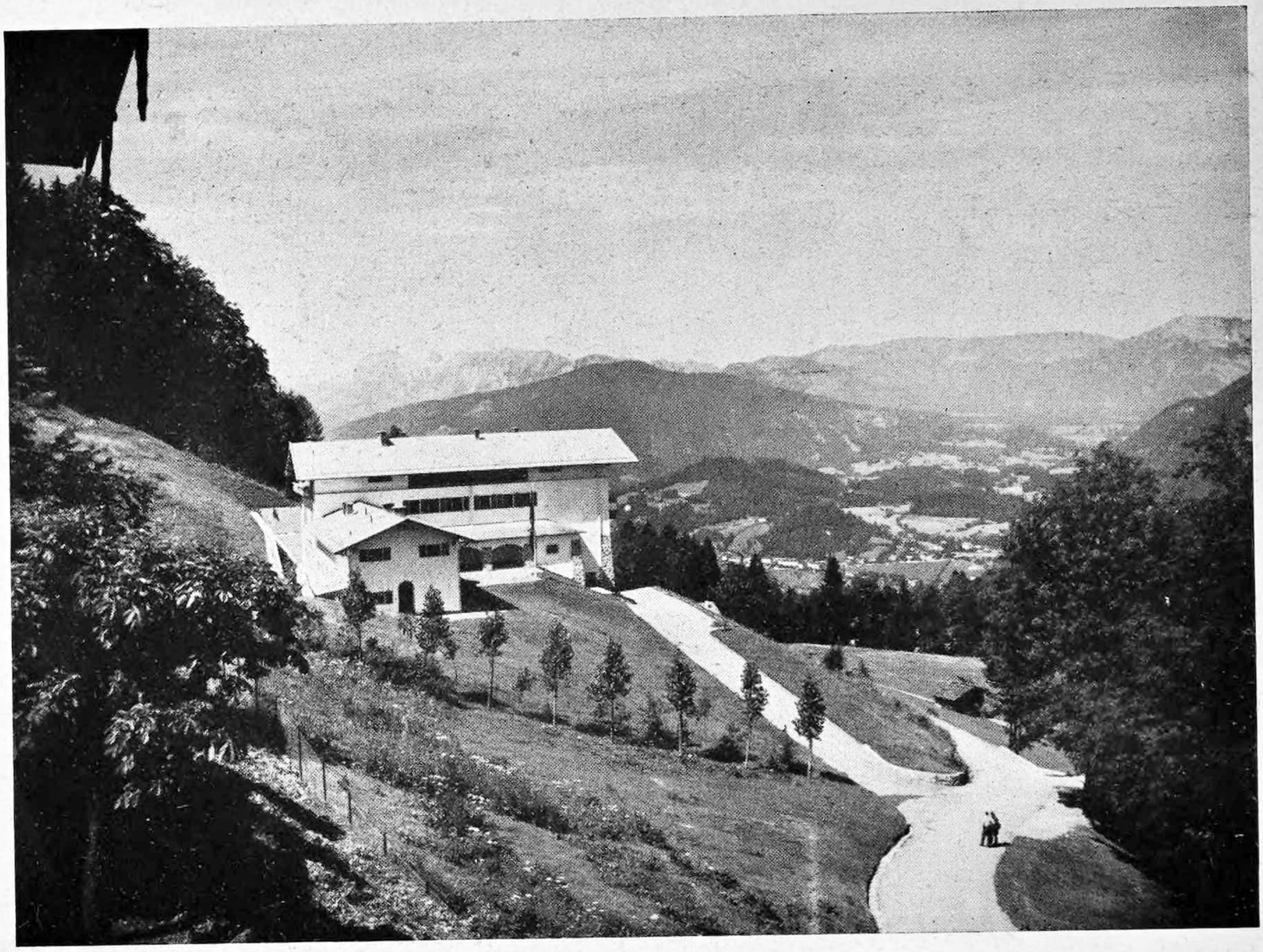
135. Hitler turning the first sod on the bank of the Main near Frankfurt on September 23, 1933 thus inaugurating the work of building the new Reich motor-roads

HITLER'S MOTOR-ROADS



136. A motor-road in the Third Reich

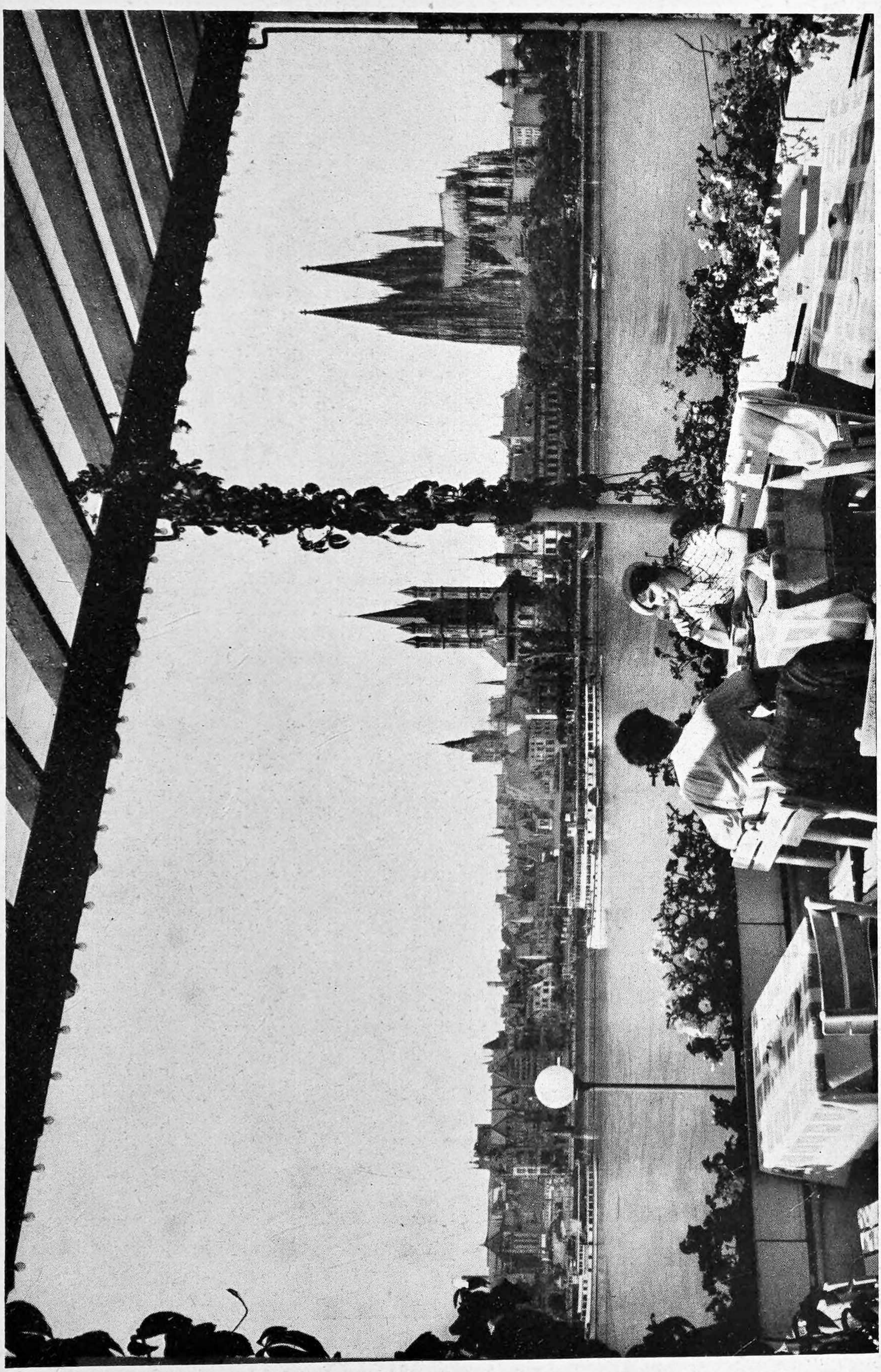
HITLER'S MOTOR-ROADS



137. The "Berghof", Hitler's home at Berchtesgaden

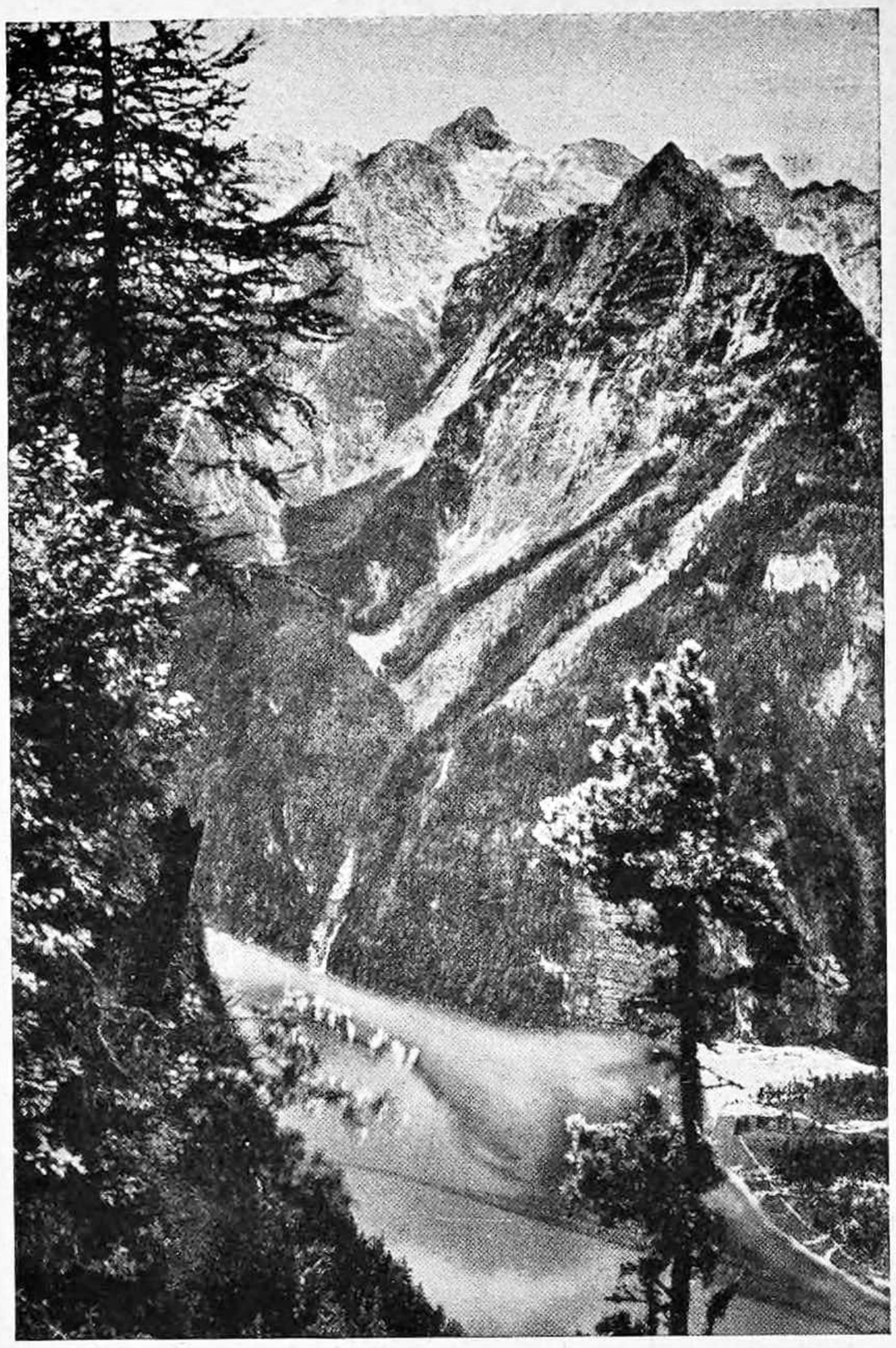


138. "Sans Souci" in Potsdam, Frederic the Great's favourite residence



139. Cologne as seen from the Sünner Terrace

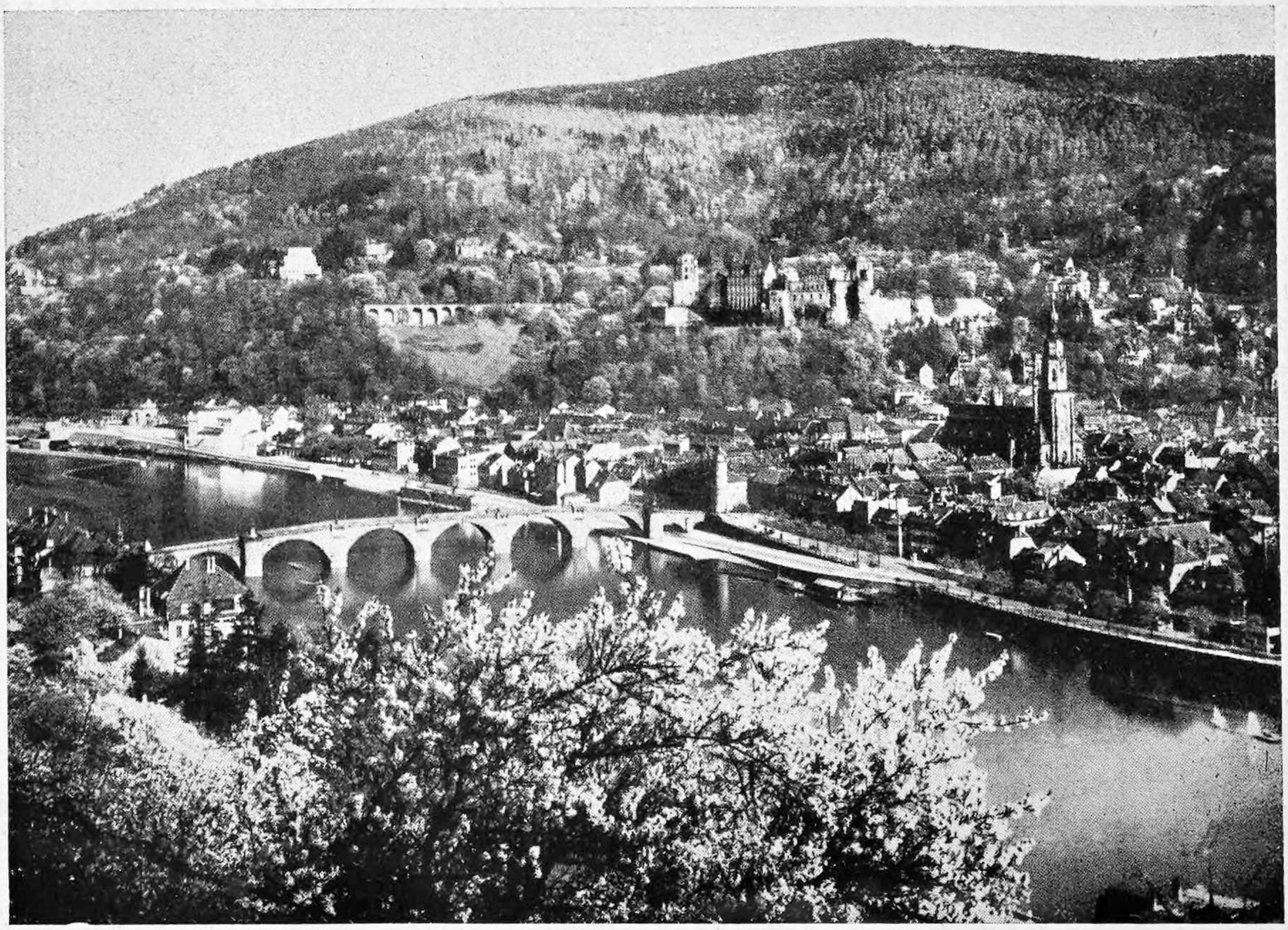
BEAUTIFUL GERMANY



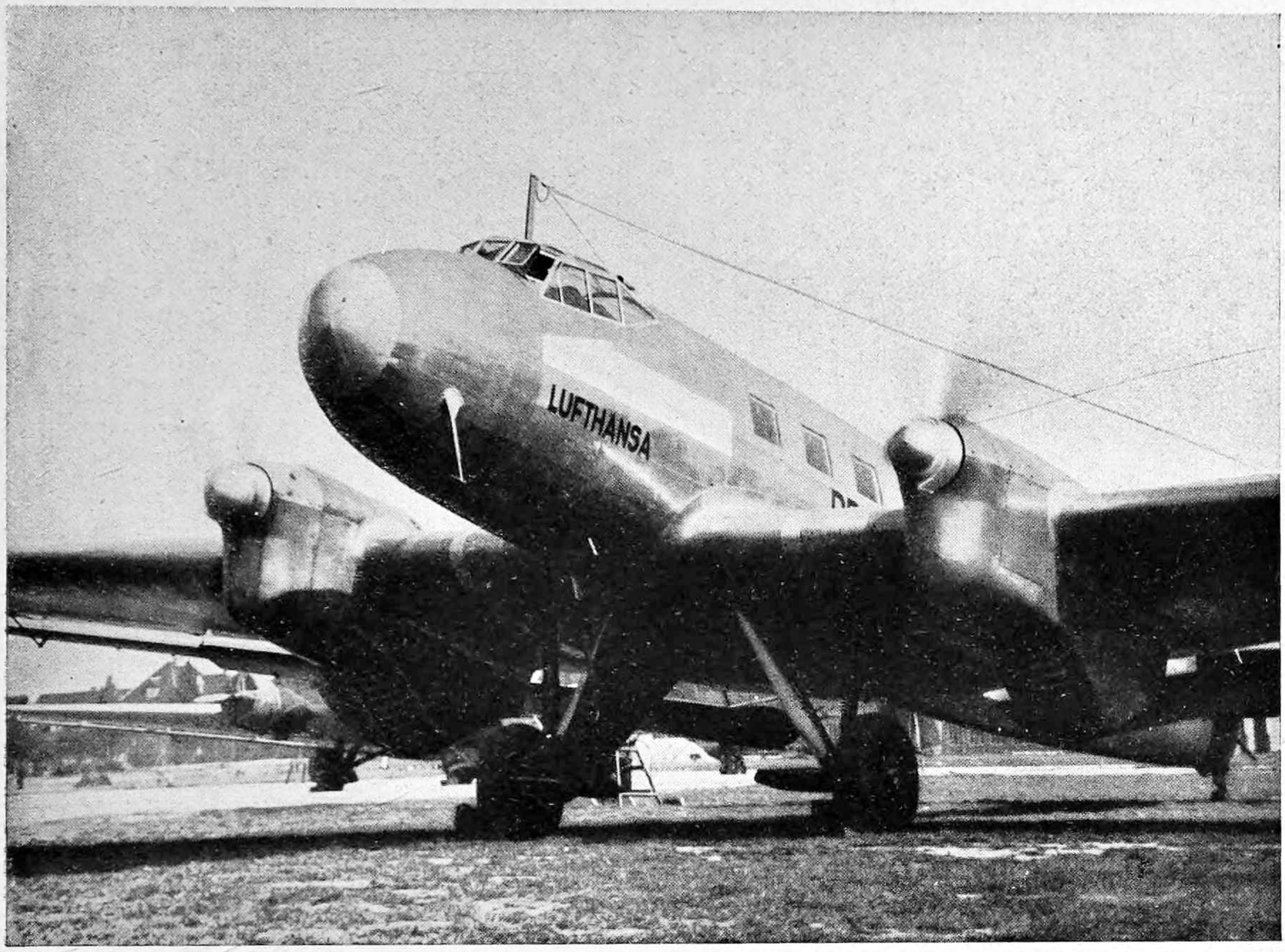
140. The Königssee at Berchtesgaden. View from the Gotzenalm towards Hundstod and Langasee



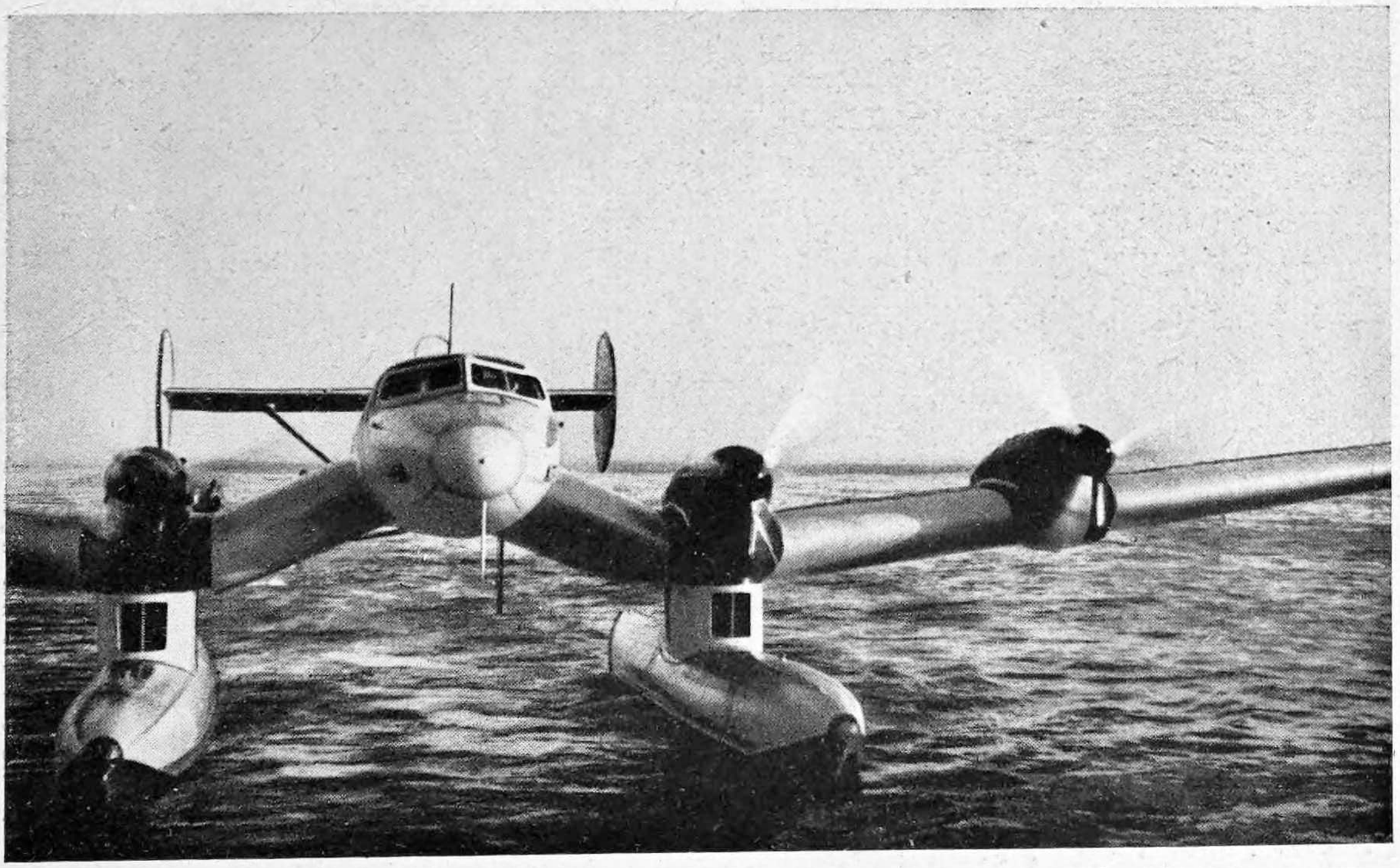
141. Neuschwanstein Castle near Füssen (South Bavaria)



142. Heidelberg in spring. The Castle as seen from the opposide bank of the Neckar

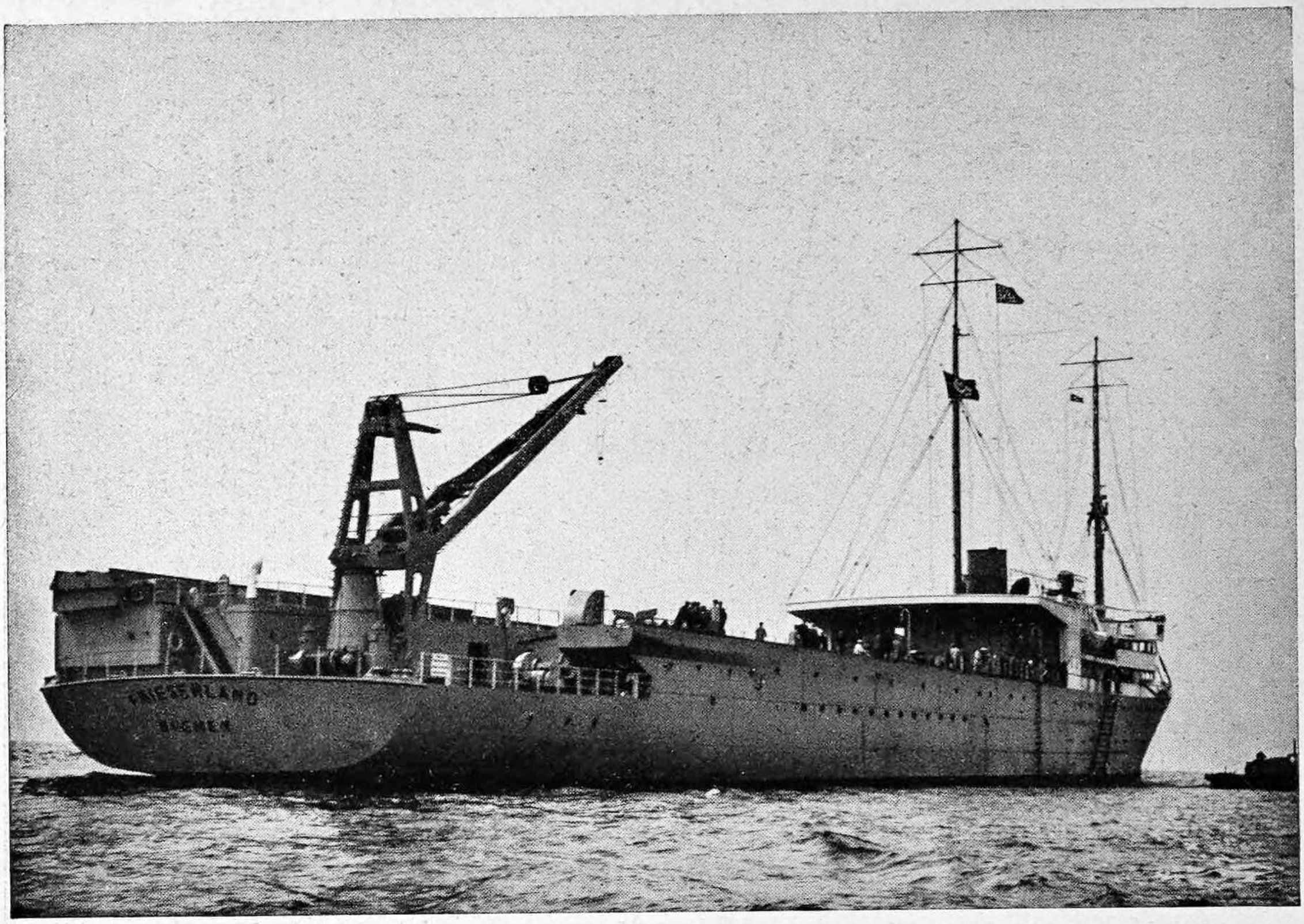


143. A Junkers airplane (German Lufthansa's "Ju 86" type)

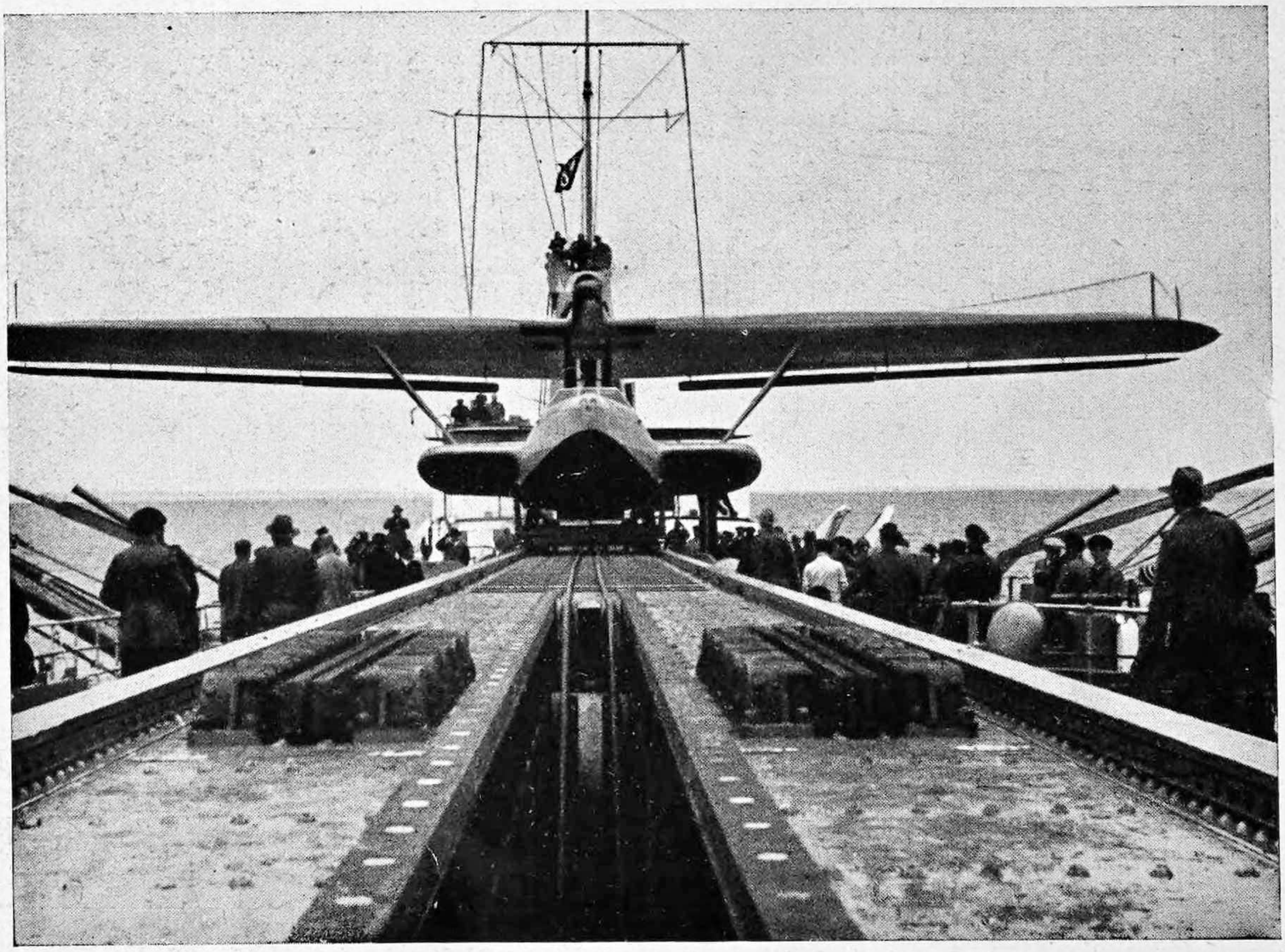


144. Four-engined seaplane "Ha 139", specially constructed for the German Lufthansa by the Hamburg Airplane Works

CIVIL AVIATION

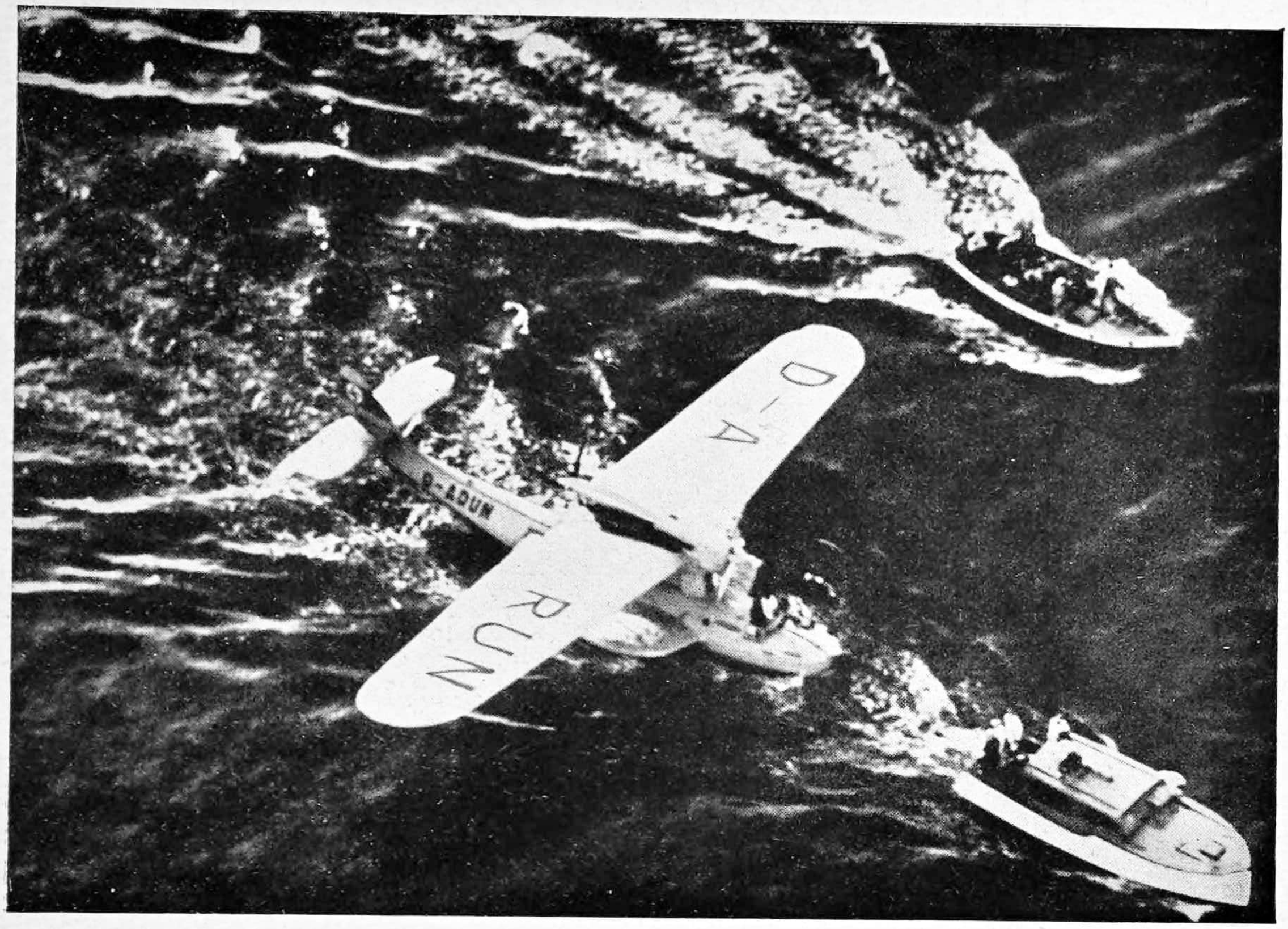


145. Motor-ship "Friesenland," the fourth floating base established by the German Lufthansa for the transatlantic air mail service

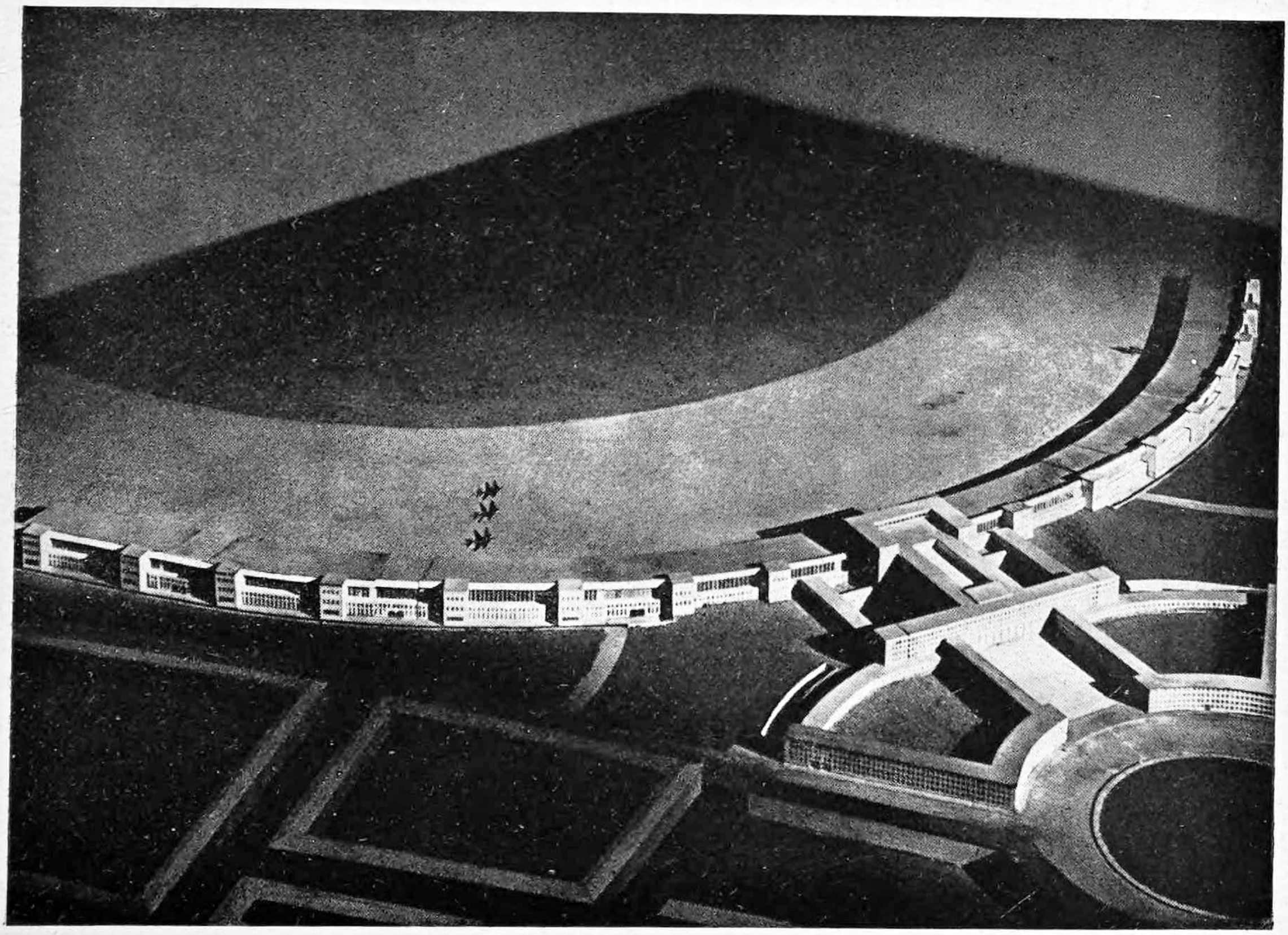


146. Dornier flying-boat "Do 18" just before being catapulted from the motor-ship "Ostmark"

CIVIL AVIATION

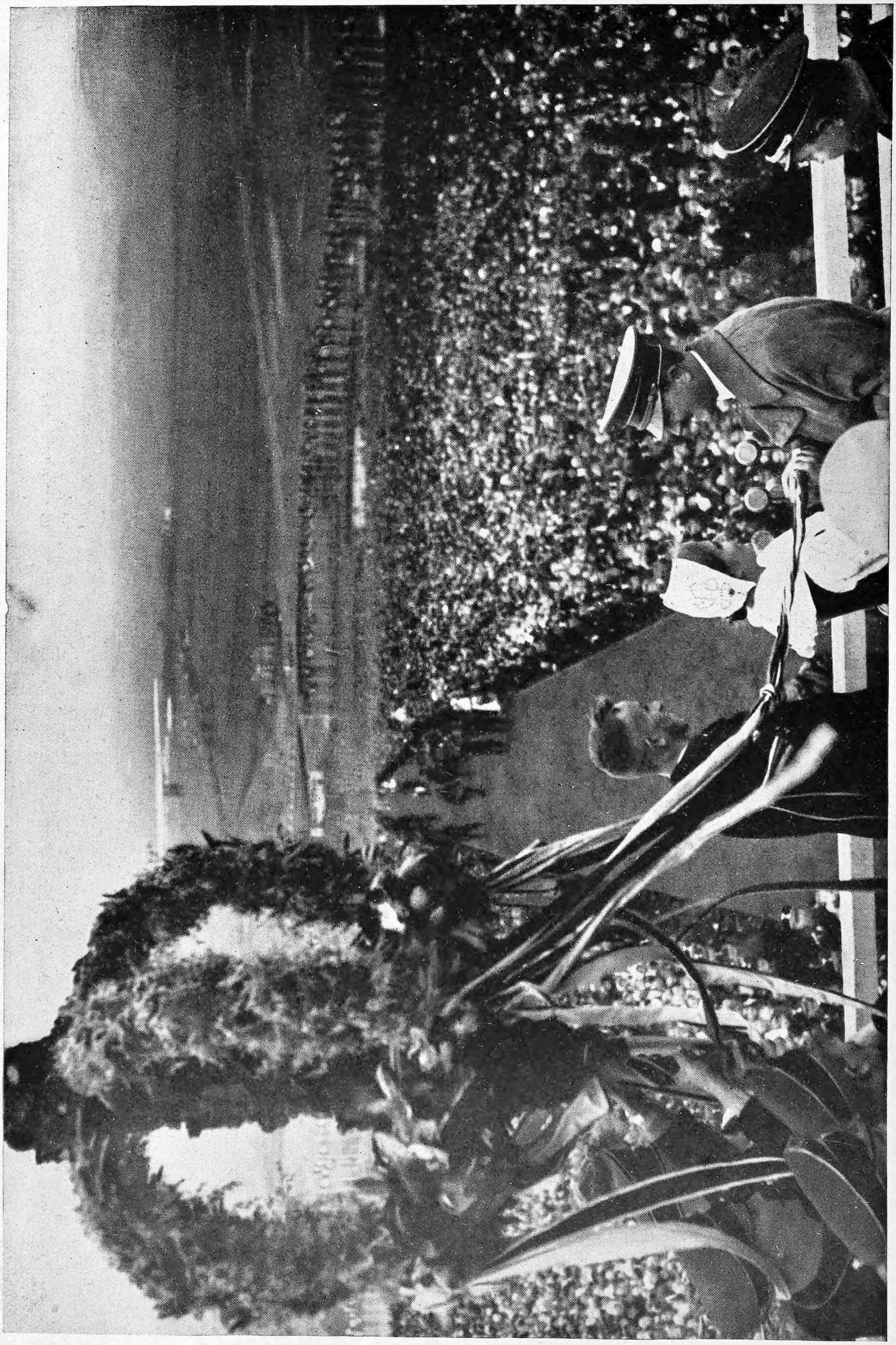


147. Arrival of the "Zephir" at New York after overflying the Northern Atlantik



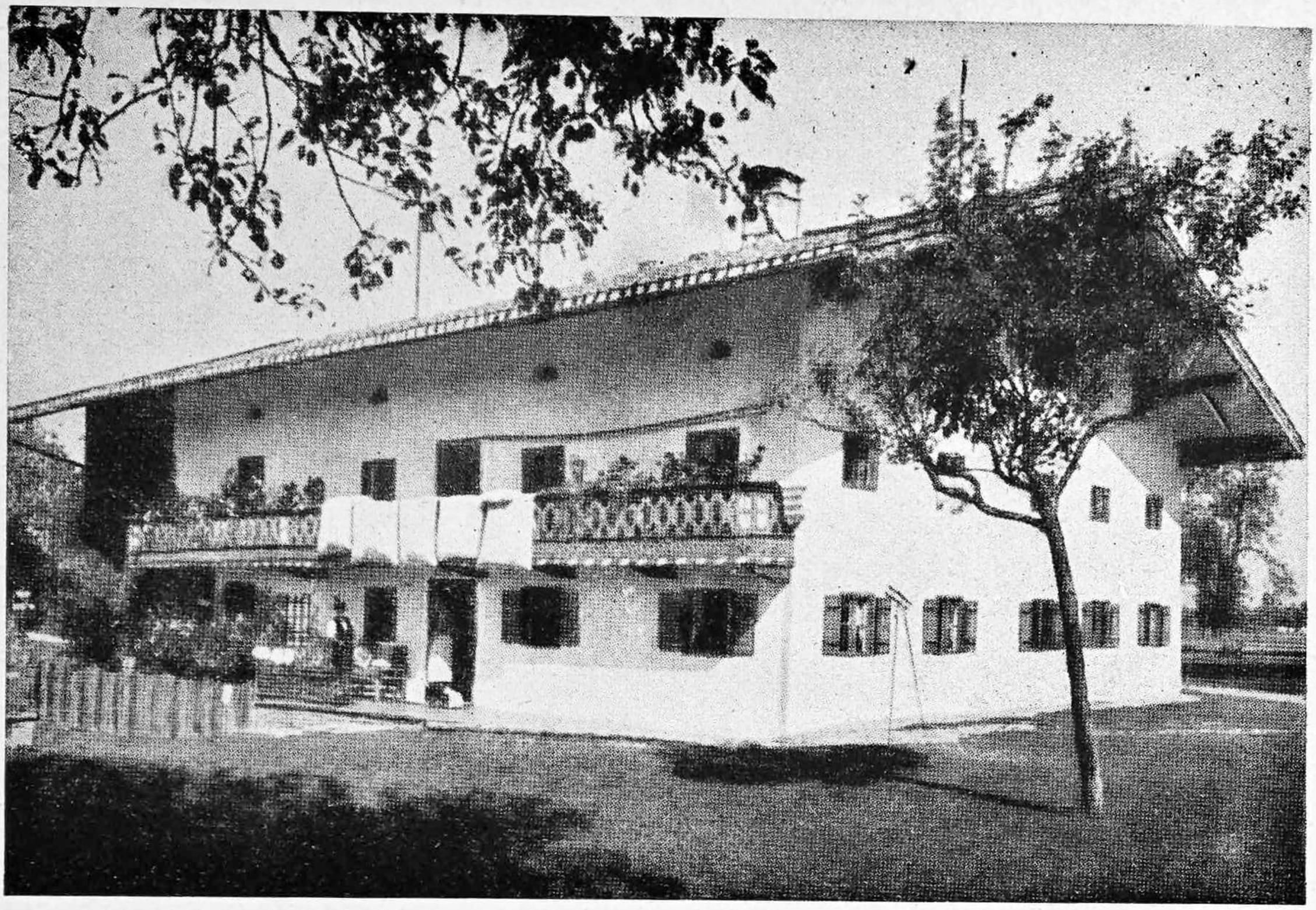
148. Model of the new Berlin Central Airport at Tempelhof

CIVIL AVIATION



149. Harvest thanksgiving on the Bückeberg

AGRICULTURE



150. A farm in Upper Bavaria

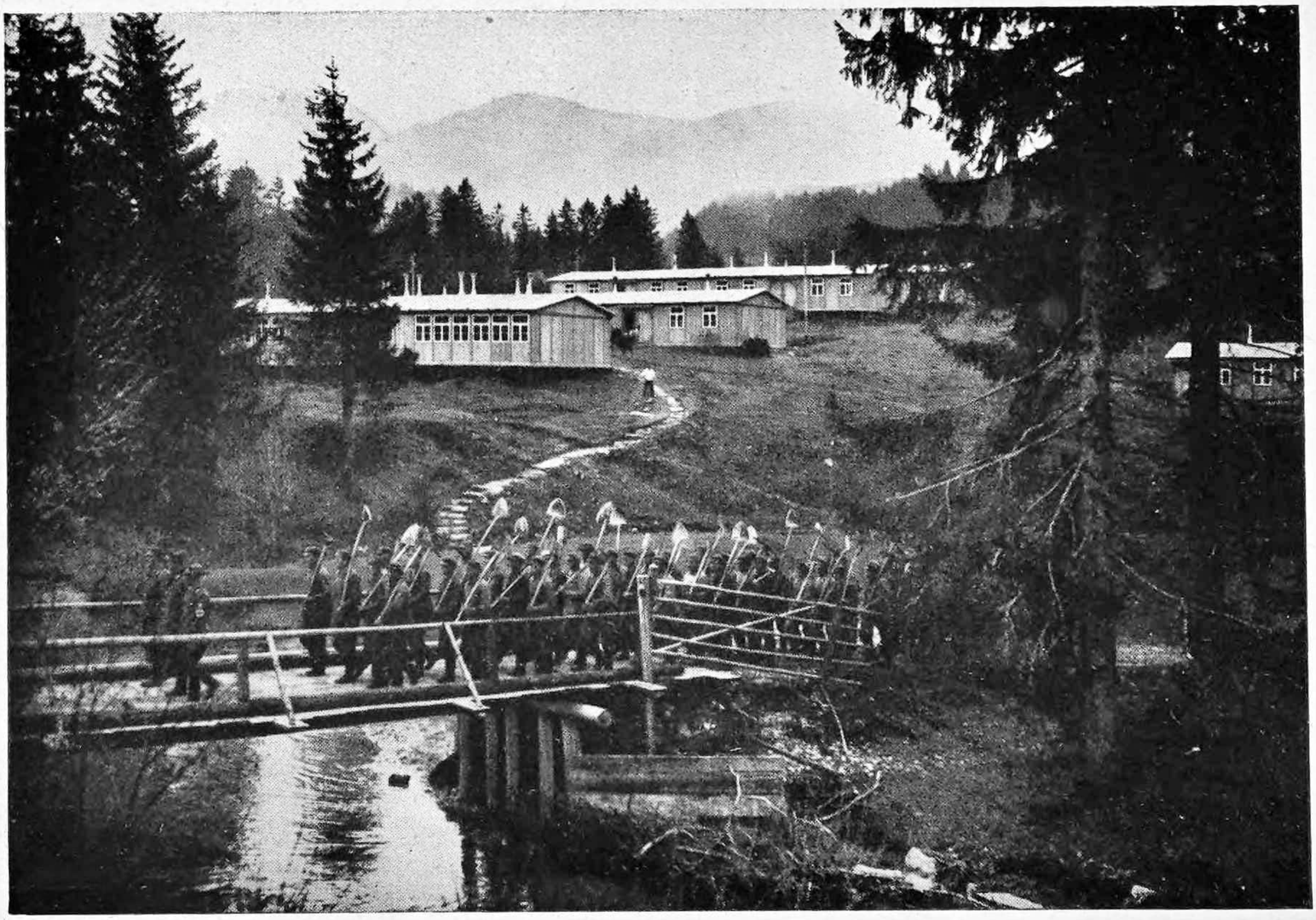


151. A farm in the Black Forest

AGRICULTURE



152. March past of the Reich Labour Service before the Grand Stand in the Zeppelin Meadow in Nuremberg



153. A camp in the Bavarian Alps: members of the Labour Service leaving for their daily work

THE REICH LABOUR SERVICE

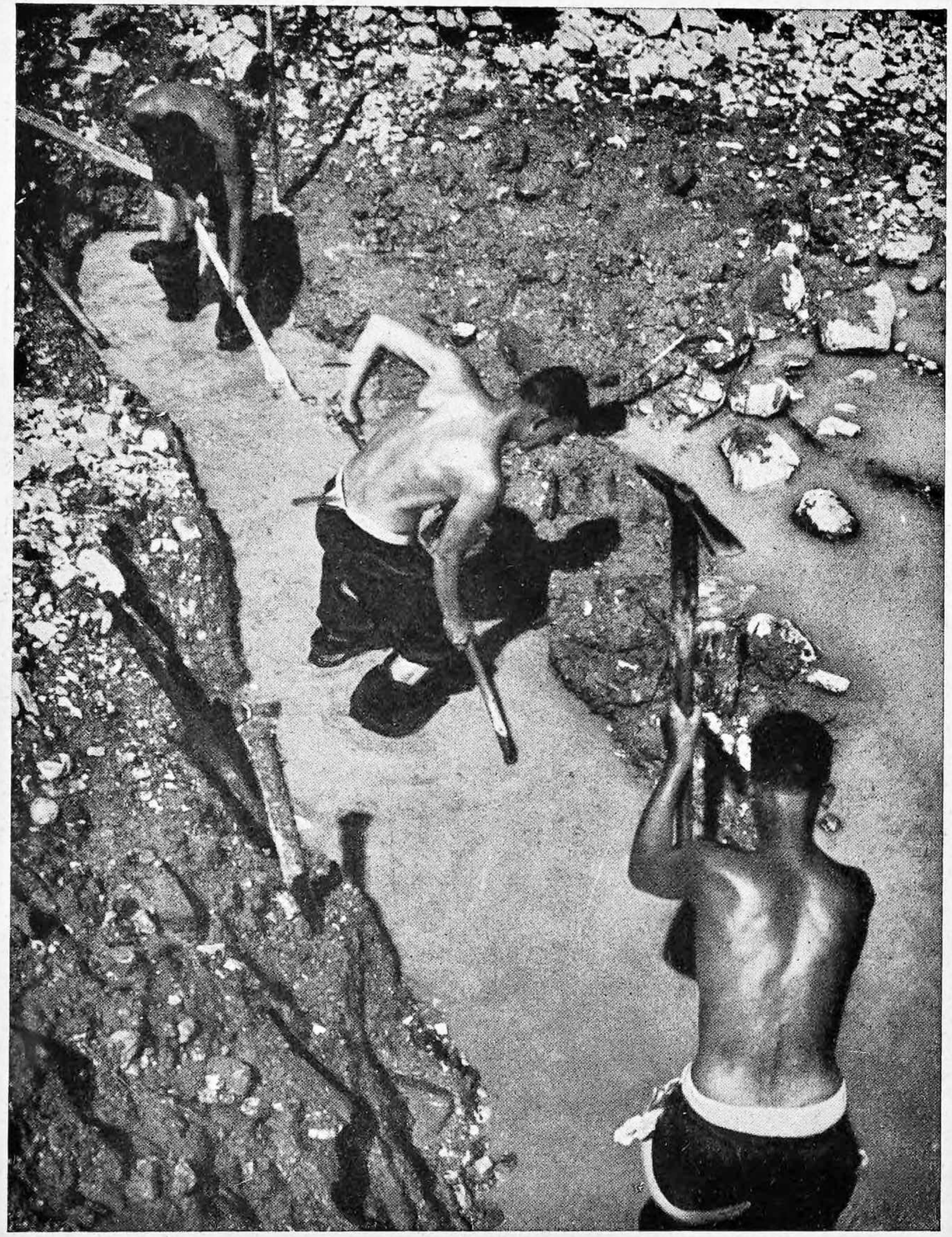


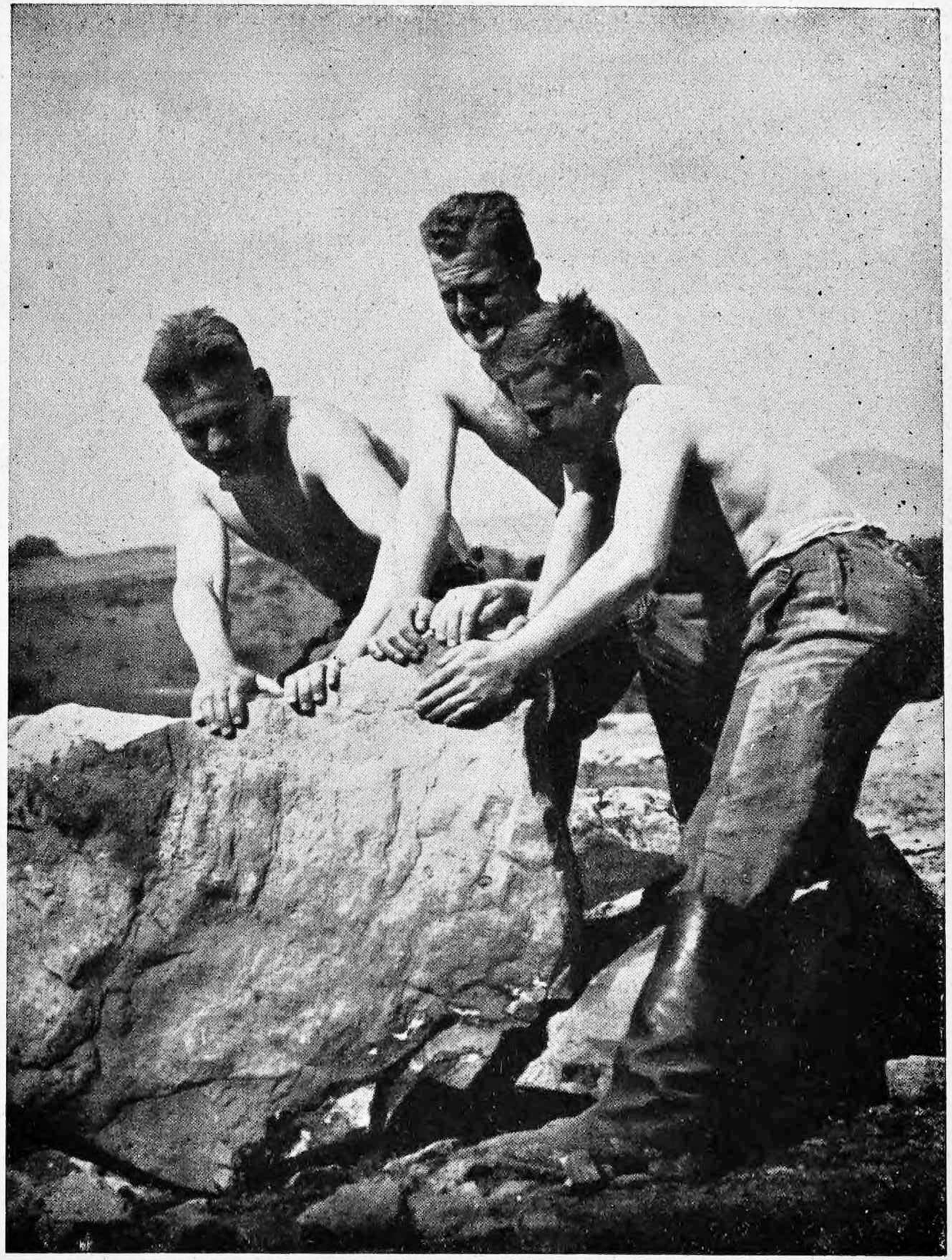
154. Gaily singing, a squad of Labour Service men set out to accomplish the task assigned them



155. Their arduous labour in the marshes of the Ems region

THE REICH LABOUR SERVICE





156/157. Labour Service men digging draining-canals and clearing the ground of stone blocks

THE REICH LABOUR SERVICE

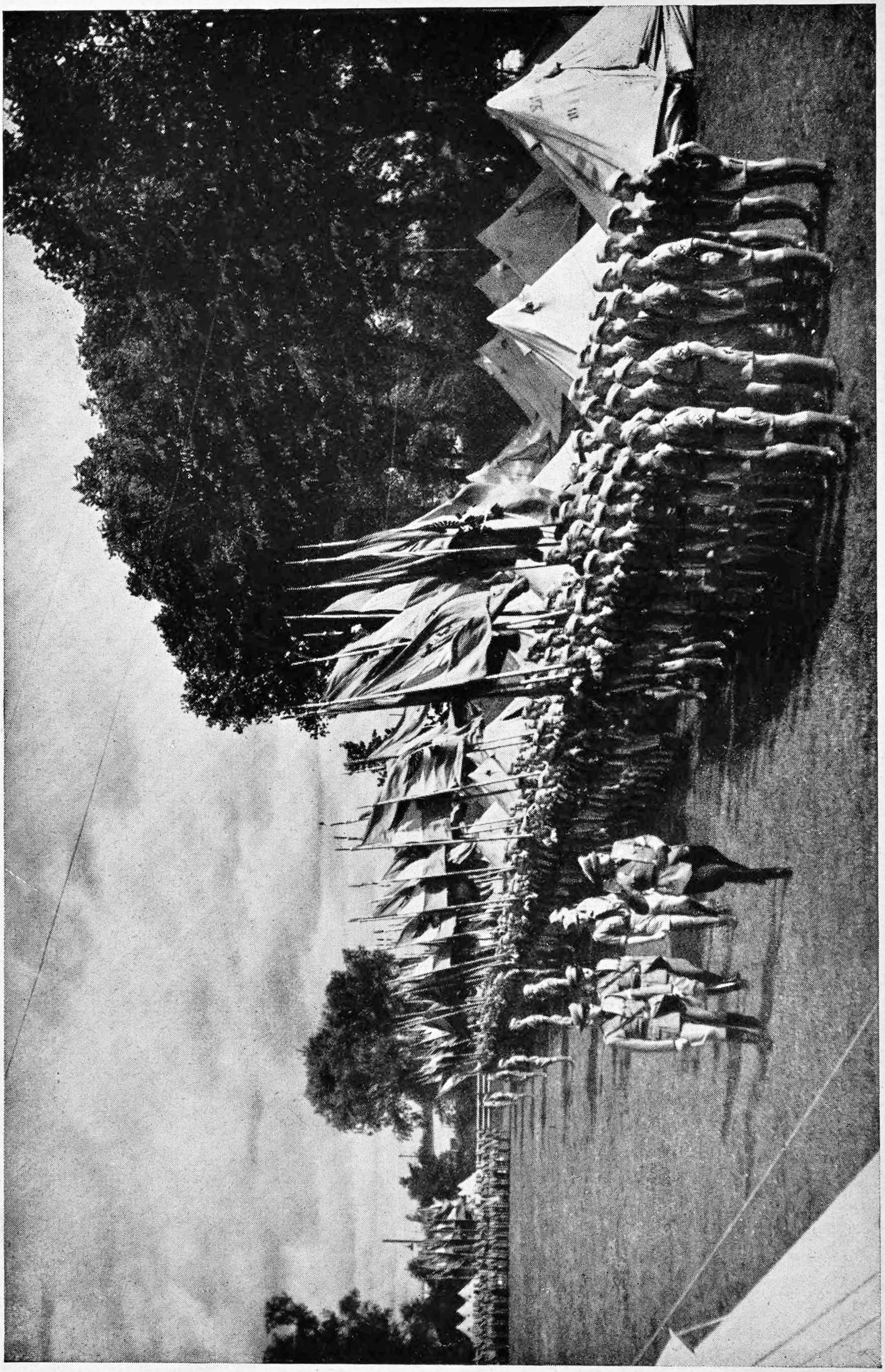


158. Young Labour Service girls resting in a field . . .



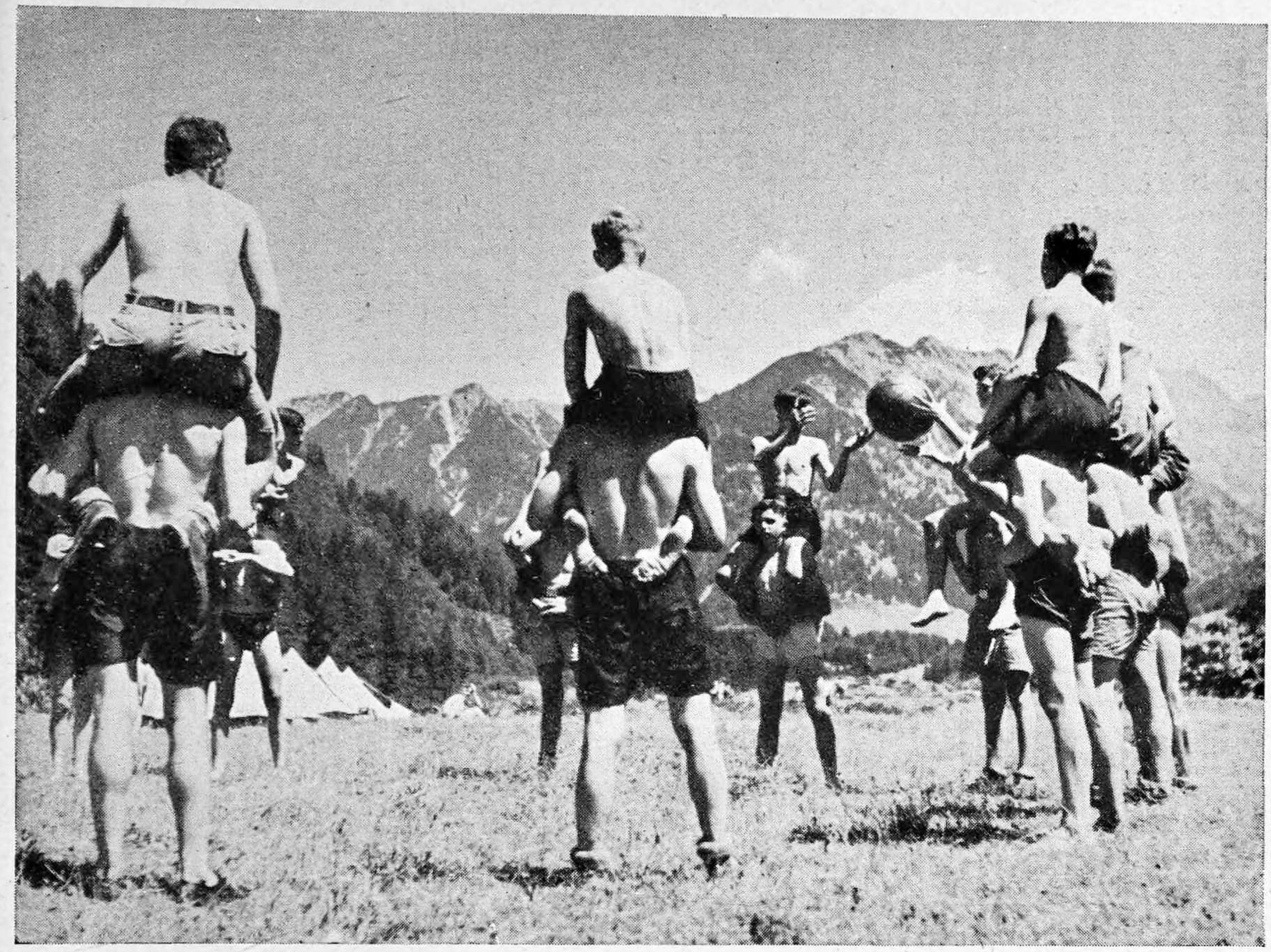
159. . . . and dancing in the open air

LABOUR SERVICE FOR WOMEN



160. The leader of the German Youth, Baldur von Schirach, inspecting a guard of honour on the occasion of his visit to camp

GERMAN YOUTH

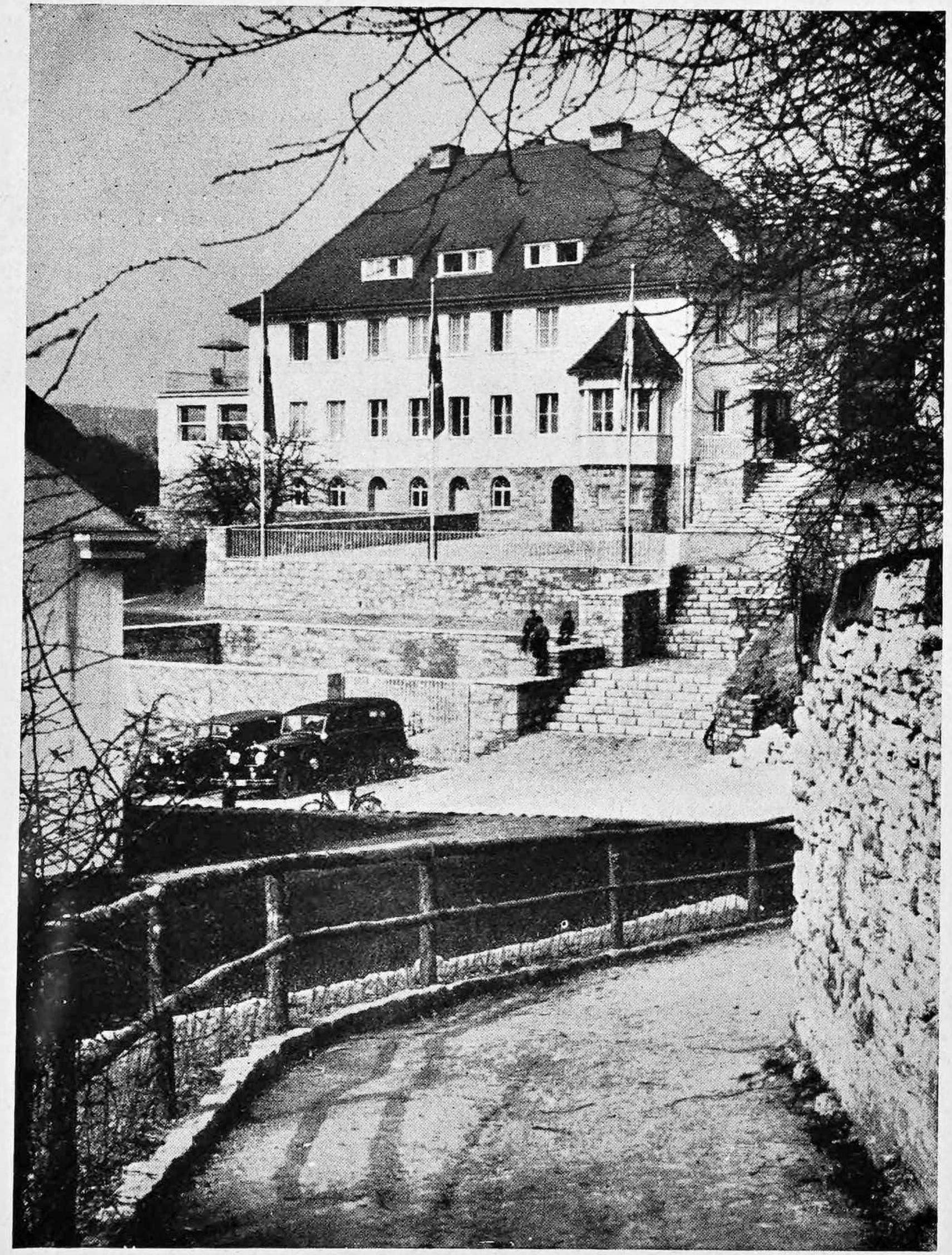


161. Physical training of the Hitler Youth

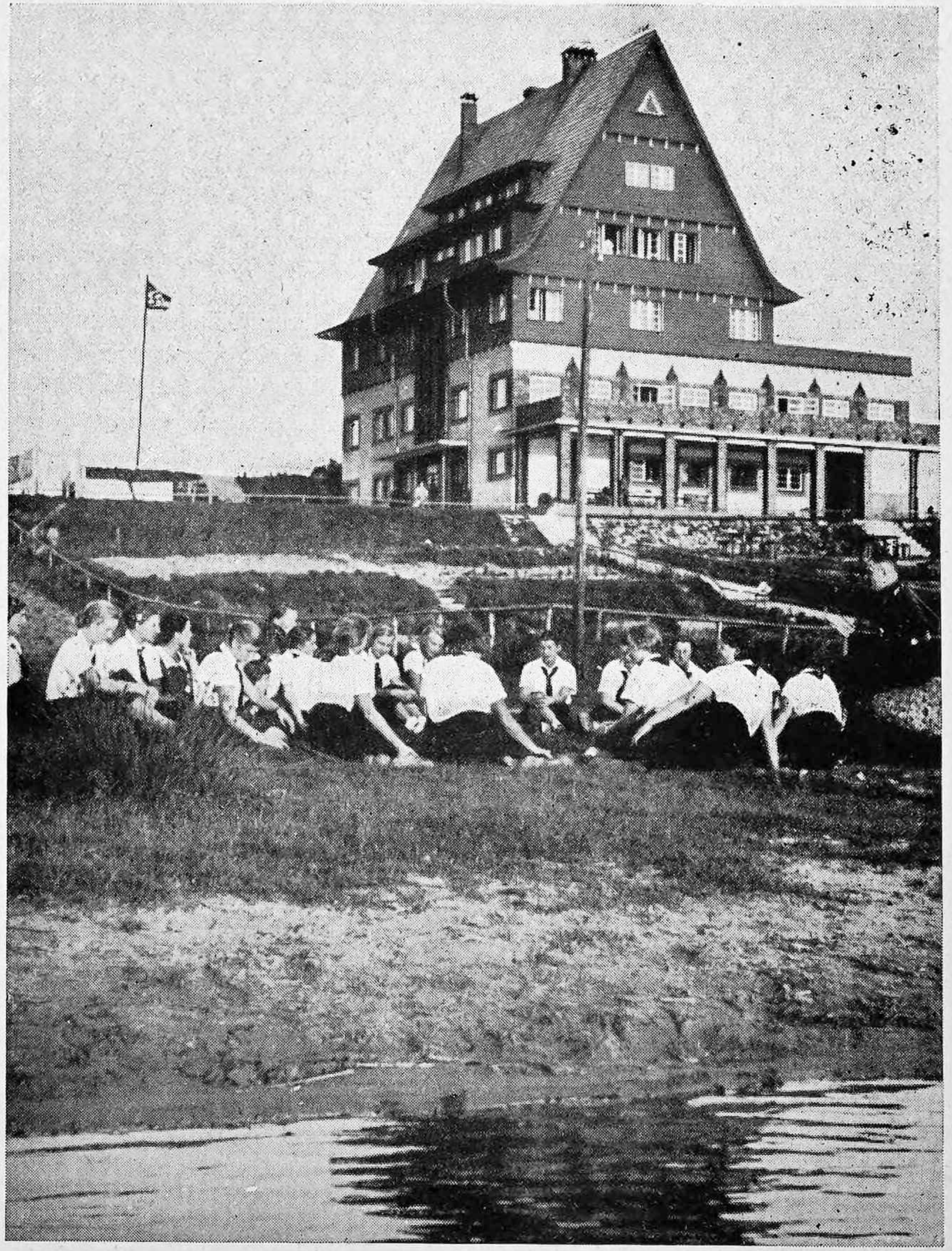


162. Physical training of members of the "Union of German Girls"

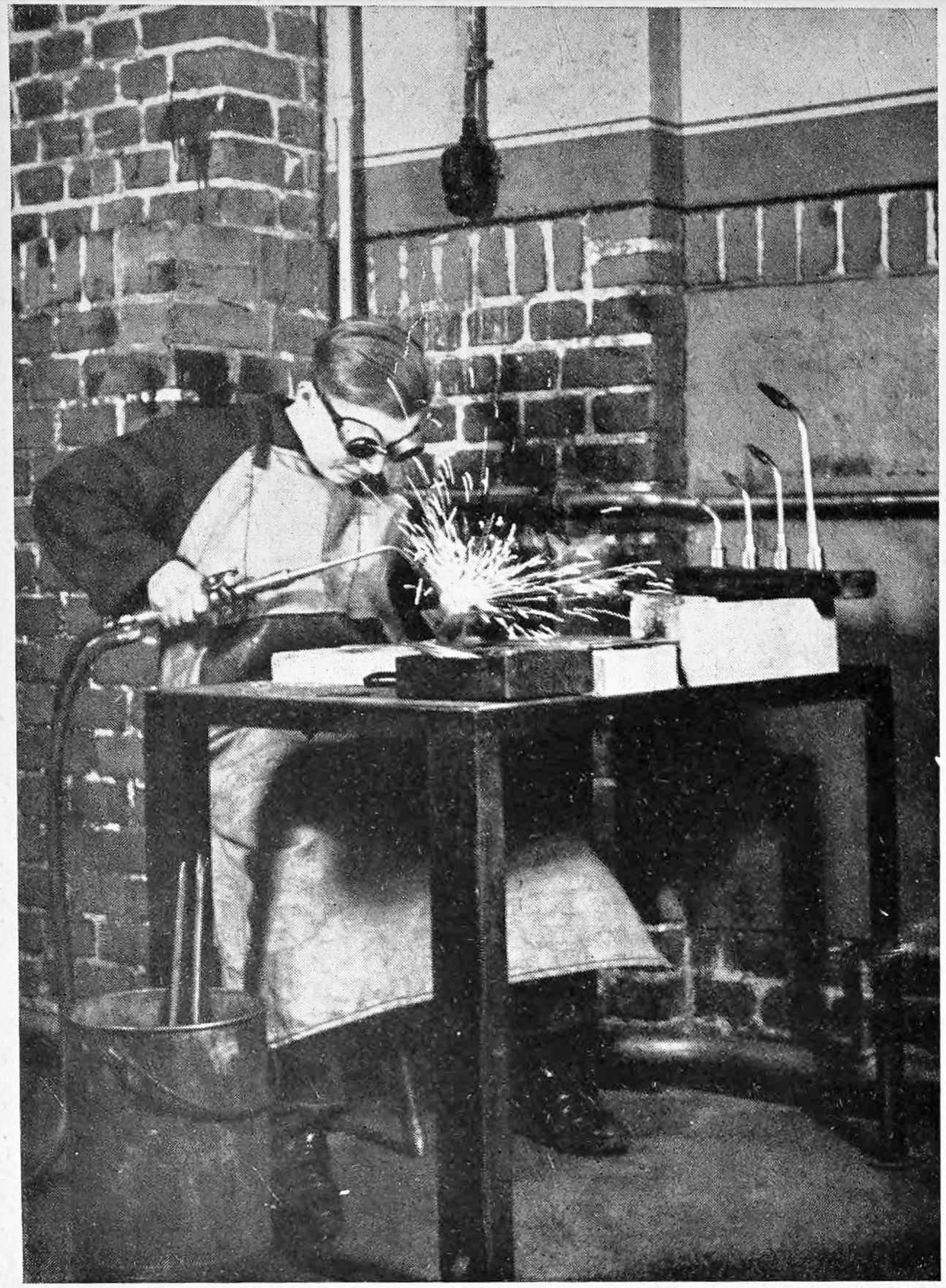
GERMAN YOUTH



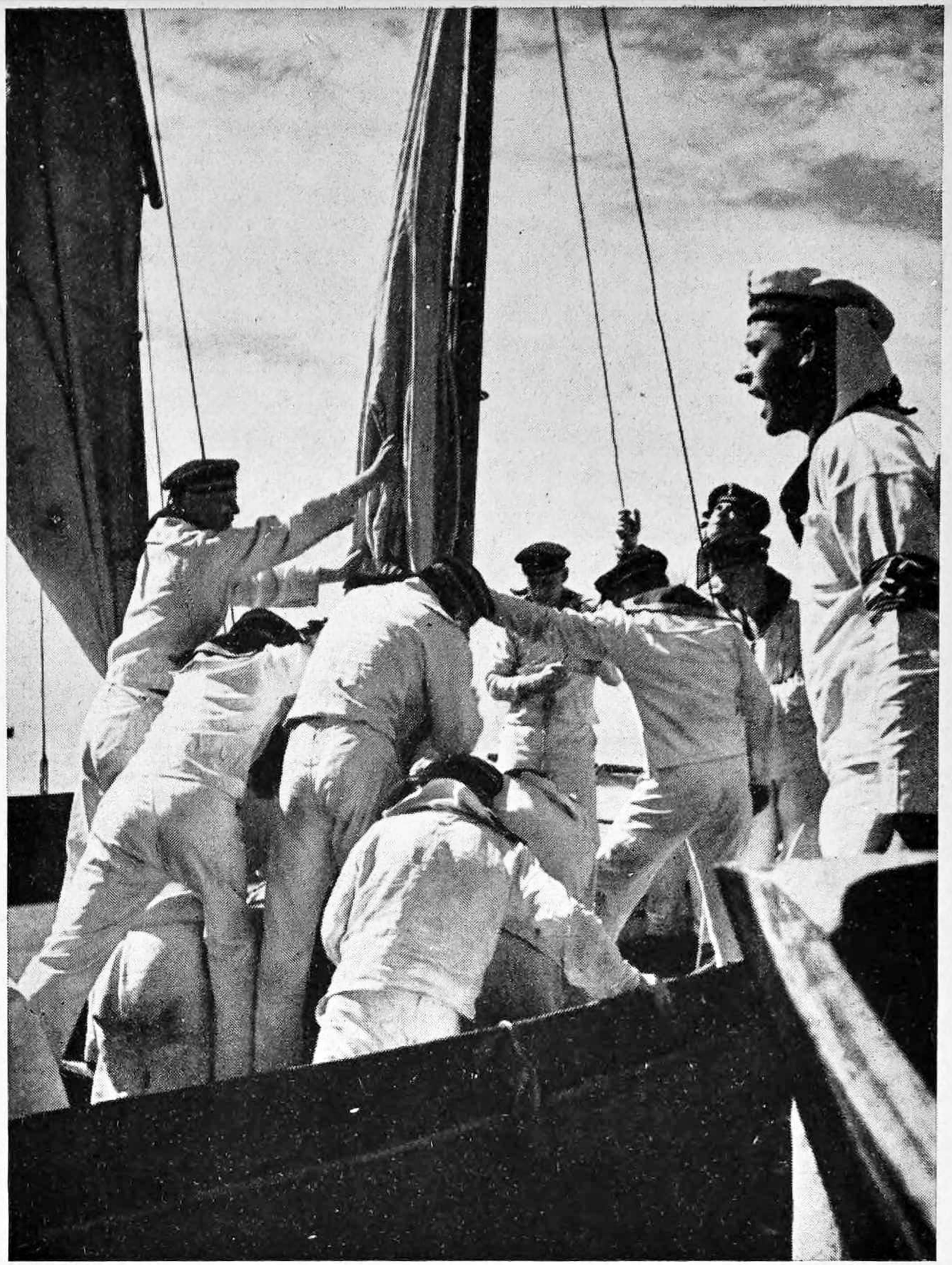
163. New Youth Hostels in Freiburg



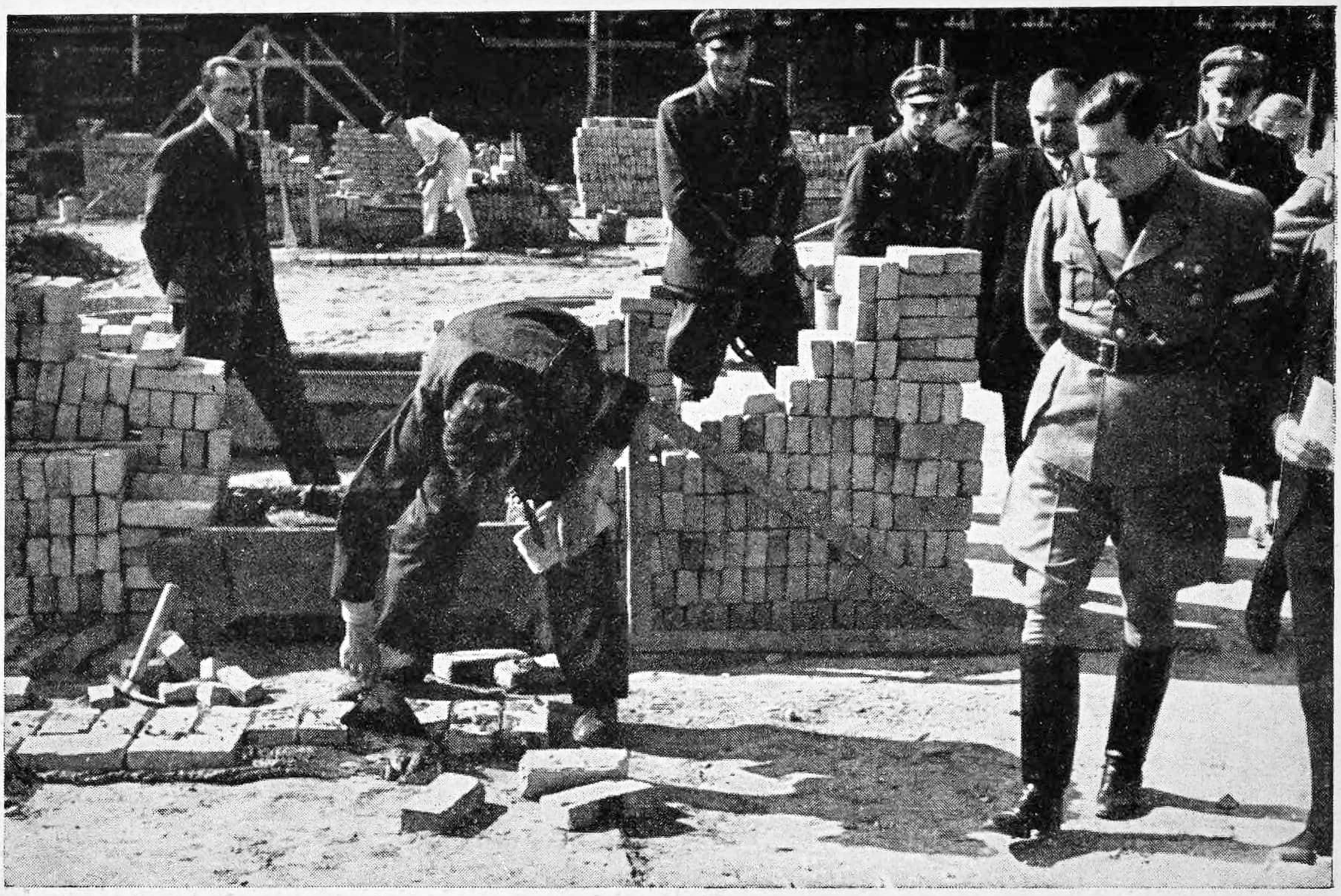
164. Home for German Girls at Binow (Pomerania)



165. Professional competitions of the Hitler Youth: a Youngster engaged in soldering



166. Members of the naval section of the Hitler Youth in a sailing race



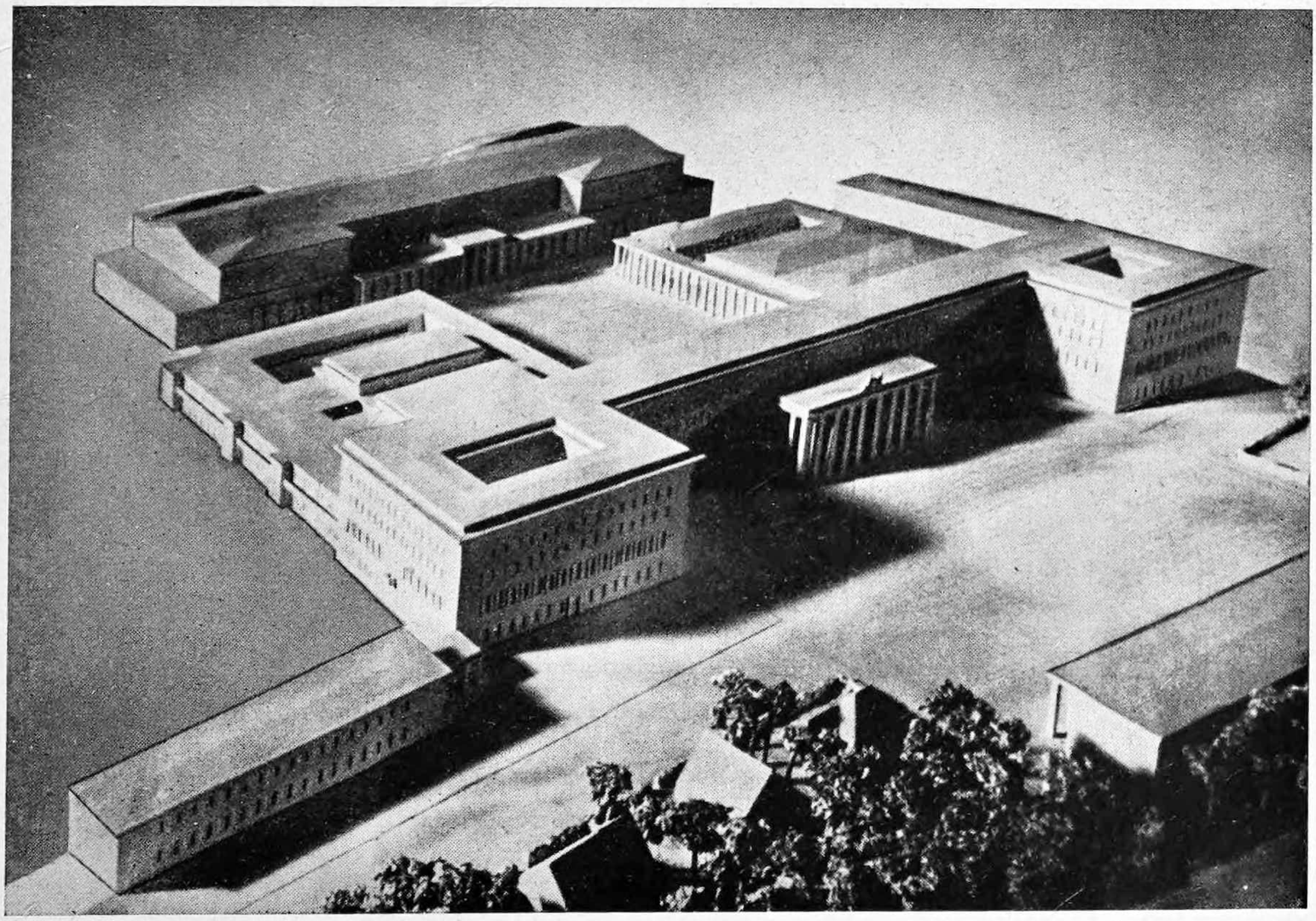
167. Baldur von Schirach watching a competition of masons



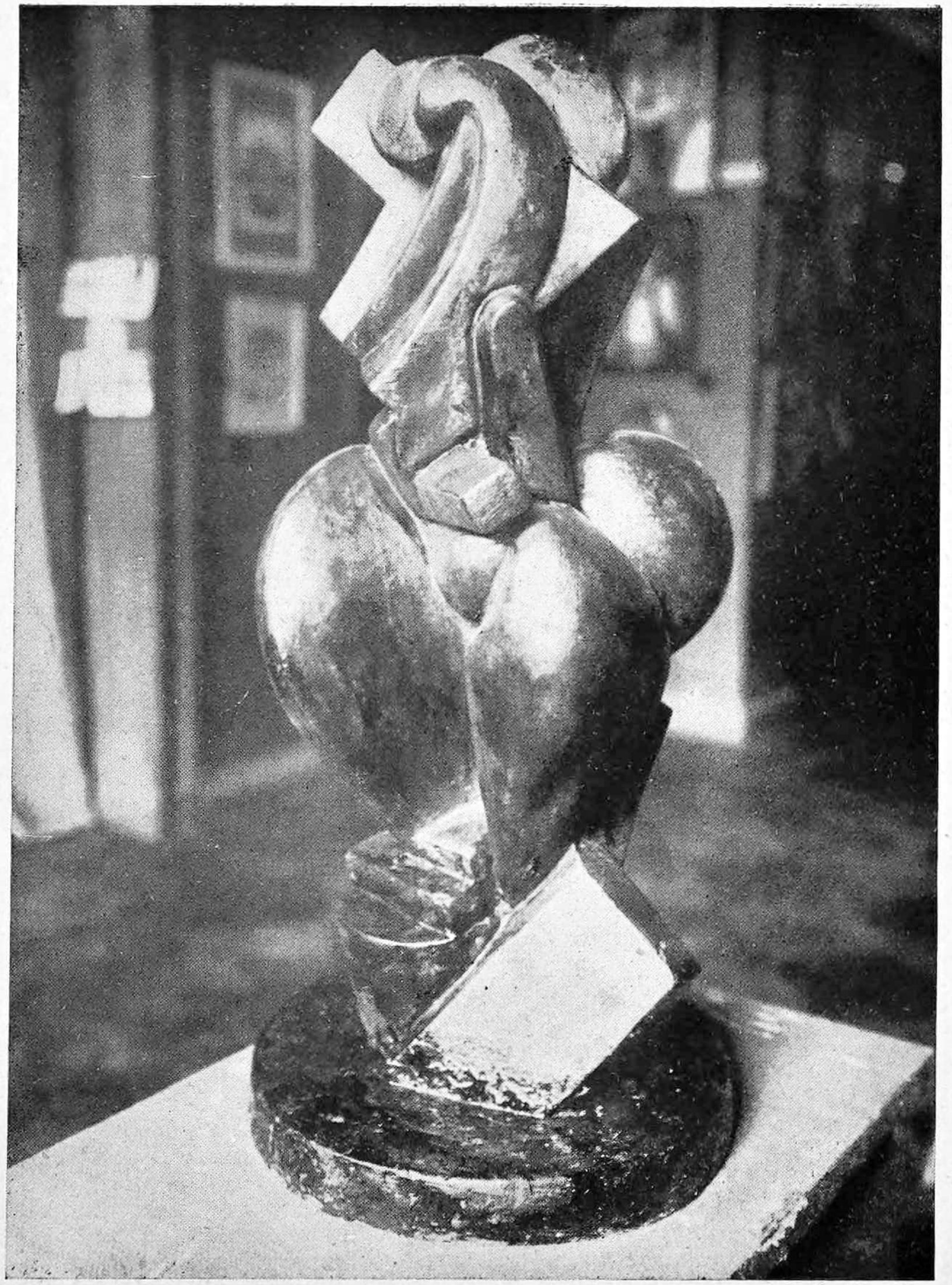
168. German Girls in camp listening to a lecture by their leader



169. The Wilhelmplatz in Berlin, with the Chancellery and the Ministry of Propaganda



170. Model of the German Film Academy



171. German culture under the Weimar Republic: the monstrosity shown in the photograph is supposed to represent a woman seated

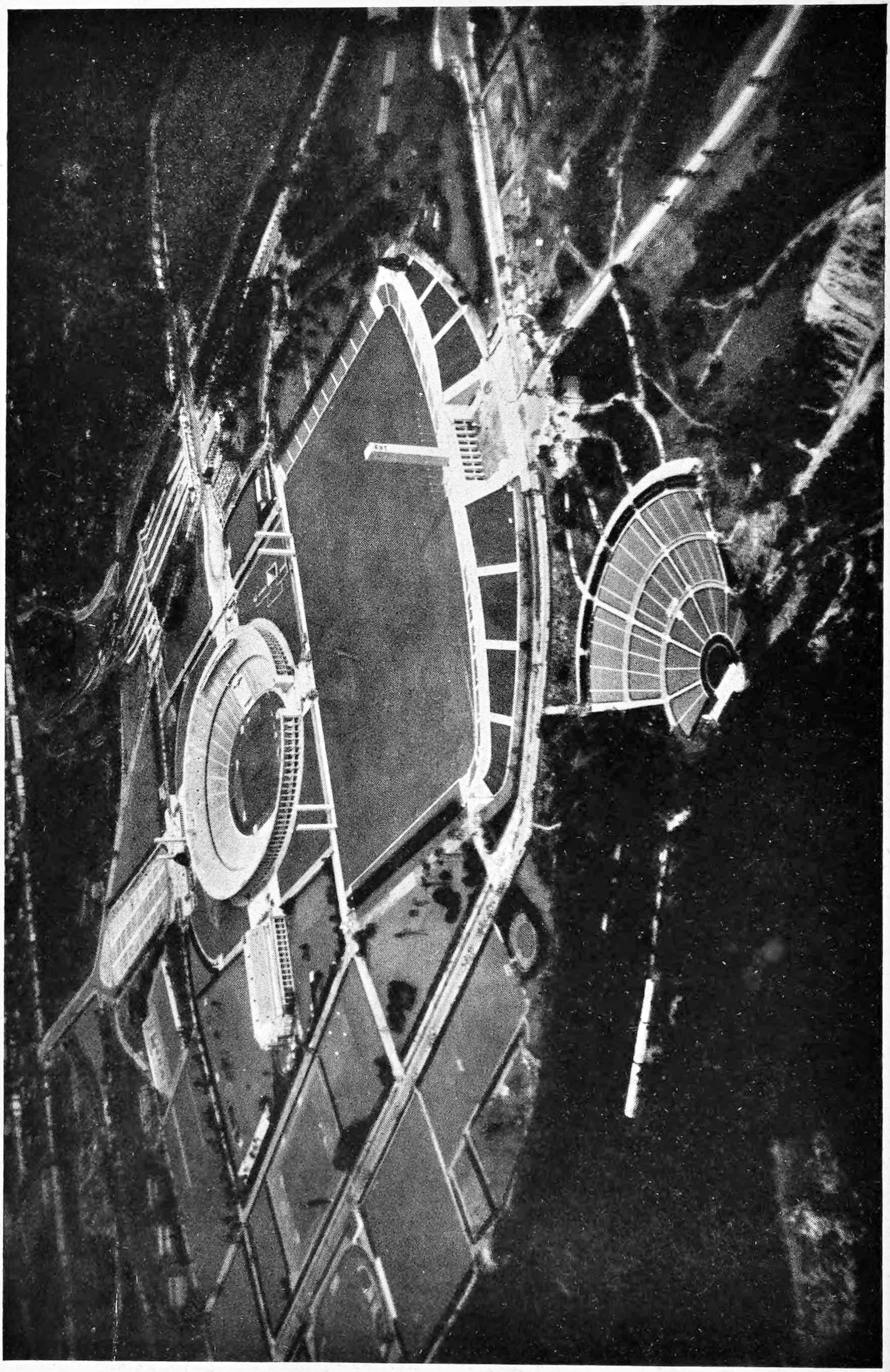


172. "The Joy of Life," by Prof. Seeger, a typical specimen of contemporary German culture



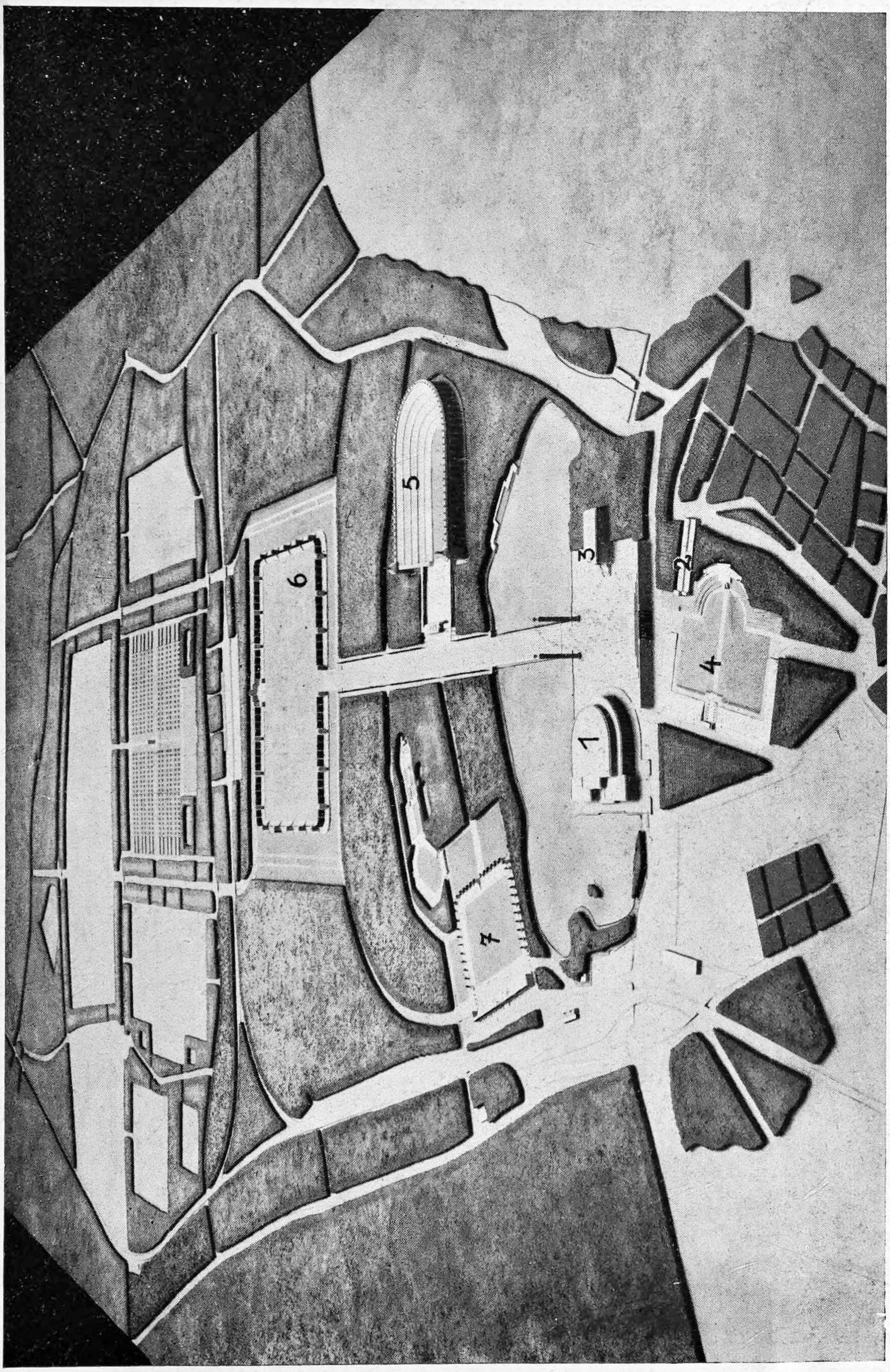
173. Königsplatz in Munich. Temple of Honour, House of the Führer, and Offices of the Administration

NEW BUILDINGS IN THE THIRD REICH



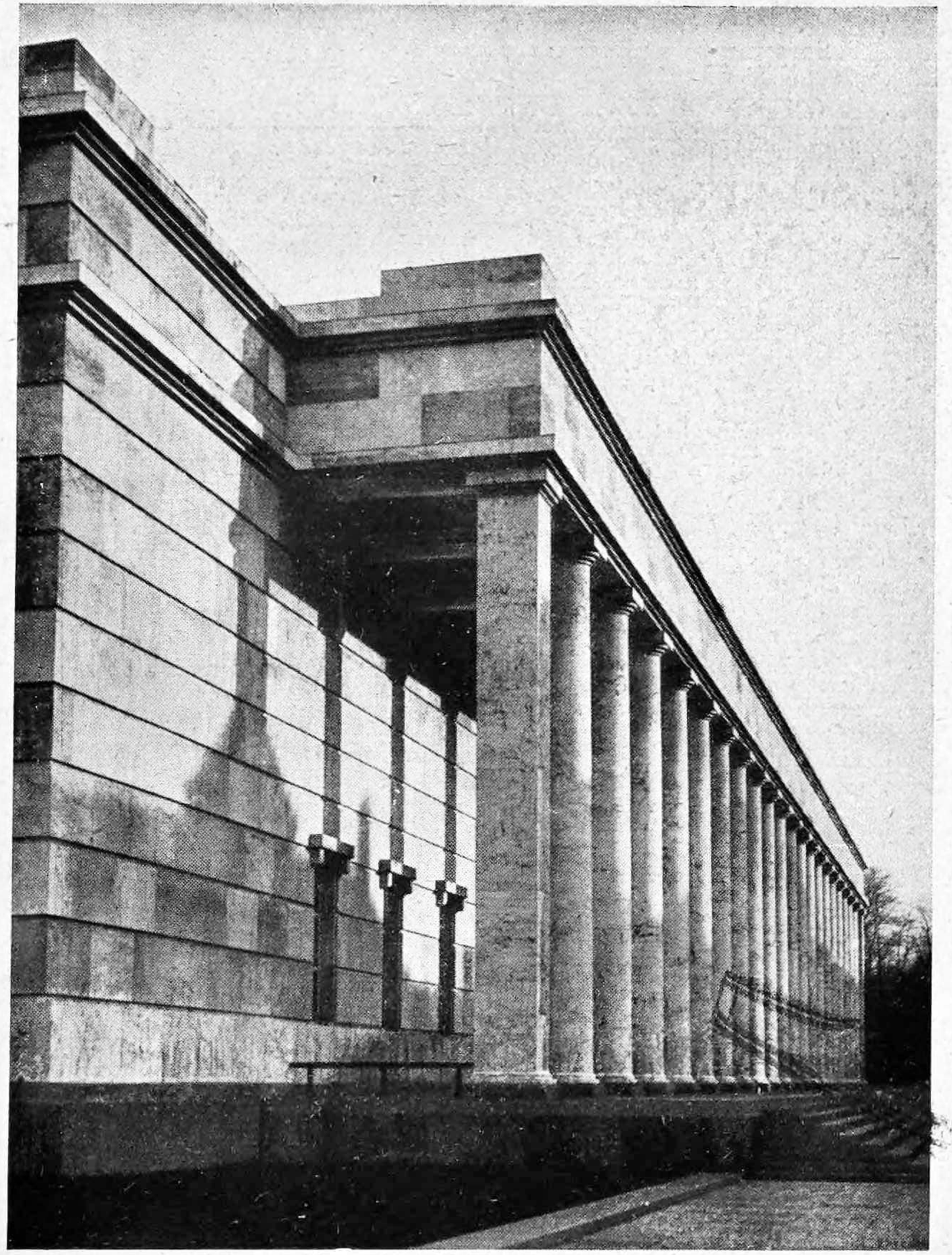
174. Reich Sports Field in Berlin, as seen from the air

NEW BUILDINGS IN THE THIRD REICH



175. Model of buildings planned for the annual Party rally in Nuremberg

NEW BUILDINGS IN THE THIRD REICH



176. House of German Art in Munich



177. German Pavilion at the Paris World Exhibition, 1937